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Micronesians are in the process of becoming independent nation-states after nearly a
century of colonial rule, including four decades of U.S. administration as the Trust
Territory of the Pacific Islands. Pressures to attain self-sufficiency have led many of these
island nations to embrace tourism as an economic development strategy. Meanwhile,
historic preservation proliferates as a mechanism to protect cultural resources threatened
by rapid modernization. This thesis builds on two separate field experiences in opposite
regions of Micronesia—the Marshall Islands and Palau—to examine the consequences of
an increasingly close relationship between historic preservation and tourism. Cultural
tourism in particular builds on ethnicity as a way to attract tourists with the goal of
revitalizing the host society's heritage and self-concept. The outcome is potentially ironic:
A tourist industry, which generally serves as an agent of change and encourages
development, may in fact heighten the risk to cultural and historic resources.

A theoretical and historical framework is provided through literature that draws upon
periods of early exploration, colonialism, trust territory administration and nation-
statehood. This broad context allows for an understanding of tourism as a development
strategy, especially as it relates to cultural heritage and identity. Theoretical matters

apropos political economy, expressive arts, societal change, and power are investigated. Practical solutions are presented in the form of a social-network-based model for cultural tourism.

Tourism can help to revive heritage but can lead to new meanings, functions, altered social status, and potential alienation for the host population depending on the degree of change that results from commoditization of cultural resources.

Slippery Paths: Connections and Divergences between
Historic Preservation and Tourism in Micronesia

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This thesis is dedicated to the next generation of Micronesians. They will bear the consequences of the course that tourism and historic preservation take.

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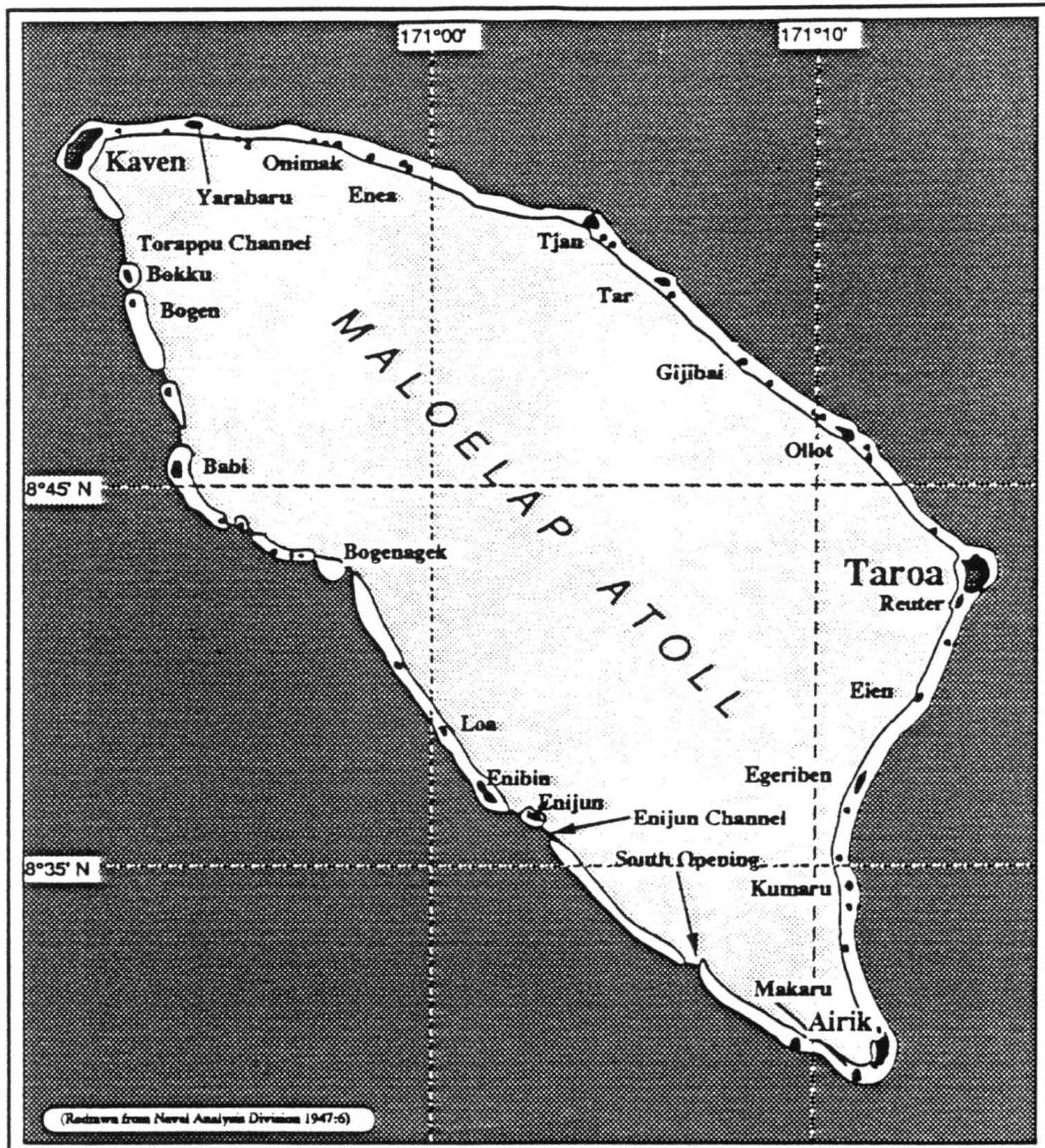
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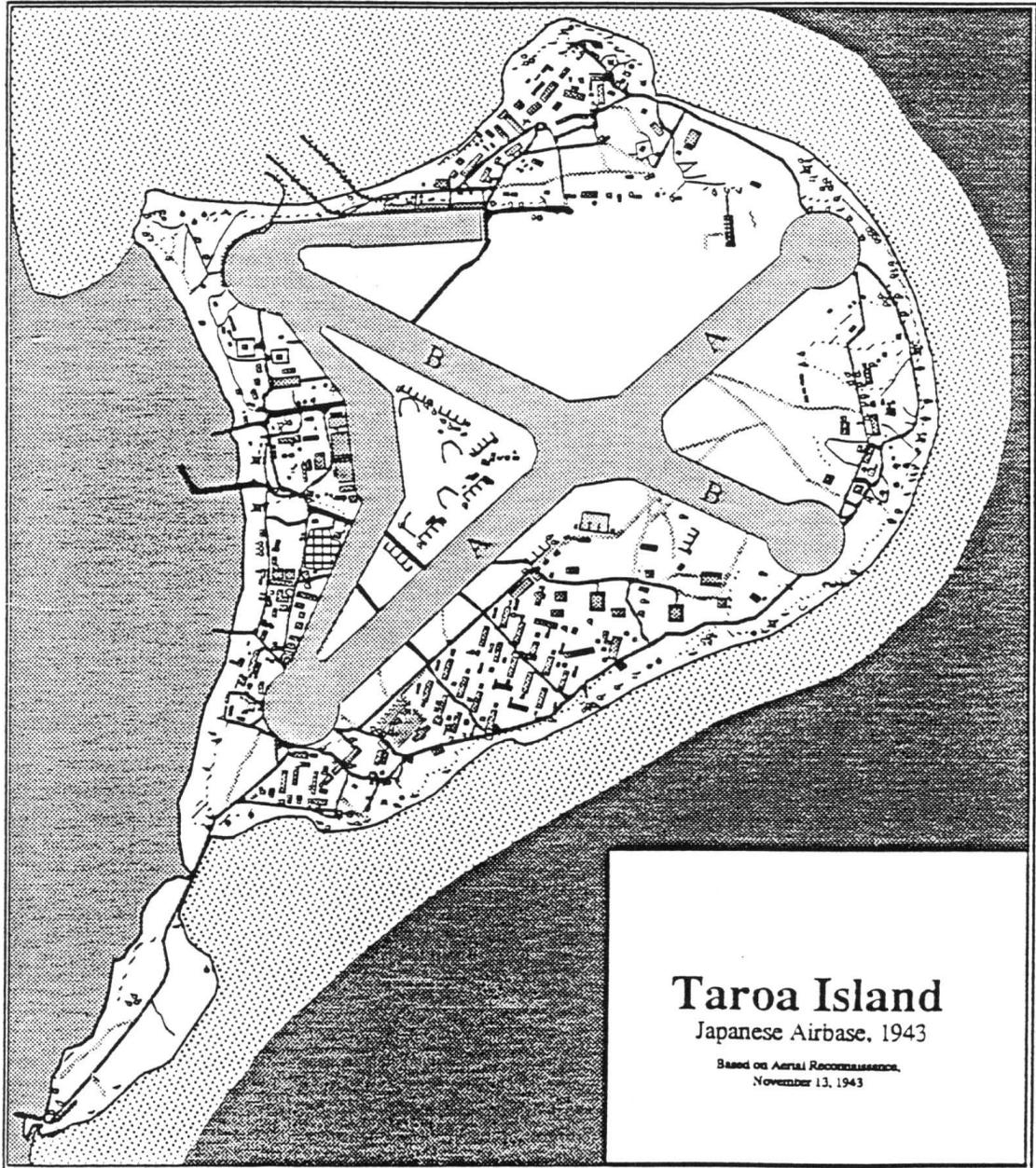
PREFACE

This study explores adaptive strategies that some Micronesians are using to enhance their cultural identity while embracing tourism as an economic development tactic. In so doing, it investigates cultural change in the context of the relationship between historic preservation and tourism. Furthermore, it seeks to understand the consequences of turning to tourism as a catalyst for enhancing heritage.

Two summer field experiences in opposite geographic regions of Micronesia—the Republic of the Marshall Islands and the Republic of Palau—provided the ethnographic data for the core of the study, the conclusions, and the model.

My first field experience in Micronesia came about fortuitously. I had become aware of cultural characteristics of Micronesia through an article assigned for a course that examined practical, problem-solving uses of anthropology. Patricia Parker's (1987) account of a misinformed consultation process illustrated the extent to which cross-cultural misunderstanding can occur: The United States Army Corps of Engineers had held a public meeting in Truk to seek input on a proposed airport, which was being constructed to accommodate jets that would carry tourists to the island—mostly divers interested in the World War II ghost fleet that occupies the Truk lagoon. When none of the locals attending the meeting spoke up, the corps wrongly assumed there were no objections. It took an anthropologist to inform the corps that for the Trukese, knowledge has an air of sacredness about it, and people tend to be reticent about freely expressing their opinions. The cultural rules of Micronesia struck me as diametrically opposed to those of the United States, where people and government agencies interact with the assumption that the public has a right to know. I was intrigued.

In June 1989, several weeks before an Oregon State University team was to leave for the Marshall Islands to begin a historic preservation project, one of the hired archaeologists became ill. As a graduate student in the OSU Department of Anthropology,

I was offered a research assistantship. I did not hesitate to accept. Within a few days, I

had gotten my first round of immunizations: cholera, typhoid, polio, tetanus, diphtheria,

and gamma globulin. The second round followed several weeks later, and soon I was

boarding a plane for Honolulu. The next day's island-hopper flight on Continental Air

Micronesia took me to Majuro-Kwajalein-Kosrae-Pohnpei and finally Truk. I was anxious

to deboard when the "Air Mike" jet halted to a stop at the Truk International Airport. The

runway, built in the lagoon atop a heap of dredged coral, seemed barely long enough to

allow the plane to stop before careening off the edge into the water. I soon learned that

much in Micronesia is this way: barely sufficient for the needs of the people.

Airport facilities say something about the economy of a place. The Truk airport

building appeared temporary, something of a transition, with its tin roof and chicken wire

walls. I must admit to feeling a sense of relief when I saw the familiar faces of the

anthropologists I would be working with for the next five weeks: They stood shoulder to

shoulder on the other side of the chicken wire. Welcome to Truk. Welcome to

Micronesia—a place the United States governed for more than 40 years, yet a place most

Americans know little about. In fact, many have never even heard of Micronesia.

According to David Stanley, the Pentagon has a strategic interest in Micronesia and prefers

that people know as little as possible about the region (Stanley 1989:11). Media coverage

is slight. The *New York Times* from 1987 to 1991, for example, carried fewer than 10

articles about Micronesia and its three relatively independent political entities—the

Marshall Islands, Palau, and the Federated States of Micronesia (FSM).

I spent several weeks in the Federated States—Truk, Pohnpei and Kosrae—before

reaching the Marshalls. Archaeologists Richard Ross and William Adams and I worked

for a week in Majuro doing research, consulting with landowners and seeking

permissions for the work that would ensue on the outer island of Taroa on the Maloelap

Atoll. Our contractual assignment was related to historic preservation, and we coordinated

our efforts with ethnographer Lin Poyer. All of the projects were part of the Micronesian

Resources Study, funded by the U.S. Congress and jointly administered by the U.S. National Park Service and the Micronesian Endowment for Historic Preservation. Our task, which included training Marshall Islanders in historic preservation methods, was to map and survey the island and then make recommendations on its potential for a park. Our project site was rich in World War II ruins from the Japanese who occupied the island but relatively poor in traditional Marshallese sites due to Japanese construction and American bombing. The ethnographer was challenged to gather traditional cultural material because most of the people were young and had only relocated to the island in the early 1970s.

As a place to conduct historic preservation activities, the Marshall Islands struck me as odd. An ethical dilemma presented itself. Whose history was being preserved here? Was this really an effort to preserve history for the younger generations of islanders or to repackage it as a park and then sell it to Japanese tourists? The answers were not so black and white. In fact, World War II greatly changes the lives of the Marshallese. Two of our senior consultants had worked as conscript laborers for the Japanese, and shared parts of their life histories with us. The project illustrated that one cannot put blinders on and only look for traditional elements in a culture to "preserve," for culture continuously undergoes change. One change especially prevalent in the late twentieth century is a growing desire for money-making endeavors. As Micronesia goes, the island of Taroa has high potential as a tourist destination. The island is like an outdoor museum, displaying one of the most well-preserved Japanese military bases in the Pacific.

We discussed with the locals the consequences of developing tourism. The authors of *The Archaeological Survey of Taroa Island* suggested that a Board of Preservation, Tourism, and Development be established to create a 20-year plan "to preserve traditional cultural values and yet take advantage of the historic relics as economic resources..." (Adams, Ross and Krause 1989:107). A contradiction arises when a society tries to preserve its heritage with endeavors such as tourism, which require development and act

as agents of rapid change. Yet as Lin Poyer, who completed the ethnographic component

of the Taroa study, pointed out:

> On the one hand, there are few opportunities to make money. On the other
> hand, there are insufficient ways to spend what money one makes. People
> feel that they would like the chance to buy more things; they would like a
> bigger store, more regular supplies, more diversity and more quantity in
> what they can purchase. And they are eager to find additional sources of
> income (Poyer 1989:39).

This potential conflict between heritage and tourism presented itself again when I

worked as a technical assistant with the Palau Visitors Authority, which serves as the

republic's tourist agency. I was among a pilot group of 10 graduate students who worked

under the auspices of the University of Oregon Technical Assistance Project, a

Micronesian undertaking funded by the U.S. Department of Interior, Office of Territorial

and International Affairs. Each of us was placed in an agency and assigned a counterpart

to work with. My counterpart, the head of the tourist agency, told me that her immediate

goal was to improve the promotion of Palau's cultural resources. The idea was to increase

revenue generated from tourists in a way that allowed the money to stay in local hands.

Underneath that objective, however, was a desire to use a well-planned tourist industry to

"foster greater understanding and appreciation of Palauan culture by residents and visitors

to the Republic," according to a draft of the national tourist policy. Officials hoped visitors

would desire to see cultural performances and sites, and that the increased demand for

these resources would revitalize the pride Palauans take in their cultural past. As my

Palauan counterpart explained: "Palau is at a crossroads. In one hand we are reaching for

our cultural heritage, and in the other we are grasping to attain modernization" (Krause

1990:3).

The specific goals of each project varied; however, similar problems and themes

emerged. Especially prevalent was the theme of creating a plan to allow these microstates

to achieve economic self-sufficiency. Tourism is inevitably an ambiguous economic

development strategy. The industry perpetuates dependency relations. My central goal in

undertaking this thesis was to understand the complex issues embedded in the tourism-heritage relationship.

A word on usage

I struggled with whether to use "Palau" or "Belau" to identify the island group located on the western edge of Micronesia. My initial inclination was to use Belau since this is the indigenous name of the island group. Belau is rooted in the word *beluu*, which means village. The Spanish called the islands "Los Palaos." The Germans shortened the name to "Palau," and officialdom has clung to that spelling and usage. Most local people identify with the indigenous spelling and pronunciation of Belau (Stanley 1989:149). I personally favor the usage of Belau because it avoids colonial overtones; however, as I wrote the thesis this spelling became cumbersome; the nation itself is known as the Republic of Palau after all, and most ethnographers rely on this as the official English spelling. However, inconsistencies are frequent. For example, in the geographic index of the bibliography on Micronesia compiled by Goetzfridt and Wuerch (1989), the editors use "Belau." Yet I quickly surveyed the 14 entries listed under "acculturation" and found that every one of the titles that contained the name of the island used the "Palau" spelling. This as well as consultation with a native Palauan anthropologist leads me to conclude that "Palau" is the more common English usage. If I were writing a thesis on Italy—and we will assume I were writing it in English—it would be incorrect to use *Italia*; rather, "Italy" would be the appropriate spelling. Similarly, it seems more fitting to use "Palau" for the sake of linguistic consistency.

It is interesting to note that government agencies created during the Trust Territory period, from the Community Action Agency to the Office of Historic Preservation, use "Palau." This includes the agency which caters to outsiders—the Palau Visitors Authority. The exception to this usage is the organization whose primary mission is to preserve

heritage; the museum clings to the traditional "Belau"—as in the Belau National Museum. However, even the museum used the "Palau" spelling in a recent pamphlet that described events of the "Belau Arts Festival" and catered to English-language speakers.

SLIPPERY PATHS: CONNECTIONS AND DIVERGENCES BETWEEN HISTORIC PRESERVATION AND TOURISM IN MICRONESIA

I. INTRODUCTION: THE PATH TO THE MEETING HOUSE

The only remaining historic *bai*, or men's meeting house, ranks as Palau's most talked about and sought after indigenous cultural tourist destination. I purposefully use "cultural" tourist destination because the scenic beauty of the Rock Islands and the life that flourishes below the surface of the sea is certainly what draws most visitors to Palau. However, my task as a technical adviser to the Palau Visitors Authority was to help diversify the agency's marketing efforts. The agency sought to improve its promotion of cultural and historic resources as a way to profit from tourism and at the same time revitalize the pride Palauans take in their cultural past. I was aked to explore the possibilities for cultural tourism.

I had high expectations for the Airai *bai,* having spent one afternoon in the Belau National Museum's library reviewing historic photographs. This A-frame structure, built in 1890, looked in the photos to be a majestic piece of architecture constructed in the traditional style—all indigenous materials assembled without any nails. Hand carvings decorated the exterior gables and interior crossbeams. The designs depicted heroic events, legends and humorous tales. I was excited about the prospect of visiting this site, partly because of a nostalgia I admittedly have for "authentic" things with a link to the past.

One morning with my three roommates, who were also members of the University of Oregon team, I set out in a car lent to us from the Micronesian Occupational College (MOC). The ride from our apartment in the township of Ngesaol to the main paved road was rough, as always. We had experienced five flat tires in one week. The potholes were so extensive we wondered when the road would become one giant ditch.

We rumbled past the expansive taro patch with its glistening elephant-earlike leaves and the mangrove swamp with its rotten-egg stench, until we reached the main road to head north across the K-B Bridge. Within minutes we were in Airai, the southernmost state on the big island of Babeldaob. Road signs were non-existent, but we did not foresee this to be a problem. There was only one primary road; acquaintances had told us to follow it as far as we could go. A mile or so after the pavement ended, the road became treacherously steep. A bulldozer was churning up the muddy earth. We decided to park and walk the rest of the way, however far it might be.

We meandered along the shadiest part of the road to keep as cool as possible. I drank Gatorade. It was the only thing I believed could keep me from dehydrating; in my second trimester of pregnancy, I was especially vulnerable to the heat. The four of us continued down the road until we came upon a house: cement blocks and tin roof. We asked a young man whether we were heading in the right direction to get to the *bai*. He reassured us and offered us a ride in his pickup. We gladly climbed in. When he reached his destination, each of us piled out of the truck and headed on down the road on foot. Several people told us just to keep going, that we would run right into the *bai*.

We finally came upon an A-frame structure and approached it cautiously. Visitors are often charged for looking at the historic building; an extra fee is levied for photography. I would not have minded paying someone, but there was no sign to direct visitors. I felt somewhat like an intruder and hoped to avoid any embarrassment of being accused as such—verbally or non-verbally.

Something seemed wrong to me, though, as we got closer to the structure itself. It was clearly made of cement. The images painted on the outside also struck a wrong chord: there were too many colors, too many pinks, blues and greens; my research had indicated that island artists painted only in red, black and ochre against a white background. I was even more convinced this was the wrong place when I noticed that one village scene on the

side of the building had electrical wires running through it, definitely not a detail an island artist would think to illustrate in the year 1890.

We inspected the building more closely. I tried to appreciate it, but I felt let down by its apparent newness. This was not the authentic building I had seen in the photographs. When I peered through the glass windows and saw that the floor inside was wooden, however, I concluded that perhaps the old building had burned and that this one had been erected in its place. Or maybe this was the result of some misdirected renovation project. It is all too common for those whose economic status gains them the label of Third World to dispense with the old and usher in the new. It is often a matter of projecting prestige.

It was only after I returned to the Palau Visitors Authority the following Monday that my hunch was verified: We had happened upon the wrong *bai*. The historic *bai*, a person in the office told me, was located down a stone path that skirted to the left of the newer meeting house. Though embarrassed, I was nevertheless determined to see the "real thing."

A week or so later, several of us returned to Airai accompanied by a knowledgeable Palauan. Kempis Mad, a staff member of the Belau National Museum, led us on a successful visit. He introduced us to the elder caretaker of the *bai*. We followed the footsteps of this most enchanting man across the shiny, well-worn stones that shaped a path to the *bai*. Here, he explained the legends for us in the richness of the oral tradition; Kempis translated the Palauan into English. I felt vindicated, having finally had the opportunity to discover this link with the past.

Now with time for retrospection, several central questions come to mind. First, what was so special about discovering this authentic object, about seeing the "real thing" for myself? What was the underlying symbolic meaning of this experience, for me as the outsider and for the Palauans themselves? These thoughts raise complex issues that I will address in the body of the thesis.

The second major question is one of logistics. Why was it so difficult for us as outsiders to get to a well-known and widely promoted destination in Palau? In Micronesia,

this is commonplace. It is often difficult to find places, even very famous ones, without a local guide. Here we were, Americans wanting to do what Americans typically do: be rugged, individualistic explorers. It didn't work here. The experience was vastly different from visiting a U.S. national forest, park or other tourist destination. There were no maps or detailed guidebooks. There were no signs with friendly arrows pointing us to our sought-after destination. Ideally, there would have been a sign placed outside the new *bai* that told us we were close but not quite there yet. "Keep going," it would have said.

A similar observation was made by Maria Tikoff, a technical assistant who worked with the Pohnpei Tourist Commission, who was interviewed for a University of Oregon project video (1990). She reported that the "high potential" for tourism in Pohnpei had not yet been tapped, and was somewhat confused over why "rudimentary" information was not readily available to tourists. She made the following statement:

> Visitors show up here right now, and there's absolutely nothing to tell them—where to stay, what to eat or what to do. Everyone here knows it [the information] but unfortunately it's not written down, and people are less than open as far as giving people that kind of information. And I'm not sure why. The Pohnpeian people are the most wonderful, warm and hospitable people I know and yet when it comes to translating what things [there] are for tourists to do, they're less than totally open.

Why was the information so inaccessible both in Palau and Pohnpei? Is it unrealistic or ethnocentric of Americans to think these visitor aids should exist? Officials and residents repeatedly expressed a desire to cash in on the tourist trade; they said that they needed the revenue to improve their quality of life. Yet much of the infrastructure and many of the tools that American and other Western tourists have come to take for granted when traveling have not been created.

One popular explanation for the lack of infrastructure—and this explanation can be easily heard from the expatriates or visitors vacationing at the resort—is that these are just "backward" people like the rest of the developing nations. Give them more time, more money, more help, and they will catch up, they will become modern. Such discourses can be found in government reports on the Trust Territory (see, for example, U.S. Secretary of

the Interior 1967:22-23). United States agencies that fund projects in Micronesia continue to operate from this underlying assumption when they place "technical advisers" in the field to "transfer skills" to Micronesian counterparts. Not that this is bad in and of itself—indeed, one could see this as a way to empower the local leaders who volunteer their agencies to host the technical assistants; status and political prestige are also at stake. If we look more closely, however, we can identify messages that such programs send: Americans are powerful, and they have the means to teach Micronesians how to get some of that power. Technical assistance and training programs further assume Micronesians need help to catch up and to embrace modern—i.e., Western—technologies and systems. It is an approach based on a materialist view of the world. This view measures cultural progress from a yardstick on which each increment represents material gain. Technological institutions, though important, get blown out of proportion when used as a universal basis on which to gauge societies. This type of explanation overlooks the complex social infrastructure that operates in Micronesian island societies.

My experience of not being able to find the *bai* on my own speaks to a cultural reality of Palau. I came to realize the significance of this experience during the course of my project developing a cultural tourism plan for the Palau Visitors Authority. Palau is still largely an oral society, one that places an extremely high value on knowledge and information. Katharine Kesolei, a Palauan anthropologist and historian who now directs economic development for Melekeok State, warns researchers that knowledge is "secret" property that is not to be casually transmitted to others (1977). Family genealogies exemplify how closely guarded knowledge can be:

> Certain children are selected to learn the histories of their parents' kin units
> and who their kinsmen were. This knowledge is passed on to the child in
> the secrecy of the night (D. Smith 1983:191).

I was similarly advised to conduct interviews with key informants after dark because they would feel more comfortable giving information. The nighttime in traditional Palau society was the time when legends and knowledge were imparted from the older to the

younger generation (see Brower 1983:176). The best interviews I had were the ones conducted after sunset.

Information remains well-guarded regardless of the time of day. The people may *say* they want tourism, but perhaps they are not ready to relinquish the power that goes with giving away information. Perhaps they don't want to hand outsiders the tools to wander freely on their land. Land after all is a scarce resource. The high value placed on land can be seen in the fact that all property is privately owned by individuals or by clans, or temporarily held by the government while a land claim is being fought in court.[1] Perhaps Palauans want to keep something for themselves—something having to do with the knowledge necessary to find specific sites or understand certain events.

Nobody told me this outright; it is something that occurred to me after several experiences similar to trying to find the *bai*. I have come to realize that a truly culturally sensitive type of tourism in Palau would have to be based on an approach much different than the current one. The foundation would have to be restructured. This thesis will chart a course leading to an alternative paradigm for tourism.

Scope and Structure

My investigation draws from fieldwork carried out in the Republic of the Marshall Islands in late summer 1989 and in the Republic of Palau during summer 1990. The projects of which I was a part were located in dramatically different settings: a small village on a remote coral atoll and a capital center on a high volcanic island. Yet parallels existed. The projects were funded by U.S. agencies, and both involved transferring skills from Americans to Micronesians. Another key similarity was the shared goal of enhancing

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[1] The tangled land ownership situation stems in part from policy changes in colonial governments. The Japanese did not honor native land rights; however, after World War II the American administration sought to restore land to the original owners. Disagreement as to the rightful owner results in many land claims being decided in court.

cultural heritage while bolstering tourism. Herein lies the major issue that I will address in my thesis: The rapid pace of development has threatened cultural heritage, and yet tourism is one avenue Micronesians—especially Palauans—have chosen to revitalize their heritage. Tourism requires development. The very solution they seek becomes part of the problem.

Recommendations from the final reports of each project exemplify how the preservation-tourism objectives were blended. The project in the Marshalls put a greater emphasis on heritage preservation while the Palau undertaking put more focus on tourism.

Unlike a traditional ethnography in which the anthropologist focuses on a single village, this thesis will look at tourism development and historic preservation as issues throughout Micronesia. This approach will allow me to weave together theoretical and practical concerns. My plan of presentation is to draw examples and anecdotes from my field experiences while considering discourses that frame tourist relationships. I use the term "discourse" to mean a set of ideas expressed in language that carries social, political and economic power and that supports the dominant culture,[2] which in this case was Western Europe (Weedon 1987:21). One key discourse promises tourists a transformation of self through their travels while portraying the natives as virtually unchanged. Bruner (1991) has pointed out that the reverse is often the case. "[T]he tourist is changed very little by the tour, while the consequences of tourism for the native self are profound." I will explore the implications of this hypothesis as it relates to my observations in Palau and the Marshalls.

The thesis will unfold in a chronological and thematic manner. An historical analysis of a nineteenth-century encounter between a European explorer and Marshallese islanders will launch the thesis. This early contact situation presented in chapter two will set the tone for understanding contemporary host-guest relationships. Early contact and modern tourist interactions share some features. The literature, however, warns against universal generalizations in distinguishing cross-cultural interaction. The sway of tourism on culture

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[2]I synthesized this definition from readings and lectures presented in the course "Gender, Culture and Self" taught by Dr. Nancy Rosenberger at Oregon State University in Spring 1991.

change can vary just as the impact of contact and trade have varied. For example, even adventure travel in the Alaskan arctic, a.k.a. "Eskimo tourism," where the cultures of indigenous people have become an attraction, cannot be accurately discussed as a singular phenomenon; rather, the historical processes in specific areas and the effects of turning a society into "an ethnic commodity of commercial value," as Smith puts it (1989:56) must be considered on an individual basis (V. Smith 1989:60).

Another reason for beginning with the early contact period is to lay an historical foundation for how outsiders, specifically Europeans—the early ambassadors of the West—viewed Micronesians. These views are important since the way we view ourselves, our identity, is constructed in relation to how we see others and how they see us (Said 1978). Concepts of otherness and identity are especially relevant when considering cross-cultural situations such as tourism.

A brief history of tourism in Micronesia will be presented in chapter three to explore developments related to the decline of traditional arts and the subsequent reinvention of similar yet new, sellable forms. I will explore the concept of authenticity, a touristic Holy Grail that in fact is often more of an construction that results from acculturation than a reality rooted in age-old traditions. I plan to look at commoditization—the process of turning an object or event or entire culture into something that can be purchased—and whether this phenomenon dilutes meaning for the local population.

I relate these issues back to tourism in chapter four and sort out the implications of this growth industry's tenuous relationship with historic preservation and cultural heritage enhancement. To what extent does a contradiction exist in trying to use traditional culture to lure in outsiders to help preserve what is left of the old ways? It is interesting to note that historic preservation programs have come about only in recent years under the U.S. administration, years that have seen the Trust Territories in the Pacific Islands move toward nation-statehood. In exploring the relationship between tourism and preservation, I suggest that the citizens of these newly formed political entities have a vested interest in a well-

formed identity with well-rooted traditions. Traditions, as historian Eric Hobsbawm points

out, cement group cohesion. He has devoted much thought to the phenomenon of invented

traditions—

> a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and
> of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and
> norms of behavior by repetition, which automatically implies continuity
> with the past (Hobsbawm 1983:1).

Traditions appearing to be old, then, often have recent origins. Invented traditions,

common in nation-states since the industrial revolution, serve to legitimize newly created

institutions. Tourists present an opportunity for the hosts to project any image that they

deem suitable to further their identity since the outsiders are a credulous audience. Here I

also explore the identity that islanders project under the rubric of cultural tourism.

Can tourism actually revitalize the traditions on which a society is based? If so, how?

How would a tourist industry have to be designed to do so successfully? My observations

raise many questions that I will address in the concluding chapter. I hope, above else, to

lend theoretical sense to these issues while providing a thread of meaning to my diverse

though related experiences.

The Indigenous Setting

Anthropologists typically define the Micronesian culture area as the region in Oceania

that contains the Mariana, Palau, Caroline, Marshall and Gilbert islands. This thesis,

however, has a more limited definition. "Micronesia" in this case refers specifically to the

U.S. political entity created after World War II known as the Trust Territory of the Pacific

Islands. This study more narrowly focuses on the post-territory entities known as the

Republic of the Marshall Islands and the Republic of Palau. Experiences or information

from the Federated States of Micronesia will be drawn upon when relevant.

A bit of geographical, cultural and historical orientation of Micronesia is necessary before we can explore the issues surrounding the host-guest interaction in this part of the Pacific.

Nearly 2,500 low coral and high volcanic islands scattered southwest of Hawaii and east of the Philippines comprise the region known as Micronesia. People live permanently on only a fraction of these islands (about 5 percent). Even fewer have airstrips big enough to accommodate jets. Air Micronesia, a subsidiary of Continental Airlines and the major carrier from Honolulu to the islands, services only Guam, Majuro, Pohnpei, Truk, Kosrae, Yap and Palau. Flights also land on Kwajalein and Johnson Island but these islands have been converted into U.S. military bases and are off-limits to civilians. The region in question spans a distance across the Pacific Ocean as vast as the United States. If a U.S. map were placed over Micronesia, Taroa of the Marshalls would be located in New York City and Palau's capital city of Koror in San Francisco. The land mass of these far-reaching islands, however, totals barely more than 1,000 square miles (Mason 1968:276)—less than the state of Rhode Island.

The indigenous settlers of these geographically varied islands were early travelers. According to the most widely accepted theory, they began their migration about 1,500 B.C. They came from the Philippines or eastern Indonesia and first occupied the high island groups of western Micronesia: Palau, Yap and the Marianas. Their descendents may have plyed their way eastward, but linguistic evidence tells us that most of the pioneers in the rest of Micronesia, beginning with the Marshalls or Gilberts, came from the Solomons or perhaps New Hebrides. Descendents of these later voyagers are thought to have dispersed westward throughout the rest of the Caroline Islands: Kosrae, Pohnpei, Truk, etc. (Oliver 1989:957).

The cultures and languages of Micronesia are every bit as assorted as the region's settlement patterns and geography. In the introduction to the Senri Ethnological Studies on *Cultural Uniformity and Diversity in Micronesia*, the editors state the problem succinctly:

"Scholars are faced with the question of how to evaluate and gain a comprehensive understanding of the universal and particular elements in the folk cultures of this 'micro world' of Micronesia." The languages in Micronesia fall into the Austronesian phylum; however, linguistic studies have revealed significant differences among these languages. A family-tree type analysis of Austronesian languages, in which a genetic classification was applied, was originally conceived by Isidore Dyen and later revised by George Murdock. Divergent languages and groups are treated separately. The analysis revealed that the language of the Marshalls occupies what is referred to as the Carolinian branch of the Heonesian subfamily in the Malayo-Polynesian family.[3] Palauan is a separate subfamily in the Malayo-Polynesian family (Murdock 1968).

The sphere of material culture reflects this diversity. Weaving technology has been found to exist west of Pohnpei but not in the Marshalls. Houses in Palau and Yap were traditionally built on stone foundations and crowned with saddle-shaped roofs, whereas the dwellings of other islands typically had gable roofs and lacked flooring. The practice of chewing betel nut is found only on Palau, Yap and in the Marianas. Pohnpei is the only place in Micronesia that shares the ritualistic tradition of drinking *kava* (known to Pohnpeians as *sakau*) with the peoples of Polynesia and eastern Melanesia. Yet there are cultural items shared among all Micronesians. For example, the single outrigger canoe was the traditional water vessel that characterized the entire region. Canoes with asymmetrical left and right sides and identical stem and stern, and propelled by large triangular sails, occupy an important part in the history of all the atolls (Ushijima & Sudo 1987:2).

Non-material cultural elements have similarly been identified as being common to all Micronesian societies. Most islands nurtured a tradition of fine navigators. Other characteristics include a tendency toward matrilineal descent; an emphasis on the links

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[3] The languages of Kosrae, Pohnpei and Truk are also part of the Carolinian branch. Yapese is an isolated, divergent, non-Malayor-Polynesian language. The native language of Guam, Chomorro, is a separate subfamily in the Malayo-Polynesian family.

between siblings of the opposite sex; a practice of treating knowledge and technology in a secretive and ritualistic manner; and the cultivation of rootcrops and fruit trees (Ushijima & Sudo 1987:3). Furthermore, Micronesians all live on islands of limited size ("Micronesia," after all, means tiny islands), and this is one likely reason why they view land as a highly valuable resource.

Considering the Western Carolines and the Marshall islands together, the largest island is Babeldaob, located in Palau. It is a far cry from the low-lying coral atolls of the Marshalls, five to ten feet above sea level. Babeldaob is a volcanic high island having manifold topography. Wide-open savannas dotted with pandanus trees give way to dense rain forests. Palau's topography also features mangrove swamps and sandy beaches. Coconut and banana trees grow over much of the land. This mixed landscape provides habitat for a wide range of birds, mammals and reptiles, including fruit bats, crocodiles that dwell in the brackish waters of the mangrove, sea turtles, parrots and pigeons. It also allows Palauans space to keep gardens, which produce taro, along with manioc (a.k.a., tapioca and cassava), footlong green beans, and many other crops.

A barrier reef encompasses the Palau lagoon, which has historically provided Palauans with abundant resources. Throughout the lagoon are scattered the famous Rock Islands. These islands create a diverse and spectacular ocean ecosystem that attracts scuba divers from all over the world. CEDAM International[4] in 1989 identified Palau as one of the 10 underwater wonders of the world. One doesn't have to be a diver to appreciate this ecosystem, however. Even the snorkeler can see the giant tridacna clam, Picasso fish, the delicate coral fans, and many other visual splendors. But for the Palauan, the sea has far more an important function than a living museum: It is a major source of food. "Taro and

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[4]CEDAM stands for Conservation, Education, Diving, Archaeology, Museums. The organization, founded in 1967 and based in New York, is composed of professionals and laypersons who actively pursue underwater exploration and marine conservation. Its purposes are to promote "conservation of marine environments; preservation of underwater maritime historical sites; scientific development of maritime historical and archaeological facts from underwater sites," according to the Encyclopedia of Associations, 26th Edition, 1992, p. 624.

fish are to the Palauan what bread and meat are to the ordinary American" (Barnett 1960:25). That status as an underwater wonder carries mixed implications, because the more tourists who choose Palau as their vacation or diving destination, the greater the threat posed to the marine resources.

Like Palau, the food potential of the lagoons in the Marshall Islands is unquestionably more important than that of the open ocean. The Marshalls are created from calcareous reefs of organic limestone that have developed atop the rim of a submerged volcanic mountain (Thomas 1968:16). The islands tend to be small and narrow. Taroa, for example, is diamond-shaped and about two-thirds of a mile both in width and length. It took us three to four hours to circle the island on foot during a reconnaissance survey. This journey led us from the leeward to windward sides of the island, from the turquoise calm of the lagoon to the gray fierceness of the ocean. Here, unrelenting waves crashed against a craggy pleistocene-era reef that dropped with a gesture of finality into the turbid waters. In contrast the protected quality of the lagoon allows for various methods of fishing, including a traditional approach that involves the entire male community. I had the chance to watch one of these communal fish drives, and it was a sight to behold. The participants walked across the lagoon carrying coconut palm fronds that had been woven into a strand. This net-like device casts a shadow onto the lagoon floor, frightening the fish and thus serving to corral them into a shallow corner of the fringing reef. Here, the men thrust spears into the fish, then, after a quick stunning bite, they string them onto a line and carry them home. Will this fishing method continue to be practiced if the island is developed for tourists? Can Marshallese take an approach that permits a balance between the traditional lifestyle of the outer-island Marshallese and their wishes for modern amenities?

The land is a valuable resource for the Marshallese of Taroa. Coconut trees cover much of the island, and they, along with breadfruit, provide major sources of local food. Papaya, taro, banana and pumpkin are also grown, and chicken and pigs are raised. Women use the leaves from the prolific pandanus tree to weave into the well-crafted sleeping mats

(Adams, Ross & Krause 1989:14). Animal and bird species are relatively limited, with seabirds and rats the most prolific. Tourists will have certain expectations—including control of the brazen rats. The implications of shaping a place to accommodate tourists can be complex and systemic.

Remote areas, such as Taroa in the Marshalls and Babeldaob in Palau, emphasize a subsistence way of life. This lifestyle, however, has undergone considerable upheaval during the past century. The small, yet bustling urban centers of Majuro and Koror respectively speak to these changes and contrast with the rural areas. The urban centers have active, consumer-based economies in which the U.S. dollar is the primary form of currency. Each project I worked on required some tasks to be completed in the urban centers while others had to be undertaken in the outlying areas. Thus I feel I had the opportunity to get a sense of how change has scudded through certain parts of the islands as though it were a tropical storm.

In the nineteenth century the barrier function of the sea began to erode as various countries sought to expand their power. Three colonizing powers officially ruled Micronesia beginning with Spain in 1885. At the conclusion of the Spanish-American War in 1898 the Caroline islands west to Palau were sold to Germany. The Marshalls had already become a German protectorate by 1886. The Japanese in 1914 took over what had been referred to as the German South Seas Colony in Micronesia and severely limited other nationals' access to Micronesia. Ships were full, voyages risky, the natives dangerous—this is what the Japanese reportedly said to discourage visitors (Price 1944:26-27). The restrictions on access meant Micronesia could be developed "behind the curtain of Japanese military secrecy" (Adams et al, 1989:11).

Tremendous changes occurred in the island societies before World War II. When the war and its devastation ended, change continued, as the islands became the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. As such they ultimately fell under United Nations control but were administered initially by the U.S. Navy Department and later by the Department of the

Interior (Schneider 1968:388). Situated in the heart of the Pacific Rim, Micronesia's importance economically and strategically—from the perspective of the United States government—has grown in the latter part of the twentieth century. And yet while the islands themselves remain on the periphery of economic and political activity, they are more accessible than ever to average citizens due to dramatic transportation innovations since the 1950s. Air travel has become relatively affordable. One hundred years ago, the trip between two cities within the same state—say Corvallis and Portland, Oregon—took longer than it takes today to travel from the continental United States to the western edge of the Pacific Ocean. This ease of transportation creates an illusion that culture is transparent and barriers have all but disappeared.

In the remainder of this study, I will analyze the forces discussed in this chapter. What barriers remain as ghosts from the early contact period? How do these shape contemporary tourists' views of the "other"? To what extent has tourism led to reinvented, sellable forms of Micronesian culture? How can one resolve the contradiction inherent in the relationship between tourism and heritage preservation? And what elements from Micronesian society are principal in devising a cultural type of tourism that might begin to achieve balance between economic development and preservation of resources? In each of these areas, my analysis illustrates that the citizens of these newly formed political entities have an interest in projecting a well-formed identity with well-rooted traditions. Yet as Bruner, Said, MacCannell and others have shown, there are consequences of reinterpreting the self to fit the expectations of a more powerful other.

II. EARLY HOST-GUEST RELATIONSHIPS

Imagine a knock at your door. You open it. It is a stranger. You have never before seen clothes or hair or facial features the likes of him. And his language, too, is most definitely foreign. Several others follow behind the stranger. They carry streamlined pieces of equipment that look to be powerful weapons. The entourage makes its way into your living room. The strangers make signs with their hands, gestures with their arms, holding out unidentifiable objects while pointing to some of your belongings. Intimidated, you accept what you interpret as a desire to make a trade. The strangers do not leave. Relations sour. They claim this space for themselves. You get uncomfortable. It is clear they do not acknowledge you as the rightful owner or occupant of your home.

We could carry out this scenario to its likely confrontational ending, but there is no need to do so. We need only look at history. We need only consider how European explorers (the strangers) who had set out to sea were convinced they had "discovered" faraway lands regardless of whether these lands were already inhabited. Inherent in these clashes between cultures was an imbalance of power. The strangers had more of it.

Why did the strangers have more power? How did their encounters perpetuate their greater power? This chapter launches my thesis on tourism by considering the precursor to modern tourists—the sea-faring Europeans—and the greater power they wielded as they penetrated the oceans of the globe. The power relations that existed during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries between Europeans and non-Westerners continue to exist in many parts of the world. This historical imbalance of power lays an important foundation for understanding modern-day tourist interactions between non-Western hosts and Western guests. While I use the host-guest analogy, it is not a perfect metaphor in that it does not clearly articulate the power imbalance that exists between Micronesians and the relatively wealthy tourists who visit the islands. The unevenness in power resulted largely from

representations of "the other" that grew out of historical and social conditions. Many of the underlying ideals of these conditions remain in the minds of modern-day tourists and shape host-guest relations.

The Coming of Age and Decline of the Noble Savage

The concept of a noble savage has its roots in the reveries of Western-world ancients. Anthropologist and historian Brian Fagan (1984:5) writes that the notion of the Golden Age, of an earthly paradise, has been a pervasive theme among philosophers. This mythical kingdom was initially associated with Ethiopia and later with the Indies, where "images of the Noble Savage, of paradise and utopia lingered to haunt people's minds for centuries" (Fagan 1984:5-6). The notion of the noble savage, however, was not a stagnant one. The representations and perceptions of non-Western peoples were cyclical.

The European imagination at the onset of the seventeenth century, despite graphic descriptions of the lands and peoples in Africa and the New World, endowed the Indian with characteristics reflective of Eden. The nobility of non-Western peoples was a quality that "manifested itself in the form of a childlike innocence" (Fagan, p. 87). Some philosophers, such as Ginés de Sepulveda, took this characteristic to the opposite extreme, arguing that the Indians' innocence was a form of stupidity and that they were nothing but a cruel and primitive race. More common, however, was the tendency to idealize the Indians. Most commentators sided with Bartolomé de las Casas, who viewed the Indians as naturally superior and good:

> Many European thinkers believed that the social and material beliefs and moral structure of Indian society were infinitely superior to those of their own civilization.... Paradise on earth became not a nebulous dream, but the highly specific image of an ideal society (Fagan 1984:88).

A host of writers in the sixteenth- and seventeenth-centuries were preoccupied with describing utopias thought to be located in the Caribbean, later America, and eventually the

South Seas. Travelers seized on this utopian image with hopes of discovering an ideal society "where one could regain the happiness that was no longer possible in the harsh reality of Western civilization" (Fagan, p.89). In effect, then, the notion that humanity had "fallen" was replaced with what Fagan describes as a "positive cult of exoticism." This cult stressed that what had been lost through "the corruption of civilization could be regained triumphantly." The stipulation was based on the willingness of individuals to have greater insight into humanity and to reach higher levels of happiness.

The French philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) perpetuated the concept of noble savage—though somewhat unintentionally. In mid-century he published a treatise (*Discours sur l'origine et le Fondement de l'inegalite parmi les Hommes*) in which he described the "savage" as the "most disadvantageously disposed" of animals. This image portrayed non-Western peoples as existing in a natural state with few incentives to change their condition; they were content without the trappings of civilization. They were neither good nor evil but lived harmoniously with their peaceful passions, ignorant of vices. In this natural state of humanity, the people had no need of love and were free from pain and suffering (Fagan, p.92). Rousseau attributed the decline of this natural state to the onset of emotional feeling, which brought strife, envy and other vices. Rousseau was preoccupied with this pre-civilized condition of humanity as the following passage reveals:

> 'The example of savages . . . seems to prove that men were meant to remain in it, that it is the real youth of the world, and that all subsequent advances have been apparently so many steps toward the perfection of the individual, but in reality towards the decrepitude of the species' (Rousseau, as quoted in Fagan 1984:93).

By the end of Rousseau's life, the third quarter of the eighteenth century, he had somewhat replaced the noble savage/stupid innocent image of a natural human being with an ideal human who possessed the goodness of the savage with the attributes of civilization: art, science and philosophy. The result, as Fagan has paraphrased it, was humanity's blossoming "into a new state of strong-willed virtue and wisdom." Fagan is quick to point out that such a person never existed. Nevertheless, Rousseau's vision of utopia gained

support by his "ennobling of savages"—even though he was not "particularly enthusiastic about them himself," according to Fagan (p. 93). Writers of Romanticism between 1730 and 1790 seized on the sentimental notions of philosophers such as Rousseau with regard to the noble naturalness of non-Western peoples.

Explorers such as the Chevalier de Bougainville fed the Romantic zeal with their reports and human souvenirs from the South Pacific. Although the British captain Samuel Wallis was the first European to anchor off the shore of Tahiti, it was his successor, Bougainville, who idealized the Tahitians, likening them to Greek Gods. When in 1769 he returned to France with a native Tahitian, the noble savage became "the rage of European society" (Fagan 1984:99).

The most in-depth early look into Tahitian society was achieved by Captain James Cook, who arrived in Tahiti in 1769, the same year Bougainville returned. Cook's visit had a specific scientific purpose: to explore, question and record. Cook was hardly a romantic. He compiled detailed records of everyday life and native technologies: canoes, weapons, houses. He viewed the Tahitians like any other people—both good and bad. By contrast, one of Cook's crew members, the personable Joseph Banks, got to know the islanders much more intimately. The pair realized they were dealing with a complex society, though one that shared few customs with European society. But the Tahitians' "social rankings and relationships baffled both Cook and Banks" (Fagan 1984:106). The crew set sail from Matavi Bay three months after arriving.

Back in London, Cook became a focus of popular attention; the young and handsome Banks became an instant hero. Banks reveled in the limelight. Cook, meanwhile, prepared for a second voyage to the Pacific and handed his Tahiti journals over to John Hawkesworth, a well-known literary figure who served as his publisher. Unlike Cook, however, Hawkesworth was a romantic who did not doubt the noble savage's existence. He let his imagination run wild, ignoring aspects of Tahitian society that he found unattractive.

The following passage illustrates how the stereotype of the noble savage lived on in the minds of the masses despite scientific inquiry:

> If Cook had done his best to record unembellished facts and Banks had developed an unsentimental liking for the Tahitians, Hawkesworth had given them that popular twist of romance that made all the commercial difference, a difference reinforced by their deliciously libidinous sexual habits. Cook was infuriated by Hawkesworth's excesses, but to no avail. The Noble Savage was allowed to prance unhindered across the European imagination (Fagan 1984:111).

Despite these popular musings on the noble savage, most eighteenth-century Romantics believed European civilization was the superior mode of life—though they used the concept of a natural state of humanity to question the faults in their own society. The tarnished image of civilization and the relatively polished image of savagery changed gradually as explorers penetrated new destinations and the literary fiction of the noble savage became harder to maintain. These opposite societal types experienced an about-face at the turn of the nineteenth century.

Upon his return from Egypt in 1801, Napoleon is said to have remarked "The savage man is a dog!"[5] The statement reflects a change in attitude that was sweeping across the revolutionary European landscape. The political climate propelled the European outlook toward vibrant optimism about the future of civilization. With this boost in self-esteem came a deterioration in perceptions of non-Western peoples.

> savages declined in popular esteem. . . . they were perceived of as being ignorant, dirty, and of limited intelligence. The new European catchwords were 'freedom,' 'progress,' and 'national superiority,' part of the vocabulary of revolution and profound social change (Fagan p. 127).

The erosion of savage nobility corresponded with general low regard for all non-Occidental others. Edward Said (1978:3) writes that "European culture gained in strength and identity by setting itself off against the Orient as a sort of surrogate and even underground self." The boundaries of Said's Orient extend from China to the

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[5] Napoleon's original French statement was, *"L'homme sauvage est un chien!"* (Fagan 1984:127).

Mediterranean, so that the Pacific is not specifically included. Yet the same concepts apply. Said's convincing analysis of the relationship between the Occident and the Orient is highly relevant. He argues that it is "a relationship of power, of domination, of varying degrees of a complex hegemony" (Said 1978:5). Understanding the concept of hegemony is central to realizing how cultural dominance is in part accomplished. Said draws his usage of hegemony from Gramsci, who defines the term as a form of cultural leadership in which domination is achieved not through force but through consent. Certain ideas and institutions predominate and are more influential than others. What made Europe (and later the United States) hegemonic within and beyond Europe is, according to Said (1978:7), "the idea of European identity as a superior one in comparison with all the non-European peoples and cultures."

Of course there were tangible reasons why Europeans, as well as the non-Westerners they encountered, came to believe in their superiority. Consider, for example, that during the 100 years between 1815 and 1915, Europe expanded its swath of colonial domain from 35 to 85 percent of the earth's surface (Said 1978:41). The air of European confidence began to inflate exponentially beginning in the last third of the eighteenth century. This is largely due to the way in which Europe used tools of science and technology to perceive and describe non-Westerners. As Said (1978:22) puts it:

> Europe came to know the Orient more scientifically, to live in it with greater
> authority and discipline than ever before. But what mattered to Europe was
> the expanded scope and the much greater refinement given its techniques for
> receiving the Orient.

As more tools were developed, from linguistic analysis to a sea of related scientific interests, the distinction between Western superiority and Oriental inferiority deepened and hardened (Said 1978:42). I would argue that a parallel phenomenon occurred in the Pacific. Early nineteenth-century explorers such as Otto von Kotzebue, the first Westerner to have extensive contact with the Marshallese, perpetuated images of the savage. His version of the non-Western, indigenous other was both noble and in need of "civilizing." Perpetuating

this stereotype allowed him to retain a clear distinction between himself and the other. This distinction became a powerful tool for reaffirming European dominance. It is a tool that to a limited degree continues to burden modern tourists as they use their standards to judge an unfamiliar world.

Parallels between Sea Scouts and Tourists

Though tourism as a scholarly subject has come of age only in the past 20 years, the phenomenon itself has roots that extend far into the past. The sea-faring Europeans can be seen as the precursor to contemporary tourists. First let us consider some definitions of contemporary travelers. A person visiting a place away from home is central to what it means to be a tourist. Valene Smith in the introduction to the relatively recent anthropological work on tourism *Hosts and Guests* defines a tourist as "a temporarily leisured person who voluntarily visits a place away from home for the purpose of experiencing a change" (Smith:1989:1). Nelson Graburn in that same volume describes tourism as "a special form of play involving travel, or getting away from 'it all'" (1989:18). He also suggests that travel has a sacred quality to it in contrast to work, which is profane. Holidays—"holy, sacred days now celebrated by traveling away from home—are what make 'life worth living,'" Graburn writes (1989:26). Dean MacCannell uses "tourist" to mean sightseers in search of experience; these types of people also symbolize modern humanity's apprehension of contemporary civilization (MacCannell 1976:1). The industry often refers to tourists as visitors, largely because this term also encompasses other temporary guests such as business travelers. Bryan Farrell points out that the traveler self-image is "also a useful guise for the intellectual snob who cannot conceive of himself as a leisured tourist. He purports to travel always for a worthy enlightening reason...." (Farrell 1982:xvi:) This individual nevertheless is also clearly at times a type of tourist.

Consider the historical predecessors to tourists. Graburn (1989) provides an overview of travel beginning with medieval Europe, when most travellers set out for religious purposes, such as pilgrimages and crusades. Travel was difficult and dangerous, so ordinary folk tended not to undertake a journey solely for leisure. Significant changes in consciousness during the Renaissance planted the seeds for modern-day leisure travel, as Graburn explains:

> It was the Renaissance that changed the world-view by bringing forth the kind of consciousness that provides the cosmological foundation for modern tourism: the idea that truth lay outside the mind and spirit. In all fields this outward, materialist turning, this urge to explore and understand, showed up in such new historical and scientific investigations of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (Graburn 1989:29).

This urge to explore and understand was a characteristic found in the sea-faring Westerners from the Renaissance onward. The rewards of these explorers were expressed in terms of values held sacred in their respective eras. At the onset of the Industrial Revolution, values such as discovery, knowledge and truth were held sacred. The growth of capitalism in the eighteenth century specifically "enhanced the need for scientific exchange and learning, for trade and raw materials, and for imperial expansion" (Graburn 1989:29). While specific values have shifted, the sacred quality of travel has remained unchanged: "the rewards of modern tourism are phrased in terms of values we now hold up for worship: mental and physical health, social status, and diverse, exotic experiences" (Graburn 1989:28).

In addition to the European explorers, the sea-faring people of Yap, who traveled to Palau to quarry stone money (*rai*), were in a sense a type of early tourist. Their leisure time, however, was probably far less than that of a modern business traveler since the Yapese had to deal more directly with the necessities of daily survival. Adventure likely played a role in motivating many of these Yapese and Europeans to set out to sea; however, their goals went beyond pleasure and adventure. The Yapese sought limestone to fashion their large money pieces; the European scouts sought scientific discovery, conquest, colonization,

Christianization, or capitalist market expansion. But the most important reason that explorers were similar to today's tourist is discovery. In her typology of tourists, Smith describes one type of tourist as "explorer." These tourists "quest for discovery and new knowledge" (V. Smith 1989:11). This was surely among the primary motives of the Western explorers of the fifteenth through nineteenth centuries. However, I do not mean to constrict the meaning of tourist, because as Smith notes, the "explorer" is not a typical tourist:

> Traditionally, [they] are almost akin to anthropologists living as active participant-observers among "their" people. They easily accommodate to local norms in housing, food, and life-style, bolstered by an amazing array of Western technology including "walkie-talkies," dehydrated foods, portable chemical toilets, oxygen tanks, and medicine (V. Smith 1989:12).

The goal of discovery is not unique to this relatively rare "explorer" type of traveler. Many tourists act out that "profound, widely shared human desire to know 'others' with the reciprocal possibility that we may come to know ourselves" (McKean 1989:133).

An examination of tourist discourses further reveals that notions of exploration and discovery are quite common. Advertisements designed to entice tourists to travel to exotic destinations promise that contact with, or individual discovery of, "primitive" peoples will lead to "a total transformation of self"—in essence self-discovery. (Bruner 1991:238).

Several distinctions between early explorers and contemporary tourists must be delineated. The European explorer's purpose for discovery was largely undertaken for the benefit of society—or, at least, those institutions and people in control of society (Kotzebue 1821, Todorov 1984); by contrast the modern tourist's purpose for discovery is largely for self (Bruner 1991). In addition, one cannot ignore the historical context in which each cross-cultural interaction occurred or continues to occur. The early explorers arrived before colonizing powers had exacted their tolls on the islanders' lives. Today's tourists arrive in a post-colonial era. They are aware of the changes brought about by the interface of Europeans with Pacific Islanders. They are likely cognizant of the human atrocities that have resulted from the ethnocentric policies and practices of earlier decades. And yet the tourists'

awareness does not eliminate the reality of a power imbalance nor does it guarantee that tourists will be open minded and free from ethnocentric assumptions.

I think we as Americans like to think we become better at understanding and accepting people who are different from ourselves as we approach the twenty-first century. In some ways, that understanding is easier today than it was 50, 100 or 500 years ago: Islanders in the 1990s are more like Euro-Americans in their dress, clothing and values than they were when the sea scouts first sailed through the area. However, the ways in which they remain different may test tendencies of travelers to think their culture, nation or way of life is superior.

Penetration into Micronesia

The sea barrier protecting Micronesia from Western European explorers was apparently less tempting to penetrate than some other regions of the Pacific. The islands north of the equator were explored later than other destinations in the South Pacific. Magellan was the first European to make contact in Micronesia, but his visit was cursory. Sailing the *Trinidad* in March 1521, Magellan found a sheltered harbor on the southern coast of Guam. Forty-five years later, the Spanish first plotted the location of the Marshalls. But their plotting was far from perfect, as their visits had been brief. "When some of the islands recorded in logbooks found their way onto Spanish maps," the historian Francis Hezel writes, "they were strewn practically at random over the vast uncharted waters of the northern Pacific" (1983:87). No one had the faintest idea of the exact location of these islands nor how many actually existed. The great explorers of the eighteenth century—Cook, Vancouver, Bougainville and LaPerouse—had crisscrossed the Pacific, discovering new islands on their way and producing descriptions of the island peoples and their cultures. But they, too, had missed certain island groups altogether. Among these misses were the many islands of Micronesia.

Merchant ships rediscovered the Marshall and Caroline islands in the late 1700s and early 1800s. They, too, left a jumble of names and locations.

> The merchant captains of the day scattered names upon the islands they sighted with great abandon, very few taking the trouble to verify what they reported as a new discovery. 'Their eagerness to immortalize themselves, their friends or even their ships'—as a later critic put it—'far surpassed their respect for historical integrity" (Hezel 1983:87).[6]

A desire to provide precise documentation of the region, specifically the Marshall Islands, was among the factors that compelled Russian-born Otto von Kotzebue to undertake his voyage in 1817. Kotzebue was the first Westerner to spend enough time in the Marshalls to write in any detail of its inhabitants. His published accounts of the voyage reveal observations of indigenous Micronesians that perpetuated an image of the "savage other" in order to establish and maintain Western superiority.

I chose to analyze Kotzebue's voyage as an historical case study because it provides an opportunity to investigate how the subtleties of bias can and did obscure genuine discovery, understanding and resolution. Kotzebue did not leave a bloody trail behind him as did the conquistadors of the sixteenth century. Nor was his motive colonization. Rather, guided by a quest to further the "scientific dominion," he sought discovery apparently for the sake of discovery itself, and for the gratification of his native empire. This seemingly innocuous mission forces a probing of the subtleties of his observations; since he did not commit atrocities, there is no temptation to dwell on bad behavior, and our attention can easily turn toward an analysis of the discourses that influenced his interpretations.

Kotzebue's View of the 'Other' as a Case Study

Kotzebue's journal provides insights into his relationships with and views of the islanders. I have focused this portion of my investigation on Kotzebue's writings of the

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[6]Hezel is quoting from Frederic Lütke, *Voyage autour du monde*, (Paris: Firmin Didot) 1835 vol. 2:120.

Marshall Islands during the three-month period from 17 December 1816 to 18 March 1817. He spent most of this time in the Ratak Chain, which is the eastern group of the Marshalls; the western group is known as the Ralik Chain. His observations cover 155 pages in the second volume of *A Voyage of Discovery in the the South Sea and Beering's[7] Straits*, which was published in London in 1821.

Culturally speaking, these islands were still unknown to Westerners when Kotzebue first visited them (Hezel 1983:92). Some Marshallese recalled stories of ships passing and showed Kotzebue scraps of iron they had salvaged from driftwood, but none of the European predecessors interacted with or wrote extensively about the indigenous Marshallese. When Kotzebue set sail in 1815, Russia "was still a cultural satellite of France," (Hezel 1983:88) so that Kotzebue would have likely been familiar with many of the prevalent Western European attitudes toward native peoples. He was given instructions to search for the Northeast Passage, a hypothetical waterway from the Bering Sea to the Atlantic Ocean, and was ordered to spend the winter months exploring the little-known Marshall Islands. The voyage had the blessing of the emperor, whom he says "had the goodness to allow me the imperial flag (that carried by the ships of war), because it appeared to me that a voyage of discovery, under the mercantile flag, might be exposed to many inconveniences, and even obstacles" (Kotzebue: 1821v1:89). The crew consisted of about 32 men. Kotzebue saw an advantage in his vessel's smallness in that it gave him the ability to "venture very near to the coast, and may thus give a much more accurate survey of it" (Kotzebue 1821v1:91).

Kotzebue's interests paralleled those of an ethnographer: language; technological accomplishments such as navigation; material goods from housing to clothing and bodily decoration such as earrings; the use and function of tattoos; religion and moral codes; diet and agricultural cultivation; flora and fauna; and the status of chiefs and how they

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[7] This is the spelling used in the original title.

maintained power. He and his crew frequently ventured ashore to gather information, showing a quest for knowledge beyond their charge to plot the location of sighted islands. He made a sincere effort to learn the language, beginning with his first encounter with a "Radacker," as he called the people who dwelled in the eastern chain of the Marshall Islands. He exchanged names with one of the first chiefs he met; this custom apparently served as a token of friendship. He quickly learned the advantages of befriending islanders who had a knack for language and who could serve as interpreters.

As I made notes of his encounters with the native inhabitants, themes emerged to reveal his view of the indigenous "other." His observations contained a fundamental contradiction: Kotzebue made the generalization that all indigenous people are "savages," yet in describing these particular islanders, he repeatedly referred to their "civilized" actions. I refer to this tendency as the civilized-savage dichotomy. Several questions come to mind. What prevented Kotzebue from resolving this contradiction? What were the consequences of his failure to do so? And what does this tell us about his view of the other?

During Kotzebue's initial contact with the Marshallese, the contradiction between "savage" and "civilized" presented itself for the first time. Kotzebue encountered the islanders as they sailed past. He was immediately impressed by their boat's large sail and the skillful maneuvering of its navigators. Kotzebue interpreted their reaction to his approach as "terrified" even though the islanders did not scurry away but rather threw breadfruit, coconuts and pandanus into Kotzebue's men's boat. Kotzebue believed their fear was lessened when they were presented with pieces of iron. He then described their behavior and his reaction:

> They now talked a great deal without our being able to understand one another, and at length the savages left us, taking their course to the fourth island, to which they invited us by signs. From this first meeting it was to be concluded, that we had to deal with a very kind-hearted people (Kotzebue 1821v2:21).

Kotzebue's juxtaposition of the term "savages" with the description "kind-hearted" is noteworthy. The proximity of usage suggests that the terms are not mutually exclusive. The nineteenth-century notion of savage could be "either noble or debased," according to Patricia Dickason (1984:63), but in either case was "not civilized." Several interpretations are possible. Keeping in mind that the Russians and French were culturally close at this time— at least the segments of society that were directing expeditions—Dickason's reference to a French definition of "savage" provided in Larousse's *Grand Dictionnaire Universel* may be useful. This definition, in use between 1817–75, states "among other things it means not cultivated, tamed or domesticated; that which frightens easily." The implication is that humans who are "savage" live "away from society, beyond the pale of its laws," according to Dickason, and that their manner of living is closer to wild animals than human beings. On the other hand, the term clearly has been used in a far more benign manner: It could describe people "living in the 'infancy of nature'," representing a "Golden Age," and "content with what nature gives them." (Dickason 1984:65).

We cannot be certain as to which end of the spectrum Kotzebue's usage of "savage" falls since he does not provide us with a definition. Frequently, however, he contrasts the term "savage" with "civilized." This leads me to concur with Dickason that whether noble or debased, people who used the term "savage" meant humans who lacked "civilization" as well as "reason." In reality, "it was not so much lack of reason or even retrogression that made them savages, but rather that they were not like Europeans" (Dickason 1984: 66).

Kotzebue's free use of the term might lead one to conclude that his labeling of the islanders as "savages" is neutral since he rarely expresses feelings of animus toward them. In fact, I suggest his labeling is anything but neutral given the colonialism of the time and the genocide of native people that was justified in various parts of the world. Perhaps Kotzebue's usage is *emotionally* neutral, but it is not *politically* neutral. It reinforces a hierarchy of power in which his culture reigns superior. Furthermore, a battery of implications underlies the innocence with which the Russian explorer wrote his

descriptions. Kotzebue's reliance on the discourse of islanders-as-savages perpetuated his superior self-concept. It also serves as evidence of his ethnocentrism, the consequences of which he was ignorant.

Kotzebue's identification of the Radackers as "savages" is likely a generalization of any people who do not wear Western-style clothing or display European etiquette, and who lack significant material culture. It is highly unlikely that he had read anything about the Marshallese before he encountered them since he is known as the first Westerner to write about the islands. On the other hand, he had probably read accounts of earlier explorers who met "Indians" in the Americas and natives of the South Sea. He also could have drawn from his own experiences. He spent time in Brazil, Chile, Alaska, California and the Sandwich Islands en route to the Marshalls. The problem with his reliance on the conceptual "savage" is that he became stuck on European norms to judge this unfamiliar society. His ethnocentrism prevented him from looking for appropriate cultural values and meanings, and this provided a barrier to meaningful discovery of the unfamiliar society.

He remained oblivious, for example, to the important role of women in the matrilineal Marshallese society. It was beyond his capabilities to see the central role they played in politics because, according to the Western way of looking at the world at this point in history, women were naturally subordinate to men. Kotzebue's world view was rooted in hierarchical relationships—relationships that derived from a "natural order." Yet this ethnocentrism—his belief in his way as the right and only way— ended up blinding him. Kotzebue was in essence a prisoner of the Aristotelian spirit. As Todorov describes this world view (1984:152-53), a natural superiority existed in relationships, and children were to adults as women were to men; in the words of the sixteenth-century scholar and philosopher Ginés de Sepúlveda writing on the relationship between the Indians and Spanish, "there is as great a difference between them, as there is between savagery and forbearance, between violence and moderation, almost—I am inclined to say—as between monkeys and men." Kotzebue's mental universe was not motivated, as was Sepúlveda's for

example, by a desire to justify the enslavement of another people or brutal, inhumane acts against them. Nevertheless, it was important to him to remain in a position of power. He maintained his power through his ethnocentric perceptions, by giving the islanders iron as gifts, and by occasionally blasting firearms (though without killing or injuring anyone). When events that seemed strange to the islanders led them to seek an explanation, Kotzebue would tell them that he had "visited heaven" as a way to attribute supernatural powers to himself. A belief in his superiority may have given him a sense of infallibility and courage—qualities he found necessary being a stranger in a strange land.

Ethnocentrism can lead to misunderstanding, and from this standpoint it is interesting to note the instances in which he failed to value the Radackers' behaviors but rather saw those behaviors as evidence for the potential to "civilize" them. For example, Kotzebue made a tour of the island of Ormed and recorded the cultivation of a certain flowering plant:

> Near the houses I observed a plant with beautiful blossoms which they
> cultivate merely to adorn themselves with the flowers; and this trait alone
> proves that this people are not entirely in so rude a state as the other savage
> tribes, and I am convinced that sensible Europeans might raise them to a
> state of real civilization (Kotzebue 1821v.2:57-58).

Rather than appreciating the cultivation of flowers within its context, Kotzebue used the practice as proof that a European could reshape the islanders in his own vision. He apparently did not view their culture as a valid society for what it was; it was incomplete and in need of being made full, according to Kotzebue.

This ethnocentrism led Kotzebue to erroneous assumptions. He was virtually unaware of the Marshallese navigational technology. Kotzebue caught a hint of the islanders' skills; however, he stopped short of discovering what it was all about. He believed his informant, Eregup, invented a "clever" method for giving him a correct idea of a particular island group's location. In fact, the method Kotzebue believed Eregup was inventing, which involved drawing a circle in the sand and using "small stones" (perhaps they were coral pieces or shells) to represent the islands, is now known to be one dimension of an intricate technology the Marshallese used for navigation. Kotzebue was not able to discover this

method for himself because he could not conceive that "savages" would be capable of such a technological achievement.

Apparently, Kotzebue viewed material culture—i.e., the amenities and creature comforts familiar to Western European life—as a prerequisite for innovation and civilization. In reading Kotzebue, it became apparent that by "civilizing" he wanted to make the islanders like him. Consider a development in the friendship between the Russian captain and an islander named Kadu. At one point, five boats surrounded the *Rurick* just as Kotzebue had presented Kadu with a yellow cloak and red apron. Kotzebue believed he had succeeded in "civilizing" the native:

> Kadu . . . walked proudly in his ludicrous finery, without condescending to notice his companions, who gazed on him with astonishment from their boats, and could not conceive the metamorphosis. In vain they cried "Kadu! Kadu!" (Kotzebue 1821 v.1:125-126).

In reality no metamorphosis takes place. Kadu remains the same person in substance. True, the clothing modifies his physical appearance. But the transformation exists primarily in Kotzebue's eyes. This is possible because of the lens through which the Russian explorer looks at the world. He cannot see things for what they are because his biases muddy his observations. In this case he misses an opportunity to break away from his stereotypes, to question his central notion of the islanders as inferior, to view them as different but equal.

Kotzebue is able to perpetuate the civilized-savage contradiction because of his ethnocentrism, his loyalty to his own superiority, and his limited appreciation of cultural differences. Much of this notion of superiority stems from his belief that greater material wealth is proof of preeminence. The consequences are severe and ironic: His biases perpetuate stereotypes and a view of "the other" as inherently inferior; they also prevent him from gathering complete information and using it to make discoveries.

In the final analysis, holistic discovery depends on putting biases aside and approaching the unfamiliar with an open mind. Otto von Kotzebue was prevented from making scientific discoveries to their fullest extent because his interpretations grew out of

ethnocentrism. He was a product of his times. The early nineteenth century was more a time for domination over "the other" than enlightened appreciation for societies different from those of colonial sea scouts. Full appreciation of the other is something that is yet to be achieved fully as the second millennium approaches. Tourism's ability to further understanding of "the other" is not clear cut, for the industry is bound in oppositions with roots extending to the initial contact period and encompassing the colonial era.

III. STORYBOARDS, TOURISM, AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF IDENTITY

Contemporary tourists, who may seek discoveries of their own, often fall prey to making superficial comparisons and judgments by superimposing their values onto the host society. Tourism presents the tourist with the possibility of discovering "the other." However, like its historical predecessors, tourism frequently falls short of realizing this potential. What effect does tourism have on perceptions of others and on those others' identities? Dean MacCannell has suggested that tourism contributes to "constructed ethnicity." This term refers to ethnic identities that have emerged through "opposition and assimilation during the colonial phase of Western history" (MacCannell 1984:376). MacCannell even claims that the business of tourism produces and determines ethnic forms in a fashion that is more self-conscious and definite than those forms that resulted from colonialism. His concept that tourism is based in part on "the artificial preservation of local ethnic groups and attractions" for consumption as "tourist experiences" is highly relevant to the current post-colonial era of Micronesian history.

One of the goals of my project while working with the Palau Visitors Authority was to help the Palauan policymakers plan for a type of tourism that would enhance the restoration and preservation of traditional culture. Such efforts may, as MacCannell argues, lead to the fictional recreation or reconstruction of ethnic attributes, which emerge "in response to pressures from tourism" (p. 377). These pressures mandate that the local people emphasize the differences inherent in the us/them opposition.

The terms "exotic" and "authentic" are widely used in touristic literature. Travel promoters use descriptions that emphasize the "exotic"—something that is strangely beautiful and cannot be had at home—with the intent of attracting tourists to specific destinations, the idea being that the travelers will return refreshed and renewed. This is what Bruner describes as a "tourist discourse," which "offers the tourist nothing less than a total transformation of self" (1991:239). He draws on language from advertisements for East

Africa, such as the following: "No one who has ever set foot on African soil has left there unmoved, and many are changed forever (transsafari mediacom)."

Micronesia is similarly sold as an exotic destination, and this too feeds into the touristic discourse of transformed self. A 1990 glossy brochure on Palau has as its slogan "Rainbow's End." Granted this is more subtle than the East African advertisement, but the slogan sends a similar message. What have we always been told awaits us at the end of the rainbow? "Nature's ultimate pot of gold and gems" appears in the text of the brochure. The pot of gold metaphor suggests that our lives will be changed.

Another similarity between the material that Bruner analyzed and the Palauan brochure is a tendency to overemphasize traditional culture, as though the "natives" have been relatively untouched and unaffected by societal changes. The advertisement for East Africa claims it as "the last place on earth where we can see the dramatic epic of life unfolding much as it has since the dawn of time." The brochure on Palau does not go nearly that far. But it does have a similar quality. The text begins with a creation legend of the Palau islands. It qualifies this beginning by saying that "Today, educated Palauans might smile as they relate the legend." Most of the brochure emphasizes the beauty of the islands—"the tropical islands form a 400-mile-long emerald necklace across the azure sea." When the text moves on to specific locales, aspects of the pre-colonial past overshadow anything current and lend a mysterious, unchanged quality to the big island of Babeldaob: stone pathways, monoliths "reminiscent of Stonehenge," a war canoe, *bai*, ancient terraces and refreshing coconut milk. Nothing of the intense road construction that is being undertaken to link the islands. Nothing of the cement-block meeting houses with modern motifs. Nothing of the network of fire hydrants in Ngerchelong, a state on the northern tip of the big island which lacks a fire truck or hose to make the hydrants functional. Nothing of the pastime of drinking Budweiser or dancing the popular Palauan cha-cha. Reality is often distorted or exaggerated to entice the tourist. This is because the tourist seeks "a set of stimuli that contrast with the everyday and mundane" (Urry 1990:2).

The emphasis on a traditional lifestyle also comes through on two pages in the brochure devoted to "History and People." The narrative takes the reader on a brief journey from pre- to post-colonial times, focusing on economics and politics, and then moves on to Palau's current society. Consider the following text:

> Palau's culture thrives in the storyboard craft. Traditional dances reflect the country's cultural heritage, as do frequently performed ceremonies such as the first child ritual..... In many ways [Palauans] bear more resemblance to Americans than do other Micronesians. But they continue to be immersed in their old, matrilineal culture, maintaining an easy pace of life (Palau Visitors Authority, n.d.:18).

This excerpt favors qualities that would strike foreigners as "exotic" and perhaps even "authentic." What does that first sentence say to the tourist? It tells the tourist first and foremost that the storyboard is an authentic representation of the Palauan culture, since the "culture thrives in the storyboard craft." The storyboard in fact emerged in the 1930s as an art form that Japanese tourists could purchase and carry home with them. As for traditional dances, they do reflect the cultural heritage as do rituals such as the first child ceremony. But there is an implication here that Palauans frequently can be seen performing dances as though they are a part of daily life, and that tourists could easily attend a first child ceremony as though such an event would be advertised in a hotel brochure. Neither the dancing nor the ceremony are so readily accessible.

Photographs in the brochure also portray images of a South Pacific-type destination, reinforcing the exotic quality. A quick analysis of the photos revealed the following: Of the fifty-two color photos contained in the brochure, twelve show people large enough to see their faces. Of those, three are fair-skinned, light-haired divers. The remaining nine show islanders, and in all but one of these shots the assumed Palauans are shown either wearing traditional clothing—six show women in grass or cloth wrap-around skirts, with flowers in their hair and/or the Palauan money beads around their neck— and the remaining two show the people in traditional settings—a man in a non-motorized wooden fishing boat and a woman standing next to a large, museum-piece storyboard. The only exception was a photo

that showed a contemporary picnic-style feast with prepared food lined up in tin foil platters atop a picnic table. The bulk of the photographic images, however, send a message that Palauan society has remained relatively unchanged and therefore offers something of the exotic to the tourist. The brochure, in general, conveys a sense that an "authentic" Palauan culture exists and is accessible to visitors.[8]

One reason the notion of the authentic works as a marketing tool is because for people of the modern world, "reality and authenticity are thought to be elsewhere: in other historical periods and other cultures, in purer, simpler lifestyles (MacCannell 1976:3). MacCannell suggests that people of post-industrial cultures are concerned and nostalgic for "naturalness," and that they spend time searching for authenticity. Numerous other authors have written about authenticity. Handler summarizes one intriguing explanation in a review of several books related to consuming culture (Handler 1990:346-357), which includes a thesis by Orvell (1989). Focusing on the effects of imitation and authenticity in American culture during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Orvell claims that consumer goods mass produced for the growing American middle class imitated real objects. These imitations often replicated the prestigious and unaffordable goods of the European aristocracy and "provoked a countermovement toward authenticity" (Handler 1990:351). These and similar interpretations of modern history have led to the interpretation of contemporary humans as beings "in quest of authenticity" (Cohen 1988:373). Those who seek authenticity have to look elsewhere since modern society is inauthentic. Thus the quest for authenticity, as Cohen puts it, "becomes a prominent motif of modern tourism." But Cohen also skatingly argues (p.375) that authenticity is a socially constructed concept. It is nevertheless a concept that reflects the alienation of modern humanity from imitative and mass-produced products.

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[8] It goes without saying that this type of marketing is common in the tourism industry. For other examples in the Pacific, see Freda Rajotte, *Pacific Tourism: As Islanders See It*. John Samy's "Crumbs from the Table? The Workers' Share in Tourism," provides a discussion on the exploitation of "indigenous" culture, pp.80-81.

When islanders assume the role of projecting an authentic, unchanged native self, they reinforce an obvious imbalance in material wealth and political power that exists between Western tourists and the residents of the developing countries. And it is in this context that the native self experiences profound changes.

> To the extent that Third World nations need tourism as a source of foreign exchange and the peoples of these nations see tourism as a source of income, there is a tendency to cater to the demands of the tourists, to give them what they want, to fulfill their fantasies, and to shape native cultural performances in terms of Western expectations. It is in these contexts of inequities of wealth and power that one finds transformations of the native self (Bruner 1991:247).

If the Palauans, Taroans, or whoever are cajoled into constructing a sense of self that takes account of the evaluations of the West, frustrations will inevitably arise. Applying Bruner's analysis to Micronesia, I am reminded of a statement made by Nevin (1977:28) about lost hopes: "expectations in Micronesia have risen so far beyond the possibility of satisfying them as to destroy hope, and hope destroyed is the root of social misery."

The Impact of Colonialism and Early Tourism on Heritage

MacCannell's comparison between the ethnic forms that result from tourism versus those that emerge in the context of colonialism provides an impetus for considering the historical process of colonial powers and their impact on traditional culture. For the sake of this study, the term traditional is used to mean an activity, custom, ritual, story, belief or craft that is handed down orally from generation to generation. I do not, however, wish to imply that these aspects of culture were static even before the period of intensified Western contact; indeed, culture is constantly in process and continually changing. But the rate and degree of change increased dramatically as Western contact became more frequent and heavy-handed. The colonial period began at the end of the nineteenth century and continued throughout most of the twentieth century.

The construction of men's meeting houses in Palau provides a vivid example of the impact of colonial governments on traditional cultural activities. *Bai* construction, along with other aspects of traditional life, declined considerably during the German period, 1885 to 1898. The Germans ended inter-island warfare. They intensified the copra trade. They imported cloth, tobacco, metal tools and utensils into the islands to a degree that far exceeded the trade-goods activity of the past. Loom weaving disappeared almost entirely during this period; foreign cloth became more highly prized than native hibiscus cloth produced by women. Resident missionaries actively encouraged changes of this kind, for such changes were viewed as steps toward civilizing the population, which they believed to be a precursor for converting the natives (Nason 1984:431). The Germans destroyed the houses of the gods in every village, and banned sorcery and divination (Aoyagi 1987:339).

Christianization had a direct influence on traditional arts through its reduction of religious objects and related motifs on the men's houses (Nason 1984:431). The Germans did not take the Palauans' expressions of spiritual belief seriously. Rather, they viewed the indigenous beliefs as oddities. For one thing, as Kahn describes, "whenever they finished decorating a building some German would pry off the gables and saw off the rafters and send them to European museums" (Kahn 1966:280). It did not take long for the Palauans to become discouraged.

The Japanese seized Micronesia from the Germans in 1914, and in a controversial decision of the Supreme Council of the Allied Powers in 1919, subject to approval by the Council of the League of Nations, Japan was awarded the former German islands as a Class C mandate. The class specified demilitarization. According to Peattie, however, "for all practical purposes, the islands were now to be administered as Japanese possessions." As such Japan was provided "with a pretext to keep its Micronesian waters off limits to the ships and commerce of other nations" (Peattie 1988:57). As administrators, the Japanese initially were less destructive than their German predecessors in terms of dismantling meeting houses. Workmanship resumed but apparently not to its previous level (Nason

(1984:431). Yet during the Japanese occupation, Micronesians experienced dramatic changes in traditional attitudes and lifestyles, "espcially on the major high islands or administrative centers," (Nason 1984:432). Many expressive aspects of Micronesian culture declined—"excepting canoe and house building in most locations and shell-tool production in outer islands." This resulted largely from Japanese trading firms' inundation of the islands with highly marketable, inexpensive goods. Traditional-style handicrafts were sold to the trading companies but amounted to less than 1 percent of exports. In some areas the Japanese went so far as to develop education programs to preserve basketry arts for the limited trade (Nason 1984:434).

Japanese officials, according to Nason, actively encouraged Palauans to produce storyboards—an art form that features scenes from traditional legends carved onto slabs of wood typically two-inches thick by several feet tall or wide, depending of the orientation of the composition. The Japanese policy marked the first occasion when a foreign government intervened to promote artistic work. "As a consequence, the only word for art in Micronesia is in Palau, where the Japanese word *sunga* was adopted for these new creations" (Nason 1984:434). It is worth noting that the proliferation of storyboards coincided with the transformation of the Palauan islands into a tourist destination for Japanese.

In Micronesia Palau presents the exception to tourism, which is largely a post-World War II phenomenon (Nason 1984:422). Wealthy Japanese vacationed there before the war. Japanese tourists had a remarkable impact on carving. This skill, which had proliferated before the advent of colonial powers but had since nearly become extinct, was revitalized largely in response to the demands of Japanese tourists who sought souvenirs to take back with them to their homeland.

Storyboards, however, were not entirely a Palauan creation. By the 1930s, *bai* construction had almost ceased. Japanese folklorist/artist Hisataku Hijikata became interested in the dwindling art form that decorated the crossbeams of men's meeting houses in a comic-strip fashion. He researched the traditional stories that had been depicted on the

bai. He then taught a group of young men to carve and paint selected stories onto smaller

boards. These storyboards could only portray a few events yet symbolically represented the

whole story (Lockhart 1983:37). This nevertheless changed the form: The carvings had

become portable and sellable.

Hijikata and the Palauans were not alone in their mode of innovation related to the

storyboard. Wollen (1990:47) discusses how in other Third World countries art forms

developed that "were themselves a response to contact. The most important of these was

tourist art." One example of the long history of tourist art can be found in the Haida, of the

northwestern coast in North America, who created an original form of tourist art known as

argillite sculpture during the fur-trade period. This new sculpture evolved in the eighteenth

century within a few decades of the first contacts between the Haida and Captain James

Cook. Tourist art has become more common all over the world in the last forty years. The

producers of tourist art in some cases simplify or cheapen their products, which results in

"airport" art. This scenario has occurred with the storyboard but only to a limited degree.[9]

The opposite phenomenon—a diversity of form, media, tools and technical change—has by

comparison occurred more frequently. Early in their years of evolving the storyboard, the

artists produced innovations that propelled the art of carving into new territory. This fits the

definition of art as metamorphosis, which Graburn (1976:3) defines as products that are

"deemed art sometime *after* they were originally made." This occurs "when objects

produced in one society are transported to another and labeled as 'art.'" This change often

results in a shift

> from tourist to para-tourist art, to forms which may draw from tourist art
> but also go beyond it into new areas of originality and complexity. Often
> this can be traced back to the efforts of a single animateur, who may be
> western, often an artist who has encouraged more ambitious production,
> both in scale and in quality control (Wollen 1990:47).

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[9] Some of the storyboards sold in Koror's new Ben Franklin, which opened in April 1990, appeared to
be made from a plastic that resembled wood. I was told that these were imported from the Philippines or
Taiwan. I was unable to verify this information. (Palau Visitors Authority, 1990:3)

Hijikata certainly appears to be the single catalyst for the storyboard. It is interesting in the tourist-art context to compare him with several artists who arrived in Bali in the 1930s, just as that region was being converted into an elite tourist destination. These artists similarly encouraged locals to produce art for tourists; they feared that otherwise the crafts, lacking royal and court sponsorship under Dutch rule, would soon die out. Balinese carvers and painters broke with the "formulaic tradition of the past." They began to work with new materials and subject matters, and many had marked personal styles (Wollen, p. 50). The first generation of artists following Hijikata's influence produced storyboards that show a similar inventiveness in style and creativity.[10] Much of this creativity is lost, however, in the storyboards that are mass-produced for the growing tourist market.

Tourism in Post-War Micronesia

Tourism in Micronesia obviously experienced a hiatus during World War II. What is not so obvious is that nearly two decades passed after the war before the region was once again opened to tourists. The postwar U.S. administration of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands operated under a veil of military secrecy that shrouded the islands from the outside world. Why did so much time pass? The United States had succeeded in convincing the United Nations Security Council to recognize Micronesia as a "strategic trust." The most immediate implication, according to Roger Gale (1979), was that the United States gained more extensive control over its territories than Britain, Australia, New Zealand or France were allowed to exercise over theirs.

> It was implicit in the establishment of the Trust Territory that the United States was being given permission to control a new type of dependency, one in which the emphasis was on the value of the territory to the security of the Allies rather than on the promotion of the rights of people in the territory, although an obligation did exist to improve the living conditions of Micronesians and to build self-governing institutions (Gale 1979:62).

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[10] Many of the works of these early storyboard masters are permanently displayed in the Belau National Museum in Koror.

The emphasis on national—and world—security resulted in the United States having the authority to build military bases and to close parts of the territory "at will for security reasons" (Gale, p. 54). The extent of this authority was clearly evident in 1945 with the behind-the-scenes comment of then-Secretary of War Henry Stimson: "they [the islands that became known as the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands] must belong to the United States with absolute power to rule and fortify them" (Gale, p. 53). This sweeping power was necessary to the Navy so that it could declare an expanse of open ocean off-limits to make way for Operation Crossroads, the name given to the first public display of the atomic bomb. When the bomb was detonated July 1, 1946, on Bikini Atoll, it began a 12-year period in Micronesia as "the center of the American nuclear weapons development program" (Gale 1979:58). The local population was relocated. Bikinians and other islanders experienced devastating effects on their health and culture because of relocation or radioactive fallout.[11]

Growing economic and social problems of the postwar period went largely unnoticed until a United Nations visiting mission toured Micronesia in the spring of 1961 and, as Nevin put it, "dropped a small bomb" (1977:102). U.N. missions had regularly visited since the trust was established but until that year their reports "had been innocuous." Changes in the United Nations itself accounted for the new tone:

> In 1960 sixteen new states entered the United Nations and the balance of power shifted to the Third World. Late that year the General Assembly passed the "Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and People" which has controlled the issue of colonialism ever since.... So when the 1961 visiting mission was organized under Carlos Salamanca of Bolivia, it took its duties more seriously than earlier missions seem to have done and delivered a thorough report (Nevin 1977:102-103).

The report and the general political climate, which coincided with a decitsion to end atmospheric testing, led the Navy to lift restrictions in the early 1960s and open up the

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[11] The impact on the culture and health of the Bikinians is extensively examined in Kiste's work *The Bikinians: A Study in Forced Migration.*

region to tourists. The primary goal of the United States was to improve the economic situation of Micronesia. For one thing, the U.N. mission had revealed "considerable dissatisfaction and discontent" among the islanders. This concerned American officials. Nevin (1977:103) noted that "[t]he United States intended to stay in Micronesia, and it needed the people of Micronesia on its side to do so, since legally it could acquire the islands only if Micronesians voted in a plebiscite to join the United States. Discontented islanders could smash all its plans." Policymakers seriously reexamined goals in Micronesia. Humanitarian and security concerns resulted in a doubling of the funding to the territories—from $7.5 million in fiscal year 1962 to $15 million for 1963 (Nevin 1977:104–105).

As the years of the U.S. Trust Territory administration proceeded, Micronesia developed an increasing trade imbalance and a growing dependency on imports. Stanley goes so far to suggest that the U.S. government systematically created this dependency relationship in order "to bind Micronesia to America politically, socially and economically" (1989:39). In 1950 Micronesia was exporting more goods than it was importing. Exports included trade goods, phosphate ore, copra, handicrafts, trochus shell, fruits and vegetables, and fish (Gale 1979:71). By the 1960s, however, the goods coming into Micronesia had well-outstripped those going out. Imports increased at an average annual rate of 25 percent between 1966 and 1971, according to a Bank of America study (Gale 1979:297). From my study (see table below) I calculated that exports only increased an average of 5 percent during the seven-year period between 1964 and 1971. Unlike the imports, which increased at a steady rate, exports increased some years and decreased others with a pattern that was erratic at best. The total increase in exports from 1964 to 1971 was only 13.5 percent compared to the 360 percent increase in imports for the same period.

Fiscal Year	Imports (in thousands)	Exports (in thousands)
1964	$ 5,686	$ 2,644
1965	7,091	3,152
1966	8,917	3,008
1967	9,820	2,322
1968	13,572	3,026
1969	16,000[a]	2,857
1970	20,920	4,176
1971	26,167	3,001

[a] estimated

Source: Bank of America, Focus on Micronesia, May 1973 (Gale 1979:297).

In Majuro more than 90 percent of food is imported (Kluge 1991:45). This is related to the steady loss of cultural heritage. Both trends largely result from modernization, which includes the transition to a market-based economy complete with all its industrial, Western-world values of development—often accompanied by urban migration. I use the term modernization to refer to a process that involves "movement from tradition to modernity or from underdevelopment to development" (Dube 1988:1). When the term reached its peak of popularity between the late 1950s and mid-1960s, it had positive connotations; since the mid-1970s, it has received more jaundice usage (Dube 1988:25). Yet as Dube points out: "The criteria that determine the state of societies are value loaded in the sense that they mainly take into account the volume of GNP and degree of industrialization" (1988:1). Bottom-line assessments have waned as scholars and local activists alike point out the social tensions that arise from the great speeds at which countries modernize. In Latin America, for example, many huge factories were imported "in one sudden spurt," which resulted in the shift of peasants to the cities "without time to make the proper economic and social adjustments" (Kahl 1976:10). The last three decades, according to Dube (1988:1), have resulted in "a greater degree of realism" for setting development-related goals, such as "meeting basic needs and . . . the gradual upgrading of the quality of life." In any case, it is

important to question the desirability of modernization and whom it benefits (Dube 1988:26).

The emphasis on modernization in Micronesia is reflected in fiscal hearings before the U.S. Congress in which requests for economic development and capital improvement projects proliferate.[12] Imported goods carry status that the indigenous foods or products lack. The problem of an increasing reliance on imported foods is not unique to the Marshall Islands. A national nutritional survey completed in the Federated States of Micronesia found that those islanders also have increased their reliance on imported foods "despite abundant fertile soils and a surplus of labor." This trend has meant increases in the consumption of refined sugar, salt, and animal fats and a decreases in dietary fiber. Pacific diets have traditionally tended to be only marginally adequate in "protective foods" such as fruits and vegetables. The survey states that reliance on imported foods tends to exacerbate this problem and often leads to vitamin and mineral deficiency" (Elymore 1989: 57). Diabetes and obesity also have become a major problem.

Concern over the trade imbalance led the United States to make "extensive efforts" to encourage tourism during the mid-1960s and early 1970s (Nason 1984:439). The United Nations had given the United States a mandate to move the areaas in Micronesia to a state of political and economic self-sufficiency. Micronesians needed to generate revenue if they were to enter successfully the modern world of consumerism. Hotels were constructed, jet landing strips improved, links between outer and main islands strengthened, and government assistance became active to make tourism more viable. The United Nations mission was skeptical of the tourism solution:

> The concentration on tourism as a major economic resource brought with it voices of concern from the next United Nations Visiting Mission which noted that while hotels and standards of food and service were still well

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[12] See U.S. Department of Interior and Related Agencies, Senate Appropriation Hearings FY89, Marshall Islands, pp. 825–835 and 837–888; FY90, Marshall Islands, pp. 463–499, and Palau, pp. 501–511; and House Appropriation Hearings, Marshall Islands, pp. 1099–1165, and Palau, pp. 1165–1180.

below what tourists would expect, there should be a clear effort made to insure that tourist facilities would be based upon Micronesian investments and be operated by Micronesians (Nason 1984:439).

Micronesians gradually have become more dependent on U.S. aid. Despite the missions' concerns, many of the island nations continue to look to tourism as the most probable source of revenue for the future. And just as the U.N. team had feared, a large proportion of touristic endeavors that require capital outlay—e.g., airlines, hotels, resorts, scuba diving outfitters—involve foreign investors.

Economic stresses have continued to escalate as the islanders have been leaving a subsistence lifestyle behind to join a consumer-oriented, world-market economy. The process of modernization reached an unprecedented rate with the negotiations to move the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands toward independence. The United States came under increasing pressure in the 1970s and 1980s from the United Nations to terminate its trusteeship. European governments overseeing the ten other trust territories created after World War II had helped those entities achieve independent nation status by 1975.[13] The Compact of Free Association Act became law in 1986 and gave new status to two of the three political entities that had emerged:[14] The Republic of the Marshall Islands and the Federated States of Micronesia. The Republic of Palau, although it has a constitution and its own government, still has not ratified a compact.[15]

The compact that was ratified in the Marshalls and Federated States ended the trust territory status and provided for immediate political independence regarding domestic affairs. It also motivated the nations to increase their economic self-sufficiency. The United States is supposed to phase out financial aid gradually over the 15-year period of the compact, which is scheduled to end in 2001. As a result, a new "religion" of economic

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[13] The only trust territory that the United States administered was in the Pacific Islands. Great Britain, France, Italy, New Zealand, Belgium and Australia administered the others. They include the entities now known as the following nations: Ghana, Togo, Cameroon, Somalia, Tanzania, Western Samoa, Rwanda Burundi, Nauru and Papua New Guinea (Gale 1979:57).

[14] Public Law 99-239 established a new political relationship between the United States and the Federated States of Micronesia and the United States and the Republic of the Marshall Islands.

[15] Negotiations with the Republic of Palau failed to result in a compact initially because of the republic's nuclear-free constitution; however, the same economic pressures exist in this westernmost Micronesian entity.

development and consumerism has emerged. Officials and other residents frequently cite

tourism as a promising industry to boost the economy. "People will be traveling to the U.S.

That's where the excitement comes from. Meanwhile, we can create a paradise in Palau: no

pollution, enough tourism to maintain things," the late Lazarus Salii, Palau's second

president, said in 1986 during an interview with P.F. Kluge (1991, p. 33).

The Bigger Picture: Tourism Worldwide

Micronesians are not alone in their beckoning of tourism as economic salvation. Two

volumes of *Cultural Survival Quarterly* in 1990 were devoted to tourism-related dilemmas

that confront native populations, especially those in so-called developing nations—i.e., the

economic periphery. Tourism worldwide has become big business. In the 1980s it

surpassed both the weapons and oil industries as the world's largest enterprise in terms of

the amount of cash it generates annually (Johnston 1990:2). Spending from domestic and

international travel in 1986 was valued at $2 trillion, or about $2.5 billion per day (V. Smith

1989:4). The growth is expected to continue because of increasing discretionary income

and leisure time. Add to that the unforeseen restructuring of the political and economic

landscape of Central and Eastern Europe, a phenomenon that has led economic forecasters

to project "growth of the global economy" (Waters 1990:5). This translates into "a

prosperous future for world tourism," according to the editors of the Travel Industry World

Yearbook. Valene Smith (1989:2–4) predicted this trend was destined to spread to nations

of the Pacific Rim, whose inhabitants total half the world's population. In fact, the Pacific

Area Travel Association reported that its region in 1988-89 "was the area in the world

showing the most rapid growth in international visitor arrivals" (Waters 1990:6). This

increase is reflected in the visitor arrivals in Palau. The Palau Visitors Authority (1991a:6)

reported that the number of visitors to Palau in 1990 increased 17 percent over the previous

year. The decade-long trend is especially remarkable: In 1980, there were 5,640 visitors to

Palau; by 1985, that figure had risen to 13,371; and by 1990, a total of 30,317 visitors[16]

had made their way to the edge of the Western Caroline Islands[17] (see figures 7 and 8).

Figure 7. Visitor Arrivals—1991
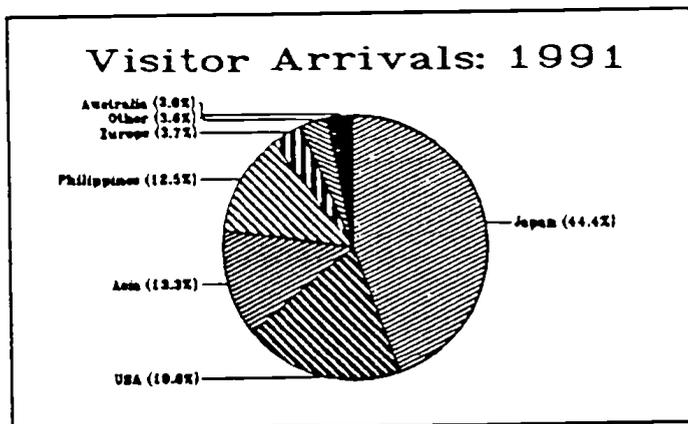
Figure 8. Total Visitors between 1980–1990

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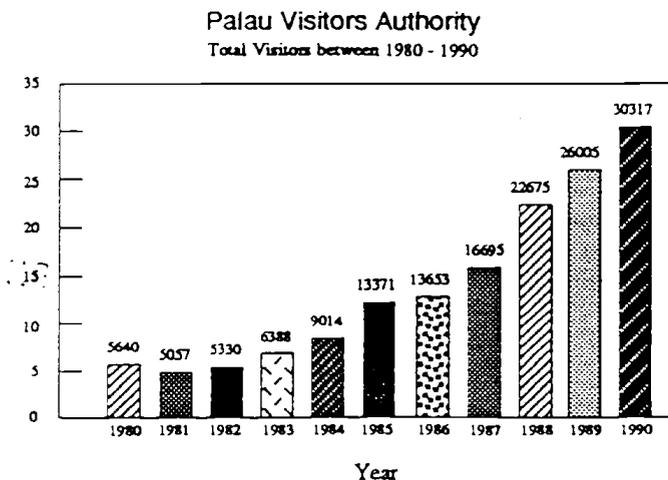
[16] The most recent statistics published in *Tourism News* (January/March 1992) conflict with the above, stating that visitor arrivals for 1990 totaled 32,846. The figure for 1991 was 32,700, a slight decrease of 0.4 percent attributed to the Gulf War and recession. The source cited for the more current data was the Palau Office of Planning and Statistics, which in part may explain the discrepancy.

[17] The Pacific Area Travel Association (PATA) does not keep current statistics on Micronesian destinations (personal communication). The most recent data was gathered in 1984. A PATA representative told me that the association did not receive the statistics from the individual agencies. This makes a pan-Micronesia comparison virtually impossible.

Tourism is founded upon a threefold equation: "leisure time + discretionary income + positive local sanctions" (V. Smith 1989:1). Leisure time generally originates where productivity and the accumluation of wealth are high, such as in an industrial society (Nash 1989:40). Several changes since World War II have allowed for the increase in leisure time available to individuals in the Western world, particularly in the United States. Foremost was the accumulation of wealth. As historian Godfrey Hodgson states,

> The prosperity of the 1940s really was widespread. Mass unemployment ended, after twelve years. Dollar wages, especially for workers in such strongly unionized (and highly visible) industries as steel, automobiles, and rubber, rose dramatically. But real wages for most workers rose too. (Hodgson 1976:83).

What followed was an increase in leisure time due, according to Smith, primarily to shorter work weeks, longer paid vacations and hence more money available for travel, the shifting of major holidays to Mondays to provide for three-day weekends, and a growing number of American retirees with "substantial pensions and investment income . . . for whom tourism is an important and recurring activity" (Smith 1989:2).

A parallel cultural phenomenon in the United States that has fed the tourist industry is a decline in the so-called "Protestant work ethic," in which people attach extremely strong moral feelings to concepts of "proper" work and play (Graburn 1989:22). This is where the third key element of Smith's equation comes into play. According to Smith, the work ethic is now largely the property of those Americans born before World War II. "The modern generation seeks instant happiness, and its work goal is to earn money with which to play.... [T]he extra money once saved for home, car, or a 'rainy day' becomes the means to travel" (Smith 1989:2). Economic factors, such as greater affluence, have certainly played a key role in shaping attitudes toward travel. Furthermore, improved means of transportation make exotic destinations accessible to travelers. Changing attitudes have contributed to an influx in tourists who visit far-flung destinations such as Micronesia.

Now consider the other side of the relationship, that of the host. Promises for economic growth entice nations or regions to encourage the growth of tourism (Smith

1989:6). "Tourism is labor intensive, especially for a minimally skilled labor pool, and

ranks high as a developmental tool, particularly for underdeveloped areas worldwide...,"

Smith writes. Tourism often surfaces as "the economic mode of choice" in areas where

people demand "a more sustainable approach to development," Johnston states in the

introduction to two *Cultural Survival Quarterly* volumes devoted to tourism (1990:2).

Strategies for national development in recent years have sought ways to generate revenue yet

also protect the environment. An "alternative tourism" sector, also known as "responsible

tourism" has emerged. As Johnston defines it:

> Responsible tourism encompasses those ventures that are consciously
> designed to enhance the socioenvironmental milieu of the host while
> educating and entertaining the guest. These ventures sell the "exotic" to gain
> money, labor, and/or foreigner presence—all in an effort to restore a
> degraded environment while attacking the roots of social inequity (Johnston
> 1990:3).

Yet so-called responsible tourism often manifests itself in unpredictable ways.

Storyboards and Jailmates

A case in point of the precarious forms that cultural tourism can assume is a principal

activity that takes place in Palau's prison. This jail is unlike any other. It sits behind the

police station, a one-story concrete building in a humble complex of similar plain-styled

structures in the center of Koror. Across from the gravel lot where the police park their cars

spreads a baseball diamond. The field was quiet the day I visited the jail, all except for some

boys playing a balancing game atop a narrow fence rail. The atmosphere in the police

department and jail felt as laid-back as that found in the park; it spoke to the smallness of

Palau. A convict would be hard-pressed to escape. Everybody knows everybody else—if

not directly, then by knowing someone who has an affiliation or tie of mutuality with the

guilty person: shared blood, shared land, shared exchange or shared ancestor (D. Smith

1983:18).

I wandered into the police station to see for myself whether what I had heard about the jail was true. A uniformed man sat behind a waist-high barricade. I asked him for directions to the jail. He did not seem the least bit surprised that I, an American woman by herself, would be asking to go into the jail. Still, I felt compelled to explain my reason for coming: that I was looking for a storyboard. Tourists and other visitors frequent the jail for this purpose; the inmates are the most well-known producers of the Palauan storyboard—carvings of legends that rank among the most highly sought after tourist items in Micronesia.

The police officer barely acknowledged my comment—I guess I was stating the obvious. Why else would I be here? He pointed to a doorway. The hallway beyond was dark. My eyes had not adjusted to the lack of indoor light. I headed through anyway, but my flip-flops got caught up in a hole with jagged cement edges. The cement floor was as broken up as some of the bombed out World War II structures I had helped survey on the island of Taroa the summer before. I cursed the jailer—under my breath of course—for not having warned me of this peril, then proceeded down the hallway. It led to a courtyard enclosed with an ordinary backyard chain-link fence. No high security was needed here. About a dozen men diligently carved scenes from Palauan legends onto slabs of wood. It looked like any craftsperson's workshop.

Nobody forces these convicts to learn the craft of storyboard carving, though a vocational rehabilitation program encourages them to do so. Their motive is clearly to make money. The inmates are allowed to keep 90 percent of the profit from each piece of work sold. The remaining 10 percent goes to the jail. Indeed, this activity is a far cry from cleaning toilets. It gives the prisoners something constructive to do while serving time and a skill they may take with them when they are released. Yet it casts the high status generally associated with a master craftsperson in Micronesia in a questionable light and lends an unusual twist to the host-guest relationship.

When a traditional craft or activity becomes something that can be bought and sold as part of the capitalist system, "[i]t can be treated as a commodity" (Greenwood 1989:173). Colorful customs, rituals, feasts and ethnic arts become commodities when they are "performed or produced for touristic consumption" (Cohen 1988:372). Outsiders' demands to purchase artworks, dances, or other cultural manifestations can render these cultural expressions meaningless to the performers themselves, according to Greenwood. The economic pressures can also lead to "staged authenticity"—in other words, cultural products that are contrived and "staged" for tourists so as to look like something authentic (Cohen, p. 372). The concept of authenticity, however, as Cohen so convincingly argues, is socially constructed and not fixed. It must be understood in terms of history and social change.

The Transformation of Arts and Artisans in Palau

What happens when a traditional craft, such as carving legends into wood, is transformed into a commoditized, highly sought-after item that is sold primarily to outsiders? An increase in demand results in a parallel increase in supply. No longer is the knowledge inherent in carving so closely guarded. Furthermore the high status generally associated with master craftspeople in Micronesia changes with the advent of mass-produced storyboards. Nason explains that "specialist knowledge and skill is, as in pre-contact times, owned and itself highly valued" (1984:429). Only responsible adults can ordinarily obtain the knowledge necessary for a valued skill

> by a process of apprenticeship with a specialist who is a member of one's own kinship group or closely related to it. Established masters have high renown and social regard. They may, as in the case of navigators and military specialists, be feared as well as respected. All masters certainly have a higher social status than their contemporaries within the community because of their knowledge.... (p. 430).

The social status reserved for specialists is generally not granted to the inmates. In fact, the disapproval that some informants expressed toward the jail carvers illustrates how

the tourist market has put traditional values into conflict with the new activity. Some Palauans told me of their resentment toward the money-making venture of the inmates. One informant complained that the inmates make a good living while in jail and yet do not give anything back to the community. Nor do they have to pay for housing or food. She further suggested that some of the inmates, once out of jail, purposefully commit crimes to get back in jail where their cost of living is low and their incomes high. This accusation may not be true, but the perception is nevertheless interesting. Another informant—a master storyboard carver not in the jail—clearly set himself apart from the jail craftsmen. He pointed out that many of the inmates carve the same stories over and over again, that many do not know the full legends that the storyboards illustrate, and that others can only carve a scene after someone else has penciled images onto the wood. One consultant who was knowledgeable on Palauan heritage did not mince any words with regard to his negative view of the storyboard activity at the jail. He felt the work of the convicts denigrated the storyboards and the art of carving as a the whole. This activity was especially annoying to him in light of Palauan efforts to increase awareness of the cultural importance of Palauan arts and crafts with events such as the Belau Arts Festival, of which the first annual event was held July 1990.

It is crucial to realize that none of the indigenous Micronesian languages has a word for "art" that means the same thing as "fine art" in English: a creatively produced object that is often devoid of context and lacks a specific function. Each of the languages does contain terms for "the various manufactures, songs and dances that figured prominently in native social life" (Nason, p. 426). Nason refers to the Trukese language to describe a distinction made "between individuals who produced goods considered to be of high aesthetic value, *meettooch* objects, and those who produced otherwise commonplace objects called *pisek*." (p.429). One of the most famous examples of large valued goods that Micronesians produced were the decorated men's houses. The Palauan *bai* represents the best of the men's house genre:

As beautifully designed examples of indigenous architecture, these were frequently elaborated with carved posts and beams, a system of decoration that attains its highpoint in the unusually complex carvings used in Palauan men's houses (Nason 1984:428).

The structure's aesthetic value was matched by its social function. The *bai* provided a central point for the male sphere of village life. Icons decorated the gables and interior beams and illustrated stories. The images told legends, recorded events and taught social values. This art form served as "an unwritten medium of instruction and as a stimulus for the transmission of our culture through oral interpretation by our elders," according to David Ramarui, a Palauan folklorist (Lockhart 1983:37). When inmates carve scenes from legends onto slabs of wood and exploit the more interesting aspects of the stories because they do not know them in full, the social function of the act of carving and the resulting image has gone through an unmistakable transformation. No longer does the carving offer the instructional outlet for the transmission of knowledge once provided by the comic-strip like carvings on the *bai*, and furthermore, the storyboards do not seem to command the respect from vendors as would a similar work of art—such as an oil painting, wood carving or sculpture—one could buy at an arts fair in the United States.

The following anecdote will illustrate the distinction I am trying to make with regard to function. I was in Koror during the first Belau Arts Festival. I watched dancers perform and sat in on demonstrations of carving. The civic center had a display of handicrafts and storyboards. It seemed a good opportunity to buy some gifts for relatives back on the mainland. I looked long and hard for the storyboard that would best suit the interests of my in-laws and finally, with my husband, decided on a carving that depicted a scene of Yapese stone money, harking back to the days when the Yapese traveled over open ocean in outrigger canoes to quarry limestone for their giant pieces of stone money. We paid for the storyboard and then asked whether we could leave it with the vendors to protect it from the rain while we enjoyed other aspects of the fair. We planned to return at the end of the afternoon. Some confusion ensued over the merchandise identification tag. One woman

several minutes earlier had told us to take the top part as a receipt while another woman was now telling us to take the bottom portion, which the first woman had already put into the cash box. We ended up taking the bottom portion, and they kept the top portion—intending to put it back on the storyboard with masking tape. Little did we know how they would re-attach that tag.

An hour or so later, when we were preparing to leave the festival, we ran into one of my coworkers from Oregon. We asked her to wait for us, that we simply had to go inside the civic center to pick up our storyboard. Her reaction was unpredictable. She was bothered by something but couldn't quite spit out what was bugging her. "You'll see," was about all she managed to say, followed by a few stuttering "uh's," "well's," and "it's-no-big-deal's."

The storyboard was where we had originally found it, but the top portion of the tag, marked SOLD, was now on the front—stapled smack on top of the focal piece of Yapese stone money. We asked the vendor to help us remove the staple. The staple came out; the two holes stayed behind. They were definitely noticeable. We were reluctant to accept the storyboard now, especially because it was intended as a gift. The woman was very easy-going about the situation and returned our money without any hassle.

The experience opened my eyes to the contrast between our concept of art as something whose intrinsic value can be ruined with the miniscule puncture from a staple, and the Palauan view, wherein a greater emphasis has traditionally been placed on the function of an object. I hesitate to make any grand conclusions from this single incident, but it does lead one to question how much meaning Palauans derive from the storyboards. Furthermore, the anecdote supports the hypothesis that when a form is changed in order to satisfy the consumption demands of tourists, the process dilutes meaning for the host population.

A second anecdote, this one drawing from a traditional men's dance, derives from my own observations and subsequent conversations with one of the performers. The value of

performing the war and love dances differed for the dancers depending on the contexts. I saw the troupe, named "Terebkul" after a legendary warrior who conquered the island of Ulong, perform on two occasions: the first time was for an audience at the Belau Arts Festival comprised almost entirely of Palauans and other islanders; the second performance was held for a group of scientists from a large Japanese research vessel. The dancers for both performances wore only *usaker*, a traditional island loin cloth, and engaged in "lively gyrations" that depict the

> actual movements made by warriors in this singularily unique battle. Wigs and false beards authenticate hair styles of the days before scissors, demonstrate manhood and, as legend has it, act as a disguise to protect warriors from future retribution should their conquest be incomplete (Palau Visitors Authority 1991b:3-4).

Although the steps and costumes went unchanged for the two events, the actual performances differed markedly. The dancers let loose and moved enthusiastically for the Palauan crowd in the gymnasium of the Micronesian Occupational College; in fact, the dancers were so uninhibited that they frequently lunged into the audience, their spears thrust forward and their fierce-faced clubs held upward, causing members of the audience to step backward in unison. Their enthusiasm noticeably waned and their self-consciousness waxed, however, during the performance on the spacious deck of the ship for the audience of bemused foreigners. A comment from one of the troupe's leaders indicated that it was more difficult to enjoy and experience the dance as an act of cultural revitalization because the visitors did not understand the significance of the dance. The dancers felt like they were more of a spectacle in front of the naïve foreigners, playing to a phantasmic notion of savage, a stereotype that leaves the modern Palauan uncomfortable. On the other hand, the troupe does enjoy the act of recreating past traditions. One new member quoted in *Tourism News* said he joined because he wanted to learn about local traditions and customs not taught to him during his childhood living in Saipan. Group leader Jeffry Olegeriil echoed the new member's goals in describing the troupe's purpose:

> One of the main ideas of the dance group is to promote understanding and pride in our culture and preserve the uniqueness of Palauan tradition. Preserving my cultural heritage is something I take very personally (Palau Visitors Authority 1991b:4).

Preserving cultural heritage through an agent of change such as tourism, however, is a complicated endeavor, as the above examples and discussions have illustrated. The evolution of tourism as an economic development strategy has clearly affected expressive culture. Tapping into the international tourist dollar seems to rely on projecting images of a place that offers "authentic" Pacific island culture. This leads to a metamorphosis in art forms and a subsequent change in function and even social status, as has occurred with Palauan storyboards. Form, function and context result in new meanings and identities for the local people, as was the case with the performing of Palauan dances.

IV. THE SLIPPERY PATH BETWEEN HISTORIC PRESERVATION AND TOURISM

The extreme in tropical tourism development has occurred in Guam[18] and Saipan,[19] where land, a resource that once bonded families together, has become a force that all too frequently tears them apart. Why? Huge, irresistible offers from foreign investors. The older generation may want to keep the land for reasons that landowner David Igitol explained: "The family ties are close if you live here. There are not so many Igitols in the world, and once the land is divided and sold that would be the end. The family would start falling apart...." (Kluge 1991:138). The younger generation, however, may be more interested in becoming rich, in leaving the island, money in hand. Igitol, of Saipanese-Carolinian descent, at the time Kluge was conducting research for his book was the only local left on the beach. The last offer Igitol said his family had received from the Japanese for their beach-front tract of 4.8 hectares was $40 million.

> All the beaches are sold. There might be a few 100-by-100 parcels left, but all the rest are sold. If you look left and right, you see hotels and tourists. Tourists in chairs, white legs and white arms. You should be proud to see me between them (Kluge 1991:138).

The more rapid pace of development that has occurred in Guam and Saipan is chiefly a product of the closer bonds each of these entities has with the United States. In the case of Guam, its history as a center of Spanish colonial rule and more recently as a major U.S. military base has also fueled development. Palauans and other Micronesians in the Carolinas and Marshalls are well aware of how quickly development can spread out of control, how quickly people can become dispossessed of their land when the offers become lucrative.

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[18] Guam is an "unincorporated" U.S. territory, which means its residents are citizens of the United States. Guam's history is vastly different from the rest of Micronesia. It served as the center for Spanish colonial rule from the 17th century until 1898, when the Spanish-American war resulted in the transition of Guam into a U.S. naval station. "Guam today is one of the most heavily militarized islands on Earth" (Stanley 1989:182).

[19] Saipan is the commercial center of the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands. Saipan served as the headquarters of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands until 1975, when the Marianas Covenant was signed. In effect, this sliced the Northern Marianas from the Trust Territory to form a U.S. Commonwealth. The status is similar to that of Puerto Rico. Residents of Guam and the Northern Marianas carry U.S. passports (Stanley 1989).

Palauans repeatedly told me they do not want a rapid pace of development on their islands. Some change, such as a dependable water and electrical system, would be welcome; however, most Palauans were quick to draw the line when it came to the prospect of becoming another Guam or Saipan. They want to use tourism to enhance their cultural identity, not to strip themselves of it. Less than appealing to Palauans is the thought of their islands developing into yet another concrete jungle of high-rise hotels and man-made beaches off-limits to locals. This attitude has motivated Palauans to begin to diversify their tourist industry and move away from the sun-sea-sand marketing triad and toward what is known as "ethnic" or "cultural" tourism.[20]

Cultural tourism ideally attracts a limited number of educated tourists who appreciate and are sensitive to local customs. Increased demand for host culture on the part of tourists has the potential of reinforcing the value of traditions and enhancing the pride locals feel for their own culture. It, also ideally, serves as a bridge to international understanding by promising the visitor the chance to see some aspects of the indigenous culture. But maintaining a positive tourism influence can be difficult as numerous case studies in various corners of the globe have shown (Crystal, V. Smith, Greenwood, and McKean, all 1989). One Palauan associated with the art museum expressed this concern during an interview: "We don't want to prostitute our culture because of tourism."

An exploration of the relationship between tourism and historic preservation has led me to some tangible conclusions. My research suggests that the people of each new nation-state in Micronesia have a vested interest in projecting a cohesive image of cultural heritage to strengthen their own ethnic identity and to benefit—rather than suffer— economically, socially and environmentally from a growing tourist industry. This hypothesis raises several issues relevant to the core of the thesis: 1) the historical significance of nation-statehood as it

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[20] Valene Smith distinguishes between these two types of tourism; however, the genres of tourism that have evolved throughout Micronesia crossover her two categories (1989:4).

relates to identity and power; 2) and the tenuous and often strained relationship between tourism and cultural heritage.

A blend of cultural and historic tourism was what our research team recommended for Taroa in the Marshall Islands. The well-preserved World War II Japanese military base stood out as a resource that could attract visitors. The idea was to create an historic park in which locals would work as interpretive guides. The guides would integrate their family histories into the tour—how the war affected them or their relatives—so that the enterprise would continually educate the young Marshallese on their ancestors' experiences during the war. The island inhabitants, with a population of about 120, could allow tourists into part of the village to view demonstrations, such as weaving, copra-drying, breadfruit preparation, fishing, construction of thatch roofing, or other traditional activities that tourists cannot see on Majuro. The islanders would have ultimate control over how many visitors could come, how long they could stay, and what price would be charged for food, lodging, visiting the historic park, and viewing demonstrations in the village. This sort of control would be possible since an Airline of the Marshall Islands flies to the island only once weekly, landing on a World War II airstrip covered with grass and coral. Tourism would have to be carefully designed so as not to disrupt village life. Several questions come to mind. What can result from the tensions between tourism and cultural heritage even in the best-case scenarios? Can an understanding of the significance of nation-statehood as it relates to identity and power help us understand the tourism-heritage relationship?

The Nation-State, Identity and Power

An historical overview of the interactions that Palauans have had with Europeans provides insight into how the contemporary Palauan identity has been shaped with regard to nation-statehood.

> Palauans have a long history of close interactions with *Chad er a Ngebard* 'people of the west' (the direction from which the first Europeans arrived) and well-established ways of incorporating outsiders and tapping their greater wealth and expertise (Nero 1989:121)

The most famous early interaction with Europeans was with the crew of the *Antelope* in 1783. The paramount chief of Koror, the Ibedul, gave food and water to the stranded sailors and assisted Captain Wilson with rebuilding his ship. In exchange the captain helped Ibedul in his local wars, and Prince Lee Boo sailed back to London, where he became an instant celebrity; he impressed the English so much that an epitaph was written for him, a street named in his honor, books written about him, and a tomb constructed for him when six months later he tragically died of smallpox (Kluge 1991:210). Koror chiefs continued to benefit from their relationships with British, European and Japanese traders during the next century (Nero 1989:121). Palauans perceived these outsiders "to possess superior knowledge and technology. But Palauan self-esteem remained strong, for the Palauans were capable of controlling outsider wealth and power for their own purposes" (Nero, p.122). This perception of self worth began to decline with colonial rule; substantial changes in how Palauans saw themselves occurred when the Japanese established Palau as the capital of its South Seas empire. The state religion of Shinto, which according to Peattie (1988:85) had become "the spiritual edge of Japanese nationalism by the 1930s," was seen as a means to bring about the Japanization of Micronesians. Efforts to acculturate the islanders culminated in 1940 with the completion of the Shinto Shrine in Koror. The erosion of Palauan power and hence self-concept further resulted when the Japanese transformed the islanders' social structure by ignoring its legitimacy.

> "Originally, the Japanese ruled through local chiefs, but they soon reduced chiefs to impotent intermediaries who only communicated and carried out Japanese directives.... Political power was transferred to the Japanese and economic power, once concentrated in the hands of the chiefs, was now held by younger Palauan men with wage employment (Nero 1989:123).

Palauans learned to accept their second-class status in the face of such a wealthy, powerful country. The war brought transformation: the Japanese went from colonial

overlords and teachers to harsh taskmasters and finally to weak dependents. When the Americans so easily defeated the Japanese, they awed the Palauans with their power and abundance of food. "Sharing of food, the quintessential Pacific metaphor of social relationships, took on added significance after a year of starvation and famine" (Nero 1989:120). The Palauan image of Americans was as "all-powerful, magnanimous new benefactors." Palauan self-image paled next to the almighty Americans. Palau's second president, the late Lazarus Salii, recalled when the people of Peleliu and Anguar, whom the Japanese had relocated to the big island of Babeldaob during the war, were taken back to their homeland and he saw his first American.

> The front of the LCU opened up and it was the first time I saw a blond human being, a tall, shirtless young sailor with yellow hair and blue eyes, his hands on his hips, a big smile on his face. An order was shouted . . . and the line of people began to move toward the boat. Leading the procession was Dirbelau, wife of the chief of Anguar, somewhere around ninety years of age, half-blind and bent, taking slow painful steps down the ramp with the help of a stick. 'Welcome aboard, ma'am,' grinned the handsome sailor as he moved to assist the old woman. She dropped the crutch, extended her right hand toward the sailor and in a strong, loud voice responded 'Thank you.' (Kluge 1991:195).

Those early postwar years left an indelible mark on the memories of many Palauans. Salii remembered how "free food, free movies, free transportation" proliferated on Anguar. Almost everywhere the kids went playing on the island, they "ran into warehouses full of food—it was just like having picnics every day in the boonies." The kids imitated the Americans. "Almost overnight, nearly every boy turned blond,"[21] Salii said (Kluge 1991:196).

Gradually the American image tarnished. Palauans erroneously expected the generosity of the U.S. administration to continue. The Trust Territory soon earned the nickname "Rust Territory" because the United States contributed far less to rebuilding the

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[21] In this statement it is unclear whether the boys turning "blond" is a metaphor for their embrace of American values or whether they actually bleached their hair as a symbol of their newfound loyalty.

islands than it offered to Europe, Japan and even other Pacific islands (Nero 1989:143).
Palauans were eager to have their infrastructure—roads, electricity, docks, boats, etc.—
returned to its prewar level. "But the image of the Palauan in postwar Washington was of
'natives' who should not be spoiled by giving them things beyond local means of
production" (Nero 1989:142).

Through much of the 1960s, Palauans recall wanting to become American, according
to Nero. More and more young people were leaving the island to attend college in the United
States. Before long, however, Palauan students brought back ideals of self-determination
and autonomy, reflecting the political climate of the early 1970s. Compact negotiations for
independence began to get under way. Historic preservation programs were initiated
throughout the islands. Palauans were beginning to seek out their own identity. They began
to see the potential for more power in their identity as Palauans than as another ethnic
minority of the United States.

The Invention of Tradition

Perhaps it is no coincidence that Palauans sought to reclaim "Palauanness" as their
own just as the Republic of Palau was being formed. Traditions took on new importance as
a force that could augment identity and serve as a societal glue. It is common in the
formation of a nation-state for new "traditions" to emerge, reflecting what Hobsbawm
describes as "invented tradition." This concept includes "traditions" that have actually been
"invented, constructed and formally instituted" and those that evolve in a "less easily
traceable manner"—often within a few years—and quickly establish themselves
(Hobsbawm 1983:1).

To grasp the sense of an invented tradition, it is necessary to understand what
constitutes a tradition in the first place. According to the listing in *Webster's* , a tradition is
"the handing down orally of stories, beliefs, customs, etc. from generation to generation."

The key trait of traditions, as Hobsbawm defines them, is "invariance." He writes (1983:2): "The past, real or invented, to which they [i.e., traditions] refer imposes fixed (normally formalized) practices, such as repetition." In one sense, something is a tradition if the people who practice it view it as one regardless of how long it has existed.

The invention of tradition tends "to occur more frequently when a rapid transformation of society weakens or destroys the social patterns for which old traditions had been designed," according to Hobsbawm (1983:4). Contemporary Micronesian societies fit that description. Palau, the Marshall Islands and the Federated States have been rapidly transforming as the island nations have embraced modernization and begun to make the transition to a capitalism-based economy complete with all its industrial, Western-world values of development. The threat to cultural, historic and prehistoric resources has been "a cause of concern with government leaders and private citizens in Micronesia. Traditional knowledge and skills have slowly been disappearing as the elders in the populations have died, and the younger members of the populations have been unable to learn about the various aspects of their cultures," (Micronesian Resources Study 1989:1).

The concept of invented traditions also applies when a society modifies, ritualizes or institutionalizes "existing customary traditional practices—folksong, physical contests, markmanship—" for "new national purposes" (Hobsbawm 1983:6). The nation-state by its very construction requires a degree of assimilation. Residents of outer islands or villages, in order to become part of the new nation, must often give up some of their identity to join the larger political unit. "Producing a public national culture from the mosaic of so many local cultures entails an invention of tradition and the politics of heritage," according to LiPuma and Meltzoff, who have studied public culture in the Solomon Islands (1990:89).

The invention of tradition is part of creating a public or national culture. In Palau, the *motmong* dances, whose rhythms and steps reflect a military flavor because many of these dances were learned from soldiers, are often referred to as traditional. The Micronesia Games, an island version of the Olympics, is a tradition that began in the 1960s. One of the

most popular events is a modified triathlon. In addition to skills that one would expect— running, swimming, throwing—the contestants must climb a coconut tree, pick a coconut, shinny down the tree, open the coconut and drink the juice.

A powerful complex of rituals is characteristic of invented traditions, and places or structures are often created to reinforce those rituals. Hobsbawm mentions several traits that I have identified as newly existing in Palau: festival pavilions, temples, structures to display flags, flag ceremonies, national anthem, government delegations in honor of the festival, dinners and oratory. I will discuss several of these in detail.

•*Festival pavilions.* Palau in 1991 completed the construction of a traditional-style *bai* adjacent to the museum.[22] The *bai* carries with it strong symbolism of traditional Palauan culture. The structure will supposedly be used to showcase Palauan culture; activities such as traditional dances could be performed for tourists or it could be used as a center for art festivals. The "invented" aspect of this example does not concern the structure itself; indeed, the *bai* was built using the traditional method, which relied entirely on local materials and used no nails. Rather, the invention of tradition stems principally from different way in which the *bai* will be used: Traditionally, *bai* were reserved as a place for men to meet. This *bai* will be used as a cultural center, and in this sense will be a public place where traditions can be projected to insiders as well as outsiders.

• *Government delegations.* Government delegates show up to honor dedications with regularity in Palau. The first annual Belau Arts Festival had a host of speakers that lent a ritualistic flavor to the event. Similarly, the dedication ceremony of the new *bai* included numerous lengthy speeches by Palauan officials. These officials carry with them a sense of power; their presence lends an air of legitimization to the occasion, thereby helping to incorporate the activity or place into Palauan tradition.

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[22] The *bai* project represents the second attempt to build such a structure on this site; the first newly built traditional *bai* was burned to the ground during the politically tempestuous times of the mid-1980s.

• *Oratory*. The tradition of oratory is long-standing in Palau. As the contexts change—dedicating new buildings or establishing new occasions—so does the style of oratory. Many speeches pay homage to the Republic of Palau. The oratory itself is not anything new. But the style is novel, with elected officials in ties and business suits reading proclamations that reflect a U.S. model of speech, dress and mode of presentation. This again serves to institutionalize the practice of official oratory at a public event.

• *Dinners*. The exchange of food, as Nero put it, is a metaphor for Pacific Island societies. A typical spread at a Palauan banquet includes fried chicken, fried rice with vegetables, potato salad, fruit salad made from canned fruit, cream pies or cheesecake, in addition to locally produced foods such as grilled fish, crab, taro root, tapioca and banana. A visitor cannot escape the Palauan tradition of filling a paper plate with a final helping of food just before leaving. The tradition of taking food home from a feast is old; however, the tradition of using a paper plate to pile on American- and Japanese-style fixings is relatively new.

• *Temples*. The Modekngei is now referred to by Palauans as the traditional religion. An estimated one-third of Palauans are followers. No other region in Micronesia can boast such an indigenous religious following. Modekngei as a local religion, however, is relatively new. Modekngei's origins can be traced back to 1914, the year that marked the beginning of the Japanese period in Palau and the rest of Micronesia. The Palauan belief system was invalidated and undermined during the previous German administration, when missionary activity was high and tolerance low for Palauan beliefs regarding the existence of supernatural beings: spirits of the dead, spirits of ancestors, and gods (Aoyagi 1987:340). The German departure provided an opportunity for Palauans to reclaim a religion they could call their own. The prophetic leader of the new religion, a titled man or *rubak* named Tamadad, blended Christian and traditional elements and created an ideal environment for many people whose attitudes lay somewhere between converting to Christianity and reforming to the inflexible native religion. "Depending on the circumstances, the leaders

presented the Modekngei religion [either] as the indigenous religion of [Palau] or as identical with Catholicism" (Aoyagi, p.346). In addition to incorporating various local gods and Christian elements, other activities that Aoyagi suggests attracted the general public to the new religion included healing the sick, prophecy, money-making, abolishing food taboos and banishing certain unpopular old gods.

A tour of Peleliu, the island where the infamously bloody World War II battle left thousands dead, might include a stop at a predominantly Modekngei cemetery and temple. The cemetery includes grave sites with offerings of food and drink: noodles in plastic bowls, opened cans of Budweiser or soda. A quiet, out-of-the-way place, the temple is not an attraction that has been heavily sold to tourists although the strength of the Modekngei religion itself is mentioned in the tourist pamphlets distributed free of charge by the Palau Visitors Authority. The temple was built adjacent to a prehistoric basalt stone foundation, apparently an ancient sacred site. The temple itself appears to have been erected in the past decade or so. A mural decorates the triangular facade of the building. The arrangement of details is similar to that found on the traditional *bai* in Airai. For example, at the top of the mural is a male face, but unlike the portrait painted on the *bai,* this face has a striking resemblance to popular Western images of Jesus Christ: Caucasian features, shoulder-length hair, high cheek bones, facial hair and mysterious eyes. Beneath this face is a series of comic-strip style images that depict scenes from Modekngei legends. The temple serves to reinforce Palauan/Modekngei identity. It is noteworthy that this temple, the only one I came across in my travels throughout Palau, exists on Peleliu, one of the places that received the greatest devastation during the war. This example supports Hobsbawm's aforementioned supposition that the invention of tradition—or a ritualistic complex to support a reshaped tradition—is most likely to occur when society undergoes a rapid transformation that weakens the social patterns.

One Modekngei follower, himself a top administrator in the national development bank, informed me that Modekngei philosophy deeply values the preservation of local

culture. This underlying belief motivated the Modekngei to start the Belau Modekngei School, a traditional high school in the state of Ngatpang. Instruction began with 200 students in 1974—a period when negotiations to dismantle the trust territory were in process. The school was originally conceived as a place to instruct teenagers in traditional Palauan knowledge: farming, fishing, weaving, songs, chants, legends, etc. The school persevered for ten years and then fell apart. The funding agency, the Janss Foundation, pulled out in 1985 after local interest waned. "The parents were a bit skeptical about how their children would fare in college," the informant told me. The parents were also concerned about how their children would make a living in the modern, highly assimilated Palauan society. Fewer and fewer educated young people choose to make their life on Palau, and for those who do, it is even more unlikely that they will want to settle in a village and live a subsistence lifestyle. In general, however, the value of local culture, according to my Modekngei informant, is

> more of a philosophy than the active promotion of a traditional way of living.... It goes to show that Palauans have their own way of doing things. People are just looking for a dollar. Most of us are assimilated into Western culture—more modern.

If this comment regarding the quest for money seems contradictory or sarcastic—staking money against local culture—in Palau it clearly is not. Money has played a central role in Palauan culture even before the arrival of Europeans. Both glass and pottery money were in use at the time of the first written account of Palau in 1783 by Captain Wilson of the shipwrecked Antelope. The carvings and paintings on the traditional *bai* in Airai depict symbols of native money—circles with x's through them—illustrating its importance. The Modekngei informant who spoke with me expressed an interest in starting up a business that produced handicrafts. In the mind of this particular Modekngei, entrepreneurial ventures that draw upon local culture do not have to exploit cultural heritage in a degrading fashion. This notion stems from the idea of *kerreomel*, a Palauan term that describes how the "old life"

was guided: "by a sense of wise use of things—land, wildlife, food, equipment—so that they would last" (Brower 1974).

The traditional function of money (*udoud*) is key for understanding the practicalities of tourism and the selling of culture. Aoyagi goes so far as to suggest this of Palauans:

> money (*udoud*) has been the sole determinant of the social status of individuals, descent groups and villages. It is not an exaggeration to say that they put the highest value on *udoud*, and that the acquisition of *udoud* is the ultimate aim of their life (Aoyagi 1987:344).

This claim should be understood in its proper context, however, for the way in which Palauans perceived and used money before the colonial period differed from that of Western, capitalism-based societies. Several important distinctions are worthy of mention. The pre-colonial use of native money was "geared to social uses and penetrated nearly every phase of the social system" (Ritzenthaler 1954:9). The Palauan economy, being subsistence-based on island resources, was not reliant on a monetary system in the same way as Euro-American cultures. Yet the ramifications of money touched nearly every aspect of the culture, and according to Ritzenthaler, "most of the cultural machinations have money as the mainspring. Money is, or was, involved in such institutions and social phenomena as marriage, divorce, death rites, birth rites, politics, war, status and prestige, reciprocal relations, and religion." Unlike Western societies where the government can reproduce money and increase the currency circulation, the number of native Palauan money pieces was and is limited and cannot be increased. Nor does Palauan money have a fixed value; rather the same piece of money may have a greater value in the hands of a chief (*rubak*) than when held by a lower ranking person. Money traditionally reinforced and to some extent continues to enhance the social system, which was designed to divert money into the wife's family, creating a system in which the wife's economic obligation was to her family rather than her husband (Ritzenthaler 1954:20).

A final important distinction between native Palauan money and Western currency involves the interaction between the individual and money. While Ritzenthaler concludes

that "the acquisition of money is the primary goal of the individual" (1954:34) he also suggests that "the introduction of capitalism with its emphasis upon individual ownership of property and money conflicted with the traditional pattern of group ownership." (1954:37). Palauans as a rule were not anxious to show their money, for if it were known that someone had a prized piece, others might scheme ways to get it. The exception to this rule was the practice of women wearing a special type of money like a bead around their neck.

The public display of money by women remains an important ritual during the first child-birth ceremony. DaVerne Smith describes this ceremony as "the most important public event in a woman's life" (1983:166). Despite the age-old nature of this ritual, the ceremony I attended in the Palau state of Airai showed signs of times. People stuffed dollar bills into the woman's belt as donations. Speeches were delivered through a microphone and were amplified through large speakers. Food was served on disposable plates wrapped in plastic bags. And a video camera recorded the entire event. But the core of the ritual was traditional. The new mother appeared before a crowd of relatives, mostly women, after several days of having herbal mixtures applied to her skin and then being bathed in scalding waters. (The number of days depends on the rank of her clan; the higher the rank, the more days of bathing the woman must endure.) She wore only a multilayered grass skirt and a belt tightly cinched at her waist; strands of plumeria and other aromatic flowers hung from her neck and a garland encircled her head; her body glistened with a golden-yellow tint, having been coated with a blend of coconut oil and tumeric. I was told that despite the radiance of the new mother, the men supposedly pay attention to the size of the heirloom piece of Palauan money she wears around her neck rather than her body. This money is called *buldil* and is "the name of the payment made by a man for his first child by a woman" (D. Smith, p. 321). Smith's account of the first-child ritual explains that

> Everyone is curious to see 'what kind of money' the man's side has
> brought as *buldil*, for this valuable reflects how highly the girl is esteemed
> by her husband's side as well as the wealth of the husband's side. It is only

at this time that valuables are publicly worn, and the man's side is eager to display their wealth (D. Smith 1983:170).[23]

This discussion of the use of native money in Palauan society relates to Hobsbawm's notion of invented traditions. Palauans do indeed have a heritage steeped in exchange obligations that were and, to some extent, still are fulfilled through the payment of native money. However, it is a mistake to say that the payment of American money to fulfill similar obligations, be they social customs or reimbursements for a service, serves the same function. The key distinction that must be drawn is that the dollar is used primarily to purchase goods whose value is determined by the market rather than by social custom. A second important distinction is the constant worry over acquiring money, i.e., the dollar, especially in the municipalities outside of the government center of Koror. For example, villagers have become dependent on store items such as kerosene, gasoline or diesel fuel for boats, cigarettes, sugar, flour, rice, coffee, canned milk, soda, beer, salt and soy sauce. Where do they get the cash? "Access to American money is always a problem," according to DaVerne Smith, who did her research in Melekeok, where salaried jobs are rare. "The worry over money is constant, and people must depend upon their Koror relatives to a certain degree for American money" (1983:25). The villagers try to think up ways to create jobs and earn income within their community. The level of anxiety over acquiring money was not the case before Palauans became dependent on imported goods. Yet this worry over money has led to the possibility of Palauans opening their villages' historic sites and cultural traditions, such as the first child birth ritual, to tourists. The contrast between the attempt to structure parts of social life as unchanging and the ongoing innovation of the modern world is what makes invented tradition so interesting, according to Hobsbawn (1983:2).

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[23] Smith provides an excellent, detailed description of the first-child ritual (*Ngasech*) on pp. 166-176.

Historic Preservation and the Projection of Identity

Nation-states, then, have a tendency to "invent traditions" as a means to project a cohesive image. Historic preservation programs complement this tendency. They create a tangible resource bank that can be drawn upon to project identity. The process of historic preservation often functions as a link between preserving cultural/historic resources and promoting these resources to tourists. Cultural heritage after all can be exploited as a resource with the potential to generate revenue; heritage can be conveniently packaged as a tourist attraction. In this section I will explore the proliferation of these programs in Micronesia, how decisions regarding what resources should be preserved and promoted reflect changing values, and how these new values contribute to modernization and industries such as tourism.

The need for historic preservation in Micronesia officially began to be addressed in 1974, when U.S. Congress extended the provisions of the National Historic Preservation Act to the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (Parker 1987:11). By 1977, a territory-wide historic preservation program was organized, and according to Parker, "since then most of the island governments have enacted their own historic preservation legislation."

American-educated Micronesians became a source of intellectual support for historic preservation programs. U.S. colleges and universities taught the merits of historic preservation and other American values. Included in these values is an eagerness to preserve and objectify heritage and history, as most notably manifested in the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, a statutory base upon which historic preservationists have built a national program (King 1977:31).

A prime example of a historic preservation project is the Micronesian Resources Study, the project that took me to the Marshall Islands as a research assistant. The MRS was the brainchild of the Micronesian Endowment for Historic Preservation. The non-profit endowment, which organized as negotiations on the Compact of Free Association were

initiated, aimed to "promote and conserve" the islands' historic and cultural resources from thoughtless development (MRS 1989). The endowment's immediate goal was to ensure the compact included funding to preserve the heritage of Micronesians. The U.S. Congress in December 1987 appropriated $750,000 for the National Park Service and the endowment to administer jointly the Micronesian Resource Study. Those involved in the project were charged with making an inventory and study of cultural resources. According to the study's request for proposals, the MRS was also supposed to "make as much as possible of the information concerning the cultural and historic resources of Micronesia available to the people who need information about these resources for planning and policy-making purposes."

The need to preserve heritage as expressed in the Micronesian Resources Study is not unique to Micronesia. Projects to preserve national cultural heritage exist in countries often described as industrially "developed," such as the United States, England, Italy or Japan, as well as those often labeled as "developing"—or, in the process of embracing industrialization and modern, usually capital-based economies (Isar 1986:31-53).

Some preservationists have argued that the need to preserve one's past as a source of one's identity is basic to every culture. The editor of *The Challenge to our Cultural Heritage* states "at the present time . . . the recovery, strengthening, and projection of a cultural identity—of which the heritage is the prime manifestation—is experienced as a basic need by all." (Isar 1986:139) Isar's universal claim is easily challenged. Concerns with "recovery" and the "projection of a cultural identity" are more likely a result of modernization and its twentieth-century dominance, in Isar's words, as the "logical" course of action for economically poorer nations to embrace in light of some of the unfavorable aspects of development.

> Thinking people in the industrializing nations are faced with the unpleasant
> reality that every step towards a certain kind of modernization is fraught
> with danger. They must combat a logic forcing countries to build gigantic
> dams that disturb a whole region's ecology, to apply massive quantities of

fertilizer that ruin centuries'-old soil, to create industrial plants that pollute wide expanses of the earth, to adopt urban development plans that perpetuate slum living for generations to come, or to unwittingly choose an education that ensures continuing alienation for their people (Isar 1986:23).

Similarly, development and rapid societal change threaten cultural and historic resources. The vulnerability of such resources in Micronesia could easily be illustrated through examples from Palau or the Marshalls. The archaeological survey of Taroa identified six threats to the island's historic resources: recycling and reuse of military structures; relic collecting; removal of human remains by Japanese visitors; children playing in the historic sites; time; and ordnance disposal. A military ordnance cleanup crew several years earlier had in fact run a bulldozer over part of the island (Adams 1990:103). The focus of historic resources in Taroa concentrated on the Japanese occupation of the island because most Marshallese sites were destroyed by base construction or the U.S. bombing that followed.

The remains from World War II represent a profound yet tragic period in Pacific history and stand as symbols for the way global politics forever changed the lives of these island inhabitants. The bunkers, bombers, defense guns and other relics were remarkably intact to the point of meriting nomination to the United Nations for World Heritage Status. The local residents, however, did not hold the remains in high esteem at the time of our arrival. They viewed the structures from the Japanese occupation as "a nuisance, cluttering up the land, taking up space that could be used to plant trees." After contract archaeologists told them of a potential to create an historic park as a way to protect the sites and bring money into the community, the mayor announced: "The whole island is in a different mood" (Krause, 1992:9). This example can be seen as a reflection of the people's changing values. It also shows how an attempt to objectify and preserve the past can change what kinds of things are valued.

In Palau I visited more than 40 historic sites as part of a process to evaluate which ones would have the greatest potential as resources to promote to tourists. Development or neglect could easily threaten many of the sites. Their protection could be secured in several

ways, one of which is nomination to the historic register, which means the site is relatively safe from development, such as having a road constructed through it. But the historic register does not way guarantee a site will be maintained—i.e., vegetation cleared, garbage picked up, etc. The director of the Division of Cultural Affairs told me that funding for historic site nomination does not include site restoration or maintenance. Hence this office has an interest in tourism as a way to generate revenue to pay for the upkeep of sites. I was told that before the Trust Territory period, when more Palauans lived in the outlying villages, residents formerly organized community clean-up days where they participated in activities such as clearing vegetation away from historic sites. Now that many of the residents have moved to the city, the villagers who remain often expect some sort of monetary reimbursement for their clean-up efforts.

The threat of development to cultural resources is exemplified in an incident that happened in Kosrae, a state in the Federated States of Micronesia located between Palau and the Marshalls. This story draws from a period when most Micronesians had not yet become aware of Western concepts for preserving heritage and involves the site of the Leluh Ruins in Kosrae, which marked the ruling center for a complex society dating to the 1400s (Cordy, John 1984). Massive walls of cylindrical basalt stones, similar in style and stature to those at the more well-known Nan Madol in Pohnpei, rise above canals formerly used by Kosraeans to navigate through a maze of artificial islets. Beyond the banks of the canals were dwelling compounds, royal tombs and other impressive architectural structures constructed of basalt stones. The site now enjoys the status of a historical park and as such is protected from development. But this was not always the case.

Teddy John, a native of Kosrae, told me that he experienced first hand the partial destruction of the site when he was a youth. He took part in what at the time seemed to be a worthy effort to move the community in the direction of economic development. The coral and basalt materials of the Leluh Ruins were viewed as a resource, better put to use as fill than as rubble for abandoned dwellings. John recalled:

> Back in the early '60s, we had to build a ship dock. We had to build in
> from the shoreline toward the lagoon area so the ships could come in and
> dock. Before that, the ships anchored in the lagoon. What they used for the
> filling were rocks from the Leluh ruins. I was still in elementary school. We
> took time to lend a hand. Almost everyone in the community was involved.
> There was a lot of manual labor of picking up rocks, going back and forth
> (1989 John).

As an adult, John became a historic preservation officer and has worked on restoring

the site. "But," he lamented, "what was lost is something I can't bring back." John also

went on to become a founding member of the Micronesian Endowment for Historic

Preservation. At the time of my field work, John was serving as the endowment's president

and helping to ensure that Micronesia's history and culture received proper protection. He

believes that the Micronesian Resources Study, funded by Congress, will help protect the

island nations' resources:

> After the project is completed, we'll be able to know what cultural and
> historical resources we have. Using the results of this project, we can
> reinforce our public education programs. What we have to do now before
> it's too late is educate people as to why these resources are important, what
> kind of benefits people can get from them.

John made clear that the benefits in preserving heritage held not only educational but

also economic potential. The link between cultural resources and tourism is an obvious one

to well-intentioned Micronesians like Teddy John. Yet the path linking resources with

tourism can also be ridden with wet and slippery stones.

The metaphor of the slippery path derives mainly from the fact that in their attempts to

preserve their indigenous past, Micronesians have turned to Western methods and

technology for solutions. This is somewhat ironic considering that it is the Micronesians'

very embracing of Western industrial values and of a twentieth-century consumer society

that has necessitated historic and cultural preservation in the first place.

One of the primary characteristics of the Western method for preserving the past is a

reliance on objectification, a process of trying to place value on aspects of the past using a

"rational" approach that is free from prejudice or bias. Handler describes the public and

political uses of heritage and history as a form of "cultural objectification." That term
suggests "how the central concept of anthropology has been appropriated in the modern (or
'post-modern') world of consumerism and multinational capitalism" (Handler 1987:137). A
pragmatic problem arises from objectification: One must decide what counts as heritage
worth preserving. In the face of a historic preservation project, everyday activities and
places formerly taken for granted are suddenly elevated to the status of "cultural resources."
This soon leads to a very real predicament. As Isar puts it:

> As more and more phenomena that surround us are recognized as a
> testimony of the past, acute problems of choice arise. . . . Resources are
> finite; we cannot save everything and also make it accessible to a large
> public. How should we choose? (Isar 1986:11)

Isar's solution includes nationally based conservation policies using "detailed
inventories of . . . cultural property," "good management," improved professionalism and
"[i]nternational cooperation" (pp.28-29). Thus, according to Handler, "a cultural logic that
would objectify everything—a logic run wild, as irrational as all culture appears to those
who distance themselves from it—is to be controlled by self-consciously rational
management techniques" (Handler 1987:138).

The Micronesian response to this problem fits Handler's model of how
preservationists in general react. The act of objectifying a particular culture and its past
allows for reflecting on what is valued in that culture but *may* at the same time alter those
values. Historic preservation programs indeed help invent, or at very least congeal, national
heritage. According to Handler, this invention "happens when pieces of life and landscape
within the borders of a nation-state are objectified—isolated and displayed as bounded
heritage objects—according to aesthetic and political standards that may or may not be
contested but which, in any case, will be dependent on current tastes and assumptions"
(Handler 1987:138). A great irony results. Preservation drastically reinterprets cultural
forms; Handler goes so far to suggest that it "destroys rather than preserves past cultural
forms." People's awareness of and relationship to their cultural environment changes,

"creating new meanings by foregrounding previously taken-for-granted cultural objects"
(Handler, p. 138). This analysis goes a long way toward interpreting the incident on Taroa
when the residents suddenly had an elevated opinion of the remnants from the war.

Teddy John's story about the Leluh site and the Taroa resident's comment regarding
the World War II structures both speak to a larger issue. Micronesians in general do not
place as much value on physical remains, such as archaeological sites, as they do on places
or the legends about those places, according to Michael Evans, director of the Micronesian
Resources Study (personal communication, 1990). But the American model of historic
preservation requires tangible resources, such as archaeological sites, and Micronesians
have had to adopt the American aesthetic and political standards in order to secure funding.
It is U.S. agencies, after all, that provide the bulk of budgets to Micronesian historic
preservation programs. Thus Handler's suggestion of drastic reinterpretation of resources
has become a reality in Micronesia. People's awareness of and relationship to their cultural
environment has undergone a transformation, resulting in new and elevated significance for
previously taken-for-granted cultural objects.

We can use Handler's analysis to examine some consequences of historic preservation
resulting from the transition to an economy dependent on capital and cash flow.
Micronesians' surrender to a Western economy and the subsequent American way of
preserving heritage reflects new values inherent in a postmodern world of consumerism and
multinational capitalism. The quest to preserve is a step toward adaptation to a consumer
society.

A parallel can be drawn with the Arts and Crafts movement in America during the late
nineteenth and early twentieth century. This was a period of rapid change for the United
States, about which historians such as Jackson Lears have given us a new perspective on
antimodernist movements and their implications. Lears discusses how a movement of
antimodernism, manifested in the recreation of self-sufficiency through the Arts and Crafts
movement, had the unintended effect of "helping to ease Americans' accommodation to the

consumer society of the twentieth century." The parallel to be drawn with Micronesia is that

many historic preservationists are antimodernists in a way similar to the artisans of 100

years ago. The artisans rejected the march toward industrialization and sought alternatives to

alleviate their "hatred of modern tawdriness" (Lears 1981:74). A major thrust of their

solution to overcivilization was a return to "the simple life" through the revival of craft

traditions. But for a variety of reasons, the movement backfired. "Despite its origins as a

reaction against modern overcivilization, the craft revival served to intensify the modern

preoccupation with individual fulfillment." (Lears 1981:83) Lears concludes that the

movement made fundamental compromises with modernity.

> Confronting the fragmenting impact of economic rationalization, American
> craft leaders transformed what might have been an alternative to alienated
> labor into a revivifying hobby for the affluent.(Lears 1981:93)

The craftspeople became personally involved in business ventures. Furthermore, as

Lears explains, they courted "a love affair" with productivity, and this led them to the

marketplace (1981:94).

The potential for a similar scenario in Micronesia is striking. While historic

preservation officers are in one sense antimodern, they may very well end up embracing the

values they oppose just as the craft revivalists came to embrace institutions so abhorrent to

their leaders. By following Western approaches to historic preservation, many Micronesians

have shown their fondness for things modern, an affection that may lead them to bend over

backwards for a growing tourist trade. This, ironically, could result in their embracing a

modern economy of "progress," something that is achieved only through development, and

the more these island nations are developed, the greater are the threats to their cultural and

natural resources. This is where the path between historic preservation and tourism becomes

especially slick.

V. STRAINS OF KNOWLEDGE, GRAINS OF TRUTH: IMPLICATIONS FOR CULTURAL TOURISM

I have been operating from the assumption that tourism in Micronesia is inevitable. The literature supports this assumption. In a review of the tourism-related research through the late 1980s, Wilkinson (1989) identified two interrelated themes that point to the inevitability of a growing reliance on tourism: social, economic and political problems related to countries small in size but large in aspirations; and limited alternatives for economic development. Tourism, however, often becomes a "highly ambiguous development strategy" (Britton 1980:1). Choices for a tourist industry are limited by the social, political and economic processes that have led to dependency status among Pacific nations, which exist on the periphery of global economic activity. Britton (1980) urges us to consider theories related to political economy when analyzing the benefits of tourism, which "while bringing undoubted benefits to many poor countries, frequently also perpetuates already existing inequalities, economic problems and social tensions" (Britton 1980:1).

Britton's convincing argument about the nature of international tourism is highly relevant to the conceptualization of an alternative tourism paradigm. When underdeveloped countries adopt tourism as a development strategy, they must agree to certain rules of the game—rules and practices that metropolitan (e.g., U.S. or Japanese) centers establish. This organizational mandate generally means that poor countries are hard-pressed to attain economic goals such as generating revenue, increasing job opportunities, bolstering economic independence, or promoting local commercial involvement. International tour agencies and other metropolitan enterprises have direct and initial contact with tourists, which

> encourages foreign interests to become directly involved in the destination country since their capital resources, expertise, market connections and control over tourist flows give them overwhelming competitive advantages over local tourism operatives (Britton 1980:2).

The larger companies also tend to promote travel destinations, thereby manipulating tourists' expectations. Poor countries often cannot afford to build and operate the types of accommodations that the tourist has come to expect; rather, metropolitan companies tend to invest in such enterprises. Group or packaged tours provide a mechanism for foreign companies to retain a high percentage of tourist expenditures. Less than 25 percent of the retail tour price is forwarded to the destination country when foreign countries own the airline and hotels (Britton 1980:5). Britton conceptualizes the industry structure of international tourism as a three-tiered hierarchy: Metropolitan market companies occupy the apex; branch offices and associate commercial enterprises sit at the intermediate level; and small-scale, local operations—marginal to but dependent upon the dominant companies—lie at the pyramid's base. Furthermore, he makes a strong case for the perpetuation of internal inequities: Local elite companies, with their historical advantages, can out-compete small-scale entrepreneurs. As tourism grows, for example, cooperative handicraft producers may even have to compete with imported, mass-produced imitation goods. Consequently, only the local privileged political and commercial groups, along with foreign investors, commonly have the resources to "coordinate, construct, operate and profit from" tourism (Britton 1980:7). Economic and social polarization ensue.

> [S]uch an industry structure ensures that Third World destinations have a
> largely passive and dependent role in the international system. Foreign
> multinational companies directly serve, and partially create, the demand and
> the means by which tourists consume Third World tourist products.
> Destination countries on the other hand are the recipients of tourists. . . .
> The central problem, then, for Third World destinations is the essentially
> inequitable relationship inherent in this international system (Britton
> 1980:5).

Tourist enterprises that strive to counter the forces of international tourism necessarily assume an underdog posture. Nevertheless, some options have been shown to be less damaging than others with regard to social and environmental degradation. Themes of local involvement and integration of tourism into various sectors of society recur in discussions of the most promising tourism models (Peck and Lepie 1989; Britton 1980; Wilkinson

1989). Tensions are lessened in host societies where expenditures are distributed throughout the economy, thereby avoiding resentment and labor supply problems of concentrated, multinational development. These positive examples also include a high degree of local involvement in the tourist sector. The evidence suggests that the probability of negative social consequences occurring "increases with the scale of tourism development," and decreases "with the degree of local involvement" (Wilkinson 1989:166).

As de Kadt (1979:42) notes, however, "favorable outcomes do not appear easy to achieve." One phenomenon that perpetuates the odds in favor of large-scale development is an emphasis on economics. When the effects of tourism are studied, social cost-benefit analysis is the predominant approach albeit a misguided one, according to de Kadt. Decision makers, he suggests, should assign "relative weights to each component, including those of a distributional, social and cultural nature."

The cultural tourism option, designed to revitalize heritage by appealing to educated travelers interested in the customs of the host society, is an alternative that attempts to lessen the negative impacts. The goal of involving local people to the point of validating their skills and heritage is at its core. It is also important to spread tourist revenues throughout the economy. The challenge is how to design a travel industry that achieves these goals in a cross-cultural setting. Meeting this challenge is crucial if an alternative type of tourism is to succeed given the pressures and lure of multinational investors. Nation-states such as exist in Micronesia, lacking power and wealth as compared with large and developed countries, are sitting targets for "exogenous decision-making" (Harrigan 1974). The recent economic history of tourism in Micronesia shows that decisions have been made by outside countries and corporations. The United Nations evaluation team in the 1970s found that a large proportion of tourist endeavors involved foreign investors. The major airline carrier in Micronesia, for example, has been owned by the U.S.-based Continental Airlines.[24]

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[24] In October 1991, Continental Airlines reached an agreement to sell its Micronesia routes to a Hong Kong investment group (*New York Times* Oct. 28, 1991, p. D1).

Continental also opened and began operation of the first international hotel on Truk in the 1970s. In Palau, the Japanese are more heavily invested and own the posh Palau Pacific Resort as well as some of the larger general merchandise stores.

In the remainder of this final chapter, I will address three components of cultural tourism: approaches and complications in deciding what to promote; cultural issues regarding the practice of sharing knowledge as I experienced it; and finally some suggestions on how Micronesians, specifically Palauans, might model their tourist industry so as to allow for the greatest degree of local participation and control and for functionality in a cross-cultural setting.

Complications in Deciding What to Promote

Palauans interviewed during the technical assistance project told me of their concern about the rapid rate of development and the simultaneous loss of traditional culture. Yet individuals, local leaders and national government policymakers referred to tourism as a potential tool to enhance Palauan heritage. State representatives expressed a desire to preserve what is left of their culture and to revitalize what has been lost during the past century of colonial rule, war and trust territory administration. The proposed National Tourism Policy, which the Palau Visitors Authority is responsible for implementing, calls for the development and promotion of the natural, scenic, cultural, historical and recreational attractions of Palau in ways that will "foster preservation and enhancement of these assets and avoid their degradation and pollution" and "greater understanding and appreciation of Palauan culture by residents and visitors to the Republic."[25]

Given the tourism policy's charge to the Palau Visitors Authority, I set out with my counterpart to define a tourism-related project that would enhance Palauan culture. The idea

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[25] See Appendix C.

was to promote aspects of the indigenous culture so that Palauans could cultivate pride in their past. The aim was to diversify the tourist industry and thereby relieve pressure that recreation tourists, such as divers, place on the delicate and rich marine ecosystem.

The focus of my project was to develop criteria for evaluating historic sites and cultural resources with potential for tourist promotion. Three primary components comprised the methodology. Initially, I undertook a systematic review of existing tourist brochures and other informational materials, documents, programs and promotional strategies. This first stage also included conducting interviews with the Palau Visitors Authority staff, consulting with the Division of Cultural Affairs registrar to obtain documentation for the sites listed on the Palau National Register of Historic Places; interviewing other key sources, such as historians, the chief of Cultural Affairs, chair of the Cultural Affairs Board of Advisers, director of the Belau National Museum; the museum researcher; and the chair of the PVA Board of Directors.

The next stage involved identifying which of the sites had the greatest potential for future promotion. Field trips had to be arranged to visit the sites. I conducted interviews with local residents and tour guides during these field trips to gain an understanding of the hopes, concerns and issues surrounding tourism, especially as they related to cultural and historic resources. I conducted additional unstructured interviews with hotel managers, community members, and tourists.

Based on brainstorming sessions with my counterpart, I devised evaluation criteria using a numerical value system. The method assesses and rates on a point scale of zero to five (O-5) the following key categories: accessibility, historical significance, physical quality, setting, vegetation control. I tested the system on 37 sites and then rated the sites according to which offered the best experience to visitors. (Krause 1990: 3-4). The managing director of the tourist agency, my counterpart, requested that I conduct a workshop to train other staff members on how to use the evaluation instrument. My hope was that Palauans employed in the agency shared common goals to the extent that they

would institutionalize the criteria on an on-going basis. The criteria could then be relied upon as a means to justify the allocation of funds for maintaining or restoring sites as well as for supporting specialists who perpetuate cultural traditions (e.g., artists, dancers or craftspeople).

In a pilot run using the criteria, I compared my results to those of a Palauan staff member within the agency. She rated Japanese sites, such as memorials, higher than the indigenous Palauan sites; I on the other hand rated several of the indigenous sites as having the greatest potential for tourist promotion. Our inconsistent ratings raise several important issues regarding the range of assumptions that evaluators might make. The staff member apparently was tailoring her assessments to the Japanese—the most frequent and fiscally generous tourists to Palau. I was evaluating sites as a Western tourist—likely American or European—seeking indigenous cultural attractions, probably for their exotic or distinctive appeal. The conflicting results, based on identical written criteria, illustrate the difficulty of choosing what to promote, of trying to "objectify" culture. The outcome of evaluating resources certainly may reflect a variety of attitudes toward the cultural environment. The tendency of evaluators to accommodate their opinions to the perceived likes or dislikes of the tourist "other" affects the results. It is important to remain cognizant of the fact that what is ranked highest for the purposes of tourism may not necessarily be the most important resources to the culture itself.

The inconsistent evaluation results support Handler's claim that managing and objectifying cultural resources is as much a subjective process as a rational one. While Handler's points are instructive and ring true, the Palau Visitors Authority faces immediate practical concerns. The agency needs tools to accomplish a task. Even though the theoretical and practical issues may not be clearly resolvable, one cannot dispense with a process because it does not produce uniform results. It is, however, important to be aware of the politics of historic preservation management techniques; evaluating resources can be a

highly subjective process, one vulnerable to judgments designed to meet the expectations of outsiders.

It is not unreasonable that Micronesians should want both things: enhanced heritage and the modern amenities that come with a strong economy. What seems paradoxical is a proclivity to package and commercialize, through tourist brochures and cultural centers, "traditional" culture as a means of securing the resources needed to purchase Western-style consumer goods, housing and infrastructure. In fact, the paradox may be read as a compromise, a bridge between the traditional and the modern, the pre-colonial and post-colonial times.

Motives and Contexts for Sharing Knowledge

To this point I have pulled together diverse experiences from Micronesia and then placed these experiences in the context of literature on tourism, historic preservation, identity and power in these island societies. The process of writing ethnography, or "writing culture," (Clifford and Marcus 1986) often becomes one of attempting to make sense of events and interactions that at the time may have left the ethnographer confused and uncertain of what actually happened. In the final written product, traditional ethnographers have frequently paid minimal attention to the challenges they experienced in getting information and in sorting it out.

So far, I have followed what I believe to be the currency of the discipline and thus have kept myself and my field experiences back stage, at least for the most part. Now I would like to divert from the conventions of ethnography and introduce several key personal experiences. Pratt (1986:29) cautions that such an approach can threaten "some delicate disciplinary boundaries" and, as illustrated in one controversial account, can bring to the surface "the anguished and messy tangle of contradictions and uncertainties surrounding the interrelations of personal experience, personal narrative, scientism, and professionalism in

ethnographic writing." My purpose in drawing from my personal experiences, I believe, can be justified by its relevance to what is at issue in the thesis—specifically, the sharing of cultural knowledge with outsiders, particularly tourists. What is acceptable to share and under what circumstances?

My experiences suggest that the outcomes of information sharing vary depending on the extent that individuals perceive a potential, or actual threat, to their economic or political status. I will describe several situations in which obtaining information was difficult and contrast these with circumstances in which it was relatively easy. These experiences are instructive for developing a feasible, culturally sensitive type of tourism. My findings suggest certain kinds of information are not appropriate to share casually with strangers.

The nature of my assignment in Palau and the social context in which it took place is important to understand. In deciding how to approach cultural tourism in my position as a technical assistant, I reviewed related documents in the visitors office and initially consulted with the agency's director, who was my counterpart. Among the responsibilities of the Palau Visitors Authority are to promote the resources of Palau to outsiders, publish informational brochures to assist visitors, and compile statistics on tourist-related information. I assumed that, since she had assigned me the task of developing a tourism plan designed to enhance and revitalize the island's heritage, I would have little difficulty in obtaining information from the appropriate agencies and sources. I also assumed that my access to information would be unencumbered since the agencies were publicly supported— primarily by U.S. aid. The basis for my assumption was rooted in my being raised in a culture that places a high value on the free flow of information. One could argue to what degree information is truly free flowing in the United States, but that is not the purpose here. Rather, I wish to emphasize the cultural ideal related to an open exchange of ideas.

My training and experience as a journalist reinforced my expectations regarding access to public information. A reporter makes use daily of the First Amendment and is allowed to do so because of a belief in the public's right to know. "In every state, the District of

Columbia and at the federal level, freedom of information or public records laws guarantee access to documents" (Kirtley 1986:26). In most states, the laws apply to all agencies of state government. Some states extend disclosure statutes to any entity that receives public funds. "All of these laws are based on the presumption that everything is public, unless specifically exempted" (Kirtley 1986:27). I expected a spirit of open access to exist in Palau since the republic officially remains an American trust territory. My expectation often proved wrong.

Granted, I was intellectually aware of the sacred dimension of knowledge that generally exists in Micronesian societies (Parker 1987, Parmentier 1987, Stanley 1989, Smith 1983, Ward 1989). However, I believed that I would be largely exempt from this barrier because a Palauan agency had invited me to undertake a specific task on its behalf. My assumptions failed to take into account the extent of restrictions to inquiry in Palauan society, the power that I as an American carried, and fierce inter-agency politics and competitiveness.

Kesolei (1977:1) points out that academic study can only begin to provide a person with a complete understanding of a culture:

> Educated people from the so-called "developed" countries, like the United States, labor under a great illusion in their dealings with people from the so-called "underdeveloped" countries, like Palau. That illusion is that academic study, of itself, furnishes them with a full understanding of the Palauan culture.

It would seem that the field of anthropology, with its emphasis on participant observation, would be somewhat free from this illusion since ethnographers tend to place great importance on moving beyond the books and getting into the field. Nevertheless, it is in the field where anthropologists may experience the greatest problems in a culture such as Palau because of attitudes and practices that "place a noticeable restriction on the freedom of inquiry" (Kesolei 1977:3).

These problems grow out of a clash between American and Palauan values related to the control of information. Americans are raised in social and educational institutions

"founded on ideals of freedom and truth, " according to Kesolei (1977:2). She contrasts the

values inherent in each society:

> With their freedoms of speech, of the press, and of the university
> guaranteed by law, Americans take it for granted that information is
> universal, that it can be obtained by anyone who cares enough to do so. In
> recent times newspapers have been filled with editorials and articles on the
> public's right to know. The opposite is true in Palau; the public does not
> have the right to know. In most cases only a limited group can claim the
> right to know something whether they know it already or not (Kesolei
> 1977:4).

In light of this value of limited right to know, it is no surprise, in retrospect, that I as

well as others encountered problems. The biggest difficulty resulted from what I will refer

to as "the mystery list," five pages of prehistoric sites located in villages or on islands

throughout Palau. I have attached the qualifier "mystery" to the list for the following reason:

my counterpart gave the list to me along with other background information; however, she

did not know the document's origins. Nor did anyone else. We suspected the list originated

in the Division of Cultural Affairs, but I was never able to verify when or why it was

created. I nevertheless relied on the list, along with information from PVA brochures and

sites on the Palau Register of Historic Places, since my assignment involved traveling to

villages in an attempt to make an inventory of potential sites for tourists to visit. The

mystery list served as a starting point since it listed by state, in the native language, the

names of sites. Background information was available on the sites registered in the Palau

Register of Historic Places; however, these were the minority. I was never able to ascertain

substantial information on some of the sites because of the barriers I encountered. For other

sites, translators helped me consult with local historians about associated stories and

legends.

The context of the revealed legends is important in understanding why Palauans may

have been interested in—or at least not restrained from—discussing them. Many of these

legends are well-known and have been popularized in carvings appearing on storyboards, a

portable tourist version of a traditional craft. The local historians seemed relatively

comfortable sharing this knowledge. Could the transformation of the legends into a commodity, and the Palauans' economic benefit from the sale of the art to tourists, influence their comfort level in sharing this category of legends? The attitude of openness regarding legends depicted on storyboards suggests that the degree of information-sharing depends on whether a precedent has been set. The precedent, in this case, is related to economics. The potential for socioeconomic and political gain influences the degree of information sharing

While the historians did not take offense at the "mystery" list of sites, others not only questioned its authority, but also seemed threatened by it. The list made people in the Cultural Affairs Division nervous because they did not know its source, though they realized that these sites could generate revenue if promoted as tourist destinations. In Palau, the source of the information usually outweighs the information itself in determining validity (Kesolei 1977:8).

I continued to use the "mystery" list for lack of any other guide given my 10-week time limitation. My attempts to gather additional information on the sites were appearing to pay off when the director of Cultural Affairs told me she would ask one of her staff members to do research on the listed sites. At a social gathering, I met the employee who had been assigned this task. We discussed the issue, and again there was confusion as to the source of the list. She expressed confusion over why her supervisor had given her the task; evidently, she had not been told of plans for future coordination between the two agencies and that the information could be used for promoting cultural resources. I then learned that although this staff person was busily researching the histories of the sites, she had been instructed to write up her findings in Belauan. Therefore, the information in its written form would not be readily available to me since my Belauan was far from fluent.

The frustration and confusion I felt at that moment was paralleled during a meeting with two agency heads where I gained insight into Palauan communication styles. I believed that the purpose of the meeting was to decide which sites to promote. (Not all the sites on the historic register were accessible, and other non-registered sites held strong potential as

tourist attractions.) The purpose also included figuring out how the two agencies could strengthen public outreach and education with regard to historic sites and also market these resources to tourists. The conversation took many twists and turns with each director seeming to back away from her position—at least as I understood their positions from independent discussions. From my American perspective, nothing was being accomplished. The two agency directors were talking around the issue, yet never actually arriving at a resolution; it seemed to be a dance of compromises. However, my counterpart later told me she had little intention of following what the director of Cultural Affairs had suggested about restricting promotions to registered sites.

Father Richard Hoar, a Catholic priest who served in Palau for at least two decades beginning in 1958, explained the stumbling block to learning what Palauans want. Kesolei (1977:5) borrowed the quote from an interview that appeared in 1970 in the *Micronesian Reporter:*

> [T]he people in general do not share their Palauan knowledge and power. They are going to be very, very slow in revealing what they think because when they say what they think, they've lost their bargaining hold. They have what I would call an island mentality which is partly peace at any price, partly keep your mouth shut, partly don't show your hand—it's involved in their whole culture. The reticence in expressing your opinion is a way of living with them, it's a virtue, it's a way of doing things, plus the fact that in this they look for leadership.

The discussion that had seemed like an octopus with its numerous legs tangled into knots actually had a clear purpose. The Palauans with whom I was dealing were interested in keeping power to their advantage—to some degree because I was American. One way to prevent me from becoming powerful was to withhold information, yet do it in a way that did not threaten the peace.

Only recently did I realize that another tool that could have proved very valuable was never offered to me. The previous year an American ethnographer, working for the Micronesian Resources Study (MRS), had completed a document that sets out categories and describes Palau's cultural resources (Smith 1990). I had asked the director of Cultural

Affairs to provide me with anything she thought might be useful for my project, about which she expressed enthusiasm. She did not suggest the MRS document. On another occasion, she had casually mentioned a document proposing a national historic park in Peleliu state. When I asked whether I could review the proposal, she agreed to lend it to me after a specified meeting. The meeting date came and went, and I followed up on my request; however, she never gave me the document. I sensed she was holding tight to some sort of bargaining power.

I venture to suggest that the Palauan notion of bargaining power manifests itself in a reluctance to install signs that could help guide tourists to sites, such as the *bai* that I had such difficulty finding, as well as interpretive placards that could provide explanations. While the visitor's office saw the need to invest in signs and maps, it was my observation that Palauans prefer that outsiders not have the tools to explore the island on their own. Further research may be needed to make definitive conclusions, but I would postulate that most Palauans prefer that outsiders rely on a Palauan guide to show them around. This preference complements the oral tradition of Palauan society as well as its matrilineal kinship system in which rights to property and knowledge are based on clan affiliation. It also means that information has to be negotiated on an individual basis, which opens the possibility for socioeconomic and political gain for those involved.

I will offer one further example to support my claim that the degree of information-sharing is partially driven by economics. After expressing a desire to attend a first-child ceremony, a ritual that marks a Palauan's initiation into motherhood and womanhood, I was invited to accompany a German ethnographer who through marriage was distantly related to the woman who was "coming out." My admission "ticket" was a gift for the new mother and/or the infant. This ceremony is said to be an appropriate setting for outsiders to attend if they are made aware of the prerequisite of attendance (a gift or money) and if they are invited. Two characteristics make the first-child ceremony an appropriate event for sharing cultural knowledge: The ceremony has traditionally been a "public" display—Palauans want

to see the traditional money piece that the woman wears as a symbol of her family's wealth and status; and it is an occasion to accumulate resources for the new mother and her family. Whether this ritual should be opened to the broader public domain of tourism is another matter that the Palauans will have to seriously discuss.

The more I learned about the politics in Palau, the more I realized my presence in the tourist office exacerbated an existing power struggle. The fact that I, an American, had been invited by the Palau Visitors Authority to assist in developing a plan was not necessarily an asset in dealing with other agencies as I had anticipated. The tourist enterprise in Palau has recently created haves and have-nots among agencies. The budget of the Palau Visitors Authority, for example, increased ten-fold in one year because the authority was allocated 70 percent of the $10 airport departure tax. Meanwhile, the staff at the Division of Cultural Affairs watched their funding remain relatively unchanged at a time when the pace of development was quickening and increasing the need for a viable historic preservation program.

One major problem with my project was that it was highly political. When compiling resources that may at some future point be promoted—be they archaeological sites, cultural activities or products—there are serious economic implications. On whose property does the site sit? Who controls the cultural activity? Who produces the ethnic arts and souvenirs? Through what process does one decide what to promote? Once it is decided what to promote, how are any revenues distributed?

A Paradigm for Cultural Tourism

The rhetorical questions above bring me to the difficult task of offering a paradigm on which to model a cultural type of tourism. A brief review of the important issues, which I have addressed throughout the thesis, will provide the grounding necessary to make the case for a model of cultural tourism.

Ethnocentrism: Tourists, continuing in the tradition of predecessors such as nineteenth-century explorer Otto von Kotzebue, tend to judge cultures from their own set of values. Ethnocentrism leads to superficial conclusions about similarities and differences between the host and home cultures. Such comparisons often result in snap judgments. Tourists whose expectations for infrastructure and services have been manipulated and inflated by metropolitan tour marketers are especially vulnerable to ethnocentrism. Furthermore, many tourists promote the ideology of modernization through the demands they place on the host society. While using the terms "savage" and "civilized" is out of vogue, notions persist about "freeing" indigenous peoples from their "primitive" state; the old terms in some cases can be substituted with the phrase "underdeveloped nation."

Modernization: An excessively rapid rate of development threatens to disrupt the precarious balance that exists in the island-nations of Micronesia. Improvements in the infrastructure are needed if tourism is to be a successful economic undertaking. Too much development too fast, however, jeopardizes what remains of traditional values and activities. Social change is inevitable; the pace at which it occurs is not.

Historic preservation: Efforts to preserve and revitalize the past can both reflect and alter what is valued. Processes designed to protect cultural and historic resources are often justified with reference to the economic potential of tourism. Preservationists have shown their penchant for things modern in the use of Western methods and technologies in preservation management. This tendency could result in their inadvertently promoting general progress and development to an extent that could ironically threaten the same resources they are trying to preserve.

Identity: Tourism has a tendency to exaggerate the exotic qualities of a place and of the people who are its inhabitants. As the hosts shape native cultural performances or create crafts to satisfy the expectations of their Western guests, transformations of self-concept occur. These transformations may result from performer-audience interaction, as the dance troupe member illustrated when he expressed feeling self-conscious while performing for

tourists, or from relationships among local people, as was shown to be the case with storyboard carvers whose social status changed with the inmate rehabilitation project. In either case, these transformations occur in the larger context of inequities in wealth and power, where members of the host society—being the less powerful—are subtly induced to alter their personae.

Strains of knowledge: The long and well-established Micronesia tradition of not freely sharing knowledge may inhibit deeper cultural understanding. Palauan culture restricts freedom of inquiry; the public does not have the right to know. This reticence is a means of holding onto bargaining power. Information may be shared more willingly if the people involved perceive that it is tied to receiving political or socioeconomic rewards.

Given these five major considerations—ethnocentrism, modernization, historic preservation, ethnic identity, and knowledge—what kind of tourism would be most appropriate for Micronesian societies? A well-designed approach to tourism would take into consideration the characteristics specific to the culture, in this case Palau, and would not be based solely on a cost-benefit analysis. The model would also weigh sociocultural and environmental impacts.

The local people involved in planning for tourism must be willing to objectify their resources in a constructive manner. This requires that they think about the products of their culture in two ways—from the point of view of what traditional Palauans value vs. what tourists value. To accomplish the latter, the evaluation criteria which I helped develop provides a mechanism for assisting Palauans to "think like a Westerner." I do not wish to imply that the evaluation criteria is a perfectly rational management approach. Indeed, the tool is vulnerable to the subjective perspectives of individuals; I showed this to be the case in a pilot run of the criteria in which I and a Palauan evaluator reached different conclusions. Any "objectification" process should take bias into account.

Backing away from their culture and viewing it "objectively" is a necessary compromise that Palauans will have to make if they are to play a central role in determining

the shape that tourism takes. If Palauans avoid thinking about their resources from an etic perspective, they will not likely be able to withstand the forces of the multinational tourist industry, forces that perpetuate dangerously rapid development. My model attempts to slow the pace of externally imposed modernization by empowering the local people at a grassroots level.

In order to keep the Western approach to resource management congruent with indigenous values, I suggest that the expertise of ritual specialists and historians be sought. They can identify resources that are too highly valued to share with tourists.

Objectification in this model therefore does not inevitably lead to commoditization. Rather, the act of objectifying a resource using my paradigm could have one of two markedly different outcomes: 1) opening to tourists non-sacred knowledge, skills and places to keep them vital; or 2) protecting certain resources from tourist access. For example, Palauans could look at the first-child ceremony objectively and determine not to open it up to tourists because they decide the event is sacred or at the core of the culture. On the other hand, transforming a cultural activity or site into a commodity could generate money to maintain the site or to validate the activities of specialists.

Palauans or other Micronesians who engage in planning for tourism must take great care to decide not only what to promote but what to protect from tourists. Commoditization of a resource often cheapens it. The most sacred rituals, sites or knowledge should be kept in a traditional realm where the public does not have a "right to know" or, for that matter, a right to see. Not introducing tourists to the whole culture will prevent tourists from being able to ridicule things they cannot understand in a short visit. Resources deemed not sacred and thus appropriate for sharing with outsiders, on the other hand, need to be interpreted for tourists to help overcome ethnocentric tendencies. Tourists, for example, will be less likely to gawk at male "war" dancers who wear skimpy red loincloths and thrust their hips to and fro if the visitors are given a brief introduction, in their language, about the history of the dance and its meaning. This sort of interpretation was lacking in the events I witnessed in

Palau. The interpretations that were provided were done so in Belauan. This is important, too, as it reinforces the native language and validates the heritage. However, if grassroots cultural tourism is to function, explanations need to be offered in the language of the visitors as well.

This approach to "objectifying" culture in the immediate context of tourism relates directly to historic preservation. Preservation efforts often have an outreach component, e.g., opening sites to tourists to generate money for the community and to pay for site maintenance. Furthermore, the process of distilling heritage helps to create a tangible resource bank that can be drawn upon to project a unique identity—a quality that certain types of tourists seek. My model takes account of the relationship between tourism and heritage yet its dual approach allows for a mechanism to keep the two separate when needed. My hope is that this approach would serve to keep to a minimum rapid transformations, which weaken social patterns. In addition, the two-fold method would serve to temper inclinations that preservation managers might develop regarding an overzealous embrace of Western values—a path that could lead to the ironic destruction of the very resources they initially sought to protect.

Education would play a prominent role in any successful type of cultural tourism. In my mind, cultural tourism succeeds if it serves as a bridge to understanding and as a vehicle for undoing ethnocentric attitudes, and at the same time if it allows for the protection of key resources as defined by the local population. The educational approach, however, should not be conducted in too serious a manner. It should incorporate tasteful humor to provide an element of entertainment so as to engage the tourists and make them feel accepted. This approach would foster positive host-guest relations. The goal of broadening the tourists' understanding of Palau could serve as a vehicle for promoting the mystique of the Palauan culture and reinforcing the fact that tourists cannot expect access to everything.

Sensitive tourism that marks boundaries and distinguishes certain resources as off-limits must also have a method for keeping tourists in line. What sort of tourist behavior

offends Palauans? What activities are taboo? What would Palauans like to forbid tourists from doing? The most sensitive behaviors need to be identified and then communicated to tourists in a simple and specific yet lighthearted manner. Furthermore, tourists need to be guided into a setting where they are persuaded to hear or read the guidelines. A method that has proven effective among the Pueblos of the U.S. Southwest is to have a "ritual clown." This approach works especially well in the kiva dances since these dances allow for a clown character. Perhaps the men who perform the war dance could designate a dancer to serve as the one who keeps tourists in line with a humorous thrust of a blunt spear or a razzing of the tongue—whatever would be most appropriate and effective for addressing the "strains of knowledge" that exist in Palauan society.

The primary method for educating tourists would be an intricate though loosely formed network of guides. This approach would make use of the complex Palauan system of social networks and would be sensitive to "Micronesia time." Tourism requires a greater degree of clock orientation than that of typical Pacific Island societies. Communal obligations tend to take precedence over wage labor in Micronesia. Employee absenteeism was often a problem in the Palauan agencies where the four University of Oregon technical assistants worked in 1990. Any system of guides needs to be designed to balance the islands' emphasis on communal obligations with the Western tourist's expectation for reliable services. A potentially workable system would involve a pool of people trained as guides. The people would not be required to report to work every day; rather, they would be "on call" a certain number of days in the month. If they were unable to report to work, there could be a mechanism to appoint a replacement. The incentive for naming a substitute would be a percentage of the day's normal pay. The system could also have built-in flexibility for individuals: Guides could elect to be available for work anywhere from five to 25 days per month, for example.

The network of guides would be trained in cross-cultural communication to the point that they might even specialize in certain types of relations, e.g., Palauan-Japanese,

Palauan-American, Palauan-Australian, etc. To some extent, outsiders might initially have to be hired to assist in this level of training. The outsiders need not be expensive professionals. Rather, graduate students or Peace Corps workers with communication skills could assist with this task. The guides would learn to serve as cultural brokers and help tourists reach a level of appreciation about the culture impossible to glean from reading a guidebook. The information shared with tourists would be authorized by cultural specialists who had engaged in a constructive process of objectification. A cooperative approach such as this would lessen the likelihood that traditional Palauans would feel threatened by curious visitors. The guides would also be responsible for interpreting cultural events for audiences, thereby increasing their sophistication so performers would not feel that the viewers were gawking at them.

Funding to screen, hire and train the guides could be earmarked from the airport departure tax, which is currently allocated to the Palau Visitors Authority. The tax might have to be increased slightly to accommodate the expanded program. If this were not possible, hotel taxes could also be used to fund the network. Tourists then would be provided with free guides. This would encourage visitors to use the guides rather than venturing off on their own. This approach would also circumvent feelings on the part of the tourists of being "nickeled and dimed to death." Islanders express dismay over how parsimonious some tourists are about paying for services; the Micronesians perceive tourists to be wealthy and so cannot understand, for example, why tourists complain about having to pay $5 to photograph the *bai*. This suggests that at least European and American tourists assume an inherent right to access if a place is public; furthermore, tourists are ever looking for "a deal" and are sensitive to being "ripped off." A centrally funded system of guides would alleviate some of the misunderstandings that occur. However, the system would have limits to its free services. Admission would be charged for events that included performances or food. Revenue generated from grassroots undertakings that involved

performances and/or feasts could be invested back into the community after people were reimbursed for their efforts.

For the final aspect of the paradigm, I envision village-based cultural centers. These centers would not necessarily require a facility beyond a thatch roof shelter; they would, however, require cooperation among the members of the community. The centers could be open on an ad-hoc basis or in a rotating manner so as to fit the social customs of the villagers. This design would prevent the centers from being locked into offering presentations and thus would be sensitive to "Micronesian time." Ideally, however, at any given time at least one center would be available. The prospect for increased prestige and income might motivate the villages to beef up their offerings. People would once again have an incentive to live in their home regions rather than moving to Koror. The centers would provide a source of income for the villages and stimulate other types of enterprises. For example, the communities might eventually invest in small-scale guest houses.

The establishment of cultural centers has been a longtime goal of the Palau Visitors Authority (Krause 1990:37). The centers would increase visitors' exposure to cultural heritage such as Palauan foods, crafts and dances. As I have mentioned previously, few traditions of Palauan society and few historic sites were easily accessible to tourists when I was on the islands. Outsiders might be fooled into thinking that there is not much that is culturally unique about Palau. Indeed, Palau appears to be actively engaged in subscribing to a post-industrial, consumer-based society. Factors that reinforce this image include an increase in consumerism, from actual products to ideologies transmitted through commercial television; off-island migration for education and employment; the growing dominance of a cash-based economy; and a continuous influx of Western values. Cultural centers would validate Palauan heritage—at least the aspects deemed appropriate for sharing with outsiders. It is hoped that the increased value placed on designated activities would help to revitalize the private cultural characteristics as well. Melding the old with the new poses great challenges indeed.

* * *

Each aspect of the paradigm I have outlined relates to the shaping of identity. Micronesians in general and Palauans in particular have reasons to benefit from the projection of a cohesive identity. My approach complements this desire by allowing the local population the opportunity to shape its own concept of self and not simply be beguiled into playing up to an externally imagined "authentic native." I would hope that the dual component—constructive objectification—could moderate the exaggeration of exotic qualities that result in negative transformations of self-concept. Such transformations may not be healthy when those involved feel they have compromised their own heritage to cater to the demands of the tourists, who are ultimately more powerful because of their greater wealth and political status. Peter Matthiessen quotes an unidentified Indian writer who notes the disturbing phenomenon of the search for heritage gone awry among some tribal peoples: "A decline in their firsthand experience in Native American customs has resulted in a reactionary mentality that poses as traditionalism . . . and . . . a degraded and stereotypical 'pow-wow' view of themselves" (Matthiessen 1983:168). I do not know in a single phrase what the equivalent Palauan stereotyped view of self would be. But I hope that Palauans will be able to strengthen their communities, empower themselves and then blend both traditional and contemporary elements of Palauan society in any projection of who they are, so as to stave off tourism's proclivity for alienating local identity.

Doubts and Beyond

The challenges of a tourist industry that is based on existing host country social networks would be many, not the least of which would be competing against foreign corporate interests and the lure of international investors. As mentioned previously, tourism

is an ambiguous development strategy with its discourse of self-sufficiency that is curious given the dependency relationships that tourism encourages. My model does not claim to have the power to counter global market forces. A social-network type of tourism would be the underdog. Palauans would have to be committed to the system in order to make it run efficiently and reliably. A system that relied upon a network of grassroots people would be difficult to maintain both because of potential internal politics and external, i.e., tourists', uneasiness about a system different from most. On the other hand, Palauans and other Micronesians have become aware of the pitfalls of tourism, especially when it is developed on a massive scale, and they realize it is not an economic panacea. Palauans have shown they are fierce, independent thinkers—with the Nuclear free constitution, for example. Such determination has the potential to be harnessed for the creation of a custom-made genre of tourism.

Overcoming ethnocentric attitudes is another great challenge, one that I begin to address in this thesis. Ethnocentrism accompanies Westerners who venture to distant nations. Tourists from the developed, materially wealthy nations of the West would be challenged to appreciate the rich social aspects of Palauan culture, and guides would be hard-pressed to be so well-trained that they could explain their indigenous culture without giving too much away.

The difficulty of actually getting people to rise above their ethnocentrism presented itself in a new light in February 1992 when I joined play in the cultural awareness game Bafa Bafa, in which one set of people assumes the *alpha* culture and the other assumes the *beta*. The *betas*, being trade oriented, had difficulty seeing the point of the *alpha* society, where a game and chips were played but merely as a device to get people interacting—rather than as a means of acquiring wealth or status. The patrilineal kinship-oriented *alphas*, on the other hand, viewed the gender-neutral *betas* as being obsessed with trade to the point of being rude and void of social relations. I was amazed at the quickness with which players

expressed loyalty to their assigned cultures. This effectively demonstrated how people tend to cling to what they know, especially when their foundation of values is at stake.

When traveling to unknown places, many tourists confronted with different social systems search for a survival strategy for dealing with "culture shock." Many tourists—and Americans are especially known for this characteristic—seek a sense of being in control. One common mechanism is to strengthen adherence to one's own cultural beliefs. In doing so, tourists may become close-minded about values or practices different from their own. This coping mechanism may actually be a disguise for ethnocentrism, which could further hinder a successful model of low-impact cultural tourism. It is my hope that the visitors who venture to Micronesia are open-minded enough to accept the efforts of these post-colonial island nations in devising alternative tourist industries.

One final reservation about the paradigm involves the extent to which equilibrium is attainable, specifically the equilibrium that exists between revitalizing heritage for the benefit of the local population and promoting that heritage to outsiders. It is not unreasonable for Micronesians to want both things: a well-planned tourist industry and an enhanced heritage. Yet attempts to preserve cultural heritage move along a slippery path when tourism enters into the equation and changes the context, as we saw in chapter three with the examples of storyboard carving and traditional dancing. This collision course emerges partly because the goals of the tourists complement yet are also in conflict with those of the hosts. The hosts are partly interested in preserving their heritage and partly in making money. Most tourists do not attend a cultural event or purchase a cultural product with the intention foremost in their mind of helping to revitalize the heritage of the host country. Rather they attend an event because it is something to do; they seek entertainment because it is of the exotic nature; they seek a souvenir because it authenticates their visit. In short, "they long for what they"—meaning earlier generations of foreigners—"have previously destroyed" (Bruner 1991:246). This is precisely the context in which the "native self experiences profound changes" while the "tourist self is modified very little." (Bruner 1991:248). There is

obviously a contradiction at work if, in the process of trying to revitalize heritage and slow down change the local population experiences a great deal of change. My model attempts to provide a middle ground for this contradiction, but to what extent it can succeed in practice remains to be seen.

VI. CONCLUSION

The major purpose of this thesis has been to explore the complex consequences of turning to tourism as a catalyst for enhancing heritage. Can tourism revitalize traditions on which a society is based? My investigation indicates that it can. But I must qualify this answer. Tourism can revive certain skills and knowledge such as the carving required for making storyboards, the legends the boards depict, as well as dance steps and the associated legends. Or it can generate revenue that allows resource managers to hire local people to keep a site clear of vegetation or to restore it as a visible reminder of the past. The newly interested tourist audience, representing greater power, validates the traditions that colonialism, war and modernization nearly obliterated. These same tourists, however, also encourage the host society to modify the function and context of their traditions. This leads to new meanings, altered social status, and possibly commoditization to the point of alienating the indigenous population from the tradition, activity or site.

I have attempted to provide an historical context and to resolve practical and theoretical dilemmas that initially confronted me during two field projects—one in the Marshall Islands and one in Palau. The historical case study of Otto von Kotzebue lent perspective to contemporary host-guest relations. Kotzebue's perceptions of the indigenous people were conditioned by nineteenth-century notions of "savage" and "civilization." These notions are especially relevant to cultural tourism, for this type of tourism tends to attract visitors who may be nostalgic for the "authentic native"—in other words, the islander who thrived at the time of Kotzebue's journey. When islanders play up to stereotyped visions of the past, it is important to understand the context of power inequities in which this vision was constructed. Kotzebue's ethnocentric lens blinded him. Ghosts of ethnocentrism from the early contact period haunt Western tourists who visit island nations. Stereotyped expectations of exotic island "others" will similarly prevent tourists from knowing and valuing Micronesians for who they are.

Tourist literature perpetuates a mysterious, unchanged quality of Micronesia as was illustrated by a Palauan advertising brochure. The tourist industry wields considerable influence in determining how ethnicity takes shape. The evolution of storyboard carving elucidates the extent to which tourism has led to reinvented, sellable forms of Micronesian culture. The historical influence of colonial powers on heritage provides a context for the ethnic forms that emerged in the postwar era of tourism. Both the colonial and postwar eras represented periods of dramatic change. The sellability of culture intensified in the 1960s when tourism emerged as an economic development strategy for Micronesia's nation-states, then-known as the U.S. Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. Commoditization has resulted in changes in the function of expressive arts, their meaning, and the social status of the people involved in their production.

Divergences in goals clearly arise between tourism and historic preservation efforts. There is a contradiction inherent in the tourism-heritage relationship as manifested in the context of cultural identity and nation-statehood. Palauans in the 1970s moved from rejecting second-class citizenship—especially as the older generation had experienced it under the Japanese—to searching for a unique identity through which to empower themselves. Traditions have helped to augment and cement "Palauanness." Historic preservation programs complement the tendency of nation-states to invent traditions and the desire to project a cohesive image. Historic preservation programs also serve as a link between preserving heritage for the local population and promoting it to tourists. Heritage has been reshaped to sell to tourists and to meet the demands of a modern world and economic order. The path connecting the activities of preservation and promotion initially turns slippery where the value of resources is altered through objectification. Where these new values lead to the embrace of rapid development, including tourism as a strategy, the path becomes even more slippery. Tourism can potentially burgeon into a force that threatens the very heritage that is central to island identity.

Micronesia's entry into the global market economy, however, renders tourism inevitable. What is not inevitable is the shape that tourism takes. Complications exist in deciding what to promote to tourists, especially given the strains of sharing knowledge characteristic of Micronesia. It is my hope that the model of cultural tourism presented here will minimize the negative social impacts of tourism, for it seeks to moderate the rate of development and magnify the level of community involvement and control over change. The people of Palau and Taroa in particular, and Micronesia in general, are intended to be the primary beneficiaries of this undertaking.

Tourism is an agent of change. As such, it cannot revitalize traditions exactly as they once were, but it can help to rejuvenate ever-changing forms of heritage. Admittedly, no system can totally resolve the contradictions inherent in striving for development while at the same time clinging to the traditions on which a society was historically based. There are both great possibilities and great dangers where choices of direction must be made. Tourism and historic preservation can be merged to minimize negative consequences and lead to positive outcomes.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

CRITERIA FOR EVALUATING HISTORIC SITES AND CULTURAL RESOURCES

The following criteria were developed during the summer of 1990 to assist the Palau Visitors Authority in assessing its cultural and historic resources for possible promotion as tourist destinations. Descriptions of selected sites were written to enhance the evaluation. These descriptions were included in the final report submitted to the Palau Visitors Authority as part of the University of Oregon Technical Assistance Project. The managing director of the Palau Visitors Authority contributed to the evaluation criteria that follow.

1) Accessibility. This component of the evaluation refers primarily to the ease of getting to a site or accessing a cultural activity once the visitor has arrived in the state or village. Considerations include whether a path to the site exists, how long of a walk is required, the quality of the terrain, the steepness of a climb if one is required, and other relative aspects of accessing a site or taking part in a cultural activity, demonstration or performance. The traveler should not experience great discomfort or inconvenience as a result of visiting a particular site.

2) Historical significance. Legends and history—Palauan as well as foreign—should be considered in determining a site's historical import. The most interesting sites often have legends or history associated with them. A cultural activity, demonstration or performance should possess qualities that are meaningful to the Palauan way of life in order to receive a high score.

3) Physical quality. The visual features of an historic site are important to tourists. Appearance refers to the aesthetics of the site itself. Evaluators should try to determine whether the site remains in its original form and, if it does not, how it has been altered. This category's application to a cultural activity should take quality into consideration. For example, the works of master craftspeople and artists should receive higher ratings than apprentices or novices.

4) <u>Setting</u>. The scenery surrounding a site or the setting of a cultural activity may be almost as important to the visitor as the site or activity itself. If the road to a site or cultural center provides a panoramic view of the lagoon, for instance, or the village enjoys a particularly attractive setting along a clear stream, a high value should be assigned.

5) <u>Vegetation control.</u> This category refers specifically to the level of maintenance a site enjoys with regard to vegetation. Some sites may be overgrown with vegetation to the point of obscuring the site altogether. Such sites are likely in need of extensive yet sensitive clearing. Sites should be well-maintained to qualify for high marks and hence promotion; however, revenue generated from tourism could also be used to pay local people for ongoing upkeep.

As for cultural activities, this category can be used to assess reliability, i.e., whether coordinators or guides can rely upon the cultural expert or demonstrator to show up to perform a dance, weave a basket, make a speargun, carve a storyboard, etc.

The Evaluation System

A value system with corresponding numbers from 0 to 5 was designed to rate the sites. The system was designed so that the best sites would receive the highest point ratings. The evaluators were instructed to assign numbers to each characteristic—accessibility, historical significance, physical quality, setting, vegetation control/reliability—of a site or cultural resource to determine a value. The final rating would then be based on scores. The end result was a priority listing of sites. The list was not meant to be permanent but continually modified and reviewed. The following scale was designed:

0 = Cannot be determined

1 = Unsatisfactory

2 = Needs improvement

3 = Satisfactory

4 = Good

5 = Excellent

Other important considerations for the promotion of sites and cultural activities include transportation, networks of communication, whether a day or overnight trip is required, ownership of site property, and other activities or sites with close proximity to a primary site. These aspects are less easily measured than those cited in the preceding criteria; however, the Palau Visitors Authority realized that it will have to consider the other aspects as it undertakes a more rigorous promotion of Palau's cultural and historic resources. (Specific information on each of these areas was included in the original technical assistance report.)

APPENDIX B

SUMMARY EVALUATION LIST OF SITES VISITED

This summary includes all sites visited during the 1990 project in Palau. The original report also included written descriptions of select sites. The descriptions served as an example of the process of writing up site summaries following a field trip. They were also written to provide the staff of the Palau Visitors Authority useful information to answer tourists' questions about what to expect from particular sites.

Sites are listed chronologically and by state. The scores on the right-hand column were obtained using the Criteria for Evaluating Historic Sites and Cultural Resources. The project focused primarily on historic sites; however, cultural activities are equally important and should be sought out, evaluated and promoted as appropriate to the wishes of the local communities.

STATE	DATE	SITE	SCORE
AIRAI	July 12	Bai Ra Irrai	24
		Metuk Ra Bisech	20
NGARCHELONG	July 22	Badrulchau Monoliths	24
		Iksid Ptungch	15
		Meteulechol	15
		Ngerbau Fort	22
		Odosongel Ra Olkuul	13
		Ngetechur and Ibasang	15
		Oreol Bad	13
		Toluk El Bad	6
KOROR	July 27	Mother and Child Monolith	21
		Ulong Village Site	17
		Yapese Money Cave	21
	August 6	Shinto Shrine	24

NGARDMAU	July 31	Edub Era Ielech monolith	19
		bai platform at hilltop	19
PELELIU	August 4	Amphibious tanks	16
		Swimming Hole	10
		Honeymoon (Purple) Beach	23
		Modekngei Shrine	24
		Bai Ra Ngeremengululau	14
		Japanese Anti-Boat Gun	23
		Remeliik's Tomb	14
	August 5	1,000 Man Cave	12
		Ruins of Japanese Pier	10
AIMELIIK	August 8	Malsol's Tomb	16
		Bai Misau	11
		Olkolel A Iluochel	8
		Tkerengiil El Bad	10
		Ngebedech Terraces	20
		Bai Ra Bekai	20
NGCHESAR	August 8	War Canoe	22
NGATPANG	August 8	Esuch El Bad (owl)	11
		Kokusai, Japanese Memorial	16
MELEKEOK	August 22	Odalmelech Monoliths	20
		Meteu'l Klechem	16
		Ngermecheluch Pier	23

The following lists sites in priroty for promotion based on values obtained from the evaluation criteria. Sites with equal ratings but closer to the population center of Koror are listed before sites requiring special travel arrangements, such as a charter boat or four-wheel drive.

SCORE	SITE
24	Shinto Shrine
24	Bai Ra Irrai
24	Badrulchau Monoliths
24	Modekngei Shrine
23	Ngermecheluch pier
23	Honeymoon Beach

23	Japanese anti-boat gun
22	War Canoe
22	Ngerbau Fort
21	Ngebedech Terraces
21	Mother and Child Monolith
21	Yapese Stone Money Cave (Koror, Rock Islands)
20	Metuk Ra Bisech
20	Bai Ra Bekai
20	Odalmelech monoliths
19	Edub Era Ielech Monolith
17	Ulong Village Site
16	Malsol's Tomb
16	Kokusai, Japanese Memorial
16	Meteu 'l Klechem

APPENDIX C

PALAU NATIONAL TOURISM POLICY*

IT IS HEREBY DECLARED THAT IT IS THE POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT OF PALAU TO:

1. DEVELOP AND PROMOTE THE NATURAL, SCENIC, CULTURAL, HISTORICAL AND RECREATIONAL ATTRACTIONS OF PALAU IN WAYS THAT WILL:

    A) CREATE AN ECONOMICALLY SOUND TOURISM RESOURCE;

    B) FOSTER PRESERVATION AND ENHANCEMENT OF THESE ASSETS AND AVOID THEIR DEGRADATION AND POLLUTION;

    C) PROVIDE SUBSTANTIAL NET ECONOMIC RETURN TO THE PEOPLE OF PALAU;

    D) PROVIDE EQUITABLE DISTRIBUTION OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL BENEFITS THROUOUT THE COUNTRY;

    E) MAINTAIN ACTIVE CONTROL BY THE GOVERNMENT AND THE PALAUAN TOURIST INDUSTRY OVER THE NATURE, QUALITY, AND MAGNITUDE OF TOURISM DEVELOPMENT AND THE USE OF LAND AND WATER RESOURCES FOR TOURISM PURPOSES; AND

    F) FOSTER GREATER UNDERSTANDING AND APPRECIATION OF PALAUAN CULTURE BY RESIDENTS AND VISITORS TO THE REPUBLIC.

2. DEVELOP STRONG SUPPORT FOR TOURISM ON A NATIONWIDE BASIS
    THROUGH PUBLIC UNDERSTANDING, EDUCATION AND
    APPRECIATION OF TOURISM AND ITS ECONOMIC CONTRIBUTIONS.

3. GEAR THE EXPANSION OF TOURISM DEVELOPMENTS IN A DIRECTION
    WHICH IS IN ACCORD AT ALL TIMES WITH OTHER ELEMENTS OF THIS
    TOURISM POLICY AND WITH THE CAPACITY OF PALAU TO ABSORB.

4. SEEK AN AFFLUENT, DISCERNING AND LONG-STAYING CLASS OF
    TOURISTS ABLE TO BRING A GOOD MEASURE OF INCOME TO PALAU,
    AND PROVIDE CULTURALLY REWARDING EXCHANGE WITH
PALAUANS.

* A copy of this policy was provided by the Palau Visitors Authority in July 1990. At that time, it had not yet been officially adopted by the Palauan government; however, the Visitors Authority leadership was relying on it for philosophical direction and to formulate policy.