

the "road" to the sweeping changes the villagers hope for. It in turn is linked with literacy and schooling, because the priorities of Christian conversion dictated that Christians should be able to read the Bible.

So far, Kulick says, English has played no role in the villagers' conception of development, but I expect that will change soon. It has already happened in more developed parts of the country, where people have rejected mission education in vernacular languages and Tok Pisin in favor of government schools that teach in English (Romaine, *Language, Education and Development*, 1992). In the final chapter, "The Process of Language Shift," it emerges that villagers do not see themselves as having made a conscious decision not to transmit their language. On the contrary, they see themselves as reacting against the shift, in particular, against the stubbornness of their own children. Yet at the same time, it is clear from the description of their language behavior in chapter 6, "Becoming Monolingual," that children are given more input in Tok Pisin than in Taiap, and adults do not expect or insist that children speak Taiap.

Here and there Kulick neglects to gloss certain Tok Pisin expressions, which may be annoying to those with no knowledge of the language (eg, 7, 11, 31). I also found the material in chapter 7, "Contextualizing the Self" about the concept of *stori* (Tok Pisin "story"), less clearly integrated with the main argument of the book. Apart from this, the book is exceptionally well written. It is an excellent study that should be read by linguists and anthropologists, as well as those more

generally interested in processes of social and cultural change in the Pacific.

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*Diplomas and Thatch Houses: Asserting Tradition in a Changing Micronesia*, by Juliana Flinn. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992. ISBN 0-472-10306-7, vi + 187 pp, tables, notes, references, index. US\$29.95.

When the United States acquired Micronesia after World War II, education was seen as the principal means by which to promote American goals of democracy, development, and dependency in this new territory. The original plan for universal elementary education rapidly exploded in the 1960s and 1970s to provide some secondary and even postsecondary education in Micronesia and to further open educational opportunities in Guam, Hawai'i, and the US mainland.

Micronesians have eagerly sought education as a means to enter the modern world—as a resource to acquire jobs, money, material goods, and new forms of status. Pursuing educational goals has usually entailed the progressive migration and enculturation of Islanders as they advance through the school system. Schooling has often been blamed for the loss of traditional Micronesian culture.

As a Peace Corps high school ESL instructor in Chuuk at the height of the education explosion in the mid-1970s, Julie Flinn was directly confronted with issues of cultural identity and

rapid social change in Micronesia. Returning for doctoral work several years later, she deliberately chose to focus her research on the tiny coral atoll of Pulap, known as one of the most traditional areas in the western islands of Chuuk. In the past, Pulap had served as a remote outpost and low-ranked member of the old Yapese empire; after contact, the island's distance from lagoon Chuuk had also shielded it from the full weight of changes brought by the succession of foreign colonial governments that ruled Micronesia. This relative isolation had been rapidly changing in the American period—the education explosion had reached even tiny Pulap. An elementary school had been established on the island, and the desire for advanced schooling served as the major motivation for migration.

Flinn shows that the Pulapese have been careful to maintain their cultural identity by safeguarding their traditions in the face of this powerful force for modernity. They accomplish it, the author maintains, by neither fossilizing tradition nor inventing it wholesale. Rather, the Pulapese do not see tradition and change as contradictory. They actively use their past as a guide by which to re-create and extend tradition, thereby allowing them to incorporate tradition and change.

At home, where Pulapese retain a large measure of local control over their elementary school, this is accomplished by a simple process of indigenization, or the modification of foreign introductions to make them more suited to traditional beliefs and practices. Pulapese teachers and students alike wear their traditional forms of

dress to class, exhibit formal customs of deference between siblings, and tackle lessons according to Pulapese notions of time. Students are also encouraged to help each other and to work as a group. Through a series of such changes, the elementary school is transformed from an institution based on American-style competitive individualism to one based more on Pulapese-style cooperation and conformity. What the children are learning in this indigenized context is partly about the modern world and partly about their traditions. In other words, they are learning a complex message about being Pulapese in the wider world context today.

Away from home, where Pulapese find themselves in larger and more diverse contexts in which they wield less power, this more traditional orientation has become a matter for self-conscious reflection. Especially for the educated elite, being traditional has become a political symbol and a focus of cultural pride and identity. What constitutes the traditional for Pulapese in this context is kinship. As in other Pacific societies, kinship in Pulap is reckoned not only on one's genealogical connections, but perhaps more importantly on one's behavior as a relative—particularly by one's nurturance and sharing with others, especially of food. This behaviorally based definition of kinship can be used to forge strong bonds of solidarity among Pulapese who are living abroad. In Chuuk's port of Moen, for example, it has led to the re-creation of a smaller version of Pulap itself. In addition, the Pulapese kinship system holds the potential to convert any stranger they

may encounter into kin. Thus, Pula-pese kinship, a traditional adaptive strategy which maximized the network of potential resources for these atoll dwellers, is updated and extended to serve in the newer contexts they find themselves in today.

*Diplomas and Thatch Houses* will be a relatively rare and important Micronesian contribution to the growing literature in the fields of ethnicity, cultural identity, politics of culture, and anthropology and education. The text is very clearly written and also contains good overviews of Pula-pese kinship and the history of schooling in a Micronesian society.

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*Culture and Democracy in the South Pacific*, edited by Ron Crocombe, Uentabo Neemia, Asesela Ravuvu, and Werner vom Busch. Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific, 1992. ISBN 982-02-0079-2, viii + 280 pp, illustrations, notes, bibliography, glossary, index. Paper, US\$14; F\$7.

The waning of colonialism and the breakup of the Soviet alliance have given rise to a plethora of new states. Many of these "emerging" nations face a political identity crisis as their citizens adapt unfamiliar governmental models to local conditions and priorities. Some Pacific Island nations have been dealing with this challenge for decades. The question addressed in this collection of essays could hardly be more timely: whether indigenous

Pacific cultural forms and values facilitate or hinder the establishment of "democracy."

Ron Crocombe and his collaborators invited a number of academics and politicians in the region to write about the relationship between culture and democracy. The resulting volume contains sixteen chapters ranging in length from 8 to 22 pages, and three poems. Introductory essays by Crocombe and Uentabo Neemia give an overview of decolonization in the Pacific and discuss the varied meanings of democracy, with Crocombe pointing out some of the internal contradictions found in modern democracies. All of the major island states are represented in the collection, Polynesia and Melanesia receiving the bulk of the coverage and only two chapters devoted to Micronesia. Of the six Melanesian essays, four are on Fiji.

As is suggested by the range in length, the essays vary widely in the depth of their treatment. The shorter pieces in particular tend to offer overly general, idealized, and unrevealing statements. "Traditional values" and "modern values" are frequently juxtaposed but seldom grounded in specifics. Some of the essays have no citations; bibliographies, where present, tend to be brief. The chapters also vary in clarity of expression and in the attention paid to the relationship between culture and democracy. Most deal with culture—primarily indigenous forms of authority—more than democracy. Culture change and the effects of colonialism are prominent themes.

The consensual points in the volume tend to be unremarkable: that Pacific