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Modernization in Micronesia: Acculturation, Colonialism and Culture Change

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MODERNIZATION IN MICRONESIA:
Acculturation, Colonialism and Culture Change

by

Kirk L. Gray

A Thesis
Submitted to the
Faculty of The Graduate College
in partial fulfillment
of the
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PREFACE

One of the most controversial issues confronting anthropology today concerns the position which the anthropologist should adopt with respect to the means, ends and purposes of native administration. When we speak of applied anthropology, we mean an inventory of specific knowledge that is applicable to many of the undertakings of the administrator, missionary, educationist, internationalist. Each and all may use the results of the anthropologist's investigations; they may, in our judgment, misuse these results or they may elect to ignore them. Colonial administration is replete with situations where the results of anthropological investigation have been carefully repudiated because the data were contrary to a predetermined course of action. In these cases, anthropology, and the field anthropologist in particular, are not then responsible for the consequences. Often, however, the anthropologist becomes aligned with a particular program or with those who are either directing or being affected by it, thus becoming involved in its administration. Since the very nature of anthropology is its concern with the study of "man and his works", value judgments are inseparable from an investigation. The issue of objectivity in the application of anthropological research is one of considerable importance and confusion, since there exists variant phrasing and differing interpretations of it. Just why the investigation of human behavior inevitably introduces value judgments is seldom made explicit. Unquestionably there has been and continues to be a proclivity among anthropologists
and other social scientists to identify themselves with their subjects and this often leads to their insisting on humanitarian principles and a reinterpreting of these principles as they apply to the particular situation.

Since World War II, physical as well as social scientists have become concerned if not suspicious about the uses which might be made of their research results. Barnett has noted that:

Anthropologists have been particularly apprehensive because so much of their information is obtained under disarming circumstances if not actually in confidence and because it so often exposes people who are powerless to state their own case or defend themselves against outside interference. (Barnett, 1956:80).

Some anthropologists have argued that the emphasis of applied anthropology should be on determining what people want and aiding them to get it rather than on how they can best be persuaded to do what people in another culture think is best for them. The work of much of the recent anthropological research has been directed toward this goal, and as a result of this concern, the Society for Applied Anthropology has outlined a code of ethics for anthropological research which bears mentioning here. In part, the document stated that anthropologists recognize:

That the applied anthropologist must take responsibility for the effects of his recommendations, never maintaining that he is merely a technician unconcerned with the ends toward which his applied scientific skills are directed.

That the specific means adopted will inevitably determine the ends attained, hence ends can never be used to justify means and full responsibility must be taken for the ethical and social implications of both means and ends recommended or employed. (Human Organization, 10, No. 2, 1951:32).
We can assume that as a social scientist the anthropologist, by the very nature of his training and specialization, will be concerned with the prevention of friction in social relations, the preservation of human dignity (which most certainly involves a major value judgment) and the social rights of administered groups, and that his work should not involve the loss of human lives. Only in this way can the anthropologist justify his work with colonial administration or military government.

Though anthropologists disagree not only on the virtue but also on the possibility of neutrality in the application of their knowledge, this paper has been developed with the conviction that with respect to the situation in the U.S. Trust Territory of the Pacific, the anthropological theories and data contained herein need to be specific and of practical applicability to the changing circumstances surrounding the peoples and cultures of Micronesia. Much of this manuscript is devoted to the history of the islands of Micronesia, particularly under the different administrations which have contributed distinctive components of the Micronesian life style. A knowledge of the special forces which have created the prevailing cultural circumstances in the Trust Territory is held here to be essential for more than just satisfaction of scientific curiosity, for only in understanding the developments of the past can any valid theoretical framework be developed. The kind of data that anthropologists have collected in reference to Micronesia, most of it of particular islands and island groups, is indispensable for the definition and execution of an enlightened colonial policy.
Though limited to available 'library' materials concerning the Trust Territory of the Pacific, a synthesis of numerous excellent ethnographic reports about the various islands which comprise Micronesia has been attempted here in order to develop a more far-reaching comprehension of the problem of modernization as it applies to Micronesia.

The conspicuous need for such incorporation of ethnographic information has been of particular concern to the writer in the progress of this manuscript. Since the beginning of the present century and especially in the past three decades, government sponsored investigations have stressed the importance of a knowledge of native institutions. At the conclusion of World War II, the United States was granted administrative control of Micronesia by the Security Council of the United Nations. Under a unique provision, and as a special concession to the military which had earlier desired annexation, Micronesia was designated a "strategic trust", a unique status which gave the United States virtually a free hand. (Mihaly, 1974:839). In so assuming this trust, the United States took the position that Micronesia was an identifiable whole representing a united cultural area which could be centrally administered until such a time as Micronesia was determined to be capable of self-government. This position continues to this day. Consequently, the value of a general body of data and related theoretical orientation in regard to the cultures of the Pacific becomes even more salient. If we are to govern Micronesia as a societal whole, the inclusion of all the various cultural differences and historical
directions must be taken into account in order to produce valid
theories and effective programs. It is the opinion of this
writer that it is imperative that all the various ethnographic
and social research which has been done in Micronesia, most of
which pertains to specific institutions, particular cultural groups,
or island districts and their respective traditional and modern
organization must be synthesized into sound practical theories
adaptable to the rapidly changing situation in Micronesia.
INTRODUCTION

Micronesia is that region of small islands stretching over some five million square miles of the western Pacific. The total land area is minute, consisting of just over one thousand square miles. The more than 2,140 islands that comprise the generally acknowledged "culture area" of Micronesia are at present inhabited by between 125,000 and 135,000 native people (Alkire, 1972:2). In more than one sense the term "Micronesia" is a geographical expression used to denote, for the purposes of this study, those islands which make up the strategic trust territory of the Pacific: the Mariana, Caroline, and Marshall Islands. Excluded from this study, but usually included within the geographic boundaries of Micronesia, are the Gilbert Islands which lie to the southeast of the U.S. Trust Territory.

Since our conception of Micronesia so far is more geographic than anything else, it should be mentioned that all three of the island groups which comprise the Trust Territory of the Pacific lie entirely north of the equator. To the south and east lies Polynesia; farther southwest is Melanesia. The islands of Micronesia are not of a single type. But just as the topography of Micronesia is different from any of the other "culture areas" in the Pacific Basin, so too are the ways and life-styles of the people inhabiting the geographic zone we have indicated. The more peripheral cultures appear at times to have more in common with Polynesia or Melanesia. If one were to approach the conception of Micronesia in terms other
than physical setting, the region would have to be dissected further and in a number of possible ways. Anthropologists have at times classified the various cultures of Micronesia in terms of certain features of social life apparent in most of the Micronesian islands: the household or extended family group, matrilineal succession, special kinship links, land tenure, class and caste systems, language, and technology, to name but a few of the categories on which classifications have been based for comparative purposes. With respect to the concept of Micronesia as a culture area as well as a geographical entity in the western Pacific, Mason noted:

In a word, the concept of Micronesia as a culture area loses its utility when confronted with the cultural and linguistical diversity which exists therein and which often obscures the putative borders.

So-called Micronesians, then, must be regarded as heterogeneous by nearly every standard, especially if compared to the peoples of Polynesia to the east. Such variation, however, pales into insignificance when viewed against the kaleidoscopic character of Melanesian cultures in the larger and more heavily settled islands of the southwest Pacific (1968a:276).
CHAPTER I
The Environmental Setting

Of the estimated 2500 islands in Micronesia, Mason has noted that they...

...account for just over 1000 square miles, but they are lost to view individually in the great expanse of ocean that in its extent matches the continental United States. Guam, with 209 square miles, is the largest island. The smallest ones are sand bars on the atoll reef. (1968a:276).

It is an anthropological truism that habitat limits but does not determine the nature of a culture. To know the ecological diversity of Micronesia is to understand some of its cultural variation (Mason, 1968a:276). There are important topographic differences between the island groups which comprise the culture area known as Micronesia. Differences between volcanic and coral islands directly influence the quantity and variety of vegetation found on the islands, and this in turn affects how attractive each may be as a place for human occupancy.

Topographically, "high" islands are commonly distinguished from "low" islands or coral atolls. The first are volcanic and consist primarily of the Mariana islands (Guam, Rota, Tinian, and Saipan in the south, to Pagan and Agriham toward the north) and five of the Carolines (Palau, Yap, Truk, Ponape, and Kusaie). The rest of the Carolines and all of the Marshalls are the result of centuries of coral deposits on top of submerged volcanic peaks and ridges. Volcanic islands are generally larger, possessing a more variable topography as well as richer soils than the coral atolls; thus, they
almost always have a greater variety of flora. Raised individual atolls form another type of Micronesian topography. These usually have no lagoons, although there may be an inland depression suggesting an atoll origin.

Climate

The tropical maritime climate of Micronesia is characterized by year-round temperatures which average in the eighties, generally heavy rainfall and high humidity, and seasonal trade-winds extending from early November through April or May in most areas.

Seasonal rain deficits develop in the trade-wind months. Typically, the windward side of the high islands, which intercepts the prevailing winds, receives more rain, whereas the leeward side may receive only 20 to 30 inches. Annual rainfall of 120 to 150 inches is usual in a belt which stretches in an east-west direction just north of the equator. This belt includes most of the Caroline islands. Alkire among others has noted that there is a marked decrease toward the eastern end of Micronesia:

Ponape, in the central Carolines, is one of the wettest islands of the region, receiving an annual average of 180 inches fairly evenly distributed throughout the year. The northern Marianas, northern Marshalls, and southern Gilberts, on the other hand, have the lowest yearly averages, marked seasonal variation, and periodic droughts. (Alkire, 1972:4).

Fluctuation and seasonal variation can seriously limit the variety and number of plant species which are able to survive on a coral island. Because of the flatness, ground water is scarce and solely dependent upon rainfall. If rainfall is not sufficient, the fresh water contained by the porous coral substratum will dissipate into
the brackish water beneath.

In regard to water supply, permanent streams are few and are limited to the high islands. Fresh water procurement is frequently a grave problem and strict conservation during the trade-wind season is a virtual necessary on many of the islands. Low-island dwellers depend on rain water catchment systems or wells which tap the underground levels of fresh water.

Typhoons originate in the central and eastern Carolines and, moving in a westerly direction, cause great damage in the Yap and Marianas area. Destruction is usually most severe on the low coral islands which provide little or no protection from the raging winds; damage is usually less on the larger volcanic islands where general topography and size provide greater shelter.

**Flora and Fauna**

The subsistence foods cultivated in Micronesia are basically the same on both the high and low islands. Breadfruit, taro (Colocasia, Cyrtosperma, and Alocasia, which are more accurately termed aroids), coconuts, and yams are the most important. The drier and raised atolls present the greatest challenge to human occupancy in Micronesia. Here, vegetation consists of vines, coarse grasses and the introduced coconut and pandanus trees. Rich soils and rainfall on such high volcanic islands as Ponape produce a great variety and veritable jungle of vines, ferns, shrubs and trees of all kinds. Somewhat similar conditions exist on Yap, Palau, and portions of the southern Marianas.

In contrast to the plant life found in Micronesia, which for the major portion has been established by natural means, much of the
land fauna seen in Micronesia is the result of foreign introduction. Pigs, chickens and dogs (on some islands) provide an edible food source; however, it appears that these animals were introduced to Micronesia by Europeans. All of the islands have a multitude of lizards, but these were not and are not today considered by the natives as a significant food source. By far the most important source of protein for the inhabitants of Micronesia comes from the ocean where a grand variety of edible fish, crab, sea turtles and shellfish are successfully hunted. Micronesia shares with other regions of Oceania a basic similarity of marine life, owing to a common Pacific origin and a wide distribution by ocean currents (Mason, 1968a:279). The food potentials of reef and lagoon are utilized much more than those of the open sea which involves greater risk and expenditure of energy and navigational familiarity. Beyond the reef, however, tuna, bonito, wahoo, and other large fishes are hunted with some frequency. Some danger to human life exists in the sea apart from that presented by the more common menaces such as sharks, barracudas and stingrays.

...a considerable hazard to native health exists in poisonous fishes, often known by their species and then avoided, but others may be dangerous due to changes in food habits and be eaten without suspicion (Mason, 1968a:280).

The merger of sea and land in Micronesia culture is made possible by the natives' use of the trunk of the breadfruit trees which are hollowed into canoes. From the breadfruit, also, come the broad planks that raise the height of the bulwarks on the outrigger-style vessels indigenous to the peoples of Micronesia and make the canoes...
fit for extended ocean voyages which were common practice until World War II.

As it must be with all peoples living in what must be termed a 'marginal' environment, whether due to topography, climate, soil conditions or a combination of these, Micronesians find it to their advantage to utilize virtually all major plant resources — much like the Amerindian utilized the bison as a food, clothing and shelter resource. Pandanus fruit is eaten as an additional food source and the leaves of the pandanus are woven into flexible, smooth mats that do not harbor insects. The breadfruit tree provides both food source and material goods, from the traditional digging stick to the canoe and paddles. The coconut is utilized as a major food source and water substitute, as cash crop in a changing economic structure, and the husk fibers are used as a source of hemp with which to last together canoes, thatch houses, etc. From the bones of some species of fish, traditional Micronesians fashioned fish-hooks and from sharks' teeth, the blades for sharp-edged war clubs. From the shell of the gold-lipped clam the Yapese still make a currency used in daily transactions and the Marshallese traditionally used cowrie shells as significant markers on navigational charts made of sticks lashed together.

A direct correlation exists between environmental limitations placed upon human occupation and development in Micronesia and the effects of acculturative development. Both have shaped the various cultures that one sees as distinctive components within the boundaries of the U.S. Trust Territory of the Pacific. For example, the five
atolls around Ponape in the eastern Carolines have sent hundreds of people to Ponape. Wiens (1962a:96) notes that whereas the population of the Caroline Islands as a whole increased in ten years from 35,994 in 1948 to 48,446 in 1958, the population of the atolls in the group decreased from 9496 to 8137 during the same period. A large part if not all of this decrease probably has resulted from migration to the larger volcanic islands with vacant land for homesteading as well as the availability of wage-earning employment.

The virtual lack of data on the proportion of usable land for food production on most Micronesian islands makes it difficult to assess the extent to which fertility of soil and availability of arable land have affected the cultural patterning seen in Micronesia today. Some volcanic islands are quite deficient in level areas for crop planting, whereas certain coral atolls have completely flat land areas which are more conducive to farming. However, the climatic conditions which are largely responsible for the fertility of the soil have created disparate population densities between atolls and volcanic islands in Micronesia.

It should be noted here, however, that both volcanic and coral atoll lands are able to support human life and differences which exist between the population support potentials of atolls as compared with the volcanic islands are more likely due to the greater land areas suitable for crop farming on the atolls. Moreover, the carrying capacity of an island for population is also affected by the existence of sea, lagoon and reef areas — all of which directly affect population growth and social structure. An atoll lagoon provides sheltered
waters for relatively easy fishing and fish trapping.

A correlation between the population support potentials of the land and lagoon can be found in the examination of the ex-Bikini atoll islanders who were removed from their atoll with its sufficiently stocked lagoon and extensive reefs to Kili, a reef islet without any lagoon. This change in habitat greatly reduced the amount of fish (a primary source of protein for many Micronesian peoples) and other marine foods to which they had become culturally and nutritionally accustomed. The Bikini islanders had to make a relatively quick adjustment toward reliance upon the land plants and fauna (pigs and chickens that Kili could support) as well as upon imported foods. Kiste (1968), in his report on the effects of the relocation of the Bikini islanders to Kili, noted the differences in marine life between the Bikini environment and that found in the waters around Kili.

As the reef does not offer attractive habitats for marine fauna, the results of fishing done on and immediately off the reef are relatively poor. Lobsters, turtles, and large clams are absent, only eels and a limited number of small shell-fish are to be found on the reef. With the absence of sheltered waters, basketry fish-traps are no longer used. Permanent fish pounds have also been dropped from the cultural inventory probably because they could not withstand the rough winter surf. (1968:68)

Numerous other changes in cultural patterns and techniques were required of the Bikini islanders before a successful adaptation to this new, land-based environment could be made. Changes in canoe use, required by the new environment brought about the greatest change in fishing techniques. Trolling, which used to be an important technique in the waters surrounding Bikini, is becoming a lost art.
according to Kiste (1968:69) among others. The monitoring mechanism of socialization has also been affected as younger men who reached their maturation on Kili lack the sailing skills which were common to the previous generation which passed into adulthood on Bikini.

The forced relocation of the Bikini islanders (who have just recently returned to their traditional home after the radiation levels subsided to a safe level) provide us with an excellent example in determining the nature of the very basic relationship Micronesian peoples have with their physical setting. The cultural ecology of Micronesia can perhaps be seen in the light of attitudinal changes brought about by the relocation of these islanders to Kili.

The relocation of the former atoll dwellers on the single island of Kili and the changes which have accompanied the alteration in physical environment have produced a set of attitudes which are shared by most Bikinians today.

Fishing from the small paddle canoes offers none of the pleasant sensations which were formerly derived from sailing nor does it offer the companionship, talking, joking, and singing which were common and permissible while trolling from the large sailing canoes. The shift from sailing to paddle canoes has thus eliminated the form of recreation and relaxation that was formerly enjoyed by the islanders, and they have found no comparable outlets on Kili. (Kiste, 1968:70-71)

With the example of Bikini relocation, it is evident that any description of the prevailing environmental influences cannot be solely limited to natural factors. Rather, it is impossible to interpret the overall significance the physical environment has had upon the evolution of Micronesian life-ways and values without including the modifications brought about by diffusion and acculturation. Any cultural system undergoes constant change as the society's members respond to changes in habitat and population, to
contacts with other societies, and to the very process of enculturation and personality development. In Micronesia each cultural configuration is the produce of such adaptations to the evolutionary continuum. The adaptative processes seen in Micronesia are first of all ecological. In other words, those features to which Micronesians as separate island cultures and as a social whole ascribe importance can be interpreted as significant in the evolutionary development of the Trust Territory of the Pacific. Such things as the interrelationship of exploitative or productive technology and environment, the behavior patterns involved in the exploitation of a particular island by means of a particular technology, and the ascertainment of the extent to which the behavior patterns entailed in exploiting the environment affect other aspects of Micronesian culture must be analyzed collectively in relation to the present situation.
CHAPTER II

Settlement, Economy and Cultural Adaptations

Earlier it was mentioned that two aspects of the Micronesian environment seem to dominate. These are: 1) the universal scarcity of land and, 2) the weather (particularly the extremes which come in the form of either droughts or typhoons). Nearly all of the peoples of the various Micronesian archipelagoes have had to adjust to those extreme fluctuations of the environment. The manner in which this adaptation has occurred and taken form will be discussed here.

Any attempt to reconstruct the original peopling of Micronesia involves sifting a variety of sources -- archaeological, linguistic, ethnological and botanical -- and even then, the data that are available offer an incomplete picture. Alkire (1972:5) has noted that despite the lack of available data on a settling of Micronesia, two things are clear:

1) the forebears of the Micronesians were of Asian origin (as was their inventory of cultivated plants), and (2) the settlement of Micronesia was not the result of a simple one-way movement of a mass of humanity.

The importance of the latter statement lies in its challenging of early theories espoused by Buck (1938), among others who have spoken of waves of Asian peoples moving into the Pacific and settling there. These theories rest on the distinctive racial characteristics which exist between Polynesians and Micronesians on the one hand and Melanesians, on the other. However, Simmons and his colleagues
have attempted to clarify and summarize the reasons for the highly variable genetic patterns found among Micronesians:

This is surely the outcome of the various factors resulting from (1) genetic sampling in groups of very small size and usually covered by Sewell Wright's term 'random genetic drift'; and perhaps even more importantly, from (2) historical accident and chance which within these small groups, has time and again returned the genetic fate of the small communities to a few new "founders"...The vicissitudes of history (viz. typhoon, tidal wave, volcanic eruption, canoe sinkings, accidental canoe voyages, plagues, pestilence, famine and the ravages of warfare and vendetta), together with transient and faddish changes in sexual practices, can, in such small groups, result in very few of the members giving rise to the succeeding generation, and these few represent a fortuitous, rarely any "means of average", sampling from the gene pool of the community. (Simmons et al., 1965:52).

It would seem then, that whatever the manner for the settlement of Micronesia, the role of founders and of isolation of various cultural groups must be taken into account as influencing the differentiation of the Pacific cultures in general and Micronesian cultures in particular. If the migration to an isolated place (which would include all the islands of Micronesia during prehistoric times) is by a relatively small group of people who are unable to reproduce in full the culture of the society from which they derived, then it is logical to surmise that the culture in the new place will be immediately different from the culture in the traditional homeland. Barnett (1952), Vayda (1968), and Alkire (1972) have stressed the relationship of isolation and founders as a factor of major influence in determining the make-up of various cultural groups. The degree of difference depends, at the outset, upon the ability of the "founders" or migrants to reproduce the homeland culture.
Two cultures with a common ancestry but existing for some time in isolation from one another will invariably develop distinctive cultural features simply because not all the innovations made by one group will be made by the other. After a period of time, the expectations each population has regarding the particular ecological niche will become noticeably distinct. Isolation represents not only a barrier to the flow of ideas, but also to the diffusion of technological invention. Thus the exploitative measures used by each group, though similar, will develop along different lines, and this in turn will directly influence the form of social organization and ideology of a particular group as compared to another.

The recent example of the effect of relocation upon the Bikini islanders when moved to the novel environment of Kili island represents a prime example of traditional socio-technical culture being modified by isolation in a new environment, despite the influence of an external administering authority. Though it remains to be demonstrated whether the new culture which was developing on Kili was at least incipiently new, it is important to note that certain definite changes did develop between the traditional Bikinian culture and that which arose in response to Kili.

The people have accustomed themselves to the more compact settlement pattern that has been a consequence of their several relocations; they have even resisted suggestions by government representatives that they should disperse themselves over the island and establish their family house situated upon their respective landholdings. At the same time, Kili's small size and the absence of other islands close by are keenly felt. There is no opportunity for individuals to retire from the rest of the community for several days and to break the monotony of life on the one island. The feeling
of confinement is common to both men and woman; it is especially intense during the winter months, and the island is often compared to a jail. (Kiste, 1968:71)

As populations began to grow on individual Micronesian islands, movements and migrations increased. Birdsell (1957) has shown that an island population with simple horticultural techniques may double its numbers in each generation as long as additional land and resources continue to be available. Certainly, if such a rate of population increase is maintained by an island society during its early settlement period, it will not be very long before sociocultural stresses begin to reflect the society's awareness of a particular island's finite resources. Once utilization of the available resources begins to deliver diminishing returns, migration of specific numbers of the islanders to new territory becomes an ecological necessity. These migrations served in Micronesia as well as the rest of the Pacific to diffuse ideas and material items from island to island throughout nearly the whole of Micronesia (Alkire, 1972:7).

Directly influencing the migratory patterns of Micronesians as well as other Pacific islanders were a number of sociocultural adaptations for either limiting or increasing an island society's numbers. Firth, in his excellent manuscript on the Polynesian outlier of Tikopia, stated that there existed such socially sanctioned checks upon population growth as celibacy, coitus interruptus, abortion (though not common), infanticide, sea-voyaging and violent warfare (1965:373-374). This, in combination with the natural cause of population control produced by famine and disease, allowed for
relatively good adjustment to the limitations imposed by the island.

The small size of the island of Tikopia and its isolation has meant that for generations past the maintenance of an adequate relation between quantity of land and population has been a problem of fundamental importance in the economy of these natives. In olden days they appear to have attained a rough equilibrium, and kept it by various mechanisms of adjustment; in recent years this has tended to be upset as a result of contact with European civilization (Firth, 1968:367).

On the Micronesian island of Yap a custom of self-inflicted abortion evolved among the young women during what may have been a period of overpopulation. This custom, which probably helped to keep down the birth rate, became an integral part of a psychologically gratifying behavioral pattern involving youthful love affairs and non-responsible early adulthood (Schneider, 1968:386). The result, as reported, has been the persistence of self-induced abortive techniques as a socially acceptable custom even while under-population has become a dominant problem (Schneider, 1968).

Settlement pattern may be affected by economic factors as well as those factors inherent in the habitat itself. Time and time again it must have occurred to the first settlers of Micronesia that one particular area of an island was especially productive in breadfruit. As this crop has been selected by the inhabitants as an integral part of their economy, population distribution tended to reflect this advantage. The islands were probably heavily forested in the past but after habitation by man most of the natural vegetation was removed and replaced by breadfruit and coconut groves and other garden crops (Goodenough, 1951:23).
Other factors certainly influenced the settlement patterns of the first inhabitants. Included among these would be the natural layout of the various islands and shelter advantages. Fischer noted that on the atoll of Losap in the Carolines, only two of the islets of the atoll are inhabited.

Losap is a small atoll some 50 miles southeast of Truk. It has a land area of 0.396 square miles and a lagoon of 10.557 square miles in extent. Rainfall totals nearly 120 inches per year. The seasons are characterized by trade winds and variable winds as in Truk. An occasional typhoon may reach this area. Only two of the islets of the atoll, Losap and Pis, are inhabited. Concentration of population on these two islets is due, in part, to environmental factors, since the population is centered on the most protected shore of the island and there is safest from strong winds (Fischer, 1957:1035).

An initial adaptation had to occur between the habitat and the historical subsistence pattern, or economy, which was part of the people's southeast Asian background. Economic activity, then, is where the interaction of the physical and cultural factors would be the greatest. This, in turn, would affect other cultural items, and presumably the residence patterns would be among the first (Alkire, 1959:137). This interaction was one of reciprocity — of economy and habitat and later of social organization. All of the island populations included in this study have an economy based, until quite recent times, on horticulture (incipient agriculture) and fishing.

Any island environment presents certain agricultural limitations. All Micronesian islands are small, the largest being the high volcanic islands situated throughout the Micronesian Pacific. The size of an island represents a major barrier to any large-scale
agricultural development or operation. This is further compounded in Micronesia by the poor soil of the atoll and hilly terrain of volcanic islands, so that even with the smallness of area these and other characteristics further delimit the extent of possible productive land and technological practices. Within the various cultural groups of Micronesia one can see a tendency of the societal groups toward making adjustments to the local situation. In other words, the kind of fishing and gathering which is locally the most productive is emphasized regardless of sociocultural origin of the group. Evidence from the most recent example of social dislocation as shown by the adaptations made by the traditional Bikini Islanders to their new situation on Kili would tend to bear this out.

On the basis of the available information and analysis presented here, certain critical relationships are seen to exist among the habitat, economic basis, settlement, and residence patterns of the Micronesian societies. Alkire (1959) has noted in his discussion on cultural adaptation in the Caroline Islands that there exists strong correlations between these variables. In addition, Leonard Mason has shown that:

In environments that are characterized by low productivity due to severe restrictions in the resource base, one can examine more rigorously the nature and extent of supra-familial authority as related to the production of food and other surpluses and to their distribution beyond the kinship group. The islands of Micronesia, occupied by Malayo-Polynesian peoples who combine gardening with fishing, are commonly regarded as areas of low productivity permitting only small, even infrequent, surpluses (Mason, 1968b:299-300).

The island populations studies by Mason and those analyzed by Alkire (1959), can be characterized as a cultural type. They are
small sedentary groups dependent on subsistence production of tree
crops and taro, supplemented in varying degrees by fishing. Most
of the economic effort is organized within the household. Overall,
despite important differences among the island cultures presented,
it is evident that each population, within the limits of its techno-
logical skills has learned to exploit its resources to a maximum
(Mason, 1968b:322). The contrasting patterns which are present in
traditional Micronesian society derive principally from such
variables as amount and distribution of rainfall, extent and seasonal
availability of marine food, and exposure to typhoon and tidal wave.
Mason has noted:

Lack of rain for extended periods and the consequently depleted
fresh-water reserve below ground kills breadfruit trees,
retards coconut production, and among the Kapinga people
eventually brought about the abandonment of true taro in
favor of the coarser but more drought-resistant Cyrtosperma

Along with agriculture, variability in marine resources is
another critical factor influencing the economic adaptive potentialities
of Micronesian populations. Size of the lagoon, extent of reefs,
access by canoe to the open sea, and seasonal variation of wind and
wave patterns combined in different ways to define the relative
availability of the essential source of crude protein in Micronesian
diet (Mason, 1968b:323). Patterns exist within Micronesian society
primarily in relation to the survival advantages they present and
secondarily for social satisfaction derived from such activities
as gift exchange. Micronesian settlement patterns were related pri-
marily to exacting the greatest quantity and quality of resources
while extending the minimal amount of energy or sacrificing the fewest cultural components in adapting to environmental limitations.

The environment not only provides limitations to the style of adjustment a people make, but culturally prescribed creative processes are also involved. The significant factors at play in the culture are those characteristics of the environment which are selectively important in the adjustment of a particular culture to a particular area (Steward, 1955). Such factors as typhoons, trade winds, poor soil, the presence of reefs and/or of lagoons have been noted by Alkire (1959), Mason (1968), and Sahlins (1957) among others, as playing dramatically important roles in shaping such aspects of the Micronesian cultural core as settlement type, family size, work group composition and technology.

In an ecological adjustment, the economy is an important medium through which the society interacts and maintains its environment. Critical to the survival of those initially inhabiting the various islands which comprise Micronesia was an assessment of the economic marginality of the respective islands. In other words, a special set of rules designed to maximize the achievement of a culturally determined end and usually to minimize the expenditure of socially important means. Thus, we view Micronesian economy as something more than just substantive in its historical context, but rather one of economizing — of allocating scarce means to achieve goal maximization with a set of prescribed techniques (Dalton, 1971:50). It is these culturally derived techniques which comprise the cultural core and which are directly affected by the ecological adjustment.
made by Micronesian populations. Alkire has noted that when considering the above aspects of the cultural core (settlement type, family size, work group composition), which are among the first to be affected by ecological adjustments, evidence of culture lag occurs (Alkire 1959:147). An investigation of the ecological adjustment which has been made among the various horticulturally based societies in the Micronesian cultural area suggests that:

(1) Settlement patterns are correlated with the subsistence basis of the society and are altered as the agricultural emphasis changes.

(2) Rules of residence have changed in response to modification of the settlement type. This in turn has led (in some selective instances) to changes in descent and inheritance patterns (Alkire, 1959:148).

(3) Once survival became assured in Micronesia by the exercising of certain minimal economic adjustments, a greater degree of variance in the relationship between residence rule and economic organization and emphasis was permissible without upsetting the 'steady state of imbalance' found in these island cultures.

(4) Traditional family structure, both in size and rule of descent, has altered with changes in settlement patterns and residence tendencies; all of which has been brought about by the economizing principle at play in these island cultures.

The view that Micronesians take of their environment suggests
a recognition of the reality of microscopic land parcels scattered across nearly two million square miles of ocean. The traditional emphasis is upon the minute pieces of land rather than the tendency to focus on the ocean. The scarcity of productive land in most areas has naturally increased its value and consequently man's adaptation to this limited resource not only shaped the subsistence economic systems but the entire socio-cultural core of Micronesian life as well. Land represents a significant part of the Micronesian world view and the supportive institutions of the various island cultures. It is the concept and reality of limited land which has molded the basic institutions and patterns of life found in Micronesia.
CHAPTER III
Acculturation

To hail westerners as discoverers of the Pacific Islands is inaccurate as well as ungracious. While Europeans were still paddling around in their small, landlocked Mediterranean Sea or timidly venturing a few miles past the Pillars of Hercules, the Oceanic "primitives" were moving about the wide Pacific in their fragile canoes and populating all its far-flung islands (Oliver, 1967:83).

By the time Magellan arrived in the Marianas, all the major islands of Micronesia either were occupied by permanent settlers or were known and periodically exploited by one or more neighboring communities (Alkire, 1972:7). Certainly at the time of their discovery by the first Europeans, Micronesian cultures had developed in many ways (technologically, linguistically, religiously) into a wholly unique and complex area.

The languages of Micronesia had diverged into at least twelve distinct vernaculars (Alkire, 1972:7); canoe and navigation technology was at a peak, particularly among the low-islanders as a result of their struggle to exist on such vulnerable islands. The construction of the massive stone fortifications found on Ponape required engineering skill as well as a highly developed social organization, but nothing beyond the capacities of the Ponapeans living at the time of the first European contacts (Oliver, 1962:83). Only slightly less impressive were the large meeting houses found in Palau, Ponape, Yap, the Carolines and to a lesser extent on Truk. These large edifices were rectangular with high roofs resting on cornerposts sunk in the ground and (except for Palau) with walls,
cornerposts and roof carefully mortised, fitted and joined together solely with sennit lashings. Pottery was known in Yap, Palau and the Marianas in prehistoric times. Fishing equipment utilized shell hooks, sennit lines and nets, lattice-work wooden traps, pole or stone weirs, and wooden spears -- all of which were produced with equal ease on volcanic or coral islands (Alkire, 1972:8). Single outrigger canoes of the Marshallese and Carolinians (also reported for precontact Marianas society) signaled an impressive age in Micronesian technology. Carefully proportioned and finely hand-hewn multipiece hulls were lashed tightly together with coconut rope. To this day, these craft enable the low-islanders in particular to travel widely.

Despite the lack of musical instruments, chants, songs and dances added richness and color to precontact Micronesian life and were considered an important art form. Through the media of melodic storytelling and ritualized dancing a great deal of Micronesian culture and life-values were imparted to succeeding generations.

Men of importance had songs composed by wives or sweethearts about their deeds and abilities; these songs lived on after the death of the men and tended to elevate some such individuals to near "culture-hero" status. The sitting and standing dances of the area were performed by groups of the same sex, and they also recounted stories and events of the present and past (Alkire, 1972:9).

Micronesian household utensils were relatively simple prior to European contact and remain so today. Finely woven pandanus sleeping mats were common as were carved wooden bowls, shell containers, plaited baskets and in the Carolines, a backstrap loom (Alkire,
1972:9). Standing apart from the sleeping house was a separate cooking house, which had a simple hearth. Food pounders of coral or wood composition and a coconut grader rounded out the daily utensils used by the islanders.

Tattooing has been noted by Alkire (1972), among others, as being important in most Micronesian societies. The geometric designs which were common on house rafters, were often incised on arms and legs. Personal adornment was similar to that reported by Gladwin in Gladwin and Sarason (1954) for young men on Truk:

Perfume is old on Truk; now it is practically all imported but was formerly made locally of coconut oil and the flowers of various plants. The costume of the old days was different from that worn now, except for the perfume and flowers, but presumably equally dashing. A man wore an especially fine breechclout heavily rubbed with turmeric and perfume, and sometimes a finely woven white hibiscus fiber cloak; in his hair, in addition to flowers, he wore long combs decorated with feathers and red shell. Women, then as now, wore clean and fairly new clothes, with perfume and flowers in the hair, but without the intention of appearing as conspicuous as the men. (1954:105)

Traditional Micronesian religious beliefs embraced a variety of spirits and ghosts and emphasized ancestor worship in one form or another (Mason, 1968). Taboos, often involving food and sexual restraints, were placed on one's behavior for a specified period of time before, during, or after engaging in important pursuits (Alkire, 1972:10). Religious practitioners often functioned as medical specialists as well. Shamans, mediums, diviners, and sorcerers were all present in Micronesia and consulted by others when manipulation of the spirit world was considered imperative (Alkire, 1972:10). Death, playing as it has in all human societies a signi-
significantly controversial role for the living, was complicated by the Micronesian belief in the existence of benevolent and malevolent ghosts. A natural death potentially meant a benevolent ghost, while an unnatural death (accidental, through foul play, during pregnancy or childbirth) forecast a malevolent ghost (Alkire, 1972:10). The existence of formalized pantheons of spirits were seemingly more common in those island societies that themselves were more stratified.

Mason (1968a:298) noted that with regard to traditional religious beliefs, Micronesians "have achieved a conceptual unity of their world in which they make no separation of the physical and social from the supernatural", despite the relatively slight development of religion in the formal sense. This statement appears well supported by the existence of taboos on behavior and property which enforced natural conservation as well as the observance of chiefly roles and traditional power structure.

In precontact Micronesia there prospered hierarchies of power which were highly institutionalized and regularized. Concern for the differential possession of power led to a political organization in Micronesia involving the lineage or some other corporate kin group, and the estate owned or managed by the group. Authority systems as they existed in Micronesian societies varied considerably from one island to another; however, all were closely tied either directly or indirectly to access to the land (Mason, 1968a:292). Traditional rights to power were primarily ascriptive; in other words, one acquired his social ranking and concomitant prestige.
either by lineal descent, birthright of sex, relative age or more commonly, from a combination of all three. However, since the constant effort toward upward social mobility was the essence of political activity in Micronesia (Mason, 1968a:292), achievement activities played an important role in the social behavior of most Micronesian populations.

Individual competence was not totally ruled out in Micronesia, and there were opportunities for ambitious men to gain some prominence by exercise of specialized skills or by success in competitive feasting, but the main features of status were derived from membership in high-ranking kinship groups (Oliver, 1962:80).

In general, Micronesian social and political patterns of behavior were based on fixed relationships between groups and resources, thereby providing social control by means of standardized predictable patterns of behavior of individual members. Status determined by birth rather than by individual effort offered internal order which is essential for all human societal existence, but particularly significant within the limited quarters of the various atolls.

Where chiefly authority did exist, such as in the Carolines, it was rare for the power to be absolute. In most islands it was contained by a council organization (usually comprised of older village men) who presided over and managed the bulk of the community's jural problems. Thus, a form of checks and balances existed, strengthening the native policy. Much of the political power as it existed in the various Micronesian societies was believed to be supernaturally sanctioned in the form of divine ancestry or
spiritual communication — thereby giving legitimacy to the stratification of the population into class and caste systems.

With this background in mind, the following sections deal with the external, acculturative forces which have affected and molded Micronesian economic, social and political life. The combined effects of Spanish, German, Japanese and finally American intervention into Micronesia have caused in succession a series of "social quakes" which have shaped the perception and adaptation the peoples of Micronesia have made to a radically changing environment.

The Spanish

In 1521, Europeans and Micronesians became acquainted. This acquaintance, though sporadic in intensity over the next four centuries, was to leave cultural scars upon the peoples of Micronesia which remain to this day. The arrival of the Magellan expedition on Guam, after having passed northwestward across the Pacific in the midst of hundreds of Pacific islands without encountering any of them, set off a chain of far-reaching events.

The Spaniards, by then ravaged by starvation and scurvy, gladly accepted gifts of fruit and fresh water brought out to their ships by the islanders in their out-rigger canoes. In return they gave trifles of iron and clothing. Before long the islanders began to make off with anything they could lay hands on, including a ship's boat. A punitive party went ashore and after shooting a half dozen islanders they burnt houses and made off with all available food. Leaving shortly afterward, Magellan named the place (Guam) "Las Islas de las Ladrones" (the Islands of Thieves). It is possible that the expedition also sighted Saipan, Tinian, and Aguigan, and that one of the ships visited Rota (Handbook on the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, 1948:69).
Though the islands had not been the objective of the subsequent expeditions of Spanish and Portuguese explorers, voyagers "told such glowing tales of the extent, beauty, and richness of the Pacific islands that the European nations, notably Spain, were inspired to dispatch further expeditions to substantiate these reports" (Handbook on the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, 1948:70).

Although no serious efforts were made by the Spanish to assume effective control over the Pacific Islands, they did realize the need for stop-over ports for their vessels on the Acapulco-Manila trade route. In 1668 a Jesuit mission was established on Guam, representing the first systematic European impact on Micronesian island life and the initial step in Spain's campaign to colonize the Pacific (particularly the Marianas). As a result of the establishment of the mission, and other factors, the native Chamorro population began to resist forced conversions and efforts by the missionaries to disband community clubhouses. Consequently, a prolonged period of warfare commenced between the Chamorro and the Spanish; a war which became one of near extermination:

Spanish massacres, introduced diseases, and two devastating typhoons within 30 years reduced an estimated Chamorro population of 50,000 to fewer than 4,000 by the early 1700s (Alkire, 1972:10).

By 1698 the sovereignty and control of Spain were undisputed by the native populations of the Marianas. As noted above, one of the principal factors in opening the way for Spanish rule was the
extreme decline in population through warfare, disease, and famine.

A number of critical changes in traditional Chamorro life took place during the ensuing years of Spanish rule. One of the most significant changes (one which was to occur over and over again in different Micronesian archipelagos under different foreign government) was that of the organization of power and status determinants.

In 1792, in an effort to encourage the use of the Spanish rather than the Chamorro language, orders were issued to give public offices only to Spanish-speaking persons. This allowed men of the lower class who spoke Spanish to be admitted to government posts, which gave them high social prestige, while excluding those of higher rank who did not speak Spanish. The regulation contributed to the breakdown of the native ranking system. (Handbook on the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, 1948:71-72.)

With the native polity disrupted by enforced changes in the ranking system and political organization as well as the forced relocation of numerous outer-island Chamorros, Marianas society underwent a series of social disruptions which left little of the traditional culture intact. Alkire has noted that "the Hispanicization of Chamorro society was certainly the most important event altering traditional Chamorro culture". (1972:13) Certain critical changes occurred in the Chamorro cultural system during the period of Spanish influence. As they are illustrative of the culture-changing effect a technologically dominant society may have when it impresses itself upon a more environmentally limited social group, they bear illustration here.

1) The matrilineal clan system has disappeared completely, having been replaced with inheritance and family-name reckoning in the patriline.
2) The solidarity of lineages and extended families have been destroyed, as a consequence of the destruction of the matrilineal basis of clan organization, with the majority of households consisting of a nuclear family unit.

Subsequent conquest and rule by Germany, the Japanese and the United States left little of the traditional cultural forms of descent reckoning family organization, economic organization or political-structure.

Spanish dreams of a continuing Pacific empire were upset by Spain's defeat in the Spanish-American War of 1898. Having lost the Philippines and Guam, Spain accepted Germany's offer for her remaining holdings in Micronesia. Systematic Spanish influence had been confined primarily to the Marianas. As a result, much of Micronesia, though aware of the European presence through contact with traders, missionaries and in the Marshalls the Germans, remained comparatively intact throughout the period of Spanish colonial rule. This was to change with the ceding of rights to Germany.

The German Influence

By adding, in 1904, the northern Marianas and the Carolines to its earlier protectorate of the Marshalls, Germany's sphere of influence included all of the area now forming the trust territory (Handbook on the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, 1948:75). By securing possession of portions of New Guinea, the northern Solomons to the south of Micronesia and Western Samoa, Germany laid
claim to a wide expanse of Oceania which it was to hold until the conclusion of World War I. The number of German officials in Micronesia increased with each additional station opened in the area, but the total number of officials always remained small. As of January 1, 1906, there were only eight white officials in the East Carolines, five in the West Carolines, and six in the Marianas; and the maximum number ever used at one time was twenty-five (Handbook on the Trust Territory in the Pacific Islands, 1948:76).

During the first decade of the 20th Century, the German Pacific Empire was rapidly expanding its influence and power in Micronesia:

By 1904 Germany had moved to take effective control of the two native Micronesian societies, Truk and Ponape. Implementation of this policy included an effort to pacify the inhabitants, the removal of an armed threat to the German administration via a collection of all firearms in the island and the imposition of a system of direct rule. On Truk, the orders in implementing this policy were quickly and on the whole rather peacefully obeyed, but the reaction on Ponape was one of refusal, resistance and rebellion (Clifton, 1964:92).

The system of direct-rule as imposed by the Germans on Truk and Ponape forced a major transition in the basic political decision making phase from indigenous to Colonial agents. In the case of Truk, the Germans readily and successfully imposed a direct rule system and there the peace established by them has lasted until this day (Clifton, 1964:93). But in the case of Ponape, a series of skirmishes between natives and Germans occurred, making the transition a more arduous one for the colonialists. The German attempt to accomplish a transfer of firearms and concomitant political authority from the native Ponapeans prompted
the initial misunderstandings, relative to direct rule and produced a mutually uncompromising cultural bias (Clifton, 1964:93). The differential reaction of Truk and Ponape to German acculturative pressures can be seen partly, as a consequence of differences in social structure of the two societies, and as such should be investigated here as it illustrates the essential problems involved in imposing foreign political systems.

Both Truk and Ponape are structurally similar, insofar as communities were concerned; both contained a number of exogamous matrilineages, each of which was part of a dispersed matrisib. In both cases the lineages were, typically, property owning corporations which acted as mutual aid groupings for their membership (Clifton, 1964:94).

However, on Truk there were approximately twenty small, autonomous local communities which ranged in population from one hundred to five hundred persons. These were poorly developed politically, and leadership roles were few and weak, being assigned to the eldest male of the chiefly lineage in each community or district (Clifton, 1964; Gladwin, 1951). Clifton (1964:94) characterized the Trukese political units as "simple, loose or atomistic structures" not at all geared to concerted action on an island-wide basis. The Trukese political system was then composed of many automistic units devoid of any real notions of statehood as contrasted to indigenous Ponapean political structure (Goodenough, 1951:129,137). In general, Truk represented a more fragmented society than did Ponape, with Trukese political leaders subjected
to additional pressures and stresses (Gladwin and Sarason, 1954). Gladwin and Sarason also indicated that the dominant motifs in Trukese character include extreme dependence and a self-centered security orientation. Early in life, Trukese experience social rejection, and they become handicapped in the development of techniques for handling personal relationships (Gladwin and Sarason, 1954:497).

In summary, then, the Trukese orientation toward life which carried over to acculturative contacts, was one of dependency and security accruement; this contrasted dramatically to the Ponapean orientation toward their universe (Clifton, 1964:97). Certain levelling mechanisms such as ridicule existed in Truk which encouraged conformity and the anticipation (as noted by Gladwin and Sarason, 1954) of a failure of solidarity and support even from kinsmen. Though these types of levelling mechanisms may have existed on Ponape, they did not play a significant role in the orientation of the populace away from the skillful and independent manipulation of the changing opportunities offered by acculturative contacts. It is the degree of integration of the hierarchical structure which was present on Ponape during the German period which contrasts sharply with the atomism of Trukese society at that time (Clifton, 1964:97).

Because of the segmentation of Trukese society at the time direct rule was imposed by the German administrators, the change to a foreign decision making process was accomplished quite easily.
Probably this is due to the long period of isolation which Truk experienced compared to the high islands of the Eastern Carolines in the decades following the first significant contact by a European (Dumont d'Urville who barely managed to escape with his life) in 1838. The Trukese reputation for ferocity and antipathy toward foreigners perhaps combined with the fact that Truk may have been a less desirable anchorage for the repair and refueling of ships, tended to isolate Truk from any prolonged contact or domination. Truk was not without its trade and resident traders -- a contact which subsequently resulted in an influx of destructive firearms.

These new weapons were added to the pattern of inter-island and inter-district warfare, the tradition of blood-revenge and strictly personal feuds, so as to create a situation which can only have been experienced by the Trukese as one of extreme deprivation. Thus a long period of prolonged and intensified warfare preceded the German intervention in 1904, for during the last half of the 19th century Spanish interests did not much influence Truk (Clifton, 1964:98).

Fischer (1957) also noted that just prior to the German effort to impose direct-rule, the Trukese had experienced significant benefits from German political intervention in the form of arresting local chiefs who were encouraging warfare and intervening in local disputes and wars (1957:48). Since the major consequence of acculturative contact in Truk up to the time of German direct-rule influence was a vast increase in the frequency and destructiveness of warfare, we can only agree with Clifton (1964) and Gladwin and Sarason (1954) that the indigenous Trukese must have been aware that they had worked themselves into a situation which was detri-
mental to their sociocultural continuity. Thus, the successful appearance of German administration and arbitration meant relief and was later rewarded by Trukese allegiance to the colonial administrative policies.

Such was not the case on Ponape.

Although the initial reactions of Ponapeans to prolonged contacts with aliens were similar to those of the Trukese, by 1840 relations between Ponape and the whaling fleet had been put on a peaceable basis. By the mid-19th century, Ponape had become the principal whaling base in the Eastern Carolines, and from that time on contacts with aliens became both more frequent and diversified. While Truk remained relatively isolated from contact, Ponape was frequented by traders, the crews of whaling ships, missionaries, and in later years, by Spanish officials and their Philippine Constabulary (Clifton, 1964:98-99).

An important consequence of this contact consisted of a number of epidemics which devastated the Ponapean population, reducing it from an estimated 15,000 in 1835 to 1,705 in 1891 (Bascom, 1950:58).

Thus, the effects of acculturative contact were quite different for the Trukese and the Ponapeans. Whereas the Germans had assisted the Trukese by controlling rampant, destructive warfare which threatened the very basis of Trukese societal existence, the presence of foreign elements for the Ponapeans became directly associated with sociocultural extinction. While the Trukese acceded to the acculturative forces, relinquishing much of traditional life (Clifton, 1964:10) the Ponapeans clearly sought to exploit (in ways congruent with traditional behavioral patterns) the new opportunities afforded them by culture contact. They particularly sought out whalers and American missionaries who represented prestige factors.
In stark contrast to the situation which developed on Truk, the Ponapean reactions to German intervention were more complex.

Direct rule administration and the varying reactions expressed by Truk and Ponape represented a qualitative change in culture patterns for these two societies. As such, each reaction involved significant recombinations of the representative culture cores, and these in turn were pre-determined by several culturally determined sets of antecedent conditions. On Truk, the new characteristics of direct rule had concrete and apparent advantages which did not conflict but rather strengthened the existing polity. However, on Ponape, the German presence and insistence on culture change represented a threat to what was considered by the islanders as a satisfactory cultural system. The innovation of direct-rule was expected to have upset the complex of achievement motivation and rewards so prevalent in the existing system.

What is significant in this context is the similarity of colonial administration between Germany and its successors. All other factors remaining constant, it can be assumed that each Micronesian community was somewhat representative of another in its predictable patterns of behavior toward foreign influence by the conclusion of German contact. Barnett's thoughts on acceptance and rejection of innovations brought by each direct rule administration bear quoting here:

Although the preceding characterization of acceptors places an emphasis upon discontent, this should not be taken to mean that only those individuals with a background of estrangement will accept a new idea. Such individuals are preeminently and predominantly susceptible to sugges-
tions of change involving the elements toward which they have a detached or alienated attitude. Their bias, antecedent to the appearance of the novelty, makes them already receptive; but this condition is by no means a prerequisite for acceptance. It is true that the satisfied must also become dissatisfied with what they have before accepting an alternative; but their discontent follows the advent of a novelty, is initiated by it or by other current circumstances, and may have nothing to do with personal background. Their acceptance is therefore due not to a predisposition but to novelty or advocate characteristics (1953:410).

The dispersed nature of the islands of Truk made it difficult under aboriginal conditions for one district and kin group to extend any large-scale permanent control over an area larger than one district and there seems to have been fewer environmental imperatives to form such permanent political unions as existed on Ponape (Alkire, 1972:32). Thus, the influence of environmental conditions was significant as a variable in determining the overall acculturative success of the Germans. The Trukese and Ponapeans, although similar in family and descent organization, represented totally different adaptations to the different physical environment of Micronesia, and this in turn affected the nature of their respective polities during aboriginal times and later, including acceptance of foreign rule.

The Japanese

The four hundred years between Magellan and Tojo represent only a brief period in Oceania's enormous span of human history, but during these four fateful centuries white and yellow men wrought more changes in the island world than did the hundreds of generations of black and brown men before them (Oliver, 1962:155).

German control of Micronesia was abruptly terminated by the
outbreak of World War I, and Japanese naval squadrons quickly took military possession of the Marshalls, Carolines, and northern Marianas (Handbook on the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, 1948:78). After the war, the Japanese were under certain obligations, as defined by the League of Nations mandate, which placed restrictions on their administering power in international terms: 1) to promote the material and moral well-being and social progress of the local inhabitants; 2) to rule out slavery, traffic in arms and ammunition, and alcoholic beverages; 3) to refrain from building fortifications and military bases or from giving military training to the inhabitants; 4) to permit freedom of worship and missionary activity; and 5) to submit an annual accounting to the League of Nations, by way of its mandates commission (Handbook on the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, 1948:79). On these broad terms Japan was confirmed on December 17, 1920, to be in administrative possession of the Caroline, Marshall and Marianas Islands.

The earlier system of indirect-rule practices by the Germans, with the exception of Truk and Ponape, became under the Japanese administration a direct-rule system in all the islands. Traditional leadership was given very little authority and in some instances, traditional chiefs recognized as of highest status by traditional usage were deliberately passed over in preference to less important, less culture bound individuals who would support the Japanese. Opportunistic acceptance was common amongst those who had the least to lose in the interlacing of the two cultural systems.
Barnett comments:

By contrast with his complacent opposite, the resentful individual is more susceptible to a suggestion of change because he has less to lose by accepting it; and in extreme cases he has nothing at all to lose and everything to gain, so even a gamble is attractive. Because there are usually such differential investments in most aspects of a culture, it almost always happens that there will be someone who will be attracted by an innovation or an importation (1953:401).

The period of Japanese administration was one of decreasing influence for traditional leadership. Traditional leaders and role patterns were eventually replaced by opportunistic Micronesian individuals. Aboriginal role patterns and prestige determiners were supplanted with more conventional (from the Japanese standpoint) roles and status definitions.

During the Japanese administration, a number of cultural changes were undertaken, altering traditional mazeways and resulting in a cultural motif very different from that which had gone before. In 1932, the Japanese established special municipal administrations for several island areas with large Japanese populations. These administrations were based on a village council system similar to that prevailing in Japan during this period. By vote of all males twenty years of age and over a local assembly was elected consisting of 12 to 24 members who served for four years without compensation. This imposition of a token form of an elected representative governing body replaced the traditional ranking systems on the islands and the homage paid to aboriginal chiefs and clan elders, thereby altering the traditional political organization of Micronesian society.
After 1935, the expansionist policies of Japan became the dominant factor in island affairs. Because of shortages of raw materials within the Imperial Empire, intensive economic research and development were undertaken in Micronesia, and agricultural, mineral, and marine industries were pushed. A great deal of colonial activity ensued, involving the relocation of traditional peoples, particularly those on Truk, to other previously uninhabited islands close by so that they could be quickly mobilized for labor in the fields.

The islanders appear to have enjoyed extended economic prosperity, but their progress in political advancement was pushed into the background. Their services were used where it would benefit the Japanese, and where necessary they were removed from their former living sites to make way for the military. Ponapeans reported to the incoming Americans a Japanese postwar plan to take all Ponapeans to Kusaie, except those wanted as workers, and to resettle that large island with 50,000 Japanese nationals (Handbook on the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, 1948:82).

As in the initial years of Japanese control over Micronesia, the colonial administrators paid considerable attention to health conditions which were provided to those who would advocate Japanese-imposed changes or who showed the greatest promise in the Japanese-instructed educational systems. The latter were limited educational facilities, which emphasized the learning of the Japanese language, vocational training and Japanese cultural ways. The informant reports discussed in Gladwin and Sarason (1954) all indicate a high regard for the Japanese who were considered predictable administrators, thereby eliminating a major source of colonial administrative rejection on the part of native peoples.
Leighton (1945:252) indicates that "capricious and unpredictable behavior on the part of those in authority upon whom one's welfare depends are disturbing to the emotions and thoughts of the individual." The Japanese seem to have affected a major form of culture change, involving native adjustments to a foreign judicial system, political organization (in the form of democratically elected council officials) and economic incentives, without a great deal of personality disruption until the culmination of the war and the stresses brought on by threats of military collapse and starvation.

Japanese colonial policy could be summarized in terms of four principal objectives, all of which involved qualitative changes in Micronesian mazeways: 1) to develop the islands in an economic sense, thereby shifting the emphasis from simple horticulture on a subsistence level to an export economy, based on rice, tobacco, and copra, which were all grown commercially; 2) to prepare the islands as a place to which Japanese nationals could migrate as colonists, thus relieving the intensifying population pressures being experienced in Japan at the time; 3) to Japanize the islanders gradually through education and overt enculturation and by promoting cultural change vis-a-vis the radicalization of traditional rigid class and caste structures which restricted social mobility; and 4) to establish offensive military bases in the islands in preparation for the advent of hostilities (Handbook on the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, 1948:83).

The effects of World War II were felt on all the atolls of
Micronesia, either in the form of direct military action or in the form of the economic disruption caused by the total blockade of Japanese shipping in the entire mandated area. Following the war, two crucial problems for the U.S. arise: What to do with the foreign nationals living on the various islands, principally the Japanese and Okinawans; and, what to do with the local inhabitants of the islands. The Japanese and Okinawans were collected and later repatriated, immediately following the culmination of the war. The local inhabitants presented a different problem for the conquering U.S. and Allied armies:

Though they were first regarded as having the status of Japanese subjects, a lack of clarity in the mandate definition of nationality made it possible for the United States to treat them instead as liberated persons under American wardship. Where possible, they were helped to rehabilitate themselves as soon as possible in their traditional communities, though in some places camps had to be provided temporarily for their care. Their welfare was made the responsibility of special military government units organized and trained by the United States Navy primarily for this purpose (Handbook on the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, 1948:84).

Immediately following the war the military forces left the area and a caretaker status prevailed over the islands. The military government type of control continued, however, until July of 1947, when the islands formally became a United States Trust Territory by U.N. decree (See Appendix A).

The Present Situation

Just as the traditional culture of Micronesia could be understood in terms of the functional relationships within and between institutions of major status as these operated within the physical
and social environment of the Pacific, so the direction of change which has occurred increasingly, can be seen as determined in large part by reactions to the obstruction or loss of certain of these institutional functions.

As was suggested by the organization of the preceding pages, the history of foreign contact in Micronesia can be summarized in terms of successive cycles. Each cycle was more intense than that of the previous one, bringing increasing interference with the traditional ways of life of the Micronesian societies. These societies differ in several significant ways, but all share the experience, among other important culturally specific manifestations, of radical and disruptive culture change brought about through the overwhelming influence of a western, and in most cases, industrialized society determined to have its peculiar way. Maher has stated in regard to the colonialization which occurred amongst the Purari delta people of New Guinea:

That the modern society often does not order its events as it would like is true, but this does not lessen its sheer power capacity to interfere with the preliterate culture. Indeed, the colonial power's very lack of ability to be precise in its control and manipulation of the situation probably contributes to the injury (1961:118).

The contact history of Micronesia has been one of deliberate change, from religious conversion in the Marianas during the Spanish period, political and social change during the German period, to socio-economic transformation during the Japanese epoch. In addition, the culture contact phenomenon of depopulation which occurred with sufficient frequency amongst nearly all Pacific
peoples did not miss the Micronesian populations. Depopulation was experienced to some degree by all of the Micronesian societies throughout the early periods of foreign contact. Certain societies were more harshly affected, depending upon the amount and intensity of contact (Weins, 1962a:100). One of the long-term ramifications of acculturation has been a dramatic increase in activity geared towards realizing goals set on European models. As has happened with countless preliterate societies under acculturative pressure from modernized nations, traditional ways which could no longer function have been discarded in a very conscious way. Certainly, the aftermath of World War II brought a new stage in the development of change in Micronesian maze-ways. This, then, is the problem of the United States as U.N. Trustee of the increasingly similar Micronesian cultures.

The basic objectives of the international trusteeship system as it operates in Micronesia are stated in the United Nations Charter; one particular item surfaces when one considers the acculturative relations currently existing between the United States administration and the native Micronesians. Under Article 6 of the U.N. Charter, the United States is required:

To promote the political, economic, social and educational advancement of the inhabitants of the trust territory, and their progressive development towards self-government or independence as may be appropriate to the particular circumstances of the territory and its peoples and the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned, and as may be provided by the terms of the trusteeship agreement (Handbook on the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, 1948:87).

The above stipulation is further complicated by the declaration of
the whole of Micronesia as a "strategic area trusteeship"
(Handbook on the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, 1948:87-88).
Since the political, economic, social and educational advancements
of the native Micronesians are mutually reinforcing, the problem
which exists is one of understanding the ramifications of forced
change upon one cultural pattern as it indirectly affects another
aspect of the total Micronesian system. With this in mind, an
analysis is presented here of United States obligations as a
Trustee administration and the concomitant, but subtle, currents
of change which are present in the Islands, more subtle and less
certain in direction but evident nonetheless.

Many Americans are recruited under civil service regulations
for two-year tours of service, subject to renewals, in the various
services required by the trusteeship agreement. The costs of the
Trust Territory Administration and of its educational, medical,
agricultural extension and other services are largely subsidized
by the United States in fulfilling its U.N. pledge. However,

The funds annually provided are not sufficient to be
consonant with the immense problems that administration
has been called upon to solve, or maintain the dignity
of the United States in the eyes of the Micronesians.
In a number of areas, the shabby buildings and temporary
housing and the poor port facilities and road systems of
the present administration are contrasted unfavorably by
the Micronesians with those of the preceding Japanese
administration (Wiens, 1962b:106).

Although the Japanese exploited the island resources for their
own survival and benefit and made profits from the growth of such
commercial crops as copra, they did develop and maintain better
economic services (roads, more frequent shipping connections, and
marketing arrangements and production under the indigenous economy) without a great deal of native-perceived social disruption. Although obligated, the Japanese were not interested in reconstruction as such, whereas the United States is directed to a policy of cultural and economic stimulation leading toward Micronesian self-dependence. This fact in itself has presented a major obstacle to the development of a successful administration in Micronesia under the United States direction.

Goodenough (1966) has noted a major difference which manifests itself in the United States perception of property and that of the native Trukese (here applied to all Micronesian peoples):

The Trukese appear to be interested in property primarily for its productive or practical potentialities rather than for social prestige or non-material rewards. Anything that has acquired a productive or practical value as a result of human labor is owned as property, whereas ownership is less likely with things directly consumable from nature (1966b:30).

Though the notion of land ownership, purchase and sale has been an innovation introduced by the U.S. administration, particularly in relation to the relocation of the Bikini islanders as a result of a military purchase, Goodenough has stressed that:

Actually, the property system of aboriginal times appears to be operating today (1947-1950) with little modification. Such innovations as money have been largely worked into the native system rather than destroying or seriously modifying it (Goodenough, 1966b:29).

Goodenough's analysis would seem to be in accordance with the expressed objectives of the United States Commercial Company, a part of the administrative body in the trusteeship administration.

The following objectives of the military government which administered
the islands immediately after the war have continued to be the goals affecting economic independence during the present period of civil administration (Handbook of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, 1948):

a) Developing throughout the area a balanced economy through the full utilization, in accordance with sound conservation principles and for the benefit of the local inhabitants, of the natural and other resources to meet local needs as well as to provide payment for these goods and services which must be imported into the area.

b) Assisting the local inhabitants in assuming a maximum of responsibility for their own economy and preventing their economic exploitation by either local or outside interests.

c) Establishing standards of living for the local inhabitants at least equal to those existing prior to the war with Japan.

d) Assisting the local inhabitants, insofar as feasible, to become qualified for and to obtain employment in all occupations, employment and professions adapted to the area, without discrimination.

Implied in the above is a movement toward greater organization, greater differentiation of socio-political structure, increased specialization of function and a higher level of integration as well as the utilization of greater degrees of energy concentration.
(as defined by White, 1949) than ever existed in precontact or
ever postcontact Micronesia. Obviously, this form of incremental
and qualitative change presents critical problems which must be
met, both by the United States as the administering force and by
the local populations of the various island groups. It is these
problems which are important for the two cultures to anticipate and
which are present in the Trust Territory today. They are problems
of modernization, of alteration of the culture core of any sub-
servient society without abrasion of the intrinsic maze-ways which
render security and foster socio-cultural continuity.

The situation which is present in the Micronesian acculturative
setting can be broken down into two problem areas; first, those
which most directly affect and shape the policy and culture of
the administering group, and, those which present complex diffi-
culties to the administered group.

On the part of the American administration, the salient diffi-
culties are: (1) Shortages of qualified professional personnel
who might be willing to serve in a place as isolated as Micronesia
for any sufficient length of time; (2) the existence of an inci-
pient foreign policy; (3) the gap between declared trusteeship
policies and strategic, military policies; (4) inapplicability of
traditional ethnocentric American concepts and attitudes to the
area; (5) lack of sufficient data on the administered region; (6)
the multitude of different languages spoken (though this is not a
unique problem, in the case of Micronesia there is not one over-
whelmingly dominant native tongue; (7) the remoteness of the area
in terms of communications and transportation facilities.

Native impediments to successful administration result from a variety of sources inherent in the precontact and contact eras of Micronesian existence. A significant problem is the crystallized habit of subordination which make Micronesians dependent upon outsiders for direction. Secondly, there is still an incomplete integration between old and more recently acquired patterns which has resulted in a split between older and younger generations (Useem, 1946:22). This has caused a leadership gap in some of the island communities. Finally, there is a lack of comprehension of American society and how to operate effectively within its framework. In addition to these socio-psychological barriers to the effective modernization of Micronesia, an increase in Pacific islands population is well underway (Wiens, 1962a:100), thus posing major environmental problems for long-range planners, be they native or foreign. Let us consider the impact of this latter observation:

Lack of detailed data prevents explanations for such fantastic average annual increase rates as 7.3 per cent for the Marianas, the 5.7 per cent for Kusaie, and the 5 per cent for the Palaus. In the case of the Marshalls, with 3.56 per cent, and the Trust Territory as a whole, with 3.89 per cent increase, no outside immigration would be involved to complicate the picture, which is one of an extremely high rate of natural increase. In terms of the limitations of island land for food production, these rates, if continued, could truly be described as explosive (Wiens, 1962a:100-101).

In reference to the above outlined impediments to effective sociocultural change in Micronesian society, there are important lessons to be gleaned from an examination of the American wartime
administration of Micronesia. The United States, with the full consent of the United Nations, took over the islands as officially designated "strategic trusteeships". Under these terms, the United States has the right to fortify them as they deem necessary, with or without the consent of the native peoples. These are markedly different terms from those under which the islands were mandated to the Japanese, who, nonetheless, violated the mandate agreement by surreptitiously fortifying various islands.

Since military necessity was the guiding principle of the United States acquisition of Micronesian territories, the first United States acculturating administration was the Navy. Useem has noted that:

The Navy made very earnest efforts to recruit an able group of men and to train them through specially arranged university courses. In general, the quality of the staff personnel was quite high. Their training was not very effective for habits and attitudes acquired over a lifetime could not be changed by a year of social science indoctrination. In the field, staffs were handicapped by being placed under high-ranking regular military officers who had little knowledge, understanding or interest in the peoples to be governed. Severe shortages of supplies caused by the limited shipping space and reluctance to grant anything but the bare essentials to civilians, on the theory that they were primitive in their standards of living sharply limited all rehabilitation efforts (1946:23).

As was seen in the discussion on the influence of Germany, first impressions can play a major conditioning role in determining its responses toward the introduction of change by the administrators of change. In the case of the initial military government following the war, and to some degree the civil American administration of today, the drive to eliminate Japanese influences appeared to be a sound doctrine until examined in the light of alternative replace-
ment patterns which could be integrated into the indigenous social order in such a stress period. The comparison of the Japanese influences with those actions undertaken by the American military and early civilian government resulted in unfavorable opinions regarding the true goals of U.S. policy. Useem noted that "merely because a measure is launched by Americans does not make it in the eyes of natives inherently superior or more humanitarian" (1946:23). Throughout the course of contact history in Micronesia, island welfare has increasingly become dependent upon foreign administration. This has led to increments in stressful situations between the administration and the administered. Leighton (1945) noticed that similar stress developed in the Japanese relocation camps in the U.S. He attributed such stress to "capricious and unpredictable behavior on the part of those in authority". Certainly, such capriciousness has caused significant problems in the implementation of effective administration and reaction to it in Micronesia. Useem (1946) and Gladwin and Sarason (1954), among others, have noted that uncertainty regarding the actions of those in authority was almost as much a trial (and impediment) to the members of the Administration as it has been to the native Micronesian. Uncertainty was caused by changes in policy, administering bodies, native leadership roles as emphasized by the U.S. administration, confusions regarding lines of authority and disarticulations between government agencies. These have exacerbated the present day situation in Micronesia.

Leighton has stated that "cooperation, withdrawal and agres-
siveness are three universal kinds of behavior with which individuals react to authority when subject to forces of stress" (1945:263). These behavior patterns are evident within various island groups in Micronesia, and as such have complicated the problem involved in acculturative administration. Lessa (1966) and Barnett (1960) have noted that for Yap, Truk, and Palau these three types of behavioral patterns seem well infused into the life style of the respective island groups. Increasing aggressiveness is being evidenced by the Chamorron populations, resulting in a major fission of their basic polity. As of this writing, the Saipanese have demanded and received a separate government relationship with the U.S. policy administration, thereby creating a source of non-unity in an area purportedly being designed and administered for just such a unity.

The instilling of democratic institutions and organizational patterns as one of the goals of American foreign policy represents a major innovation in Micronesian cultural lifeways. However, it is essential to comprehend the means used in relation to the ends desired when introducing democracy. Otherwise, there is the very real prospect of eliminating existing functional democratic patterns while trying to institute novel democratic forms in accordance with American institutional structure. In addition, cultural agents of the dominant society are often not always cognizant of the pattern of democracy in their own society.

Some tend to project an idealized version, ignoring the way decisions are influenced and the actual roles played by political pressure groups. Such persons view native
politics with scorn and contempt, and the inability to gain the prescribed ends is taken as proof that the natives are not yet ready for responsible self-government (Useem, 1952:278).

For the native Micronesian, the American administration represents another entity in a cycle of foreign administrators. The appraisal of foreign institutions such as the present system of government in the trust territory is inextricably linked with native experiences with the foreigners themselves. The ability to locate a common denominator of endeavor, one which will bridge the gap between the United States objectives as strategic trustees and the expressed native desires needs to be correlated with the ability to provide economic security for the trust territory's inhabitants.

Much of the most effective human utilization of the natural and social habitat consists in changing generalized communities into more specialized ones. For Micronesia, this involves the re-establishment of a balanced money-economy and of orienting economic institutions to local needs, something which has not been achieved despite Useem's (1946) early recommendation. Because of the strict limitations placed upon the native populations of Micronesia by the island ecosystem, the achievement of the goals of the U.N. Trusteeship agreement along with those of the native populations is contingent upon the level of sociocultural integration which can be achieved by present American administrative policies.

With regard to Micronesian socio-political unity, the ability
of the U.S. government to veto bills, even those having to do strictly with internal matters, presents great problems. This, compounded by the awareness of Micronesian leaders that the U.S. Secretary of the Interior has the power to dissolve the only internationally recognized indigenous governmental body, the Congress of Micronesia, presents a major obstacle to alleviating the perception of capriciousness which Leighton (1945) indicated as stressful to all acculturated peoples. Barnett has noted a strong correlation between individualism and innovative potential, stating that:

The greater the freedom of the individual to explore his world of experience and to organize its elements in accordance with his private interpretation of his sense impressions, the greater the likelihood of new ideas coming into being (Barnett, 1953:65).

In the case of United States administration of the trust territory, the interpretation by the indigenous population that restrictions are placed upon what are determined by the native peoples to be culturally important areas of growth and self-determination, has had deleterious effects upon the effectiveness of the trusteeship administration. In line with the statement previously made regarding problems in administration, the recent slowing of economic and educational progress in Micronesia due to lack of funds can be viewed as a further example of still unresolved, but disconcerting issues. As of June 10, 1973, the United States reported to the United Nations Trusteeship Council that:

...its efforts to come to an agreement on the status of the Micronesia Trust Territory of South Pacific Islands has met political and financial difficulties (San Diego Union, June 10, 1973).
This, along with the comments by a representative to the Congress of Micronesia point up the disparity which exists between levels of interpretation between Micronesians and the administering American government. In a speech advocating self-determination as Micronesia's future course of development, Senator Amaraich stated:

The two sides are talking on different levels, and that may prove a hindrance to the conclusion of an agreement between Micronesia and the United States (Akewasasne Notes, Autumn, 1972:29).

The modernization of Micronesia presents three problems which require immediate attention:

1) The persistent frustration of goals, desires, needs, intentions and plans of the Micronesians.

2) Circumstances that promote the dilemma of conflicting and at times mutually incompatible desires and intentions.

3) Circumstances creating confusion and uncertainly as to what is happening in the present and what can be expected in the future.

Few principles have been more thoroughly demonstrated by experience and ethnographic observation than the ones stated above. The prevention of excessiveness in any of the three is not only an administrative responsibility, but also a very practical requirement for effective operation (Leighton, 1945:261-262).
CHAPTER IV
Conclusions

As has been pointed out in the preceding pages, the institutionalization of foreign systems of government, economy and religion, whether forced or indirectly contrived, all have constituted innovations of major proportions within the Micronesian cultural systems. Barnett has noted with regard to culture change and innovation, that

The definitive characteristic of a novelty is its newness with respect to the interrelationships of its parts, not their number. Irrespective of whether or not quantitative changes are entailed, all innovations are qualitative departures from habitual patterns (1953:10).

It is essential to comprehend the means used, in relation to the ends desired, when introducing culture change. The external manipulation of the various subsystems of Micronesian society, a process which has intensified during the past four centuries, has involved a series of major restructurings so that new patterns of life-style have emerged, resulting in new stresses and a distinctiveness which cannot be characterized merely in terms of an increase or decrease in the number of component cultural elements still functioning on a day to day basis. Barnett offers this pertinent analysis of innovations relative to major qualitative cultural changes:

There are objective grounds for saying that one invention is more basic than another if the criterion is the social effects that they have; but this cannot be adduced from the qualities which characterize them. If it could,
we would be much wiser than we are about the future consequences of a given innovation. Also, if by basic and derived it is meant that some inventions provide a stimulus for more subsequent inventions than do others, there is an unquestioned basis for making a distinction. But, again, this has nothing to do with the property of the inventions themselves; or at least none that can be demonstrated in advance of developments. If new ideas do have such inherent qualities they appear only in retrospect, which means that external factors play a necessary part in determining what they are. It is, in fact, evident that the time-place setting of an invention instills it with whatever possibilities it might have for future development (1953:8-9).

Because a culture is composed of interdependent parts, the acceptance of something new always entails stresses and dislocations of existing patterns. A change in one feature of Micronesian life style such as a change in environment for the Bikini islanders, required changes in both technologies and social relations.

A change in agricultural orientation has already occurred in many areas of Micronesia, and it no longer requires large family units for efficient production of dispersed crops. Thus, the way is open for other forms of family organization to develop (Alkire, 1959). In turn, a change in residence patterns may eventually lead to changes in descent and inheritance patterns. The composition of the kinship structure and of mutual assistance groups in many Micronesian societies is directly correlated with the type of family structure and settlement plan, and as such is undergoing gradual change as the islands become oriented to participation in a full-scale material and commercial social system imposed by the American administration, either consciously or unconsciously.

Whatever the eventual political future of Micronesia may be,
it is essential to consider for our purposes that with the passage of time, and with the influence of dominant cultural groups, the sequence of choices made by the members of Micronesian society will necessarily become more complex, and concomitantly, their ramifications will be more far-reaching. What is occurring under the American administration of Micronesia is forced evolution, whereby the choices made by the indigenous population are contingent upon the actions of a dominant external government. These choices have produced and are continuing to produce a definite progression of organizational forms which will subsequently define the emerging patterns of Micronesian life-style.

The fragile unity which pervades Micronesia is a historical happenstance. Spain, Germany, Japan, the League of Nations, the United States, and the United Nations have all played a role in creating the present Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. That the unity of Micronesia is the result of continuous series of events wrought during four successive, but unique colonial situations has already been established elsewhere in this paper. Earlier, the point was taken that internal stress is often symptomatic of an inability of the administered society to predict and incorporate, in a culturally understandable form, the actions of the dominant administration. Certain stress areas are already visible in Micronesia.

The problem was, and is fragmentation. Elsewhere, internal disunity has generally followed independence. In Micronesia, the sequence has been accelerated. Micronesia is fragmenting before its political future is resolved. The explanation for this trend, however, is traditional. Micronesia is an artificial political entity. Its boundaries are a by-product of European, American, and
Japanese political ambition. The territory is, in fact, six discrete units — the Marianas, the Marshalls, Palau, Yap, Truk, and Ponape — each with a language (or two), a complex and developed culture, and a distinct traditional political structure. Allegiance commonly extends no further than the clan. Because of the vast ocean spaces between these units, now formally constituted as the Trust Territory's administrative districts, the peoples of Micronesia have had more contact with outsiders than with each other (Mihaly, 1974:843).

The policies pursued by the American administration have contributed to the problem of fragmentation. The building of Micronesian identity and political unity rests primarily with two institutions which are themselves the result of over four centuries of cumulative change. The Congress of Micronesia chartered eight years ago, and the Trust Territory government have been responsible for bringing the six districts of Micronesia to focus on territory-wide problems. The introduction of egalitarian educational opportunities have fostered a new generation of native leaders who presently serve in the Congress of Micronesia. However, traditional leadership still continue to wield some authority — directly on local issues and indirectly through the young men holding territory office.

The influence of these three variables, a novel educational system, a territory wide internal "congress", and a dominant externally-controlled Territory government are considered here as mutually interdependent and reflective.

The building of Micronesian identity and political unity halted, and then reversed, roughly two years ago. One cause was that universal political issue -- money. The Congress has passed a modest income tax bill. This triggered a squabble over the division of tax revenues, which then led to the first serious contention over the allocation of U.S. financial inputs. A second source
of trouble was the status negotiations with Washington. The frustratingly slow pace, in the context of accelerating expectation, and the apparent intractability of Washington in the early stages unleashed an inter-district antagonism. Politicians found votes and a chance to build a territory-wide reputation in attacks on the United States and the Micronesian leadership of the moment. Also, district ambitions came into play, with each district jockeying for what it conceived to be financial and political advantage at the starting line for a future state (Mihaly, 1974:843-844).

The policies pursued by the American administration have also aggravated the situation on the Trust Territory. The recent decentralization of major decisionmaking to the district level and the appointment of local men as district commissioners in order to facilitate Micronesian assumption of authority has resulted in a virtual rebirth of the district as autonomous political units (Mihaly, 1974:844).

Two considerations are involved here. On the one hand, there are the relations between the governing American society and the recipient Micronesian society. Secondly, there exists a direct correlation between the donor activity pattern and the character of the recipient activity pattern. We have seen in the preceding discussion the pitfalls of cultural bias and ignorance, producing as they do stresses which undermine the goals of both donor and recipient cultures in an acculturative situation. Goodenough (1966a) has stated that people often become aware of change in one place before they notice concomitant change in another. Just as environmental change will produce alterations in exploitative measures employed by a group of people, so too will changes in policy applications in an acculturative situation produce changes in recipient
perception of the administering group, and vice versa. The world as perceived by Micronesians and Americans is composed of culturally prescribed but different forms as well as tangible and intangible objects. Every culture is based upon such conformity to a shared set of forms, arranged in meaningful and specific ways which explic- cate change as it takes place. In essence, then, every society has a definite world view with which to react to and reflect socio- cultural change. Changes that occur in the real or tangible world produce concomitant changes (perhaps with greater or more disruptive intensity) in the intangible or phenomenal world.

To some degree, therefore, events in the phenomenal world appear mysterious and unpredictable, as the inevitable limitations of people's perceptual categories (to say nothing of their senses themselves) lead them to observe effects without observing the causes. Such mysterious and unpredict- able changes as occur undermine people's beliefs about the nature of things, demanding ever new rationalizations, and invite them to develop new percepts or new combinations of percepts and thus cognitively to reorganize their phenomenal world (Goodenough, 1966a:255).

What is occurring in Micronesia is just such a reorganization on the part of the island population to adjust to the flow of change as it has been introduced with increasing intensity since initial contact by the Spanish some four centuries ago.

A general principle can be attached to what we have said con- cerning the relationship of the real world to the phenomenal world. That is, as the areas of instability (problem areas) increase in the tangible world, so too will they increase in the phenomenal or cognitive world. Such was the case in Ponape during the initial German administration, as well as for the Bikini Islanders as a result of the administrative decisionmaking to relocate them to
Kili Island. Schneider offers us a hypothetical example pertinent to present day Micronesian society and U.S. administrative perception of it.

Yap standards of behavior for young men and women differ from our own standards. This is a matter of cultural relativity, but more than relativity is at issue. What is also involved is the fit between one part of culture and the rest of the cultural totality.

Let us suppose that young Americans in their twenties emulated Yap and consistently preferred to engage in love affairs than to assume adult responsibilities. Quite apart from morality, such a shift would set in motion a series of other changes disrupting what we regard as our way of life. Conversely, if young men and women on Yap suddenly decided to settle down in their twenties and rear families, a host of other changes would ensue and the Yap way of life would be similarly disrupted (1968:396).

In an acculturative setting, a single innovation has an equal potential of upsetting or of modifying by strengthening the particular cultural steady state which persists.

In terms of world society, Micronesian land is relatively inconsequential. Whether or not Micronesian land gives the United States military a strategic advantage in the Pacific in the technologic era of the 1970's is dubious. What is clear is the increasing frustration and disagreement between the islanders and the United States regarding the future status of the trust territory. Be it a commonwealth status or free association, the polity of Micronesia has to be negotiated internally.

The cultural transmission problems of a region so vast geographically, and yet so sparsely settled, limit the amount of administrative control which can be exercised -- whether by an
elected native government or by the United States. Prior to the
determination of any future status two events must occur. First,
recognition by the United States, as the donor culture, of the
ability of the native population to manipulate their own internal
affairs. Secondly, the total rehabilitation and integration of the
island economies toward a more centralized base must be established.
As these two events are realized, concomitant changes in socio-
political awareness should result, enabling a greater degree of
autonomy to be instituted into the contemporary Micronesian mazeway.

Economic facts clearly limit Micronesia's political options;
they also limit the options of the United States and the United
Nations (Mihaly, 1974:847). What is clear, then, is that administra-
tive decentralization must be reversed. Dealings between the
indigenous population and the American government need be placed on
a higher and more predictable level than the present practice of
recognizing individual districts. Recognition of economic necessity
could produce the "national" cooperation necessary for Micronesian
well-being and independence. Such recognition by the Trust Territory
government as well as the Congress of Micronesia could serve to
reverse the increasing fragmentation of interests and bring about
inter-district unity and societal survival.

The current proposal of a "Free Association" represents a
relatively new type of political status which could serve as a
centripetal force for Micronesian unity. Free Association entails
a recognition of qualified sovereignty, but leaves international
diplomacy and defense, in addition to an obligation to subsidize, with the American government. Either party can terminate the relationship at will. It represents a novel arrangement in the process of decolonization in Micronesia.

The report of the 1970 United Nations visiting mission to the Trust Territory indicated the Mission's displeasure with the United States' administration of the strategic trust. Recommendations were published regarding economic, political, educational, social welfare and control policies and all other major and interrelated aspects of cultural development. Underlying these is a much more subtle, but significant issue -- that of cultural bias precipitating acculturative stress and undermining what are probably mutually desired goals. The implementation of such applied ethnological interpretations as presented here and elsewhere in anthropological literature lies at the very hearthstone of alleviating and directing (in a mutually acceptable manner) those problems as currently beset the enforced modernization of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.

The way in which the United States governs these micro-states of the Pacific will indicate to the peoples elsewhere how the U.S. honors its United Nations commitments. The applicability of anthropological theories and orientation to the situation as it currently suggests itself in Micronesia is self-evident.
APPENDIX A

Government of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands

Proclamation No. 1

To the People of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands:

Whereas the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands has been placed under the trusteeship system established in the Charter of the United Nations by means of a trusteeship agreement, approved by the Security Council of the United Nations on April 2, 1947, and by the United States Government on July 18, 1947, after due constitutional process; and

Whereas the United States of America, under the terms of the trusteeship Agreement, has been designated as the administering authority of the trust territory and has assumed obligations for the government thereof; and

Whereas it has been necessary to establish an interim administration of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, pending the enactment of appropriate legislation by the Congress of the United States providing for the future government; and

Whereas the President of the United States, by Executive Order of July 18, 1947, has terminated the military government in the former Japanese Mandated Islands, now the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, and has delegated the authority and responsibility for the civil administration thereof, on an interim basis, to the Secretary of the Navy; and

Whereas, the President of the United States has appointed me to the office of High Commissioner of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands;

Now, therefore, I, Louis Denfeld, Admiral, United States Navy, Commander in Chief Pacific and United States Pacific Fleet, and High Commissioner of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, do hereby proclaim as follows:

I

All powers of government and jurisdiction in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, and over the inhabitants thereof, and final administrative responsibility are vested in me as High Commissioner of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, and will be exercised through subordinate administrators by my direction.

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Your existing customs, religious beliefs and property rights will be respected and existing local laws and all proclamations, regulations, ordinances, and orders of the former military government shall remain in force and effect, except insofar as they are not in consonance with the terms of the trusteeship agreement and the executive order, and insofar as it may be necessary for me in the exercise of my powers and duties to change them.

Given under my hand at Pearl Harbor, T.H., this 18th day of July 1947.

L.E. Denfeld
Admiral, United States Navy,
Commander in Chief, Pacific and United States Pacific Fleet,
High Commissioner of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.

(Handbook on the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, 1948:273)
APPENDIX B

Trusteeship Agreement for the Former Japanese Mandated Islands
Approved at the One Hundred and Twenty-Fourth Meeting of the
Security Council

Preamble

Whereas article 75 of the Charter of the United Nations pro-
vides for the establishment of an international trusteeship system
for the administration and supervision of such territories as may
be placed thereunder by subsequent agreements; and

Whereas under article 77 of the said Charter the trusteeship
system may be applied to territories now held under mandate; and

Whereas on 17 December 1920 the Council of the League of
Nations confirmed a mandate for the former German islands north of
the equator to Japan, to be administered in accordance with article
22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations; and

Whereas Japan, as a result of the Second World War, has ceased
to exercise any authority in these islands;

Now, therefore, the Security Council of the United Nations, having
satisfied itself that the relevant articles of the Charter have been
complied with, hereby resolves to approve the following terms of
trusteeship for the Pacific Islands formerly under mandate to Japan.

Article 1

The Territory of the Pacific Islands, consisting of the islands
formerly held by Japan under mandate in accordance with article 22
of the Covenant of the League of Nations, is hereby designated as a
strategic area and placed under the trusteeship system established
in the Charter of the United Nations. The Territory of the Pacific
Islands is hereafter referred to as the trust territory.

Article 2

The United States of America is designated as the administering
authority of the trust territory.

Article 3

The administering authority shall have full powers of adminis-
tration, legislation, and jurisdiction over the territory subject

1. See document S.281 for the original draft agreement submitted by
the Representative of the United States.
to the provisions of this agreement, and may apply to the trust territory, subject to any modifications which the administering authority may consider desirable, such of the laws of the United States as it may deem appropriate to local conditions and requirements.

Article 4

The administering authority, in discharging the obligations of trusteeship in the trust territory, shall act in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, and the provisions of this agreement, and shall, as specified in article 83(2) of the Charter, apply the objectives of the international trusteeship system, as set forth in article 76 of the Charter, to the people of the trust territory.

Article 5

In discharging its obligations under article 76(a) and article 84, of the Charter, the administering authority shall ensure that the trust territory shall play its part, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, in the maintenance of international peace and security. To this end the administering authority shall be entitled:

1. to establish naval, military, and air bases and to erect fortifications in the trust territory;
2. to station and employ armed forces in the territory; and
3. to make use of volunteer forces, facilities, and assistance from the trust territory in carrying out the obligations towards the Security Council undertaken in this regard by the administering authority, as well as for the local defense and the maintenance of law and order within the trust territory.

Article 6

In discharging its obligations under article 76(b) of the Charter, the administering authority shall:

1. Foster the development of such political institutions as are suited to the trust territory and shall promote the development of the inhabitants of the trust territory toward self-government or independence as may be appropriate to the particular circumstances of the trust territory and its peoples and the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned; and to this end shall give to the inhabitants of the trust territory a progressively increasing share in the administrative services in the territory; shall develop their participation in government; shall give due recognition to the customs of the inhabitants in providing a system of law for the territory; and shall take
other appropriate measures toward these ends;
2. promote the economic advancement and self-sufficiency of
the inhabitants, and to this end shall regulate the use of
natural resources; encourage the development of fisheries,
agriculture, and industries; protect the inhabitants against
the loss of their lands and resources; and improve the means
of transportation and communication;
3. promote the social advancement of the inhabitants and to
this end shall protect the rights and fundamental freedoms
of all elements of the population without discrimination; protect
the health of the inhabitants; control the traffic in arms
and ammunition, opium and other dangerous drugs, and alcohol
and other spirituous beverages; and institute such other regula-
tions as may be necessary to protect the inhabitants against
social abuses; and
4. promote the educational advancement of the inhabitants, and
to this end shall take steps toward the establishment of a
general system of elementary education; facilitate the voca-
tional and cultural advancement of the population; and shall
encourage qualified students to pursue higher education,
including training on the professional level.

Article 7

In discharging its obligations under article 76(c) of the
Charter, the administering authority shall guarantee to the inhabi-
tants of the trust territory freedom of conscience, and, subject
only to the requirements of public order and security, freedom of
speech, of the press, and of assembly; freedom of worship, and of
religious teaching; and freedom of migration and movement.

Article 8

1. In discharging its obligations under article 76(d) of the
Charter, as defined by article 83(2) of the Charter, the admin-
istering authority, subject to the requirements of security,
and the obligation to promote the advancement of the inhabi-
tants, shall accord to nationals of each Member of the United
Nations and to companies and associations organized in conformity
with the laws of such Member, treatment in the trust territory
no less favourable than that accorded therein to nationals,
companies, and associations of any other United Nation except
the administering authority.
2. The administering authority shall ensure equal treatment
to the Members of the United Nations and their nationals in
the administration of justice.
3. Nothing in this Article shall be so construed as to accord
traffic rights to aircraft flying into and out of the trust
territory. Such rights shall be subject to agreement between
the administering authority and the state whose nationality
such aircraft possesses.
4. The administering authority may negotiate and conclude commercial and other treaties and agreements with Members of the United Nations and other states, designed to attain for the inhabitants of the trust territory by the Members of the United Nations and other states no less favourable than that granted by them to the nationals of other states. The Security Council may recommend, or invite other organs of the United Nations to consider and recommend, what rights the inhabitants of the trust territory should acquire in consideration of the rights obtained by Members of the United Nations in the trust territory.

Article 9

The administering authority shall be entitled to constitute the trust territory into a customs, fiscal, or administrative union or federation with other territories under United States jurisdiction and to establish common services between such territories and the trust territory where such measures are not inconsistent with the basic objectives of the International Trusteeship System and with the terms of this agreement.

Article 10

The administering authority, acting under the provisions of article 3 of this agreement, may accept membership in any regional advisory commission, regional authority, or technical organization, or other voluntary association of states; may cooperate with specialized international bodies, public or private, and may engage in other forms of international cooperation.

Article 11

1. The administering authority shall take the necessary steps to provide the status of citizenship of the trust territory for the inhabitants of the trust territory.
2. The administering authority shall afford diplomatic and consular protection to inhabitants of the trust territory when outside the territorial limits of the trust territory or of the territory of the administering authority.

Article 12

The administering authority shall enact such legislation as may be necessary to place the provisions of this agreement in effect in the trust territory.

Article 13

The provisions of articles 87 and 88 of the Charter shall be applicable to the trust territory, provided that the administering
authority may determine the extent of their applicability to any areas which may from time to time be specified by it as closed for security reasons.

Article 14

The administering authority undertakes to apply in the trust territory the provisions of any international conventions and recommendations which may be appropriate to the particular circumstances of the trust territory and which would be conducive to the achievement of the basic objectives of Article 6 of this agreement.

Article 15

The terms of the present agreement shall not be altered, amended, or terminated without the consent of the administering authority.

Article 16

The present agreement shall come into force when approved by the Security Council of the United Nations and by the Government of the United States after due constitutional process.

(Handbook on the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands: 1948:275-277)
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