

SCHOOLING, KNOWLEDGE AND POWER: SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION IN THE SOLOMON ISLANDS¹

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Anthropologists and radical critics of education have long recognized the important role schools play in creating and reproducing the social order (Young 1971, Bowles & Gintis 1976, Ogbu 1978, Giddens 1979, Wilcox 1982, Freire 1984). Schools are gatekeepers for access to economic advancement and political leadership. Schools are socializers of attitudes and values, modelling ways of living for their students. Schools determine who generates and who has access to socially-valued knowledge (Apple 1978, Sharp 1980, Friedman-Hansen 1982, Aronowitz & Giroux 1985). When school-based knowledge is narrow, superficial, and uncritical, social discourse at the societal level is likely to be highly constrained and unable to address fundamental social problems (Giroux 1981, Apple 1982).

Colonialism, missionization, World War II, Western schooling, and accelerated economic development since independence have all contributed to dramatic social and political changes in Solomon Islands societies over the past eighty years. The school has played an important role in many of these changes, including the emergence of social classes, growing inequities between urban and rural areas, and undermining of traditional sources of knowledge.

This paper compares traditional education with national schooling in the Solomon Islands, concentrating on the nature, meaning, and transmission of knowledge, and the impact of an imposed Western model of schooling on social change. We examine: micro-level structuring of teaching-learning interactions which embody knowledge as content, and

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teach important social values and ways of thinking; and macro-level processes in formal education as it developed in the Solomons, together with societal changes contributed to by schooling as a social institution.

Our primary focus is rural West Kwara'ae, where for the past ten years we have conducted research on culture and children's language socialization. Our discussion of schooling is based on historical sources, government publications, observations at a rural primary school, interviews with headmasters, teachers, and parents, and data we collected on children's socialization.²

The Kwara'ae, who are subsistence horticulturists of Malaita, are the largest cultural group in the Solomons. However, it should be kept in mind that great diversity characterizes the country's 80-90 linguistic groups.³ As the location of Malaita's governmental headquarters, primary urban center (Auki), major hospital, and airfield, and as a center for intense mission and development activity over the past 50 years, West Kwara'ae has been exposed to Western ideas and behavior for several decades. However, literacy rates are low, villages are economically poor, and people still strongly identify with many aspects of their traditional culture.

Knowledge and Education in the Traditional System

In traditional forms of education in the Solomons, control of knowledge production and transmission was not strictly egalitarian. Pre-contact political systems varied from essentially egalitarian 'big man' systems to hierarchical chiefdoms. On Malaita, several variations are found.⁴

² Our discussion of traditional education draws on over 180 hours of tape-recordings in nine Kwara'ae families with children ranging in age from birth to late adolescence, collected in four field periods (1979, 1981, 1984, 1987). In 1981 we interviewed the head of primary education in the Solomons, observed and tape-recorded a reading lesson in a first-grade classroom of a rural school, and interviewed the teacher and headmaster. In 1987 we conducted an in-depth interview with the new headmaster and four teachers at the same rural school. We also interviewed parents and children in our child socialization study about schooling. And we draw on Gegeo's own experiences in village and boarding schools in the 1960s.

³ Malaita is the most densely populated of the five major islands in the Solomons. The population of Kwara'ae, one of thirteen linguistic/cultural areas on Malaita, is between 15,000 and 20,000. The total population of Malaita is about 60,000, and of the Solomons approximately 253,000.

⁴ In the Solomons, chiefdoms are found among Polynesian groups (e.g., Tikopia, Anuta). On Malaita, the 'Are'are have chiefs, the Kwaio a 'big man' system.

As a chiefdom until about 200 years ago, Kwara'ae social structure today is characterized by both hierarchical and egalitarian principles. Families are ranked as junior or senior to each other based on their kin line, and are headed by male and female elders called *gwaunga'i* (literally, 'headness'). *Gwaunga'i* achieve their rank largely through demonstrations of cultural knowledge and appropriate behavior, and they are expected to model key cultural values. *Gwaunga'i*-hood is every adult's goal, and even very young children's behavior is watched closely for signs of *gwaunga'i*-like precociousness. Although elected chiefs and *gwaunga'i* in senior kin lines exercise some inherited authority, most decisions are made as they always have been, by a deliberative, consensual process in which all adults participate. Adults are expected to have a good command of the formal register of the language, knowledge of cultural values and premises, and skills in reasoning and argumentation. Even the elders' authority and power derive primarily from public respect for their knowledge and secondarily from their skills in argumentation and persuasion.

To the Kwara'ae, a 'complete' person is knowledgeable and wise, able to reflect on and articulate what he/she knows, and to reason 'straight,' that is, systematically and logically. The Kwara'ae believe that 'straight' thinking leads to 'correct' behavior—i.e., behavior that is ethical, socially appropriate, and sensible (Watson-Gegeo & Gegeo, n.d.). The links among knowledge, thinking, and behavior affect all forms of teaching in Kwara'ae culture.

In the past, certain forms of knowledge (e.g., healing, sorcery, ritual) were kept secret from the wider public and especially from women (though women had their own forms of secret knowledge). In Christian communities today, sorcery (forbidden by the churches) and healing is still secret knowledge. Most other local knowledge is publically available. As in the past, a *gwaunga'i* usually specializes in at least one other area of knowledge besides competence in speaking, becoming recognized as an expert and potential teacher. *Gwaunga'i* in senior families are especially looked to for leadership and as sources and interpreters of traditional knowledge.

Education carried out in culturally-based socialization practices is usually termed 'informal' or 'non-formal' education, although these two terms carry distinctive meanings for some analysts. By its classical definition, in 'informal' education "learners spontaneously, or by observation and imitation, internalize a direct replica of the behavior they see around them"

(Lave 1982:182), usually in the same contexts in which the knowledge is to be routinely used. In contrast, 'formal' education involves activities structured around pedagogical goals, by a teacher in contexts temporally and spatially distant from where the knowledge is used. Lave (ibid.) has shown that master-apprentice relationships share characteristics with both kinds of education, suggesting that the dichotomous formal-informal distinction is insufficient as a taxonomy for types of learning situations.

Although spontaneous observation and imitation are important strategies for acquiring skills and knowledge in everyday life and activities, Kwara'ae socialization practices emphasize direct, verbally-mediated teaching of many intellectual and cultural skills (Watson-Gegeo & Gegeo, 1986a, 1986b), sometimes in the immediate context of use, and other times in temporally and spatially distant situations. In contexts associated with speaking low rhetoric, the informal register of Kwara'ae, young children (beginning at 6 months) are taught how to speak and behave through a set of routines⁵ which structure interaction, control the child's behavior, communicate information and attitudes, and support the child's developing linguistic and cultural skills (Watson-Gegeo & Gegeo 1986a, 1986b). The overall goal of these routines is to push the child to adult levels of competence and performance as quickly as possible. Many of the routines resemble those used by middle-class American caregivers to teach their children language and to prepare them for school. However, literacy experiences are not part of the content of routines in most Kwara'ae households, and village children usually have little or no literacy skills when they enter school.

The traditional Kwara'ae equivalent of formal schooling is called *fa'amanata'anga*, 'shaping the mind' (literally, causative+think+nominative). A general term for teaching, *fa'amanata'anga* also refers to a formal, serious-to-sacred context in which direct teaching and interpersonal counseling is undertaken in high rhetoric (Watson-Gegeo & Gegeo, 1987; Watson-Gegeo 1987). *Fa'amanata'anga* involves abstract discussion and the teaching of

⁵ A 'routine' is an exchange sequence in which an utterance (with appropriate nonverbal behavior) elicits one of a limited set of responses by one or more other interactants (Watson 1975, Boggs & Peters 1986). For example, in repeating routines, adults model a phrase or sentence for the young child to repeat, sometimes to teach specific information (e.g., vocabulary, grammar, how things work) and sometimes to assist a child in conversing with others.

reasoning skills through question/answer pairs, rhetorical questions, tightly argued sequences of ideas and premises, comparison-contrast, and causal (if-then) argumentation (Watson-Gegeo & Gegeo, 1987). Regularly held sessions begin in early childhood (18 months in some families), become increasingly elaborate and formal, and continue throughout life. Session leaders may be family (parents) or descent group seniors, or an invited elder or knowledge specialist. Sessions focused on children are usually led by their parents. In cases where a young adult lives with a respected elder over a space of weeks or months in an apprentice-like relationship, *fa'amanata'anga* sessions form the core of the educational experience.

Example 1 in the appendix, which displays a portion of a *fa'amanata'anga* session on willingness to work directed to a 3-year-old child, illustrates how these speech events combine a demonstration of ways of thinking with substantive information and social values. In 'not wanting' to tell a story, Susuli had refused a task—here construed as 'work'—assigned to her by her father. Her parents equate disliking/refusing to work as laziness, as implied by the double meaning of *'aila'anga*. This point entails another, the culturally important concept of 'source': laziness is bad because nothing has its source in laziness. What is produced bears a direct relation to the labor that went into producing it, an important concept for subsistence gardeners. Susuli's mother contrasts being lazy with being willing: women should be willing workers. This abstraction is immediately illustrated through a concrete list of work tasks constituting as well as symbolizing woman's work role. Arguing by contrast and following up abstractions with illustrations is typical of the reasoning used in *fa'amanata'anga* sessions. Susuli's understanding of the discourse and the forms of reasoning in it is demonstrated by her correct use of the logical particle *'ira*, 'if that is the case,' in countering the claim that girls should not be lazy by offering an exception in the form of one of her friends.

In *fa'amanata'anga* sessions, respect is shown for the child's ability to reason and infer. 'Shaping the mind' assumes that children are already knowledgeable and intelligent, and that their minds need to be guided and persuaded rather than forced into right thinking. *Fa'amanata'anga* emphasizes comprehension and inferencing, and creative uses of metaphor and examples to develop points, illustrate them, and focus a child's attention. Sessions with young children are often triggered by immediate events, but as

children grow older, sessions deal more and more with situations or events temporally and spatially distant from the immediate context.

Viewed socially, *fa'amanata'anga* traditionally has been the primary context for in-depth consideration and exchange of cultural knowledge, in which the concepts and rules embodied in Kwara'ae tradition are defined, adapted, reinterpreted, and transmitted from one generation to another (Watson-Gegeo & Gegeo, n.d.). Thus these sessions involve both creation and transmission of knowledge in a social, pragmatic context. In one sense, the language of *fa'amanata'anaga* is decontextualized, for the events or bodies of cultural knowledge (e.g., gardening lore, historical events, local theories of the natural world) discussed or reformulated are temporally and spatially removed from the immediate context of the talk. However, *fa'amanata'anga* talk is contextualized insofar as its use of language is functionally authentic (e.g., the content and form of utterances are designed to communicate in the immediate situation, not contrived to demonstrate abstract notions of, say, grammar). When session leaders illustrate points through real or hypothetical direct quotations, their voice pitch, intonation contours, stress, and other paralinguistic features match those that were or would be used by the quoted speaker—an important contextualizing strategy.

Schooling During Missionization and the Protectorate

The establishment of the British Protectorate over the Solomon Islands in 1893 opened the way for extensive missionization and development of plantations (Fox 1975, *Solomon Islands Handbook* 1983, 1983). For nearly eighty years the Protectorate government played little role in education, leaving schooling to the Christian churches (*Solomon Islands National Development Plan 1975-1979*, 1975).

Parochial schools were primarily concerned with converting islanders and training missionaries (Tryon 1979; Hilliard 1978). From the end of World War II through the early 1970s, Melanesian Mission (Anglican) boarding schools were considered to be the best schools in the Solomons. Pawa Secondary School, for example, was called the 'Eton of the Pacific' (Whiteman 1983:181, Standley 1981:21), and was run much like an English boarding school. Many of the white teachers in the boarding schools were graduates of prestigious colleges and universities in England. Because schools like Pawa were isolated from urban areas, they operated much like a village community

or monastery. Relatively few hours per day were spent in the classroom, for the students had to raise their own food and maintain the school grounds. On the other hand, children spent most of their waking hours speaking English and living in a context which emphasized the educational experience. Mission schools in the villages fell short of the standards maintained at schools like Pawa. The majority of islanders educated at mission schools became literate in their own languages (Kent 1972:169), but not in English, the language of government and business.

By the 1930s, the colonial administration had grown increasingly dissatisfied with the quality of education provided by mission village schools, which were unable to meet government training needs (Boutilier 1978:151). But the Protectorate lacked the funds to establish its own schools, and so continued to support mission schools through World War II. The first government school was established at Auki on Malaita in 1949, but the Solomons government did not assume hegemony over all the country's schools until 1974 (Searle 1970).

During the colonial period, two main kinds of training were emphasized in government schools: teacher training, and training for government service. Searle (1970:52) noted that the government was "particularly conscious of the need to produce more suitably qualified recruits for the Civil Service." A few students were sent abroad for training, usually limited to secondary kinds of roles in government service. For example, in the 1930s islander 'doctors' were given training just below that required for a medical degree, so that on return to the Solomons they worked under the supervision of caucasian doctors.

The rapid expansion of government schools in the 1960s "encouraged [a] drift to the towns" of Solomons youth (Searle 1970:94). As the quality of education also rose during this period, a larger number of young islanders who hoped to go abroad for study in the humanities and social sciences became increasingly frustrated. The few available scholarships for study abroad were targeted for careers connected to national development (agriculture, communications, education, administration, and business).

During the late 1960s and 1970s, the emphasis on professional training for teachers (largely at the Honiara Teachers Training College, established in 1959) had unforeseen consequences with regard to teacher relationships with

students. In the 1940s and 50s, salaries for local teachers were minimal, teaching was seen as a calling, and local teachers were regarded as *gwaunga'i* in Kwara'ae. In the 1970s teachers began to be attracted to teaching as a paid occupation and profession, and they became oriented to seeking higher salaries and limiting the number of their contact hours with students. These changes, coupled with a rotation policy moving nearly every teacher to a different school every year, created a situation in which teachers were increasingly alienated from their students and from the communities in which they served. As with many other educated Solomon Islanders, most teachers did not want to be posted to rural schools or to return to live in villages. In Kwara'ae, public respect for teachers declined substantially.

Curricula in mission schools and later in colonial government schools were very narrow, focussing on basic literacy in English, low-level math skills, "the virtues of cleanliness and industry" (Boutilier 1978:159), European social values, and in the case of parochial schools, religion. Geography and history lessons centered on England and Europe, virtually ignoring the Pacific. Especially in rural schools, the few books or printed materials available were often outdated cast-offs from British, Australian, New Zealand, or American schools. Schools were run with strict discipline. Lessons took the form of whole-class lectures with dictation and recitation, and with a corresponding emphasis on drill and practice, rote memorization, and neat handwriting. Teachers allowed questions of information from students, but open discussion and debate were prohibited. In mission schools, the main goal seemed to be the furthering of mission work and the imparting of European values, standards of behavior, and culture. As Collins points out, the main activity of schools is to "teach particular status cultures," as encoded by vocabulary and inflection, styles of dress, aesthetic tastes, values, and manners" (1985:73). For their part, most island students viewed education as a passport to the European world of goods and power (Hogbin 1965). Many students had little notion of what they were expected to learn in school, and assumed that taking dictation, filling out worksheets, and behaving properly constituted education.

Knowledge and Schooling Today

Since the early 1980s, the Provinces have administered schools, with the Solomons government providing funding, curricula, and teacher

training.

The primary goals of education in the Solomons today are to ensure basic literacy by providing universal schooling through sixth grade; and to send a relatively few students abroad for university study in applied fields related to national economic and educational development (*Solomon Islands National Development Plan 1980-1984*, 1980). As of 1983, about 70% of children aged 7-14 years were in school (*Solomon Islands Education Statistics* 1984). Current tuition in rural primary schools is SI\$30 per year per nuclear family (for one or many children).

The rapid expansion of primary schools to meet development goals has been one factor in the decline of quality instruction since the late 1960s. This decline has apparently occurred in both boarding and village schools. Since independence in 1978, expatriate teachers have increasingly been replaced by local teachers, many of whom do not have a command of standard English, the language of instruction. In 1978, for example, it was estimated that 30% of primary teachers were untrained, and an additional 20% partially trained (Searle 1970). As of 1987, Form 3 school leavers were still being posted as teachers to rural primary schools without any teacher training. Yet rural schools are where the most talented teachers are needed, given that the schools are forbidden from using any language other than English for instruction, and rural children—in contrast to urban children—usually have virtually no exposure to English and little to Pijin before starting school. Moreover, rural schools do not have facilities or materials equal to urban schools, and depend to a greater degree on teacher skills.

The Malaita school we observed typifies many of the problems in rural schools. The Province rotates teachers every year and sometimes mid-term, the teachers have less than secondary education themselves, and few materials are available at the school. The outdated booklets from English-speaking countries used to teach reading and other subjects are culturally biased in format and content. The rotation policy, low level of teacher education, and lack of materials are probably important factors in the decline of education perceived by rural villagers. Malaitan rural villagers in their 30s and 40s pointed out to us that they learned to read and write simple English by the end of second grade, and were able to transfer their literacy skills to their own language. In contrast, their children often leave school at the end

of sixth grade barely able to write their names, and with severely limited reading skills.

Example 2 (in the appendix) displays a portion of a year-end reading lesson in a first-grade class at the school where we observed. The five sentences constituting the lesson neither form a narrative nor have any clear relationship to each other grammatically or thematically. Two of them depict cultural scenarios unfamiliar to the children. More seriously, one of the sentences—"He's only a little boy and he can't help his father"—stands in marked contrast to the local cultural emphasis on recognition of family interdependence and adult-like work behavior from at least age 3 years. The teacher's pedagogical strategy of whole-group drill and practice with individual oral recitation does little to develop children's cognitive skills nor does it require demonstration of those they already have. The sentences are decontextualized, that is, they are not used to communicate in the immediate situations but to demonstrate abstract notions of grammar and vocabulary. Their prosodic and paralinguistic features are also inauthentic, being a style developed for recitation, not communication in genuine everyday situations. Notice that during the class's fifth and sixth rounds of recitation (lines 100, 108), half the students confuse two of the sentences even though they previously performed them correctly—suggesting that the children may not fully understand what they are reading, and/or they are not attending carefully.

The reading lesson illustrates well McNeill's (1986:15) description of how Western-style schools "reward the splitting of the knowledge we have of our world from the official knowledge of schools." She argues that schools' bureaucratic emphasis on control and their low performance expectations for minority and working-class students leads teachers to transform school-generated, societally-valued knowledge into small bits of unrelated, sequenced information (p. xi). Under these conditions, standards for performance are low, and "doing a lesson" requires a minimum of effort from both students and teachers. These characteristics of Western schools are part of the model of schooling exported to Third World countries. For Solomons children, both the content (knowledge) offered at school as well as the form in which it is offered are foreign. Rather than a door into a wider world, schooling for rural children too often becomes limited access to esoteric knowledge entirely separate from their experience yet held out as

superior to what they know. Because of their own lack of skills and training, rural teachers pass these attitudes on to their students. They are only repeating their own schooling experiences in a system which reflects and helps to reproduce the social realities of Western countries in a new cultural environment. It is certainly the case that decontextualized, fragmented lessons like the one illustrated in Example 2 are not likely to engage a Kwara'ae child who is accustomed to traditional *fa'amanata'anga* at home, where the focus is on comprehension, reasoning, and complex ideas creatively connected by the session leader to the child's own experience and sense of identity.

Education and Social Change

A major impact of the pattern of schooling in the Solomons has been to support a growing class division among islanders, and a growing inequity between urban and rural areas. The poor quality of teaching and lack of resources in most rural schools guarantee that few children will pass the examinations for admission into secondary school. Those who do most often are channeled into a vocational rather than academic secondary school. The majority who fail their exams return to the village, work on plantations, or seek low-level jobs in town, often with a strong sense of defeat. Children of the urban elites attend well-endowed urban public or private schools, thereby guaranteeing that the elite group will perpetuate itself in the next generation.

Both those who fail and those who succeed in school often feel alienated or at least uncomfortable in relation to their village of origin. Some disdain the knowledge, values, and life-style of their own culture, believing that formal education has made them superior to uneducated villagers. In fact, years spent in school often deprive the school educated of learning much about their own cultures. This is particularly true for children who grow up in town. Few who have been to school are able to value and integrate the two systems of knowledge.

It is not surprising, therefore, that a second major impact of schooling has been to undermine traditional forms of knowledge and teaching. Increasingly young people reject the knowledge and leadership of the elders, especially given that many village decisions involve issues outside the traditional knowledge system, such as whether to allow lumbering or mining on local land. Even among those who are literate, elders usually lack the

background knowledge essential for informed decision-making. For several decades, then, the generation and control of knowledge has been shifting from traditional community leaders to church and school authorities, and to the school-educated.

Most Kwara'ae parents continue to *fa'amanata* their children, adjusting the kinds of lessons and possibly even lesson formats to correspond to knowledge children will need in the modern world. However, parents increasingly feel they have little to teach their children beyond basic subsistence skills, recognizing that the church, the school, and the school-educated devalue traditional knowledge. This potentially serious outcome of contact with formal schooling threatens not only rural children's cultural identity, but also works against the likelihood of their success in school. Many of the interactional routines parents and other caregivers use with young children are similar in form and function to those used by American white middle-class parents, and evaluated by American educators as essential for developing pre-school skills. If Kwara'ae parents abandon these, their children are likely to arrive at school even less well prepared for the schooling experience than they currently are. Similarly, although presented in a culture-specific form, the cognitive skills developed in Kwara'ae *fa'amanta'anga* sessions are universal reasoning skills. Were Kwara'ae parents to abandon *fa'amanata'anga*, or to allow the quality of these sessions to erode (as perceived by rural Kwara'ae to be increasingly the case), much of educational value that their own culture already provides for rural children would be denied to them.

Thirdly, formal schooling has undoubtedly been important in creating the beginnings of a national Solomon Islands culture. Many students who attend boarding schools develop cross-cultural friendships and often learn a smattering of other languages. Schooling itself creates a bond for these students. One outcome is an "old schoolmate" network that may be negatively used to shut out others or advance each other's careers. On the other hand, cross-cutting relationships formed at school also compete with preference given to individuals from one's own culture area or kin group (the *wantok* system). The current effort to decentralize schools may in fact encourage Provincial loyalties and rivalries, and work against the development of a national identity.

Conclusion

Rural Solomon islanders are increasingly under pressure to sign contracts with multinational corporations allowing lumbering, mining, or plantations on their land. The kind of schooling currently available in the Solomons is not preparing islanders to make principled decisions on issues such as these that have profound repercussions for the future of the islands. Instead, the knowledge available in rural schools is narrow, superficial, and uncritical. The growing split between urban and rural areas in quality of schooling and educational opportunities has also effectively disenfranchised villagers from political power in the Solomons.

Educated Solomon islanders sent to villages by government offices or development agencies to present information or introduce new projects often treat villagers with arrogance, refusing to speak the local language when they know it, and failing to define essential concepts in ways villagers can understand. These behaviors by the educated both reflect the results of their schooling, and perpetuate the division between school knowledge and traditional knowledge. Re-designing schools to integrate local knowledge with the social, political, and scientific knowledge necessary for survival in the international arena is the greatest challenge facing schooling in the Solomons today.

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APPENDIX

Transcript Conventions: Participants: fa=father; mo=mother; Su=Susuli, girl; Fe=Fena, boy; t=teacher; ch=children in chorus; b=boy; g=girl. Text: ALL CAPS=primary/very strong stress; **boldface**=secondary/medium stress; /=breath group or intonation group; //=**utterance final** (determined by intonation); ?=interrogative rise; [=overlapping utterance; /==latched utterances (no break); :=held vowel; (.)=pause under one second; (1)=pause of one (or other number) seconds;

Ex. 1: *Fa'amanata'anga*: Mother urges children (Susuli, 3;3 yrs., Fena, 1;9 yrs.) to eat dinner. Su replies '*aial* (= [I] dislike/don't want to). Father suggests in that case, tell us a story. Su replies "I '*aial* that, too." The father immediately begins to *fa'amanata*:

- | | | | |
|---|-----------------|--|---|
| 1 | fa | Nai saea 'Aial'anga ru
lsg say+om lazy+nom thing

noa' ta ru kis
not some thing sm+neg

HUIL an///=
happen of+3sg, poss | I say that nothing comes
from 'aiala'anga
(laziness) (loud, rise then
fall to mid low) |
| 2 | Ru | ta'A ne'
thing bad here,e

'aial'anga//
lazy+nom | A bad thing is this
'aiala'anga.
(quietly, low) |
| 3 | 'Aial'anga noa' | 'aes
lazy+nom no/not 2sg+neg

saesaea (.) sa [kwakwaum//
say+rpl+om inside mouth+2sg, poss | 'Aiala'anga don't you say
it out of your mouth.
(mid, low terminal fall) |

- 4 mo ['Ae ala'
2sg talk

suil sa (.) ua' hain
along art,m crab with+3sg

sa 'asoeh//
art,m rat
- 5 Su E::::/=No.

(low pitch, quietly,
subdued, musical rise-fall)
- 6 fa 'Aial'anga ngeal kin 'aila
lazy+nom child woman lazy

ngeal 'aila ru ta'a//
child lazy thing bad
- 'Aila'anga for a female
child, being 'aila is
a bad thing.
(rise-fall on 'aila'anga,
rise to mid high)
- 7 'Ao ngeal kini noa' 'aes
2sg child woman no/not 2sg+neg

saesaea 'aial'anga/= ne?///=
say+rpl+om lazy+nom okay
- You are a female child,
don't be saying 'aila'anga,
okay? (mid range)
- 8 Su 'Ial 'i Saong mo?//
in that case art,f Sango how

In that case, what about
Sango? (challengingly;
crisply; mid rise to mid
high, fall to low)
- 9 fa Ma 'i Saong (.) saea
and art,f Sango say+om

'aial'anga ma ma' nia ka
lazy+nom and father 3sg sm

rekoa long//
hit+om also
- And Sango says 'aila'anga
(=is lazy) and her father
smacks her, too.
(rise, fall, terminal rise)

- 10 Kwai'ia// (3)
strike+om Spanks her. (rapidly;
rasp)
- 11 Ma' nia kais uarura
father 3sg sm+neg whip+rpl Her father didn't ignore
it. (low rise to mid-high)
- ngwae 'oe//
person 2sg
- 12 mo Noa' 'aes saea
no/not 2sg+neg say+om Don't say 'aila'a/be
lazy. (high mid sustained)
- 'aila'//
dislike/lazy+nom
- 13 'Ao' kini nonium
2sg-e woman body+2sg,poss You are a woman/female,
inflexible. your body should not be
(mid falling, rapid)
- kais ula'//
sm+neg inflexible
- 14 Mau'uid mal//
willing int Be very willing [to work].
(mid falling to low)
- 15 Rao sa kumara//
work inside potato Work in the potato
garden. (imperative
contour, falling)
- 16 fa Ne ba' Fena?//
here that,p Fena Okay, Fena? (rise-fall,
rise-fall)
- 17 mo Rao 'i luam//
work loc house Work in the house.
(imperative, falling)
- 18 Fe M' uh uh// (Yes) (to fa).
- 19 fa Mahual//
fire [Make the] fire. (rise-
fall)

20	Fe	Uh?//	What? (to fa).
21	mo	Dia' 'aok 'aiLA 'ao' if 2sg+sm2sg lazy 2sg-e ngeal kin ta'a go' nan/ child woman bad int there	If you're 'aila [and] you're a female child, that's just bad. (slowing w/ mid-high rise on primary stress; rise-fall, terminal mid-high rise)

Ex. 2: School reading lesson: Teacher writes five sentences on blackboard, announces lesson, reads sentences aloud, then tells students to read them in chorus. (Sentences in <>)

24	t:	Now EVerybody ready (.) on the blackboard/ (.) ready/ (.) ONE two go//	(emphatic, fall-rise-fall)
25	ch:	<Tho:se chilren are GOO:D>//	(teacher points to each
26		<ANna IS MAKing a CUP of tea (.) for her MUDDa>//	word with a stick; chanted mid-high with
27		<TOM IS GETting a TIN of wa:ta: (.) FOR his FAda>//	stresses, contour like teacher's)
28		<KEN IS PLAYING WITH I:CE-CREA:M>//	
29		<HE'S only a little boy (.) and he can't help his FA:da>//	

(Above sequence repeated. Then teacher tells them to open their books to page 46, and check between book and blackboard. Then he asks a series of questions requiring one-word answers, e.g.):

50	t:	Now/ WHO can tell me this WORD?//	(pointing to mother; loud; high w/ terminal fall; almost accusatory)
51		Yes?//	(calling on boy with raised hand)
52	b:	MUDDah//	
53	t:	Good//	
54		WHO can tell me this word?	(pointing to father)
55		[Yes?//	(calling on girl)

- 56 g: [Fada//
 (etc. with the words *tea*, *tin*, *getting* and *children*. He has all repeat the sentences again in chorus. Then:)
- 87 t: LISten very carefully now// (syllable-timed, slowly)
 88 We come to the QUEStion time now/
 89 All right/ now we are QUEStioning
 about (.) what we are GETting
 about (.) in the book, aenh?//
 90 Right// (mid-high rising)
 91 And from the blackboard// (slowly, terminal fall)
 92 Now you're going to ANswer (.) (measured, deliberate)
 the question// (1.5)
 93 Okay// (mid falling to low)
 94 Right/ ready// (1) (rising to mid-high)
 95 Are THO:SE children GOO:D?/ (slow, loud)
- 96 ch: YES (.) <THOSE children are GOOD>//
 97 t: What is Anna MAKing // (.) for her
 MOther// (fall to low-mid)
- 98 ch: <ANna is MAKing a CUP OF TEA //
 FOR HER MOTHa>//
- 99 t: WHAT is Tom (.) getting for his
 FAtHer// (fall to low)
- 100 ch: [<TOM is GETting a TIN (half the children
 recite correctly, half
 [TOM is GETting a CUP
 of wata (.) FOR his FAda>// (1) incorrectly)
- 101 t: What is Ken doing (.) with (gently, quickly)
 ice cream//
- 102 ch: <KEN IS PLAYing WITH ICE-CREAM>//
- 103 t: CA:N'T he HELP his FAtHer?// (high rise, fall, rise)
- 104 ch: <HE'S only a little boy (.) and
 he can't help his FAda>//
- 105 t: Right/ so READ/= it/= again (.) (rapidly)
 from the BOOK// (mid chant, falling)
- 106 ch: <Tho:se children are GOO:D>//
- 107 <ANna is MAKing a CUP of tea (.)
 for her MUDDa>//

108 <TOM is GETting a TIN
[of wata (.) FOR his FAda>// (half the children
recite correctly, half
[of wata (.) FOR her FAda>// incorrectly)
109 <KEN IS PLAYing WITH I:CE-CREA:M>//
110 <HE'S only a little boy (.)
and he can't help his FAda>//

(teacher has the children read the sentences in chorus again from the board, which they do correctly; he says "Right" to signal termination of the lesson, and leaves the front of the room)