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RENAISSANCE IN THE PACIFIC

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ethnies

Human rights and Tribal Peoples

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Coordinators of this special issue:

Murray Chapman, Population Institute, East-West Center, Honolulu,
Hawaii
Jean-François Dupon, ORSTOM, Papeete, Tahiti

Proof-readers:

Marie-Françoise Billiquey
Beth Raps

Administration and subscriptions:

Ethnies - Survival International (France)
45, rue du Faubourg du Temple, 75010 Paris
tel: (1) 42 41 47 62

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*With help from: Michel Adam, Alban Bensa, Patrice Bidou, Irène
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coordinated by Murray Chapman and Jean-François Dupon

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Foreword

“Renaissance in the Pacific” is likely to have different meaning in different parts of the Pacific, because of the great diversity of cultural values and artistic talents. This fact alone has given me special pride and honour to be asked to write a foreword for this admirable publication.

In this diversity, the theme of cultural identity is seen throughout. This I personally appreciate very much, since I feel it reechoes my own sentiments of deep love for one’s own culture and way of life. I know so well the feelings of concern expressed at the impact of histories of past neglect and colonial domination, such as the influence of foreign educational systems and values that bring about unwanted social changes into our native island societies. In diversity, nevertheless, the South Pacific remains a unit displaying an affinity of purpose, like a large family whose members share similar problems albeit perhaps at different levels of identity crisis - Identity in Danger ; its Vindication ; and its Affirmation.

Francophones and Anglophones alike write fervently about the importance of indigenous languages that carry the message of their cultures. They sing praises of traditional land rights that provide the necessary spatial reference points, from which come strength to face the unknown in a rapidly changing world.

I beg readers to listen to the cries of the Pacific’s literary artists. How the Melanesian yearns for the spirit of “the Melanesian Way”. Being a Melanesian myself, my heart aches at this point in time at the courageous struggles in a number of our Melanesian countries to regain control of the Melanesian way of life - a way of life that has been usurped by foreign powers for their own ends.

Listen to how the Maori of Aotearoa seeks to recapture the Polynesian power, the inspiring Maoritanga. How the Micronesian cries over the price of alien education systems introduced successively into his native land by the Spaniards, Germans, Japanese, and Americans, and the consequent usurping of traditional Micronesian values. How the young Hawaiian woman weeps painfully at the plight of her brothers and sisters over the loss of the land that was once theirs, and over the disappearance of the once great Hawaiian culture and identity.

I would invite readers to turn these pages and feel for themselves the throbbing heartbeats of the indigenous Pacific - Micronesians, Polynesians, and Melanesians - that want to be understood.

Francis Bugotu.

*(Formerly Secretary General of
the South Pacific Commission)*

A long road

This collection was born of the interest displayed in 1983 for the island Pacific by the editor of *Recherche, Pédagogie et Culture*, at the time of preparations for the Fourth Pacific Festival of Arts scheduled for Noumea at the end of 1984. It was to be published on this occasion in the form of a special issue, giving Pacific peoples the means to confront each other and to express themselves on issues that encompass the diverse forms of their traditional arts.

In this way, anglophones and francophones ought to be brought together again, despite the barrier of two great, spoken tongues that unequally divide the islands of the Pacific. They were to be reunited around a common theme already represented for Africa in *Recherche, Pédagogie et Culture*: the cultural identity of young nations, forms of contemporary expression, notably in literature, and their linguistic and educational support. A publication, issued simultaneously in French and in English, ought to ensure what might be called, in a term drawn from the jargon of information studies, interactive dialogue.

The interest for the project, reflected in the active support of the South Pacific Commission, through the firm commitment of the then Secretary-General, Francis Bugotu, the support of cultural organizations, the response of authors represented in this collection, all were most heartening to the coordinating editors. On this occasion, the prevailing fashion of the Pacific was going to be able to leave behind the ethereal sphere of geopolitical generalities to uncover the abundant and the commonplace in the days of islanders and the legitimacy of their aspirations. In this way, it would be possible to see and to know again a personality far exceeding the stereotypes of folklore, notwithstanding the minute influence of their microstates.

But history chose to treat these hopes in another way. Blow followed upon blow, since along with the suppression of the review *Recherche, Pédagogie et Culture* and the cancellation of the Arts Festival of Noumea was suspended, in 1984, a publication that nevertheless had been taken almost down to the stage of printing. Three years of efforts and of fruitless pleadings have been necessary for us, in spite of the interest often affirmed so noisily in France in the anglophone countries of the periphery of the Pacific, to have this collection see the light of day. This was

in order that a voice could be given back to the islanders, and so that in our eyes justice could be restored in return for the patience that is perhaps, despite all its cost, the greatest of island virtues. It is indicative of the importance of what islanders have to say that the themes they identify and the issues they discuss are today as critical and as often unresolved as they were three and four years ago at the time of writing.

Murray Chapman
Honolulu, O'ahu
Hawai'i

Jean-François Dupon
Papeete, Tahiti
French Polynesia

Editorial

To Jean-Marie Tjibaou

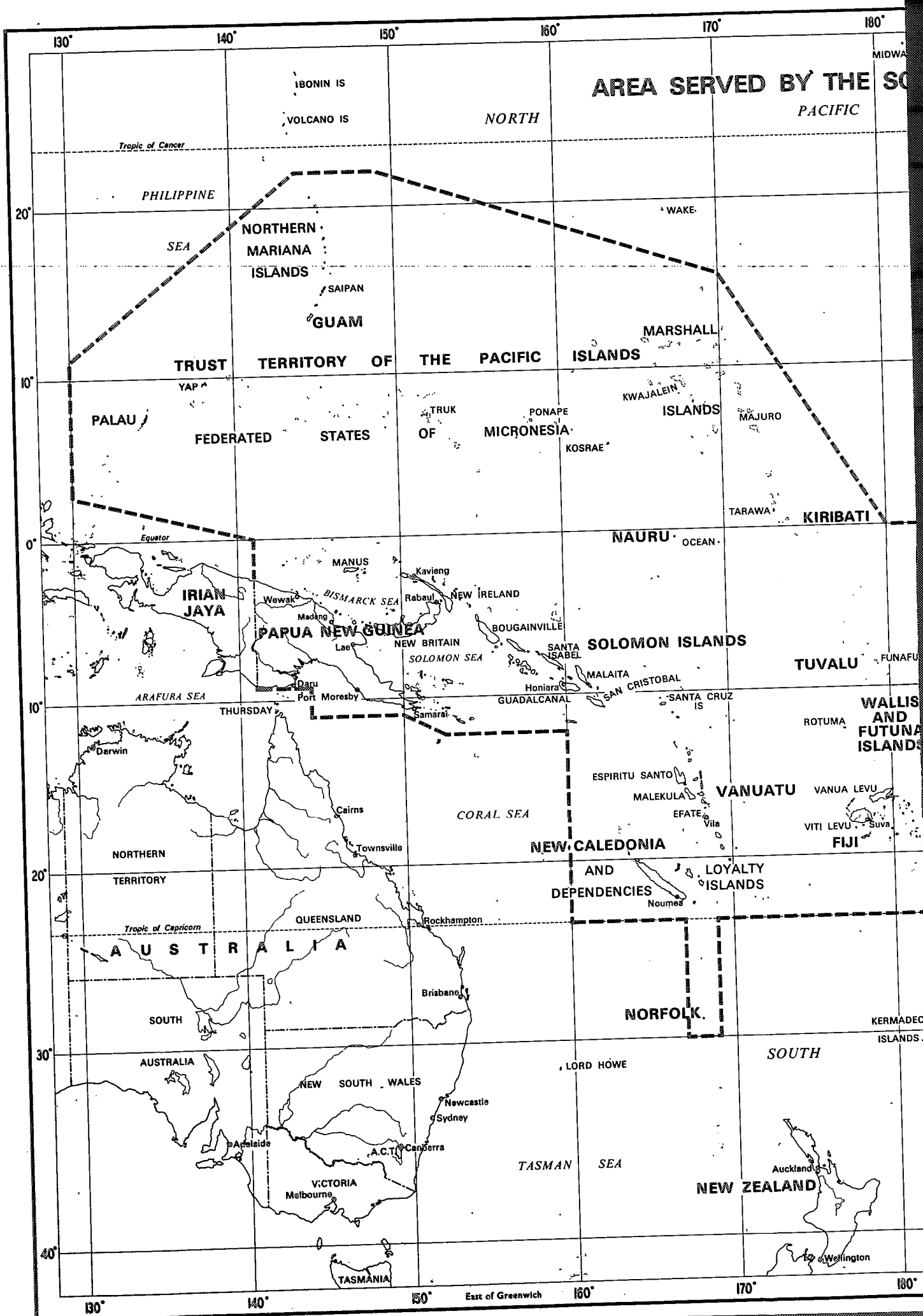
*The news of Jean-Marie Tjibaou's death, which fell just as we were going to press, brutally dispelled our satisfaction at having finally completed this special issue of *Ethnies*.*

Jean-Marie Tjibaou's exceptional personality, deeply impressed those of us, who had the honor of meeting him.

The words of his, we quote below, aptly reflect the stature and dignity of the man, to whose memory we dedicate this issue.

"In our view of life, the important thing is always to share, to give what one has, all that one is. It may be a smile, a word of wisdom, or a custom, with the words that give it meaning. If a person has been able to live thus, on the day of his death, customary rites will be held over his tomb. He will be remembered as someone who knew how to give; and when he dies, it will be like a music vibrating gently into silence. This is what, in our eyes, defines the greatness of a man."

Survival International (France)



AREA SERVED BY THE SOUTH PACIFIC COMMISSION

East of Greenwich

170° 160° 150° 140° 130°

THE SOUTH PACIFIC COMMISSION

OCEAN
Tropic of Cancer

STATE OF HAWAII
Hoholulu

HAWAII

JOHNSTON

POPULATION AT LATEST CENSUS					
American Samoa	1980	32,297	Niue	1981	3,281
Belau	1980	12,116	Norfolk	1981	est. 1,800
Cook Islands	1981	17,754	Northern Mariana Islands	1980	16,780
Federated States of Micronesia	1980	73,160	Papua New Guinea	1980	3,010,727
Fiji	1986	714,548	Pitcairn	1980	50
French Polynesia	1983	166,753	Solomon Islands	1986	285,796
Guam	1980	105,979	Tokelau	1986	1,690
Hawai'i	1980	964,691	Tonga	1986	est. 94,500
Kiribati	1978	56,213	Tuvalu	1979	7,349
Marshall Islands	1980	30,873	Vanuatu	1979	111,251
Nauru	1983	8,123	Wallis and Futuna	1983	12,408
New Caledonia	1983	145,368	Western Samoa	1981	156,349

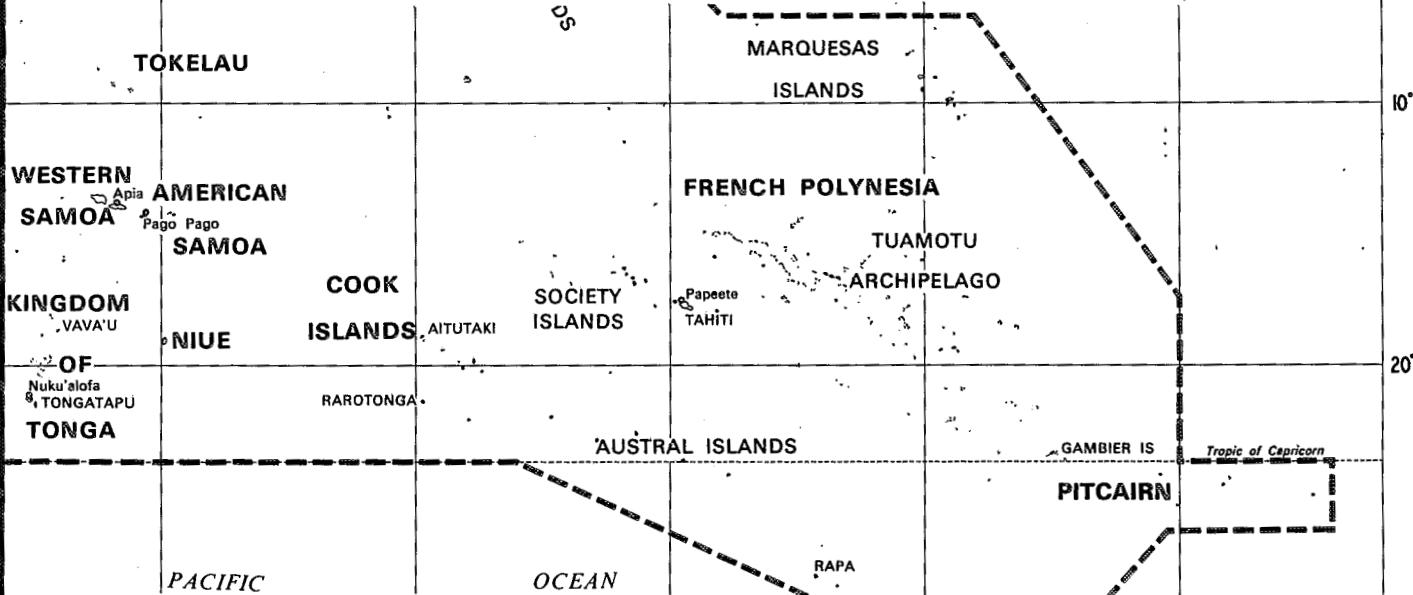
Micro, Poly, Melanesia does not constitute a coherent whole: little islands, several or numerous islands, and the black skin of the original inhabitants form part of this immense area, these names derived from the Greek, came with the distinctions made by the European navigators who discovered the South Pacific and describe this new world which they called Oceania.

On the other hand, the people who make up the area, thus artificially defined by colonization, have taken notice of their cultural unity and their political solidarity. They have testified to this especially since 1972, every four years at the Festival of Pacific Arts.

The contents of this special number give an account of the unity and solidarity of the preoccupations of different countries and territories in the conduct of their scientific and technical research, and studies their educational problems, in order to emphasize their culture and to question the way they will develop. And they find in the great adventures of their ancestors who, before the arrival of the Europeans travelled across the ocean, which is not as peaceful as its name, have settled there and have shown above all this particular genius, this Pacific way - that they wish today to be recognized by the modern world as a carrier of original values for civilization and for progress.

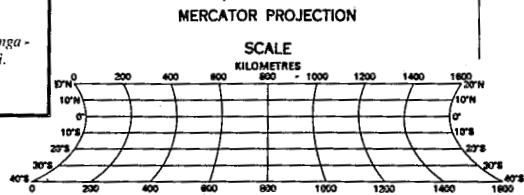
G.G.

PHOENIX ISLANDS



Islands summary
 Cook Island - Australia - New Zealand.
 Micronesia
 Federated States of Micronesia - The Marshall Islands - The Northern Mariana Islands - The Republic of Belau - The Republic of Kiribati - The Republic of Nauru - Guam Island.
 Melanesia
 New Caledonia - Papua New Guinea - The Solomon Islands - The Republic of Vanuatu.
 Polynesia
 American Samoa - The Cook Islands - The Territory of French Polynesia - The Tokelau Islands - The Kingdom of Tonga - Tuvalu Islands - Western Samoa - Wallis and Futuna Islands - Pitcairn Islands - Easter Island (Rapa Nui) - Hawai'i.

The heavy black broken line is designed to show the region served by the Commission. It should not be interpreted as showing international boundaries.

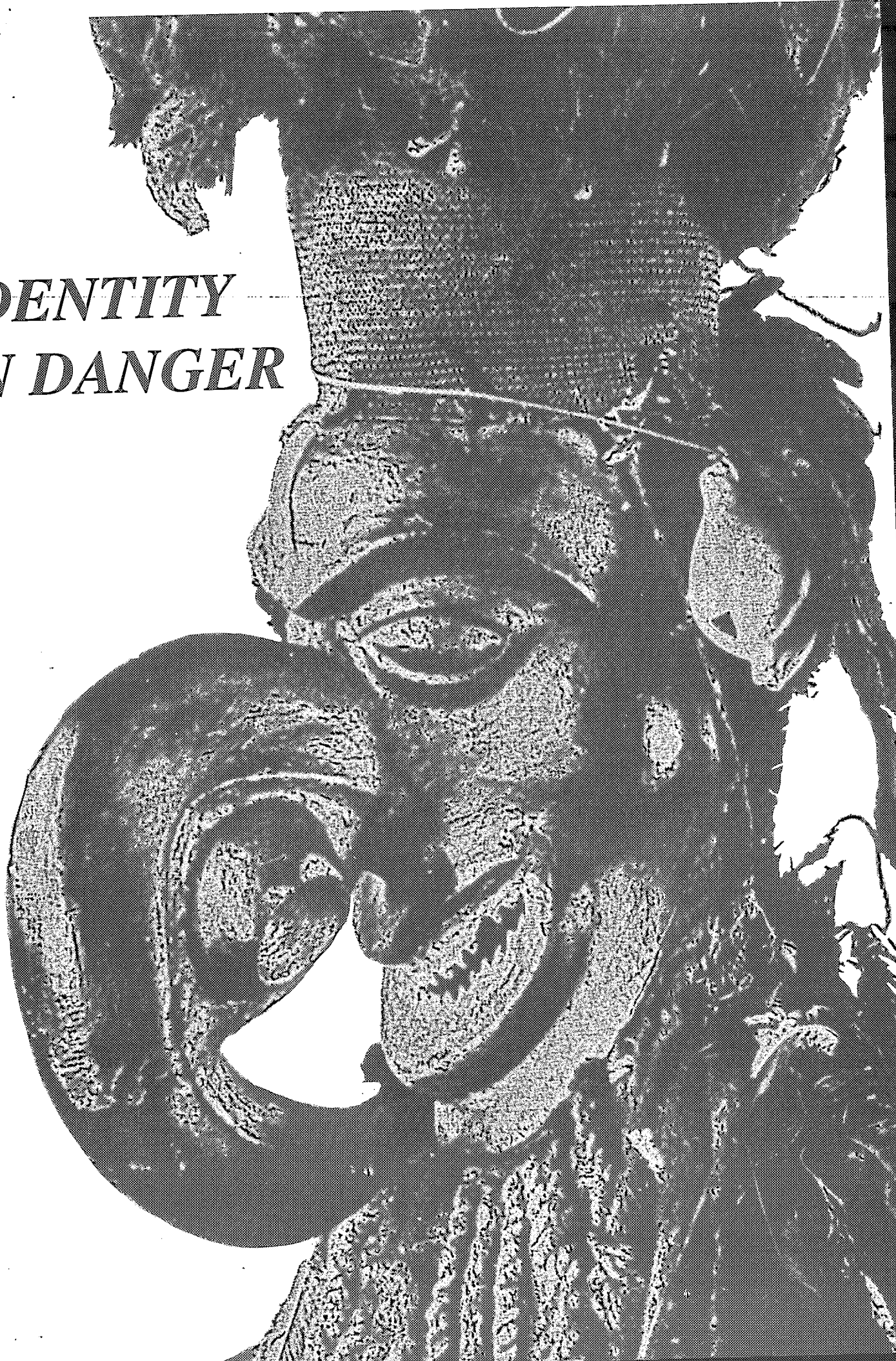


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170° 160° West of Greenwich 150° 140° 130°

*IDENTITY
IN DANGER*



Maori and Pacific Island Languages in New Zealand Education

New Zealand's first human settlers arrived from Polynesia about a thousand years ago. Although news of these people and their country was carried back to Europe by the Dutch explorer Abel Tasman in 1642, New Zealand did not attract the interest of European adventurers, explorers, or traders, until the end of the eighteenth century, following the visits of the English navigator Captain James Cook and his French contemporary Jean de Surville in 1769.

Over the next seventy years increasing numbers of whalers, sealers, traders, adventurers, and missionaries visited the islands, and in the late 1830s European settlers began to arrive in significant numbers. Both French and British interests began to see advantages in colonizing New-Zealand. Accordingly, Captain William Hobson was despatched from Sydney, Australia, to establish British authority over the inhabitants, and proclaimed British sovereignty over the entire country by right of cession and discovery, in May 1840. At about the same time, a French colonizing expedition arrived, intending to claim part of the South Island for France. Finding that they had been beaten by Hobson, the French settlers remained, but accepted British authority.

Traditional Maori teaching and the introduction of writing

The Maori people, as the original New Zealanders had become known (**maori** was a word meaning "ordinary, normal") were very quickly outnumbered by the newcomers, now called the Pakeha. The origin of the term **pakeha** is unclear; among the competing theories is one which derives it from the word *pakehakeha*

"wild, outlandish in dress or manner", and another which takes it to be the Maorified form of an abusive sailor's curse "bugger you". From perhaps as many as 200,000 at the time of Captain Cook's visit, by 1857 the number of Maori people had fallen to 57,000 (while the European population had risen to 59,000). The decline in the Maori population continued until 1896, by which time only 42,000 Maori people remained, compared with 701,000 European and other immigrants and their descendants. By 1981, however, there were 385,000 people of Maori descent in the country, compared with 2,790,000 others; by then, about one-fifth of all New Zealanders under the age of 15 were of Maori ancestry.

Traditional Maori education placed great emphasis on linguistic proficiency. As there was no indigenous writing system, young people selected to become experts in history, religion, and related branches of knowledge, were required to memorize large numbers of texts verbatim. Similarly, those who aspired to be orators (and thereby increase their political influence and prestige) had to commit to memory a huge repertoire of songs, chants, proverbs, and classical allusions with which to embellish their speeches. The coming of the missionaries in the second decade of the 19th century was accompanied by the introduction of writing. Although the primary purpose of the missionary schools was to acquaint their pupils with the Christian scriptures, the value of writing for the preservation and transmission of traditional knowledge and for a variety of everyday purposes was quickly recognized by the Maori community. Christianity and literacy flourished together but independently, and it is reliably estimated that in the 1840s and 1850s a higher proportion of the Maori population was literate in Maori than was the English-speaking population in English.

Colonisation and the Maori language

The colonial government, however, quickly recognized that the missionary practice of vernacular education could have the effect of fostering Maori nationalism, by protecting Maori autonomy and reducing the amount of direct contact between Maori people and the language and values of the now dominant immigrant society. Accordingly, in 1858 a law was passed restricting government assistance to those mission schools where the students were boarded and were taught "the English language and the ordinary subjects of primary English education". This proved too costly a proposition, and under the Native Schools Act of 1867, a system of government administered day schools for Maori communities was set up.

The mastery of the English language, as a means for integrating Maori society with that of the rest of New Zealand, remained the essential feature of the curriculum. However, teachers were permitted to use Maori in the classroom in order to explain aspects of what had to be learned in English. But it was emphasized that this was to be regarded as an emergency measure, and teachers were to avoid using the Maori language as much as possible.

In practice, few teachers knew enough Maori to use that language extensively, even if they had wished to. Furthermore, the most enthusiastic supporters of the Native Schools among the Maori community saw these institutions in almost the same terms as the Pakeha administrators: as the means by which, through their mastery of the English language, Maori children could regain a voice in the affairs of their country. As a book on civics prepared for Native Schools in 1887 stated: "You young people will soon step into the places now held by the older colonist and by the Maori chiefs that



Karioi Native School infant class, 1908 - Council for Educational Research. New Zealand.

have seen **Te Aotearoa** change into New Zealand. You will have to form judgements on these subjects (the laws, government and institutions of New Zealand), and to act upon them" (**Te Aotearoa** "The long Daylight" was the Maori name for the country ; "New Zealand", given by Abel Tasman, was adopted by the British colonists as the name for the state they established). By the beginning of the twentieth century, the Maori language had been effectively banished from the schools attended by Maori-speaking children ; in many its use was expressly forbidden both in the playground and the classroom. The reasons for this ban were

primarily pedagogical : it was felt that the only way Maori children could master English was by ensuring that they used it for practical as well as for scholastic purposes at least during the six or seven hours each day they attended school. In the local community, often isolated from the outside world, the Maori language usually remained supreme.

A series of educational reforms in the 1930s introduced many aspect of Maori culture (especially song, dance, arts, and craft) into the curriculum for the Maori ("Native") Schools, and the ban on the informal use of Maori by children in the school grounds no longer had official sup-

port. Parents and teachers alike, however, continued to see the teaching of English as the major task of the school, and the Maori language itself was not taught or studied at the primary school level. By the 1920s, more Maori children were attending schools under the jurisdiction of regional Education Boards than were attending Native Schools, so the concessions to Maori identity in the 1930s in fact affected the education of only a minority of Maori pupils. Meanwhile, however, the Maori language had been attaining academic respectability at higher levels. By 1909, it had been available as an optional subject for boys attending secondary boarding

schools run by the churches for Maori pupils. In 1931, it was made a compulsory subject for all government scholars attending these schools. Earlier, in 1918, Maori language had become a matriculation subject for the University of New Zealand; in 1929 it was listed among the subjects for the B.A examination by the University of New Zealand.

Later, when the School Certificate examination was introduced as a terminal qualification for most pupils, to be taken at the end for the third or fourth year of secondary schooling, Maori was included among the approved subjects.

Evolution during and after the second world war

In the 1940s and 1950s the number of Maori children attending secondary schools increased dramatically; in 1941, for example only 321 of the 778 Maori children who completed their primary education entered New Zealand secondary schools; in 1958, they were 2938 Maori children among the pupils beginning their secondary education. Allowing for the rise in the numbers of children of secondary school age, as part of the general increase in Maori population, the 1958 figure was still more than twice as large as it would have been if the proportion of Maori children going on to high school had remained constant during this period.

There were a number of reasons for this. In 1944 the school-leaving age had been raised from 3 to 15, which together with a more rapid progression of Maori children through the primary system, meant that a lower proportion of Maori children were legally able to leave school at (or before) the completion of their primary education. Furthermore, shortly after his appointment in 1940 as Director of Education, Dr C.E. Beeby (later to become Chairman of the Executive Board of Unesco) vigorously implemented a policy of adding secondary departments to existing primary schools in the larger Maori communities. Previously, secondary education for children in these districts had been confined in the main to those who could win government scholarships or find other means to attend one of the half-dozen Maori boarding schools. Lastly, from the end of the second worldwar, a massive migration of Maori families from rural to urban areas had been taking place: in 1926, only 9 percent of Maori people lived in cities or large towns; in 1951, the proportion was 19 percent, in 1956 it had

reached 24 percent. (By 1981, only about 22 percent remained in rural areas).

Although the teaching of Maori language in secondary schools continued to expand throughout this period, it was still thought of as a subject mainly for Maori pupils, and therefore was taught only at the Maori boarding schools, the Maori District High Schools (established from the 1940s), and through the Department of Education's Correspondence School. Nevertheless, in response to the recommendations of the participants in a number of meetings it had convened on Maori education (including teachers, Maori leaders, and government officials), the Department of Education began producing a series of high-quality Maori language publications for secondary schools in 1959, and commissioned an outstanding teacher of Maori language to write a set of text books for secondary school use. The availability of materials, the rapid rise in the number of Maori children entering secondary schools in the urban areas, and increasing numbers of trained teachers who could speak Maori, led to a slow, and then a very rapid expansion in the number of secondary schools offering Maori as a subject: by 1970, 30 secondary schools were teaching Maori language to about 2,500 students; in 1979, there were 15,000 such students in 182 schools. Emergency measures were also taken to meet the demand for teachers; in 1974, 46 adult native-speakers of Maori, without previous teacher training, were admitted to teachers' colleges for a special one year course to qualify them as teachers of Maori language in secondary schools; this scheme continued until 1982.

Maori the "other" language of New Zealand

Even more important for New Zealand as a nation, however, has been the spectacular expansion in the teaching of Maori in primary schools. The teaching of Maori language had never been part of the work of the Maori primary schools; as late as 1965 the Senior Inspector of these schools had stated that "bilingualism is not the aim of the Maori school service... The teaching of the Maori language has been specifically excluded from the Maori Primary Schools". The last of these schools were transferred to the control of the regional Education Boards and thus became a part of the general state education system, in 1969. About the same time, as a result of recommendations made a few years earlier by a Commission on Education charged with re-

viewing the whole system of public education, French and Maori had been introduced as optional subjects at the intermediate level (the last two years of primary schooling) at a small number of schools. In 1970 about a thousand children were studying Maori under this arrangement, in which the work they were doing was "linked" to the requirements of local secondary schools.

The new arrangement opened up the study of Maori language to all children at the school concerned. Increasingly, it became recognized as the "other" New Zealand language, and large numbers of Pakeha children were included in the 50,000 primary school children (at all levels) who were officially studying Maori by 1979. This spectacular increase had been made possible by a new policy, announced by the Minister of Education in 1974, which permitted and encouraged all New Zealand primary schools to include "elements of Maori language" in their curricula (a similar policy is included in proposals for revision of the core curriculum in primary and secondary schools announced by the present Minister of Education in March 1984.) In order to enable as many primary schools as possible to offer courses in Maori language, a corps of itinerant teachers of Maori was developed. These teachers visit a number of schools in a district, assisting classroom teachers to develop their own Maori language programmes. A comprehensive syllabus for Maori language in primary schools is now being tested and evaluated; an optional three-year course for students at teachers training colleges was first introduced in 1972; in 1983, some study of Maori was made a requirement for all trainee teachers.

This new status for Maori language is the result of a number of influences on the New Zealand education system. In part, it is a response to persistent and increasing pressure from Maori organizations and individuals for a greater recognition of Maori language and culture, within the schools. There has also been a widespread belief among educators that the inclusion of "things Maori" as essential features of the work and life of the school will increase the self-esteem of Maori children, and help to raise the general level of their scholastic achievement. Similarly, it has been asserted that the integration of Maori and Pakeha can come about only if the languages and practices of both cultures have a prominent place in the school curriculum. Added to these factors, there is a growing sense of national identity among New Zealanders, in which the Maori language has

high symbolic value. Government leaders, for example, frequently preface welcoming speeches to overseas visitors with a few Maori phrases, just as a Maori motif has been used as its corporate logo by New Zealand's national airline.

Towards bilingual teaching

However, these developments, while they may have brought the Maori language into the consciousness of non-Maori New Zealanders to an extent unprecedented in the twentieth century, have done little to reassure those Maori-speakers who are concerned for the survival of Maori as a living language. The widespread (and often superficial) teaching of Maori since the mid-1960s has met a national and a Pakeha need, rather than a Maori one. In 1979, it was estimated that only about a fifth of the total Maori population could speak Maori fluently, and that scarcely any of these speakers (except in a few rural localities) were children under the age of 12. Thirty years before, most Maori people of all ages were Maori-speaking. This rapid language loss has been the product of many influences: urbanization, improved communications, heightened educational aspirations, television, all of which have been accompanied by greatly increased interaction between Maori-speakers and people who speak only English in everyday life. Even when Maori has been spoken in the home, Maori children have been increasingly exposed to English in the world around them, and have come to accept it as the normal language for New Zealanders, including themselves.

The seriousness of this situation has not been lost on the Maori people. Since the mid-1970s, there has been a widespread interest in the development of bilingual schooling, in which both English and Maori are used as classroom languages as a means of maintaining and reviving Maori as a living language. Approval was officially given for a school in a Maori-speaking community in the Bay of Plenty to introduce a bilingual curriculum in 1976. In 1980, the Minister of Education gave official sanction to three more such schools, two of which were in areas where very few children had a good command of Maori. The Department of Education recommended three more schools (two of them in areas where only a minority of adults were fluent Maori speakers) for approval in 1984, and about twenty others were known to be developing their own bilingual curricula in the hope of subsequent official approval and

assistance. In 1986, one teachers training college opened a 12-month course in bilingual education for practising teachers, and in 1987 another college added to its regular curriculum a similar course to prepare Maori-speaking students for teaching in bilingual schools.

Development of "language nests"

Meanwhile, with assistance and encouragement from the Department of Maori Affairs, over 100 groups of Maori families, many of them living in major urban areas, have set up **Kohanga Reo**, "language nests", where pre-school children (aged between six months and five years) can spend the whole day in a completely Maori-speaking environment. These "nests" are run by one or two paid supervisors, assisted by parents and other volunteers from the Maori community. Their view of the need for a linguistically pure environment to facilitate the acquisition of a second language (most parents, without the help of the "nests", would have to bring their children up as monolingual speakers of English) is remarkably similar to that formerly prevalent in all-Maori communities. For example, the elders of one Maori village in the north of New Zealand passed a "law" in 1884 prohibiting any "person or parent" from engaging a child in speaking Maori within the school grounds in school hours, under penalty of a substantial fine, adding that "if it is a matter of extreme emergency, or extreme importance, the child can be removed out of sight or hearing of other children before any communication (in Maori) takes place". The Maori Affairs Department's handbook for **Kohanga Reo** organizers makes a similar provision (but without mentioning any penalty!) to protect the position of Maori: "The language inside **Te Kohanga Reo** will be Maori only. There must be rules applied to visitors and certainly to the supervisors that at all times only the Maori language is spoken and heard by the growing child".

The first **Kohanga Reo** were established in 1982, and already by 1984 some had been so successful in enabling young children to become fluent speakers of Maori that a number of city schools had begun to plan bilingual classes, in response to demands from Maori parents that the children be enabled to continue their formal education at least partly through the Maori language. Some parents and other members of the Maori community had little faith in the capacity of the Department of Education to effect the changes they wished to see in the school curriculum quickly enough or on a large enough scale.

At a large meeting on Maori education held under the auspices of the government supported New Zealand Maori Council in March 1984, several speakers gave notice that groups of which they were members were planning to set up their own schools, if the state system did not meet their children's need for a Maori-language education. In effect, they were advocating the restoration of the old Maori school system, this time under Maori control, and dedicated to the propagation of the Maori language instead of English.

The legal status of Maori language

Despite its being New Zealand's indigenous language, and its increasing importance as a symbol of New Zealand national unity, Maori has no legal status in New Zealand, apart from a clause inserted into the Maori Affairs Act in 1974, recognizing the language "in its various dialects and idioms as the ancestral tongue of that portion of the population of New Zealand of Maori descent", and some provisions for supplying Maori translations of court documents and the service of interpreters in certain circumstances. Recent Appeal Court decisions have clearly established that the clause in the Maori Affairs Act confers no right on speakers of Maori to use their language in official business, and that even the statutory provisions regarding proceedings in the Law courts are discretionary rather than mandatory. However, at least two cities have made Maori an official language alongside English in all transactions involving the municipal government and in 1986, the government introduced legislation which, if passed, would give limited recognition to Maori as an official language of New Zealand.

In courts of law, at least, recent immigrants from other parts of Polynesia are likely to receive much more favourable consideration to requests for interpreters, as it would be more difficult to establish beyond reasonable doubt that their command of English is adequate for them to understand what is going on.

The presence of Pacific Islanders (that is, immigrants from other parts of Polynesia and from Micronesia or Melanesia) in significant numbers is a very recent phenomenon in modern New Zealand. In 1951, there were only 3,624 persons of Polynesian descent (apart from New Zealand Maori) resident in New Zealand. Even in 1971, there were only 22,198 Samoans, the largest Polynesian group, of whom nearly half were born in New Zealand, as compared with

20,471 persons born in the Netherlands. Until the mid-1970s, Dutch was almost certainly the language other than English and Maori with the largest number of native-speakers resident in New Zealand. Samoan would now hold that position. By 1981, there were 100,653 people of non-Maori Polynesian ancestry in New Zealand, about half of them New Zealand born, and comprising three per cent of the country's population. Unlike the Dutch, who scattered throughout New Zealand, the Pacific Island immigrants and their families have settled mainly in the

Auckland and Wellington metropolitan areas. Many schools in these districts therefore have high proportions of Pacific Island children (of Samoan, Cook Island Maori, Tongan, Niuean, and Tokelauan origin) on their rolls.

Like Maori parents of a hundred years ago, the parents of Pacific Island Polynesian children in New Zealand schools have been much more concerned that their children learn English, than that their own language should figure prominently (or at all) in the school curriculum. Primary schools with large numbers of

Polynesian children have thus concentrated on approaches (largely informal) to helping those who have initial difficulty with English, and, like the Maori schools of the 1930s, incorporating elements of Polynesian art, song, and dance into the life of the school. The presence of these children, together with more recent arrivals from Indo-China, has stimulated an interest in "multiculturalism" in New Zealand education and an awakening of ethnic consciousness among older-established European and Asian immigrant groups. This has



Te Aute College is one of the most famous of church schools established specifically for Maori pupils. Here, boys welcome visitors with a haka.

sparked a debate about the relative significance of the Maori dimension in New Zealand's national culture. The consensus at the moment would seem to be that the Maori and English languages, and the Maori and Western European cultures, are representative of New Zealand's founding nations, and that a "multi-cultural" future must be built firmly on a basis of Pakeha-Maori biculturalism.

Meanwhile, no Pacific Island Polynesian language has any official place in the New Zealand primary or secondary school curriculum. A few years ago a group of New Zealand Samoan leaders asked the Department of Education to include Samoan among the subjects for the School Certificate examination. This matter is still under review; in 1984 only one secondary school (in Auckland) offered regular classes in Polynesian languages (Samoan and Cook Island Maori) as part of the general curriculum. As far as is known, there has been no move by parents of Polynesian children to request the school system to provide mother-tongue or bilingual education to provide mother-tongue or to teach their languages as separate subjects at primary schools. On the other hand, speakers of these languages have fared much better than those of any other non-English speaking immigrant groups when it comes to official provision for their languages outside the school: for example, there are daily news broadcasts in Samoan, Tongan, Tokelauan,

Niuean, and Cook Islands Maori over the Radio New Zealand National Network, and many government departments print information bulletins in these languages. In a few primary schools, common words and greetings in these languages have been taught informally to all pupils.

Conclusion

Linguistically, New Zealand education and New Zealand society will have to come to terms with a number of paradoxical situations in the 1980s. Although there may be almost twice as many people who are fluent speakers of Maori as there were a century ago, Maori is in real danger of extinction as an everyday language. For the first time since the establishment of a national education system, the Maori language is officially given the same status as English in a number of schools, but many Maori people consider that the establishment of bilingual schools is proceeding far too slowly. With the success of the "language nest" a growing number of Maori children have a better command of conversational Maori than their parents; to protect and develop their children's proficiency in Maori, groups of parents are seeking the re-establishment of a Maori school system similar to that set up in 1867 to propagate the English language and culture among Maori people. At the same time that Maori is being

revived as the language of the Maori people, it is also being taught as a language for all New Zealanders - but as yet even a native-speaker of Maori cannot use the language as of right in the conduct of public business. New Zealanders are espousing at the same time ideologies of Maori/English bilingualism and biculturalism, and a wider cultural pluralism in which other Pacific Island peoples, as the most conspicuous and fastest growing segment of New Zealand's new immigrant population, are playing a leading part.

One thing is certain: for the first time, many New Zealanders of European ancestry have come to realize that they too are now a Pacific Island people. For a century and a half, they have imagined themselves to be exiles whose real home was half a world away. Now they have discovered new roots in the language and culture of their adopted homeland, and the Maori dimension of new Zealand's history is becoming a unifying element in the creation of a new national identity. Through the Maori language therefore New Zealanders of diverse backgrounds are discovering that they have indeed reached a promised land, and that they belong there.

Richard Benton
New Zealand Council for Educational
Research.

The author

Richard Benton is a New Zealander who has written and lectured extensively on language policy, bilingual education, and the teaching of minority languages in Oceania and Southeast Asia.

After graduating from the University of Auckland, he taught in primary and secondary schools, and in 1965 obtained an East-West Center scholarship to study at the University of Hawaii, where he obtained his M.A and Ph.D. degrees in linguistics. Since 1971 he has been head of the Maori Unit of the New Zealand Council for Educational Research.

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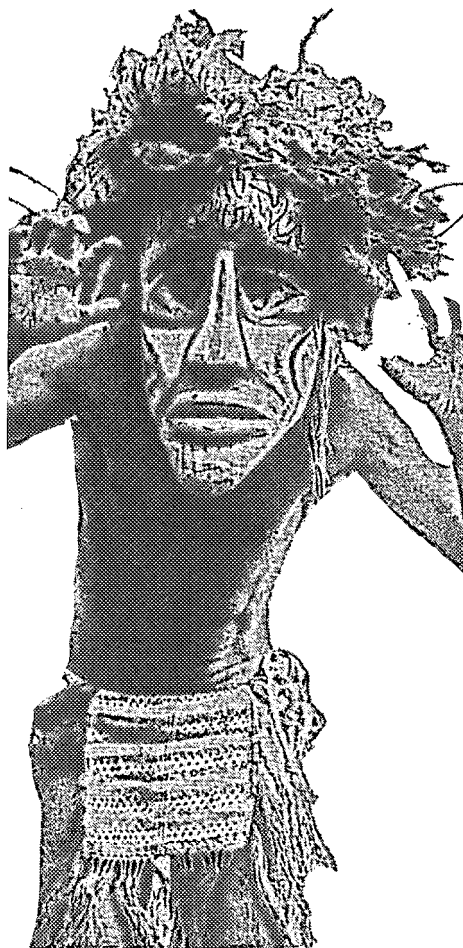
Linguistic Problems in Vanuatu

Vanuatu is the most recent state in the South Pacific to become independent. Previously known as the New Hebrides, the former Franco-British condominium became on 30th July 1980, the Republic of Vanuatu. Vanuatu is situated in the middle of a semi-circle of Melanesian islands which extend from Papua New Guinea to New Caledonia and Fiji. In the middle of this chain of archipelagos, Vanuatu has two immediate neighbours, the Solomon Islands to the north east and New Caledonia to the south. This republic made up of some ninety islands and islets, extends approximately 1,000 kilometres from the Torres Islands in the north to Aneityum in the south. At the first census, in 1979, the population was 112,596 inhabitants. Today it is estimated to be about 115,000 inhabitants. By far, the greatest proportion of these inhabitants the Ni-Vanuatu, live on eleven principal islands: Santo, Maewo, Ambae, Pentecost, Ambrym, Malakula, Epi, Efate, Erromango, Tanna and Aneityum. Vanuatu has known and continues to face a number of difficulties, among these, and it is not the least, is the problem of communication. This archipelago is linguistically one of the most complex in the Pacific; there is in fact, it is estimated, one idiom per 1,000 inhabitants. To the local language difficulties, historical problems have been added and these have created a complex situation, sometimes confused, by which the Ni-Vanuatu are confronted today.

Historical factors

When, in the 19th century, colonizers and missionaries, both French and English speaking arrived in the New Hebrides, they competed with each other to conquer both territory and souls. Most of the time, there was sufficient space to satisfy the business require-

ments of the colonists. Nevertheless, there was violent confrontation over the right of possession of the biggest part of the new colony leading to very great acrimony between French and English. However, on the whole, the churches in their search for souls did not compete with each other in this way. From the end of the 19th century, a kind of geographical division of the archipelago between Presbyterians, Anglicans, and Catholics was designed, at least tacitly.



*Masked dancer. Pentecost Island
(P. Huneau O.C.M.)*

In 1906, France and Great Britain concluded an agreement to administer the territory jointly; the condominium was not born from real "entente cordiale", but in order to exclude any possible claims to the New Hebrides by a third world power. This produced two official languages, English and French. These two European languages are always used as official languages in the Republic of Vanuatu, but with the addition of a third language, Pidgin Bichelamar or Bislama, based on English. In order to understand the actual part played by pidgin, one must recall its 19th century origins. After the New Hebrides were discovered by de Quiros in 1606, until the arrival of whalers, beché de mer (sea slugs), fishermen and other boats engaged in the sandalwood trade during the first part of the 19th century, there had been no contact with Europeans. The whalers, mainly based in Polynesia, had developed a kind of "lingua franca" in order to communicate with their Polynesian crews. The use of this "lingua franca" as a means to express the minimum necessary, extended to Melanesia when the whales migrated westwards and became a rarity in Polynesia. This "lingua franca" was modified and enlarged by new exchanges between Melanesians and Europeans, more especially with the sandalwood trade which was carried on extensively to the south of the archipelago between 1840 and 1860. The sandalwood trade was conducted by people of different linguistic groups. Felling the trees and loading them called for an extensive use of local manpower. This "lingua franca" was developed because the local inhabitants, who spoke their own languages to communicate locally, as they still do today, had no other common language.

In 1864, the first "recruits" left the New Hebrides in order to work on plantations in Queensland. From this date, until the end of the trade in island manpower in 1906 for Australia, a little later for Fiji and Samoa, more than 50,000 New Hebridians had gone to work in the sugar cane fields. This recruitment was of prime

importance in the development of Bichelamar. All the more because the first recruits were New Hebridians who already had some knowledge of the "lingua franca" which had been developed over the preceding thirty to forty years.

One of the essential factors in the development of Bichelamar in the plantations of Queensland was that recruits from the same island, speaking the same language or being part of the same linguistic group were frequently sent to different places in order to eliminate the possibility of revolt or of plotting. Orders were given to the "recruits" in English, and gradually the oceanic "lingua franca" which they had brought with them gave birth to a pidgin which they re-introduced into their islands when they returned after their contracts had finished. In Samoa, the same process occurred as in Fiji, at least until the beginning of the 20th century, when the "recruits" tended to learn Fijian or a simplified form of that language. Towards the end of the recruiting era, Bichelamar or the pidgin of Vanuatu was locally used on each island, but was not of a uniform pattern throughout the whole country. Regional variations which were progressively developed were still perceptible until recently. Then, in the decade immediately preceding independence, a greater mobility of the population has brought about a certain standardisation. All regional differences have not disappeared because some still remain in isolated regions.

With the spread of Cristianity, two European languages were introduced in the New Hebrides: English and French, because Anglicans and Presbyterians were grouped together behind the "Union Jack" whilst the Catholics were deliberately supported by the French administration. The first to arrive in the New Hebrides in 1839, the Presbyterians, in order to spread the gospel, chose to use local languages. They started with the language of Aneityum and progressively translated the scriptures in the languages of those regions where they had established their missions. The Anglicans, because their spheres of influence encompassed the north of the New Hebrides and the south east of the Solomon Islands chose as a lingua franca, Mota, one of the languages of the Banks Islands to the north of Vanuatu. The Catholics equally employed local languages to spread the gospel. So no mission did anything to promote the use of Bichelamar, the pidgin based on English that was destined in 1980 to become the commonly used language of the Republic of Vanuatu.

Languages in Vanuatu and approximate numbers of speakers

Language	Speakers	Place	Language	Speakers	Place
Hiw	100	Torres	Aneityumese	475	Aneityum
Lehali	150	Banks	Toga	250	Torres
Motlav	1,200	Banks	Lehalurup	100	Banks
Vatrata	200	Banks	Mota	450	Banks
Nune	200	Banks	Mosina	600	Banks
Wetamut	100	Banks	Koro	100	Banks
Merlav	1,200	Banks	Lakona	150	Banks
Maewo Centre	750	Maewo	Marino	200	Maewo
N-E Aoba	4,300	Aoba	Baetora	600	Maewo
Raga	4,500	Pentecost	N. Aduul	3,500	Pentecost
Sa	2,000	Pentecost	Apma	3,800	Pentecost
Sowa	40	Pentecost	Seke	300	Pentecost
Lonwolwol	600	Ambrym	N. Ambrym	2,800	Ambrym
Port Yato	600	Ambrym	Dakaka	600	Ambrym
Paama	2,400	Paama	S.E. Ambrym	1,800	Ambrym
Nokuku	300	Santo	Valpei	300	Santo
Vunapu	250	Santo	Piamatsina	200	Santo
Tasmate	150	Santo	Tolomako	500	Santo
Akei	1,800	Santo	Wusi	250	Santo
Navut	150	Santo	Malmariv	150	Santo
Wailapa	150	Santo	Lametin	200	Santo
Roria	100	Santo	Fortsenal	150	Santo
Morouas	100	Santo	Amblong	100	Santo
Araki	80	Santo	Tangoa	400	Santo
Tutuba	230	Santo	Mafea	100	Santo
Malo	2,400	Santo	Aore	1	Santo
Polonombauk	150	Santo	Narango	250	Santo
Shark Bay	150	Santo	Butmas-Tur	350	Santo
Sakao	1,400	Santo	Lorediakarkar	75	Santo
Mpotovoro	200	Malakula	Tambotalo	150	Santo
Malua Bay	270	Malakula	Vovo	150	Malakula
Larevat	120	Malakula	Big Nambas	1,800	Malakula
Dixon Reef	100	Malakula	Vinmavis	190	Malakula
Mekun	650	Malakula	Nasarian	50	Malakula
Nakahai	500	Malakula	S.W. Bay	270	Malakula
Axamb	400	Malakula	Letemboi	200	Malakula
Port Sandwich	750	Malakula	Maskelynes	800	Malakula
Aulua	300	Malakula	Burmbar	600	Malakula
Unua	300	Malakula	Rerep	300	Malakula
Lingarak	200	Malakula	Katbol	300	Malakula
Litzlitz	300	Malakula	Repanbitip	75	Malakula
Atchin	1,350	Malakula	Uripiv-Wala	2,500	Malakula
Mae	400	Malakula	Maragus	20	Malakula
Lewo	1,300	Epi	Vao	1,300	Malakula
Baki	200	Epi	Bierebo	300	Epi
Bieria	120	Epi	Maii	100	Epi
Emae	200	Sheperds	Namakura	2,200	Sheperds
N. Efate	3,500	Efate	Mele-Fila	1,800	Efate
Futuna-Aniwa	700	Futuna/ Aniwa	S. Efate	2,300	Efate
			Sie	1,000	Erromango
Ura	10	Erromango	Kwamera	1,600	Tanna
Whitesands	4,000	Tanna	N. Tanna	2,300	Tanna
Lenakel	4,000	Tanna	S.W. Tanna	1,800	Tanna

Local or vernacular languages

There are more than 100 local languages spoken in Vanuatu, all of which belong to the same Australasian or Malayo-Polynesian family. A family which extends from Madagascar in

the west to Easter Island in the south east Pacific, passing through Indonesia, the Philippines, the vernacular languages of Taiwan and of the Malayan peninsula, all the languages of the

South Pacific except the languages of Papua New Guinea.

To the left is a table of the languages of Vanuatu and the approximate number of speakers.

All the languages of Vanuatu belong to the Australasian family and more precisely to the Oceanian subdivision. In studying this list, one can see immediately that nearly all the vernacular of Vanuatu is spoken by less than 1,000 people, and that the most important language has less than 5,000 people who speak it. One should add that these languages are very distinct.

Although extremely modest at world level, more than 40 of them have been used as a means of spreading the gospel in all the regions of the archipelago where missions were established. However the first alphabets were very often far from being perfect and more over difficult to handle, which caused most of the missions at the beginning of the century to abandon the work of translation. Today these old translations are often untraceable and even forgotten in lots of places. However, recently and in particular

during the period which immediately preceded independence, there has been a revival of interest in the translation of the Old and New Testaments into a certain number of vernacular languages. A renewed pride in local languages and customs has appeared, encouraged by the Christian council of Vanuatu, a newly created council in which all sects are represented.

Language and education

Although language instruction has only been the responsibility of the two administrations since the 60s, English and French have always been the languages of education. Before the state became responsible, as in other territories of the Pacific, education was the exclusive province of the Church, so that the Bichelamar words: **Yu skul wea ?** (literally: **You school where ?**) signifies : **To which church do you belong ?**

The policies adopted by the English and the French differed between themselves, as far as teaching personnel was concerned. 85 % of the population live outside the urban zone of the capital Port Vila and of the other town centre

situated on the island of Espiritu Santo. The British employed European teachers only in urban centres, elsewhere they used Melanesian. The French, however, calling on the uses of voluntary teachers at the time of their military service, had European teachers nearly everywhere.

The French mission schools, Catholic and Protestant in New Caledonia, included European and Melanesian teachers. In theory, these dispositions should have allowed better teaching of European languages in the french schools, through the direct contact with native teachers. However the results obtained from these two systems were about the same. Competence in European languages has never reached a high level for the simple reason that there was little opportunity to practice these languages outside school. In fact, in scholastic centres, where pupils of different linguistic groups were brought together, Bichelamar more than English or French was and is used in recreational periods. In many rural areas one has been able to observe that Bichelamar was used as a means of education, in particular in small classes.



Vanuatu dancers (Pentecost Island), P. Huneau O.C.M.

Languages and independence

We must first quote article 3 of the Constitution of Vanuatu, the article dedicated to languages.

Article 3

(1) The national language of the Republic is Bichelamar. The official languages are English, Bichelamar, and French. The principal languages of education are English and French.

(2) The Republic protects those various local languages which are part of the national heritage, and can declare that one of them becomes the national language.

Until the year 1970, Bichelamar had a low status and was considered to be the language of the plantations, and not really suitable for the spreading of the gospel. It was nevertheless used by Melanesians working in junior posts in the administration. In 1970, the New Hebrides Council of Churches decided that Bichelamar was a suitable means of transmitting the Christian message. A translation in Bichelamar of the four gospels "Gud Nyus Bilong Jisas Krai" was published in 1971, followed in 1980 by the complete New Testament "Nyu Testeman". For the first time, Bichelamar was written, taking care somehow to respect a unified orthography, although the orthographies of the two publications were different. In fact, the lack of an official orthography for Bichelamar helped to maintain this idiom as a vital link for the citizens of Vanuatu, a vital oral instrument. It will remain an essentially oral language as long as the orthographic problem is not solved.

If, in the year 1970, Bichelamar was accepted as an appropriate method of conveying the religious message, it also rapidly became the principal language of the country, and this at a time when the political conscience was developing. As a principal language of political campaigns, Bichelamar was of course used as the working language of Parliament. The Ni-Vanuatu are more often at ease when they express themselves in pidgin than in one or the other of the metropolitan languages. Moreover, the members of Parliament are exclusively of English or French education, which makes the recourse to Bichelamar essential. With the approach of independence, the metropolitan administrators had increasingly been replaced by Ni-Vanuatu. Bichelamar has therefore become the principal language and sometimes the only language of administration. Today Pidgin is the language most used on the radio, where parliamentary debates in Bichelamar are broadcast. Equipped with transmitters sufficiently power-

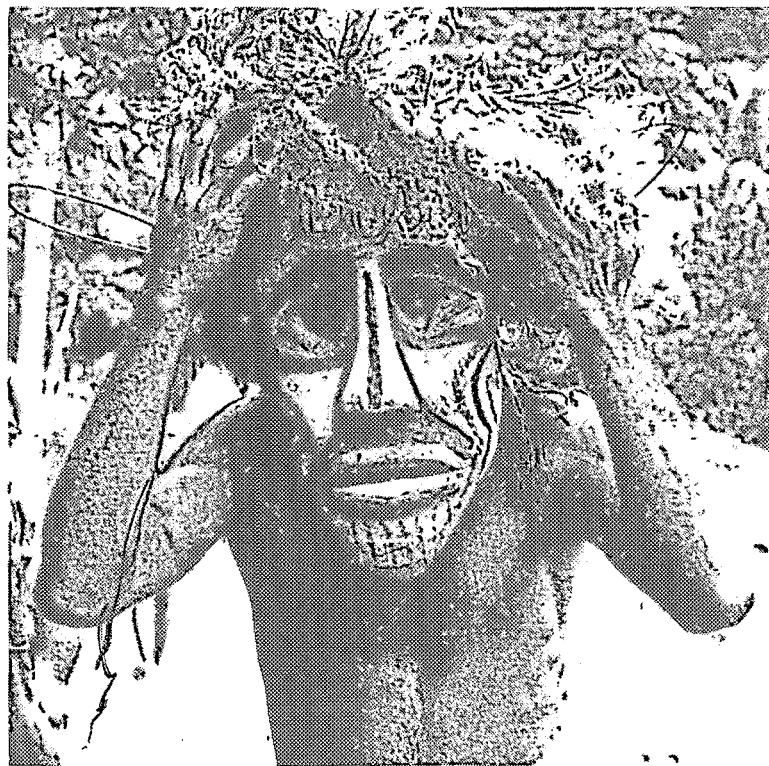
ful to be received in most villages, Radio-Vanuatu is generally heard by the people of the country in the evening, when they come back from their gardens. Bichelamar was declared the "National vernacular language" of Vanuatu in order to foster national unity; it has fulfilled this role successfully. This is not surprising; considering that it is the only language known to nearly all the communities of the archipelago.

One must say that it was the only possible choice. Local languages, too restricted for the number of speakers when one notes the territory they cover, could not seriously compete with Pidgin. The European languages, English and French, because of the division of the teaching system within the condominium only touch a small part of the population and are very often badly mastered by the Ni-Vanuatu.

Very rapidly, following the steps which led to independence, Vanuatu established itself as an independent state within the South Pacific. But in Bichelamar, the national vernacular language, the signs of wear, tear and destruction may be observed. This is the result of the extreme rapidity of political change. One of the main problems, already mentioned in this article, is the absence of an official orthography. This has prevented Bichelamar from developing

as a written language. Also the orthography that one meets in any written document in Bichelamar, letters or newspapers (only one newspaper exists in Vanuatu, **Tam Tam**, organ of the government) has the appearance of an idiosyncrasy. This prevents the Ni-Vanuatu from reading or writing in Pidgin. So much so that it has never been taught in schools. A centralized orthography could be established however, if this was the wish of the administration. One asks the question as to what the consequences of such a choice would be, what eventual dangers this would have for local languages, and what influence this would have regarding the acquisition of English or French.

Since the beginning of 1970, Bichelamar was expected to express a great variety of new concepts in many varied fields: politics, economics, religion, administration and government; in fact a vast panoply of technical terms hitherto unknown in traditional Bichelamar. There is nothing of course to prevent the introduction of new terms if their meaning is clearly expressed, either with a term which is paraphrased and put between brackets followed by a neologism (at least until it has entered common usage and become accepted) or by any other means. What has happened and continues today



Vanuatu mask (Pentecost Island), P. Huneau O.C.M.

to an alarming degree is the borrowing and the use of abstract and technical English terms without the least attempt at explanation. So one can listen or hear either on the radio or the parliament, phrases like "ol i developem ikonomik infrastraktia" ie. "They are developing an economic infrastructure".

Of course this is mostly meaningless for most Ni-Vanuatu, at least for the great majority of people who live outside the capital Port Vila. The fact that most of these borrowed terms or neologisms are of English origin, which is not surprising when one realizes that the majority of the ruling political party has had an English education.

Perhaps more dangerous still for the integrity of Pidgin is the tendency, more and more apparent at least in an urban environment, for the substitution of English words for Pidgin terms which already are in existence, for example: *attendem* for *go long* to attend to, *apruvum* for *agri*, to be in agreement. In fact, there is an increasing trend, which assumes today alarming proportions, of introducing English morphemes and syntax. For example, in urban Bichelamar, an increasing number of the inhabitants use prepositions and conjunctions: *even*, *since*, *still*; others introduce into Bichelamar: *whether*, *then*, and *so*. The method of denoting the English plural with a letter "s", completely unknown in Pidgin until recently, is now universally used in towns. Many other Anglicisms are mixed up with Bichelamar. For the most part, this excessive use of English makes communication difficult and takes away from the former general understanding of Pidgin. The Bichelamar spoken in official and administrative circles, is for the majority of Ni-Vanuatu who live outside the capital an abstract and nearly foreign language.

In the town, at Port Vila, there is an elite, to whom a knowledge of English or French is much more important than to the Ni-Vanuatu, who live in rural areas. Mixing English and Bichelamar is all the easier because this part of the world is strongly influenced by the language

in vernacular languages is undertaken in a few schools. Considering the great number of vernacular languages, it is difficult to envisage a rapid advance in their alphabetisation. Vernacular languages remain very much alive, and Vanuatu retains a lively interest in local languages and cultures. As in other countries of the Pacific, English and French have posed teaching problems in recent years. One of these problems, and not the least, is the absence of opportunity to practice them with native speakers. Since independence, this problem has remained a crucial one, because there is little effective alternative for studying a foreign language, outside one's own cultural field, except to call on native teachers.

Conclusion

Vanuatu, from a certain point of view, has had the misfortune to be administered by two colonial powers, who have introduced an educational system which has not resulted in bilingualism, because half the country has had an English educational system, and the other half French. This system has continued since independence. Bichelamar, a pidgin based on English, is the only known language in a country which has over a hundred. It is, today, seen by most Ni-Vanuatu as a local creation and as an efficient method of communication. However, its integrity is damaged by the mixture of English with Bichelamar. The better educated Ni-Vanuatu tend to mix a technical and specialized twentieth century technological language, with a pidgin which was originally not designed for such a role. The greatest danger, if nothing is done to try to halt this process, is that Bichelamar and English are going to coalesce into a variety of regional English, largely incomprehensible outside the country. One can perhaps hope that the teachers of the republic of Vanuatu will know how to face this new challenge.

D.T. Tryon and J.-M. Charpentier
(translated from the French)

Ripablik blong Vanuatu
AGRIKALJA SENSAS



Sensas i stat long Julae.

of Shakespeare. But this urban elite does not help Bichelamar as a national "lingua franca", indirectly nor Vanuatu itself, because it accentuates the division between town and country.

As far as the vernacular languages are concerned, it is improbable that any of them would acquire the status of a national language: regional rivalries do not favour such an eventuality. A programme of creating alphabets

Authors

D.T. Tryon, Senior Fellow, Dept of Linguistics, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University, Canberra.

J.-M. Charpentier, chargé de recherche, Laboratoire des langues et Civilisations à Tradition orale, Centre national de la Recherche scientifique, Paris.

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What is Happening to Vernaculars in Papua New Guinea? *

Vernaculars, that is languages other than pidgins and the metropolitan ones, play an important role in the life of Pacific peoples. They serve not only as mediums of communication but also as symbols of group identity and collective solidarity. Vernaculars enable different groups of people to identify who they are and to what ethnic and linguistic entities they belong. Thus vernaculars are often said to assume a special social status in the linguistic communities in which they serve as mediums of communication. Vernaculars are also instrumental in our perceptions of reality. They influence the way we perceive things found in our immediate environments, the way we think, the way we act and speak other languages, as well as the way we behave when interacting with fellow human beings in any given social context. Consequently it is important to nurture and guard against the disappearance or potential disappearance of vernaculars, for they are the surest ways for Pacific peoples to safeguard or recover the authentic cultures inherited from our undefiled ancestors, as well as to hand them on to island generations yet unborn. The vitality and continuity of vernaculars must be safeguarded from unnecessary external linguistic interference and replacement.

When thinking about vernaculars, in Papua New Guinea or any Pacific country, there is a common problem that we all face: mental dependence. It seems that not only do Pacific peoples rely on metropolitan powers for their string-tied monetary handouts, technical knowhow, and other so-called expertise, but also we are largely dependent on metropolitan experts who instill into our minds what they think is best for us or what they think we should do to achieve rapid and effective westernization or modernization. As Gilliam (1980) noted, on

leaving the University of Papua New Guinea after several years as a staff member in its language department, we Pacific peoples must strive to decolonize our minds. What, for instance, is the meaning of such labels as: *Pasifiki Toana*, the Pacific Way, the Melanesian Way, *Fa'a Samoa*, the Hawaiian Renaissance? To an aspiring specialist of language all those labels, or alertive tags, have a common message: beware Pacific people, of the external forces which, if not watched very carefully, will denude our vernaculars, our cultures, and other social fabrics of our societies.

Cultural and language identity

In 1980, Papua New Guinea was host to the South Pacific Festival of the Arts. This festival was initiated to bring together Pacific peoples, not to homogenize their diverse cultures but essentially to emphasize the spirit of pan-Pacific consciousness. The festival was a success and many people left enriched with new feelings and different experiences. But as a vehicle for cultural consciousness, it was lopsided. While admitting that culture, particularly non-material culture is important, we should also remember that it cannot exist in isolation of language. Language and culture, as I have pointed out (1), are indivisible. Languages or vernaculars are the mediums through which the varied feelings, philosophies, and other cultural beliefs of Pacific consciousness can be expressed. They are the mediums through which our authentic cultures are preserved and safeguarded. Consequently Pacific vernaculars must be given a central place in any discussion of people's consciousness - get-togethers, seminars, rallies - for the fundamental reason that it is through our respective mother tongues that we become what we are, *homo loquens* and *homo grammaticus*: people as speakers and people as grammarians.

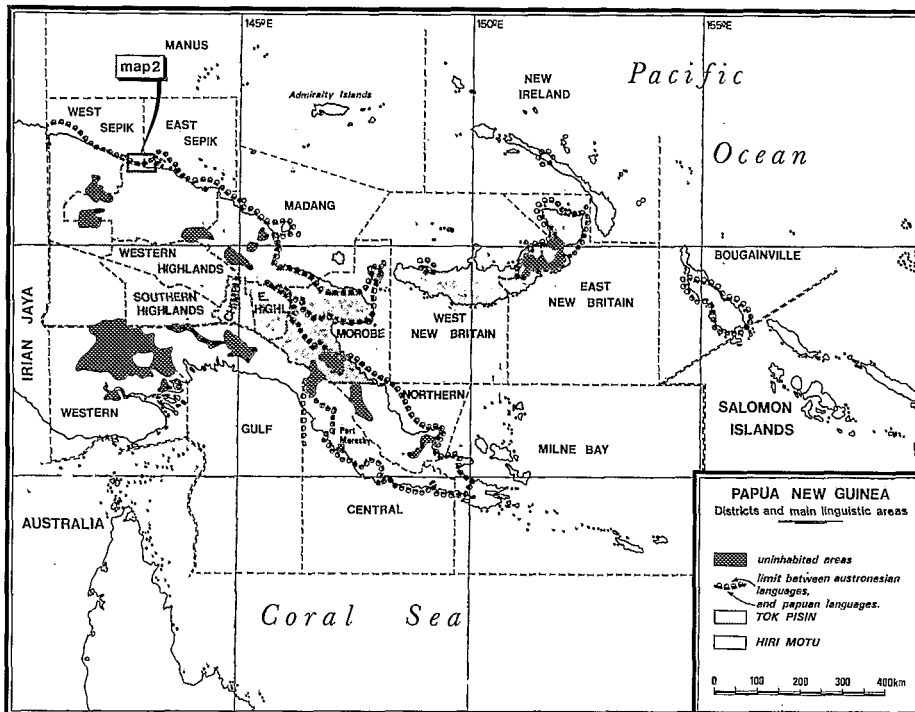
Given the broad expanse of the Pacific and the widespread nature of this human settle-

ments, an exhaustive study of what is happening to vernaculars is beyond the scope of this paper. Nonetheless a fair number of Pacific vernaculars have experienced "linguistic genocide". The aboriginal language of Tasmania, as well as some 400 aboriginal vernaculars of mainland Australia, have disappeared (2) and to a large extent so has the Hawaiian language of the American state of the same name. Within Papua New Guinea, Dutton (1976) has reported that three vernaculars in southeast Papua (Ouma, Yoba and Bina) are spoken by less than four people and thus face extinction when the last speaker dies. This general issue is addressed here with respect to the declining status of Abu', which is my mother tongue. Abu' is spoken by about 320 people who live in Womsis village located in the central Sepik region of Papua New Guinea (3). It is a member of the Arapesh Language Family, which has been assigned to the Torricelli Language Phylum (4).

Linguistic map of Papua New Guinea

To provide context for the discussion of Abu', we must understand some features of the linguistic landscape of Papua New Guinea: the number and variety of local vernaculars, the position of lingua francas (Tok Pisin and Hiri Motu), and the use and status of English. At least 750 distinct vernaculars, along with innumerable dialects, are spoken within the mainland and insular areas of Papua New Guinea. None has a large number of speakers by world standards. In terms of speakers, Enga is the largest with 180,000 (5), and spoken in the province bearing the same name, located in the midwestern highlands region. Four other vernaculars are relatively sizable: Kuanua with 80,000 speakers, located around the Rabaul area in East New

* This paper is a revision of one presented to the 1980 Waigani Seminar that is held annually at the University of Papua New Guinea.



Map

Britain province; Melpa, with 75,000 speakers, located in the Western Highlands; Kuman, with 70,000 in the Simbu Province; and Huli, with 65,000 speakers, spoken by the Tari of the Southern Highlands. Many vernaculars are small, some with no more than 100 speakers.

The basic linguistic division of Papua New Guinea vernaculars is between those belonging to the Austronesian (A) Family and those others that, for linguistic convenience, have been collectively referred to as Papuan (P; also known as non Austronesian). The term Papuan is a classificatory residual, despite the fact that many more people speak them. Austronesian vernaculars (A) show some evidence of lexical similarities, which in turn suggests a genetic relationship. They are mostly found along the coastal, nearcoastal, and insular areas of the country (Map 1). Each has approximately three hundred members and is spoken by small communities, apart from Kuanua (also known as Tolai, around the Rabaul area of New Britain) and Motu (more than 10,000 speakers in the villages of the Port Moresby area). The total number of Papua New Guineans who speak Austronesian vernaculars "constitute a small fraction of the total indigenous population" (6).

Papuan (P), or non Austronesian vernaculars, constitute the remainder. A very few have, by Papua New Guinea standards, a great number of speakers (Enga, Melpa, Kuman,

Huli) but most are small. Some are intermediate in size and the Arapesh language family, to which Abu' belongs, has approximately 20,000 speakers. Papuan vernaculars differ quite considerably and belong to a number of unrelated linguistic groups. They are spoken in the interior or highlands of New Guinea: Gulf and Western provinces, most of West New Britain, some pockets along the east and west Sepik coasts, and some parts of the North Solomons province (Map 1). In total, they account for an overwhelming majority of the indigenous population, perhaps more than two million persons.

There are, in addition to these 750 vernaculars, one official language - English - and two unofficial national lingua francas (Tok Pisin and Hiri Motu) in Papua New Guinea. Hiri Motu, the lingua franca spoken in the southern and south-eastern part of the country, owes its origin to contact situations between expatriates and indigenous people. It was found initially in and around the Central province and spread from there as the British and subsequently the Australian colonial administration expanded its influence to other areas within the former colony of Papua. It is now spoken by about 20,000 Papua New Guineans (7).

Tok Pisin, found in the highlands, northern, and insular provinces originated with plantation activities in the 1880's (8). Recruitment of men from the New Guinea islands especially from

the Duke of York island, New Ireland and New Britain, to go to Samoa and work as indentured labourers on commercial plantations resulted in the acquisition of the code. On return to New Guinea, many became overseers and passed on their knowledge of Tok Pisin to labourers newly recruited from other parts of the former Trust Territory, who transferred it to their village communities when returning at the end of the work contract. Tok Pisin was and is an unofficial language, but its importance in crossing linguistic boundaries was recognized by both the colonial government and the catholic mission. Both institutions used it to communicate with the indigenous people and thus indirectly encouraged its spread. Today Tok Pisin is the principal lingua franca of Papua New Guinea and the main language of communication in most speech situations.

English occupies a special position, being officially sanctioned as the language of formal education,

government, commerce, and of international contact. It is, however, spoken by a small fraction of the population, mostly the Papua New Guinea intelligentsia and educated elite along with the overseas community in the country. Any of the three national languages may be used in any given speech situation. Since only some Papua New Guineans have acquired passable skills in all three, the choice of which is determined extemporaneously by the interlinguistic context, the topic of discourse, and the language known by the participants. For example, bilingual speakers in Hiri Motu and English may switch codes between these two when addressing bilinguals in the same languages.

Current position of Abu'

My visit to Womsis (Map 2), in January-February 1980, enabled me to make several observations. Abu', the symbol of ethnic and cultural uniqueness and hence of Womsis con-

- (1) *Post Courier*, 17 Oct. 1980 : page 15
- (2) *Grassby*, 1977
- (3) See Map 1
- (4) Cf. *Laycock 1973, Nekitel ; 1977*
- (5) *Information Review Committee 1979:45*
- (6) *Wurm 1975 : 4*
- (7) *Wurm 1978 : 1*
- (8) *Mühlhäusler 1976*

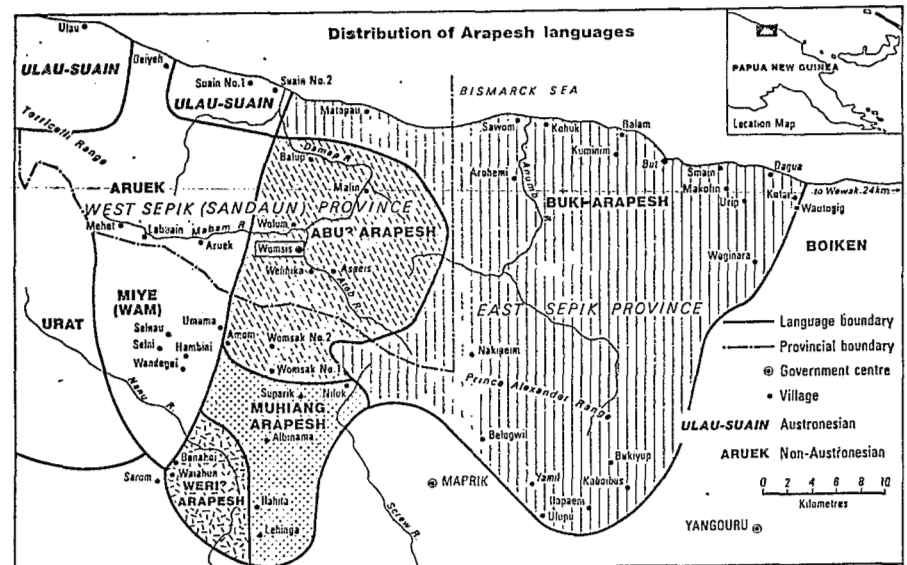
sciousness, is dwindling in varying degrees. The acquisition of Abu' as a first language, by children born of Abu'-speaking parents, is no longer as common as it was a decade ago. Children are generally left to learn what they encounter as the medium of communication among peer groups. Since Tok Pisin is the predominant language of communication in the village, and especially among children and the younger generation of Womsis parents, naturally it is becoming the first language among children. Subsequently the process of creolization, when a pidgin gains its own native speakers, begins right in the village.

Nowadays Tok Pisin is used in most speech situations, for perhaps 60-70 percent of the time. That is, about 60-70 percent of any discourse is conducted in Tok Pisin either throughout its entire length or interspersed with Abu'. A switch from Abu' to Tok Pisin for specific lexical or phrasal loans is more frequent, but the converse is not as common. Most meetings of the local government council or school board of governors, among parents, or about land disputes are conducted in Tok Pisin. Church services and religious instruction always were and still are in Tok Pisin.

With this degree of language switching in support of Tok Pisin, there is a real danger of Abu' being replaced or dying out. The survival or continuity of this vernacular is rather bleak unless Abu' speakers realize what is happening and begin to encourage children to acquire Abu', most preferably as their first language. I have expressed this concern while visiting the village, but unfortunately had too little time to conduct an intensive education programme on the importance of its cultural and linguistic preservation. The reasons for this subtle process of linguistic interference or replacement are not obvious, especially since I was unable to make a systematic survey of sociolinguistic factors. There are, however, several likely reasons for this state of affairs.

Colonial attitudes towards Abu'

Expatriates who visit Womsis have never shown any interest in learning Abu' because their communicative needs are well served by Tok Pisin. Pidgin was and is the language of communication between the villagers and expatriates, and also with visitors from other communities. The parish priest, the *kiaps* (patrol officers), the medical officers, and numerous other government or mission representatives always used some kind of Tok Pisin, especially the



Map 2

Tokmasta variety. Those Abu' speakers who did not know Tok Pisin were often called **bus kanaka, manabur, or daluoh**: literally "bush from the interior or 'bush" but used derogatorily to mean "idiot" or "stupid kanaka". Thus certain social attitudes emphasized the prestige of Tok Pisin to a point where it was seen as the language of those in power or in positions of influence. When a language is regarded as part of the culture of the colonizing power, be it pidgin or a metropolitan language, the people who are being colonized can be led to think that their vernaculars are inferior. Consequently they make efforts to use the external language to achieve upward social mobility within or for reasons of social identification with the dominant culture. Thus prevailing social attitudes increasingly encourage the uses of Tok Pisin at the expense of Abu' in Womsis village, where once Abu' was the only language known and spoken.

Interethnic marriages and Abu' continuity.

Interethnic marriages are now more common than in the past and a number of Abu'-speaking adults have spouses from other ethnic or linguistic groups. Exogamous marriage should be encouraged to allow people the liberty to choose their own partners, and also because they foster a sense of national unity and/or ethnolinguistic integration. Nonetheless, they can hinder the continuity and vitality of vernacular languages.

General observation seems to suggest many parents of interethnic marriages leave their children to acquire whatever happens to be either the language of wider communication or the functional language of the given locality. In most areas of Papua New Guinea these are either Tok Pisin or Hiri Motu, which often become the mothertongues of many children. This is particularly true when the partners of an interethnic marriage reside in towns, cities, and on plantations, where ethno-linguistic integration often occurs and can be actively encouraged. In certain cases, the mothers of interethnic marriages teach children their own vernaculars, especially if they do not have a paid job or, more importantly, are concerned about the future social, cultural and linguistic identity of their children. Male partners seem generally less concerned about what vernaculars their children acquire as long as they speak the language of the fathers. Interethnic marriages may also lead to bi- or multi-lingualism.

In general, children born of Abu' and non-Abu' parents reflect the situation for the country as a whole. Three of my first cousins by marriage have non-Abu'-speaking wives and their children have learnt Tok Pisin and some English but hardly speak the language of either their fathers (Abu') or their mothers. Tok Pisin, Hiri Motu, and English often become the mediums through which interethnic communication takes place and hence generally become the spoken languages of children of interethnic marriages. Initially, such children tend to be monolingual

but later progress to become bilingual, trilingual, or even multilingual, especially if sociolinguistic conditions necessitate and favour such linguistic diversity.

Abu' members living outside their own environment

Those who leave Womsis to attend schools or get jobs elsewhere in the country either lose command of Abu' or else retain to a varying extent a passive knowledge, provided that some degree of communicative competence in the vernacular had been acquired prior to departure from the village. Some **Wantoks** (fellow Abu'ans) who have or who are currently studying at university have virtually abandoned Abu'. One reason is that either they are not competent to speak Abu', for they had never fully developed lasting skills in the vernacular, or else they feel uneasy and perhaps even ashamed to use it lest they become objects of ridicule for not knowing their language or for speaking it with a strange accent. Many Abu' in town or at university use Tok Pisin or English simply because these are the languages with which they feel comfortable or that are spoken within these ethnically mixed contexts.

When they return to Womsis village for holidays, they find it more convenient to use Tok Pisin. When some begin to verbalize in Abu', those claiming to be local authorities make fun of them for speaking it with a foreign accent. Given such attitudes, the only option for those unable to accept linguistic intolerance is to use the language with which they feel comfortable and which does not invite social stigmatism. Many of us long absent from Womsis have little or no opportunity actively to reinforce our knowledge of the vernacular. On return, we find it difficult to express ourselves in Abu' and thus communicate through Tok Pisin, which only serves to give greater support to an introduced pidgin at the expense of the local language. In general, there is a decrease in the knowledge of Abu' with increasing distance from the area where it is spoken.

Easier to use Tok Pisin

Speakers of a vernacular may resort to the use of another language for reasons of economy and ease of articulation. This reflects the universal tendency for those communicating in a language with a complex phonological system and syntactic structure to turn to that vernacular or language whose phonological and syntactic systems are less complex. It is often said that

Tok Pisin is an easy language to learn and perhaps this is one of the main reasons why the Abu' prefer to use it. From the linguistic point of view, this is a rather unorthodox position, since all fully-fledged languages are either equally difficult or else equally simple. The notion of one language being simple or more complex than another very often reflects the naiveté, personal biases, or value judgments of a particular individual or group.

Let us accept, however, that some languages may fall under the rubric of "easy" and that Tok Pisin is one of them. Which linguistic features make Abu' a little difficult to learn or perhaps more difficult than Tok Pisin? Are there any aspects of the vernacular that appear awkward to master and may discourage children from learning it? *

The first phonological problem with Abu' has to do with the unpredictable occurrence of the glottal stop represented by an apostrophe in written form. Preliminary observations suggest that the glottal stop was awkward to master by a number of Abu' children. Although Tok Pisin and Abu' have a similar grammatical order in both being subject-verb-object languages, Abu' possesses a very complex structure. We give one example in each language: **

Example Abu'

Aleman ubahineri alialineri nubulawa nahe'kani aulaf enini.

Man big-man dark-man he-ran he-went to house his-of.

Example Tok Pisin

Bikpela blakpela man i ran i go long haus bilong em.

A very big dark man ran to his house.

Since there are about nineteen different noun classes in Abu' (9), the nominal modifiers and verbs change their endings to agree with the noun of whatever class that noun is drawn from. Thus the degree of irregularity in noun agreement increases to a point where it can cause problems for young children trying to understand the language.

Beyond the difficulty of learning Abu', Womsis is a changing society and thus its language is accepting newly introduced lexical items that have become available from Tok Pisin and English. Generally, when nouns are borrowed from Tok Pisin, they retain their singular form but take on the Abu' plural ending. Some examples are (10):

Tok Pisin	Abu'	Gloss
(singular form)	(plural form)	
pater sista tisa	paterimi siteiwa tisaimi	priest sister/nun male teacher

The main point is that Abu' is borrowing heavily from Tok Pisin and if such changes are not guided by linguistic principles, then Abu' may become so heavily pidginized as to lose its identity as a vernacular.

Consideration for others

In Womsis society, certain linguistic norms forbid people from using a language not understood by visitors unless one wishes to swear at them. To ensure that relationships between visitor, guests, and hosts occur without feelings of suspicion, Abu' speakers try to avoid using their own vernacular but will communicate quite freely in Tok Pisin. This action indirectly supports the rising dominance of a pidgin over Abu', especially when speakers of Abu' use Tok Pisin if they are within hearing of the visitor's locus.

Parents' failure to foster Abu'

Finally, parents themselves are largely responsible for the apparent decline in the status of Abu', since it appears that they are not genuinely concerned about their children acquiring it. It was a common sight to see and hear parents speaking to their children in Tok Pisin. I told a number of Womsis parents, including my sisters and female relatives by marriage, that Abu' was in danger of dying out if they did not teach it to their children. Even more, when they die, Abu' would go with them and their children would no longer have a vernacular or a culture with which to identify. It is hoped that further education on the importance of maintaining Abu' can be initiated soon to make parents more aware of the importance of keeping Abu' alive and to ensure the ethnolinguistic continuity of their society.

* The complexity of this linguistic problem means that we can only give, in this article, a few simple indications.

** The original text gives further examples, that we cannot reproduce due to lack of space.

(9) Nekitel 1977

(10) Nekitel 1977



Oceania, born from earth and sea: canoes, fish, yams, in Trobriand Islands (PNG).

The position of vernaculars in Papua New Guinea

In the absence of a national survey, it is difficult to comment on the status of other vernaculars in Papua New Guinea. Some idea was gained from a brief questionnaire distributed at the University of Papua New Guinea and answered by thirteen persons: mainly students who were doing a course on language and communication, plus a few nationals on the staff of the language department. Only one respondent claimed that Tok Pisin was gaining more and more dominance over the vernacular, while the rest indicated that vernaculars still remained mediums of communication in the villages, with Tok Pisin and Hiri Motu in a subordinate position. This general indication of the continuing importance of vernaculars in rural communities was encouraging, although no question was asked about the extent that words from Tok Pisin and Hiri Motu are used and incorporated into everyday speech. There have been numerous oral reports, for example, of Tok Pisin becoming

the main language of communication in several parts of the two Sepik provinces. What has already been said about Abu' certainly applies to other villages located to the north and south of Womsis. In the villages of Balup, Malin, Wolum, Aspeis, Welihika and Amon (see Map 2), Tok Pisin is increasingly the main language of communication.

What can be done to ensure that Abu' and other Papua New Guinea or Pacific vernaculars remain alive and vital? Unfortunately, it is difficult to specify hard and fast rules regarding language usage, for languages are dynamic systems and hence subject to forces of social and cultural fluidity. They change and grow to meet the demands of the altered social, political, economic, and educational conditions that are a feature of Pacific societies. Yet uncontrolled change may be detrimental to the authentic mediums of our cultural heritage and its linguistic continuity.

On numerous occasions in Papua New Guinea, leaders express concern on the importance of preserving our rich and diverse cultural heritage. However, neither speeches nor documents recognize or emphasize the vital role that vernaculars play, not only in shaping people's views of the world in which they find themselves, but also in affecting that which is collectively called culture. The single exception is contained in the Report of the Information Review Committee, that was formed in 1979 under the chairmanship of Mr. Leo R. Morgan, then of the Public Services Commission. This committee was directed by the Somare government to undertake a thorough study of mass communication, to report on both existing or potential channels of mass media, and to recommend to government how those channels of communication might be best utilized.

Among the committee's recommendations were two that recognized the importance of not only the three official languages (English, Tok Pisin, Hiri Motu), but also the many vernaculars, for the process of nation-building and unification. Government and non-government agencies were urged to promote the official lan-

guages "through literacy, literature development, language planning, translation, and interpretation services", and the committee considered that a national department coordinate such activities. In its eighth recommendation, the committee urged that "government and non-government agencies utilize to the greatest practical extent the nation's vernacular language resources" (11).

The government acted to implement some of these points by establishing the Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies (IPNGS), which organizes an annual literature competition to encourage expression in the three official languages. Courses on translation and interpretation services also were occasionally offered at the University of Papua New Guinea, but have since ceased for lack of official support. No language planning occurs at governmental level and no appropriate body exists to undertake the recommended or comparable activities. Encouragement in utilizing and publishing in the nation's vernaculars comes mainly from the Summer Institute of Linguistics, but most of their material is either bible translations or items for religious education.

The Department of Extension Studies and the Faculty of Education of the University of Papua New Guinea, in collaboration with the provincial government of the North Solomons, has initiated a pilot project in vernacular education, from which favourable reports have been received and which might serve as a model for other provincial governments.

Conclusion

Given a lack of language planning in Papua New Guinea, the specific recommendations that follow aim to ensure that our many vernaculars remain alive:

- The best language teachers are the parents. If parents fail to teach vernaculars to their children it is not always possible for other people to do so. Parents should ensure that their children learn the tongues of their mothers or fathers at an early stage of their lives, for if this does not occur, their children will not pass on the vernacular to their own offspring.

- The Education Department should mount a nationwide programme in vernacular education, for at least the first few years of elementary schooling, as is now being tested in the North Solomons province. This can be done by teaching the vernacular of the given area, initially as a subject and later as a medium of instruction

(11) *Information Review Committee 1979: 1*

once written materials become available. The fifth recommendation is an important first step to achieve this.

- Papua New Guinea ought to mount literacy programmes in vernaculars nationwide. If the government cannot undertake such a responsibility, then it should make funds available to certain organizations, such as the Summer Institute of Linguistics, to expand and intensify what has already begun in some areas of the country.

- The network of national and provincial radio stations should be involved in language and cultural programmes. Once these are devised, vernacular and cultural experts from different language groups could be asked to present traditional stories, sing-sings (folk dances), and other aspects of local culture. These programmes could also be translated into Tok Pisin and Hiri Motu for the wider audience and thus help people recognize the overall value and richness of vernaculars.

- Government must assist professional linguists and knowledgeable persons to develop orthographies or spelling systems, for unwritten vernacular languages and to encourage the production of a literature in them to demonstrate their importance and enhance their continuity. In this way, the ethnolinguistic consciousness of the people would be safeguarded.

If vernaculars are being threatened or interfered with by external linguistic systems, as is occurring to Abu' from Tok Pisin, then the onus is on the adults of such communities to ensure that the local vernacular is taught their offspring. Such is the rapid pace of social change in Pacific Island societies today that members of various speech communities may not be able to spend the time needed to reinforce their knowledge of vernaculars. In this situation, literate members of different speech communities need to use whatever talents gained from western-oriented education and any technological means available to research, document, and produce literature in their rich vernaculars. Such poems, stories, folk dances and tales would represent a visible token of appreciation at being a speaker in a specific local language and therefore, a member of a particular and special group of people.

Otto Manganau Nekitel

Language and Literature Department, University of Papua New Guinea.



Traditional architecture. Papua New Guinea (Sepik).

The author

Otto Manganau Soko'um Nekitel graduated from the University of Papua New Guinea with undergraduate degrees in education (B.Ed.) and arts (B.A.Hons). Subsequently he was awarded a graduate scholarship by the East-West Center, Honolulu, to study at the University of Hawaii, and in 1979 obtained his Master of Arts degree in Linguistics. Otto Nekitel is now a lecturer in the Department of Language and Literature, at the University of Papua New Guinea and in May 1980 completed a doctorate in Linguistics in the Research School of Pacific Studies at the Australian National University, Canberra. His dissertation is concerned with the social aspects of Abu'.

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The Price of Education in Micronesia

Schools have long been decried as alien institutions imposed by colonial powers upon Pacific societies that had no need of formal education prior to Western contact. This was true in Micronesia, a sprawling array of archipelagoes north of the equator that have shared a common colonial history under four foreign powers within the past century. Only within the last ten years has this area attained a measure of self-government while splitting into four separate political entities : the Northern Marianas, the Federated States of Micronesia, Palau, and the Marshall Islands. In all of these modern-day states the school, like of other legacies from their colonial past, has been fully endorsed by the local people and has been gradually integrated into island life. Today, the school is as much a Micronesian institution as the meeting house, the legislature, or the church.

The first school was founded on Guam, within a year of the arrival of the first Spanish troops and missionaries in the Marianas. This institution, known as the Colegio de San Juan de Letran and opened to young boys in 1669, earned the distinction of being the first school in Oceania, largely because the Marianas were the first part of the Pacific to be colonized. Jesuit missionaries, who spoke of the school as the wellspring of their mission, used such blandishments as candy and holy cards to entice small children to school. Once they were there, students learned prayers and studied the rudiments of the Catholic faith. The same was true for Protestant students two centuries later, after early teachers from the American Boards of

Commissioners for foreign missions introduced Christianity to the Carolines and Marshalls and established the first schools there. These church-run schools, the forerunners of later public educational systems, offered a smattering of academic instruction in arithmetic and English, but the overall curriculum was directed to a single end - that of instilling Christian beliefs.

With the onset of German rule in Micronesia at the turn of the last century came the miniscule beginnings of the public school system. Although the German government, like the Spanish regime before it, was content to leave education mostly in the hands of the missionaries, it opened the first public school in Micronesia on Saipan and began in Palau a formal program to train local policemen that was tantamount to a small school. The purpose of this embryonic system of public education, as well as official subsidies for mission schools, was to raise the material standard of living among islanders by promoting those attitudes needed to increase their productivity. As the German government succinctly phrased it in an annual report, "Our task as regards the education of the natives is clear - they must be trained to work; they must be encouraged to earn and save money".

Not long after the Japanese took possession of island Micronesia at the start of World War I, the public education system prefigured by the German administration became a reality. At the height of the Japanese Mandate there were twenty four schools for islanders offering three years - or in some cases five years - of basic instruction to about half the school-age population. The study of Japanese language dominated the curriculum, with a variety of other subjects, both academic and practical, rounding out the syllabus. Japanese educators regarded their language as much more than a tool for commu-

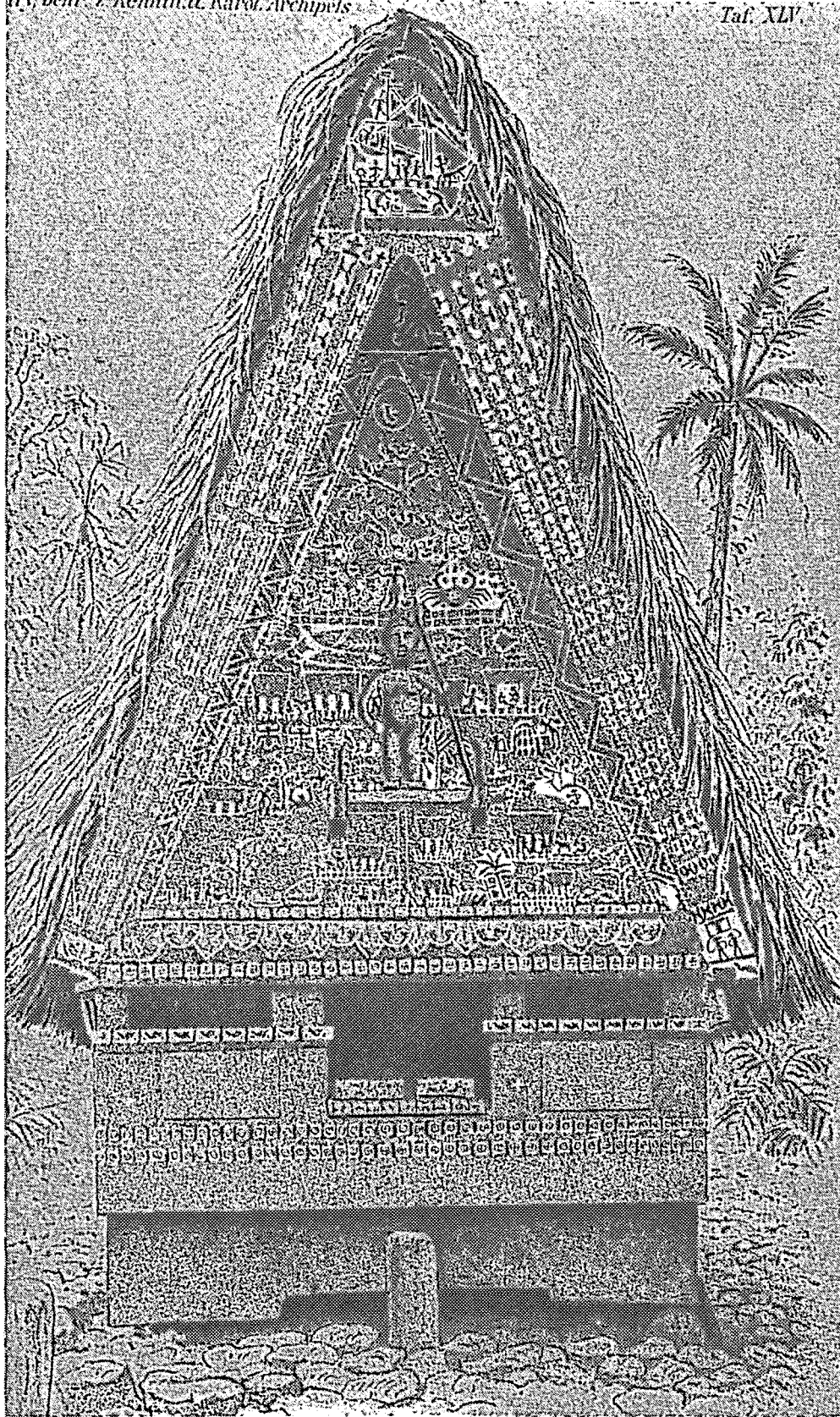
nication; it was a window to a superior value system. Hence teaching the Japanese language was not so much a practical necessity as a way of engendering attitudes in the young, so that "when they grow up they may be capable of enjoying the blessings of advanced civilization".

Early schools in Micronesia, then, served to initiate the young into the mysteries of a totally different value system, whether that be a religious faith, a modern economic system, or the "blessings of advanced civilization" as embodied in a culture. The formal education that young Micronesians received was unabashedly intended to inculcate new ways, even at the expense of their folkways if that was the price of progress. When the United States assumed control of Micronesia as a trust territory following World War II, it extended elementary schooling through six grades and expanded enrolment everywhere, while also professing a policy not to intervene in the workings of local cultures. Although this may have seemed a startling and perhaps refreshing change from the educational policies of early colonial powers, American education also rested upon premises that were alien to island cultures: the existence of basic rights inherent in each individual, the value of democracy, the need to express one's opinion, and the importance of economic development. Despite the laudable non-interventionist stance of American educators during this early period, the set of premises on which its educational system was founded ensured that the worm would remain at work in the wood.

In 1963, the last year of Kennedy's presidency in the United States, the previous policy of slow-paced change and modest annual subsidies was suddenly reversed in favor of rapid development. No longer was the pace of modernization to be determined by the territory's

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Ancient Palauan clubhouse, as sketched by Jan Kubary, the nineteenth century anthropologist.

growth in productive capacity. Influenced by new theories of economic growth that called for heavy investment in the social services, especially health and education, as a prerequisite for economic growth, the American administration doubled its annual budget for Micronesia in a single year and raised it dramatically in those that followed. The yearly subsidy of \$US 6 millions in 1962 was increased eightfold to almost \$US 50 million by 1970. At the end of the next decade it had doubled again to about \$US 100 million - quite apart from another \$US 25 million in programme funds drawn from various metropolitan agencies. Officials in Washington could be pleased with themselves by the end of the 1960s. They had not only put to rest earlier charges that the United State was neglecting its responsibilities towards its distant trusteeship, but they had created such a state of dependency that Micronesia's future would almost certainly be linked to that of the American mainland forevermore.

The effect of this dramatic shift in policy on education was enormous. Education's share of the annual budget, which had stood at about 10 percent in 1962, doubled to 20 percent by the end of the decade, as the government undertook its massive program of establishing schools. By 1970, the total public school enrolment in the Trust Territory had doubled from 13,000 to more than 28,000. Even more indicative of the level of change during this period, however, are the soaring expenditures per pupil - from barely \$US 50 in 1962 to \$US 240 eight years later. At first American teachers were contracted to fill the new positions in these recently-constructed schools, then volunteers from the Peace Corps replaced them after that programme was extended to Micronesia in 1966. By the time 1970 had been reached, the education scene in the islands had been totally transformed. Virtually all educable children of elementary school age were in school, sitting at a small bench in a newly-constructed building, usually built of Guam, Hawaii, or the American mainland in search of a college education. Throughout the 1960s, when limited scholarship funds within the

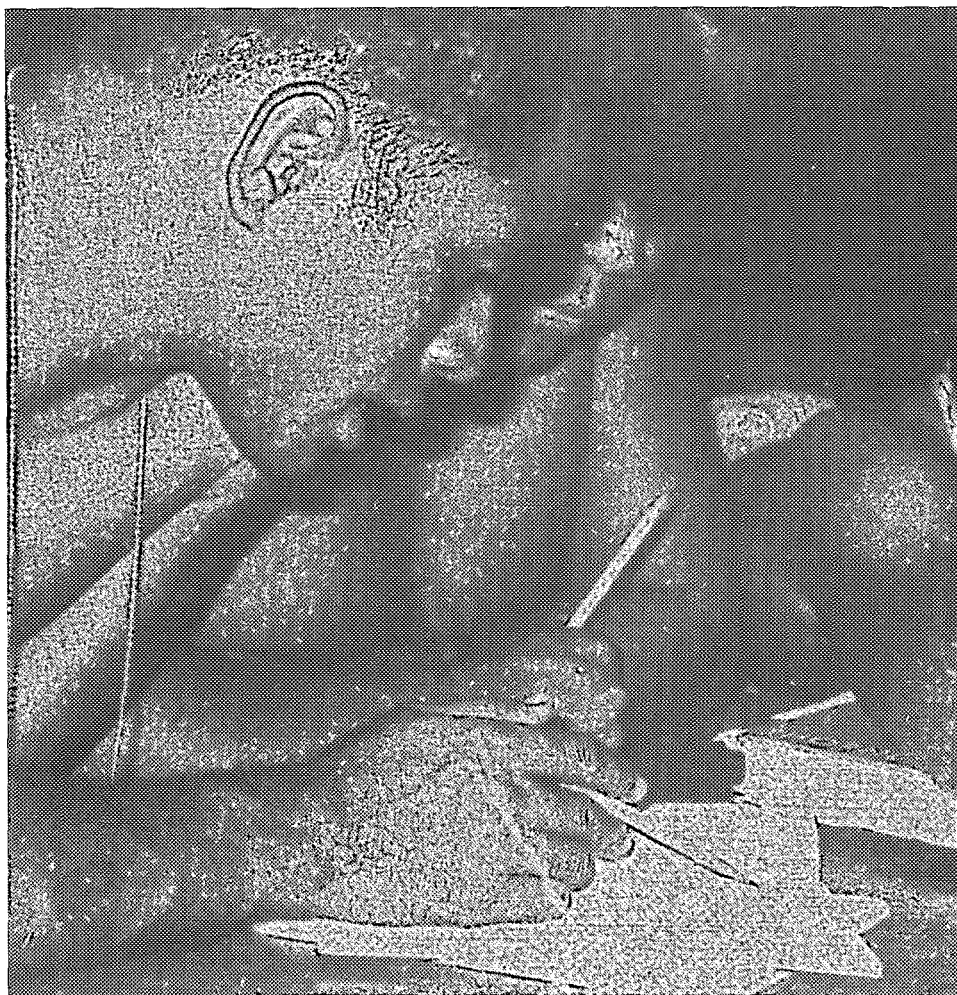
Trust Territory were the only means of financing such an education, only 200 or 300 young Micronesians could attend college at any one time. Since the early 1970s and with the availability of the US federal-education grants, to begin an undergraduate degree is no longer seen as the prerogative of the intellectually gifted but rather viewed as a universal right. Nearly half of all high school graduates in Micronesia have gone on to college in recent years, and the number of students currently abroad is estimated at between two and three thousand.

Those young Micronesians, with the good fortune to finish their university training ten or more years ago, found jobs waiting for them upon return to their home islands. Even after the Trust Territory budget reached a ceiling in 1975 and it appeared there could be no further increase in the number of government jobs, the rapid proliferation during the next three years of federal programs by the United States offered new opportunities for employment to university graduates. Finally, in 1979, many of these programs were discontinued, external funding took a sharp turn downwards, and the job crunch began in earnest. As the second and third wave of the mass exodus to American colleges in the mid-1970s returned to Micronesia, many were disappointed to find that their college diploma did not guarantee them the government jobs they expected. There were simply far too many returnees and too few positions. Perhaps even more disappointed than the young university graduates themselves were their parents, who had sent their children off, even at the risk of seeing them shed their old island ways, in the belief that advanced formal education would be the unflinching key to a job, a paycheck, and lasting material prosperity for their family.

Education had far outraced the economy. In fact, it was never a real contest. Virtually the only new employment created during the years since the big buildup in the early 1960s was either government jobs or the service sector fueled by government salaries. The "investment-in-man" theories of development that had been invoked to justify such a rapid educational expansion now appeared bankrupt. Never begun were the industries supposed to have developed, if only enough seed money could be found and intelligent and enterprising people provided to initiate these projects. Instead, young univer-

sity graduates did what they knew best - worked for the government - and when jobs there could not be found, they returned to the village to wait until their luck changed. Yet it is significant that, despite the stagnant island economy, young Micronesians have returned home after college to take their chances on their island rather than reside permanently in the United States. The notable lack of a "brain drain" thus far has confounded the dire forecasts of social planners. It can perhaps be ascribed to unfavorable immigration laws for Micronesians wishing to live in Hawaii or on the American mainland, but it is probably also owing to a kind of homing instinct on the part of young islanders.

Some well-meaning but naive critics assert that proper emphasis on vocational rather than strictly academic education could have changed all this. They complain, quite correctly, that vocational training in many schools is only a short interlude in an otherwise academic curriculum, and that the courses offered are occasions for dabling rather than opportunities to master a skill. Yet, even if this were not the case, it would be futile to regard vocational education as a panacea for the economic and educational ills of Micronesia. There remains a strong bias in young islanders for white-collar employment, a bias that government salary schedules and the enviable lifestyle of higher officials has only



Atoll dwellers in a high school dormitory, Western Carolines.

strengthened. More important, however, is the fact that those Micronesians who were trained and do find jobs in the trades invariably end up working in the service sector rather than in productive economic activities. They eventually build houses for others, fix their automobiles and pickup trucks, repair outboard engines or air conditioners; they do not fish or farm commercially. The economy of Micronesia will remain crippled as long as this remains the case, regardless of the emphasis given to vocational education.

From a strictly economic view point, the education explosion twenty years ago has been

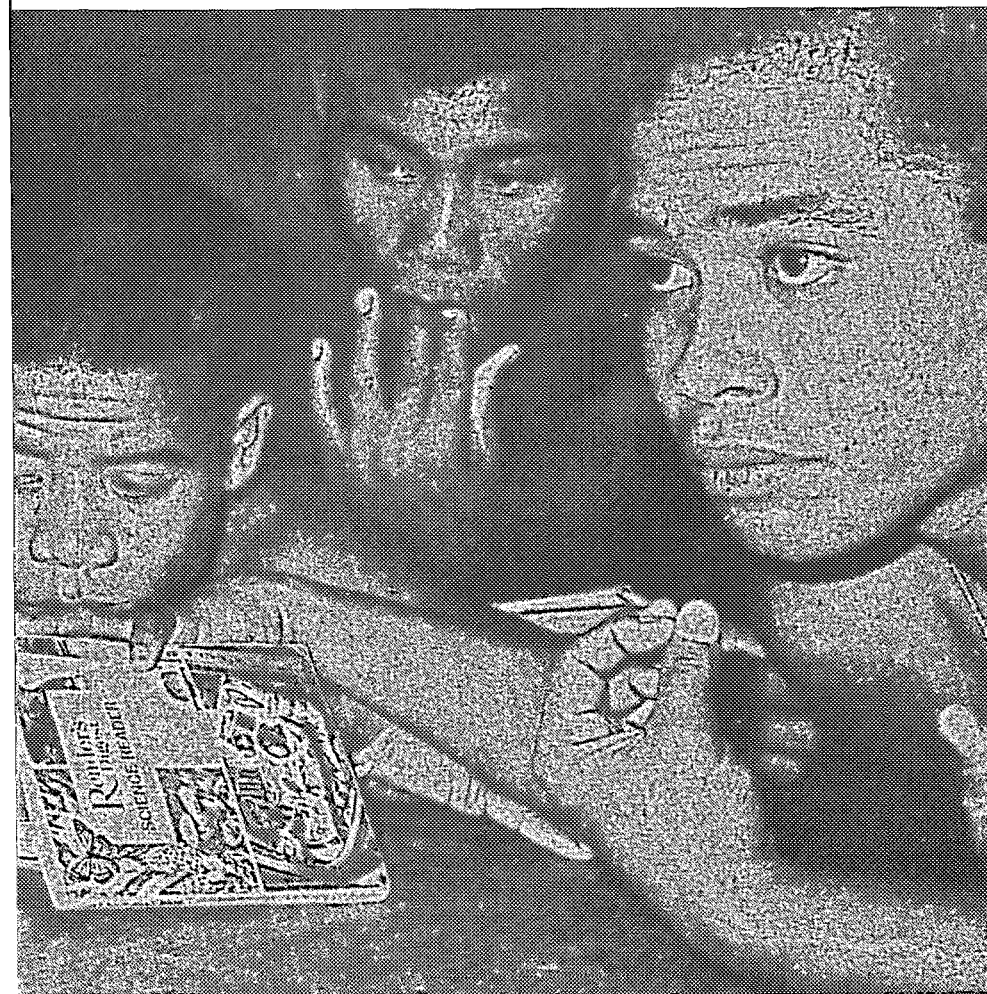
nothing short of disastrous for the islands. In the first place, the American administration allocated to formal education a growing share of its budget, leaving Micronesia with a costly, if not extravagant, system to maintain under self-government. To make matters worse, the university and high school graduates that this system produces make further demands upon the government for jobs and additional services, since education almost necessarily inflates expectations regarding lifestyle. All this only further boosts the cost of government, which is now well beyond the means of the islands to pay from internal resources, and makes anything resembling self-reliance all the more distant.

But economic considerations are not everything, especially in a territory that is still bankrolled by the American government.

What of the effect of education on school graduates and their communities? Has the cost of education in terms of dollars and limited political options been partially offset by its social benefits?

This is a difficult question to answer as long as the argument rages over what may be called "appropriate" education for the islands. Some maintain that the only suitable schooling for Pacific Islanders is one directed towards the needs of the local community, even if this means letting personal interests and ambitions go unrealized. Hence, if the community in question is a small agrarian village, a "good" education will equip people with what they need in order to return to it with the minimum disruption and to provide skills of use in everyday village life. There are others, however, who argue that the purpose of formal education is always to develop the potential of individuals by deepening their understanding of themselves and their world and enhancing their skills, regardless where this path may lead them in the future. This has always been the philosophical underpinning of what was formerly known as a liberal education, they assert, and societies from classical times to the present have bestowed that type of education on their members, confident that they would ultimately find some way to enrich their own society through the new tools and perspectives thus acquired.

There is probably no satisfactory way of resolving this difference in the theoretical order, and in search of an answer, we can only return to the concrete realities of formal education in Micronesia. The schooling to which Micronesians have now been subjected for two decades is largely patterned on the liberal education common in the United States and Europe, although some modifications to its content and style have been made in island schools. Those who have graduated from college or high school have unquestionably been "alienated" as is often charged, but not hopelessly so. Those who fail to find government jobs in town return to their villages, where they are easily recognizable as recent returnees. Their clothes are flashier than ordinary, they speak with a certain amount of



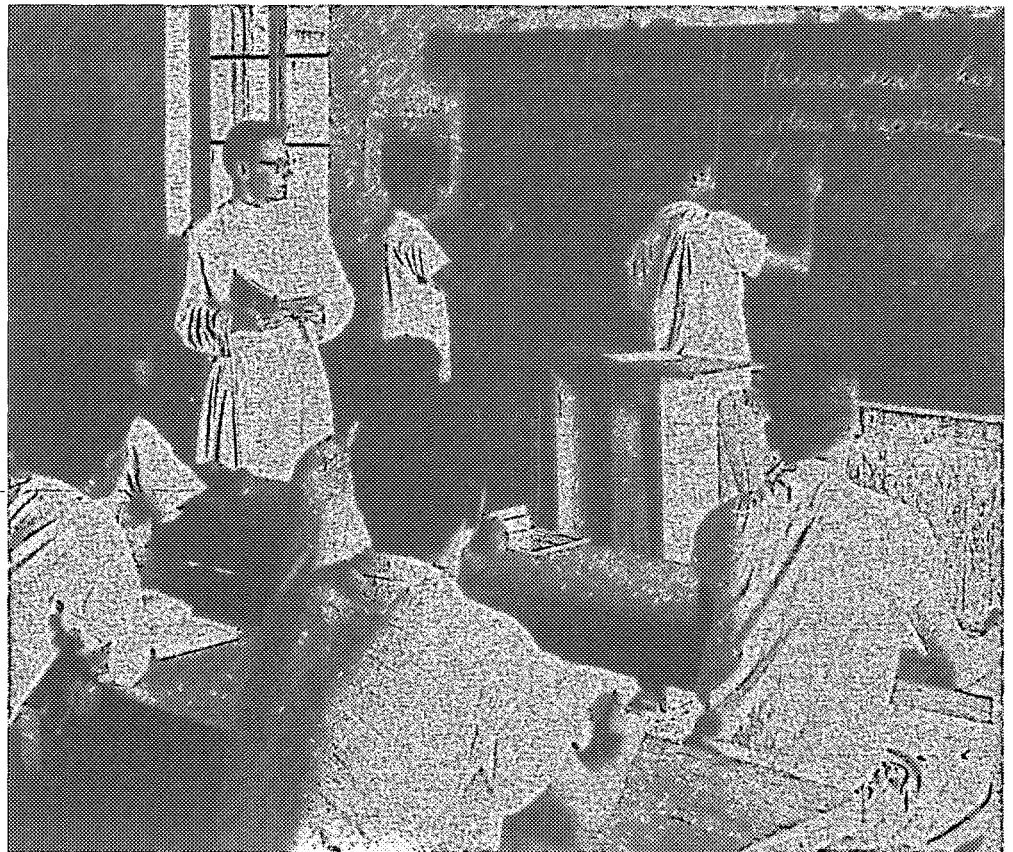
disdain of some features of village life, they complain about the slow pace of living, they eagerly seek out the company of others who have had the same enjoyable kinds of experience abroad, and they chafe under what they call the authoritarianism of being in a small community. Yet, for all this, they appear to be fairly healthy individuals, certainly not schizoid types who are helpless to integrate what has been learned abroad with the demands of village life, even if they do experience the obvious tensions between the two. Eventually they adapt to the rhythms of village residence and are soon pounding breadfruit and fishing like everyone else. This is not to imply, however, that they merely fade into the community circle. Even after years in the village, they often retain a healthy skepticism, a mildly critical spirit, and a restlessness for new ideas that constitute a positive contribution to the local community.

The picture sketched here is admittedly quite different from what many of us feared would happen as the education explosion in Micronesia began. We foresaw frustrated young men and women returning to their islands to find no jobs, few modern conveniences, and a very tenuous sense of their own identity. Perhaps we underestimated the personal resources and adaptability of young Micronesians going abroad. At any rate, events have shown that the educated do not huddle together feeding one another's discontent and plotting the overthrow of the present order. Neither do they turn up in any great numbers in the jails, except for the usual drinking incident: they have not become marginalized or social drifters. Moreover, even those who have failed to find salary employment are not candidates for the rising suicide rates found throughout Micronesia. Despite their experience of "cognitive dissonance", as educators might call it, the young educated give the appearance of being reasonably happy and well-adjusted.

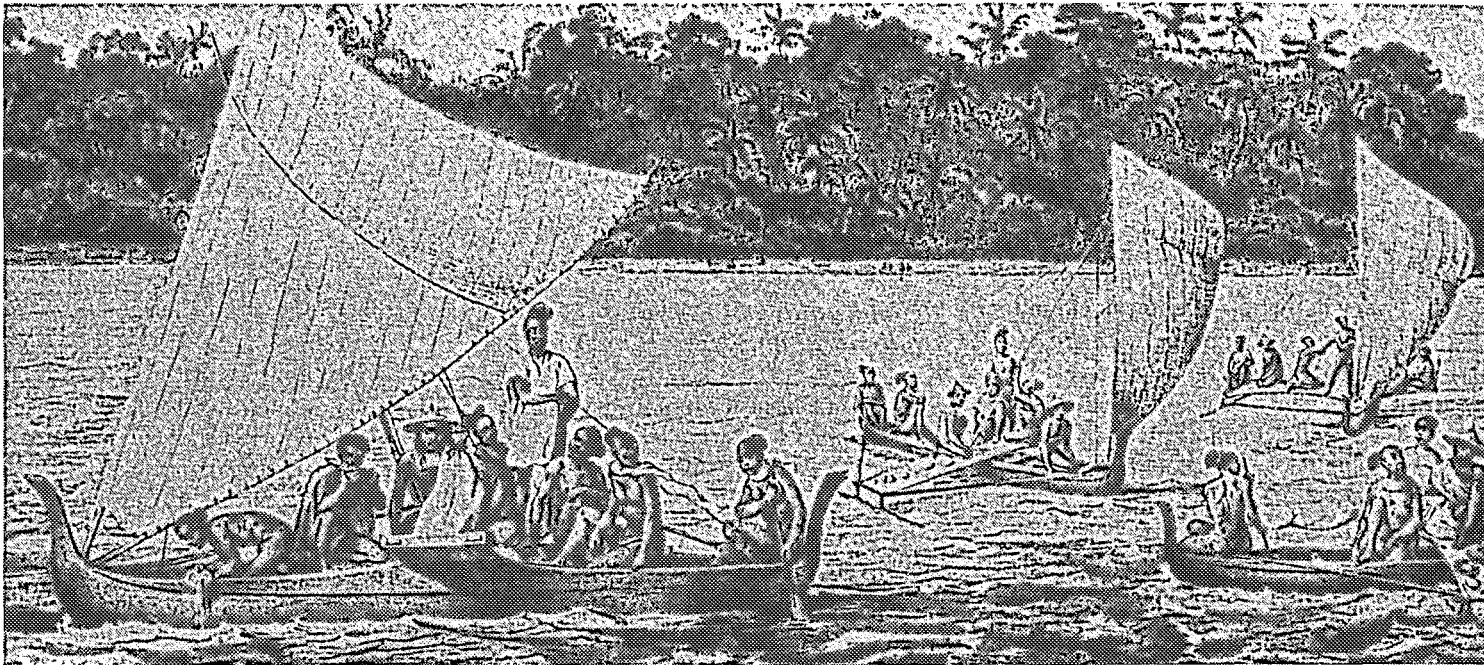
Micronesia's education system, foreign in origin, has been modified many times since the early 1960s and is increasingly evolving a character of its own. Island schools were already being adapted to local cultures long before 1977, when the Micronesian states achieved self-government and assumed formal administrative responsibility for these and other institutions. The most significant modifications were not the contents of the curriculum, although this is what most observers first look at, but the whole general style of formal education and the fit between school and community. A village crisis, for example, almost always leads to the local school closing for a more or less extended period, and absenteeism is rampant on the part of both students and teachers. Discipline tends to be loose and there generally prevails a rather easy-going attitude towards studies, to the despair of American supervisors and educational consultants. Whatever else may be said of the Microne-

sian school today, it is as much modified by local circumstances as one could imagine. If this fact constitutes adaptation, then we need not worry any longer about the problem of adapting the school to its socio-cultural environment. It has already happened.

Formal education, although originally a foreign artifact and one used quite deliberately to colonize the islanders, induce them to change their ways, and accept the "blessings of civilizations", has now become a cherished part of Micronesian life. Like other foreign institutions, it is in the process of taking on distinctively Micronesian features. Yet it is not so much this adaptation as the resilience of the people themselves that has spared the islands some of the dire consequences predicted by Westerners of what would happen to the educated and their homelands if schooling went unchecked. Societies, after all, like the human



Latin class in the mid 1950s at Xavier High School, run by the Jesuit order, in Truk.



beings that make them up, are organic entities and have an adaptability and pliability that continues to mystify social scientists. The pressing question for Micronesia is not whether its cultures can survive the impact of an

educational system patterned on those of the West; rather whether it can afford the luxury of such an expensive system while struggling to achieve a type of economic development that can advance its own political autonomy. Formal

education such as we see in Micronesia today may not be too socially perilous, but it could well be too politically costly.

Francis X. Hezel, S.J.
Director of the Micronesian Seminar

The author

Francis X. Hezel is a Jesuit priest who has been working in the Caroline-Marshall Islands since 1963. For several years he taught at Xavier High School in Truk, and then became its director. Since 1972 he has also been the Director of the Micronesian Seminar, a research-pastoral institute that is sponsored by the Catholic Church. He has published several articles on education in the islands, as well as many more on other social questions. In recent years Father Hezel has written three books on the history of Micronesia, the most recent of which is "The First Taint of Civilization", published in 1983 by the University of Hawaii Press as the first volume in its Pacific Islands Monograph Series. Father Hezel lives in Truk, Federated States of Micronesia.

Books for further reading

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Land within Traditional Societies of the Solomon Islands

Every nation or person can claim to own land through one means or another. In civilized nations, evidence to prove how a certain piece of land was acquired can be given by producing written documents. But in societies such as the Solomon Islands, which did not possess any means of written recording, evidence of how people owned and still own land has been passed mainly by word of mouth since times immemorial. The validity of any system of knowledge depends very much on its acceptance by the people who use that system. In other words, the people of any society must fully accept evidence as factual and not dispute it purely for the sake of argument, because such trust assures the stability of a society. This probably was true of Solomon Island societies in the early days, before European contact, although the contemporary position so far as land is concerned has changed a great deal.

Social and economic changes which came about during the last century and which continue today amount to the imposition of alien cultures upon the indigenous cultures of the peoples of the Solomon Islands. As long as misunderstandings exist between the two principal philosophies about land, then the problems over land in the Solomons will also remain. Expatriates see land as a commodity that has cash value and can be bought or sold by anyone. This is not true for Solomon Islanders, who regard land as an integral part of their societies and communities.

Communities of the Solomon Islands

To understand the rightful place of land and its value to all people in the Solomon Islands, first it is essential to grasp the basic structure of communities that has existed for many hundreds of years. Basically, the Solomon Islands has always been a country where people belonged to one tribal group, whose decisions have been the main and most important element of people's lives. These groups are usually defined by blood relationships and may be either patrilineal or matrilineal. The basic function of such groups or tribes remained the same in almost all communities: to provide for the defence and security of its members.

In fact, the tribes are administrative bodies, so that the islands of the Solomons from the earliest of times were under the control of several such administrative groups, each one defined in terms of common blood. Except for certain functions, such as religious rituals directed by priests,

all members of a tribe had both executive and administrative responsibilities. This meant and still means that every member had to have a full understanding of local rules. With this knowledge, every one was and is expected to decide and take immediate action wherever there is need to do so. Some of these decisions can be quite substantial, particularly when they relate to questions of collective security.

By and large, the structure of Solomon Islands communities is triangular in both form and nature, and three main elements firmly bound the people together: Gods; Land; and Tribe. Gods were at the apex, or higher position, and both land and tribes ranked almost equally (see Figure 1).

Usually gods consisted of dead ancestors. By this means, the gods of a tribe are specific to it and can be claimed as personal "properties" and cannot be shared with another tribe. This reflects, again, the need for members to be of common blood. Land is acquired by pioneer settlements, after which it is passed on and inherited from generation to generation. (1)

Tribes normally consist of individuals with a common ancestor who, in nearly every case, would be the person who first established settlements on a particular piece of land. Then ownership of that land would be claimed for himself, his family, and later descendants. As a result of this acquisition and of the need for that land to be properly administered at all times, a new "line" (lineage) or tribe would be formed. The identification of this new tribe is with

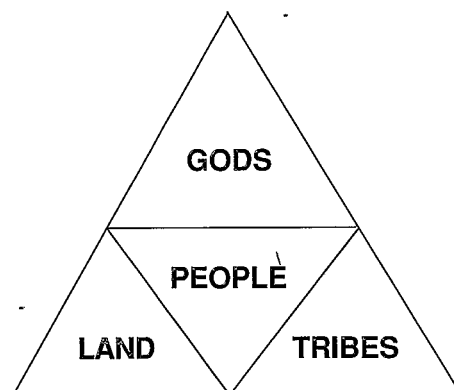


Figure 1 above shows the Association of People with the gods, land and tribes.

(1) See Maenu'u 1981

the common ancestor who first settled that piece of land, since ownership of property (usually land) often is instrumental to and necessitates the formation of a new blood group. And even amongst the gods of the tribe, the first common ancestor has a place as the Patron God. But the gods are regarded not only as gods in themselves but also as gods of the land, the tribes, and the peoples. This unity of gods, land, tribes, and people, and their relationships in traditional Solomon Islands societies, may be expressed in the following way:

- Gods belonged to people*
- Gods belonged to tribes*
- Gods belonged to land*
- Land belonged to tribes*
- Land belonged to gods*
- Land belonged to people*
- Tribes belonged to people*
- Tribes belonged to gods*
- Tribes belonged to land*
- People belonged to gods*

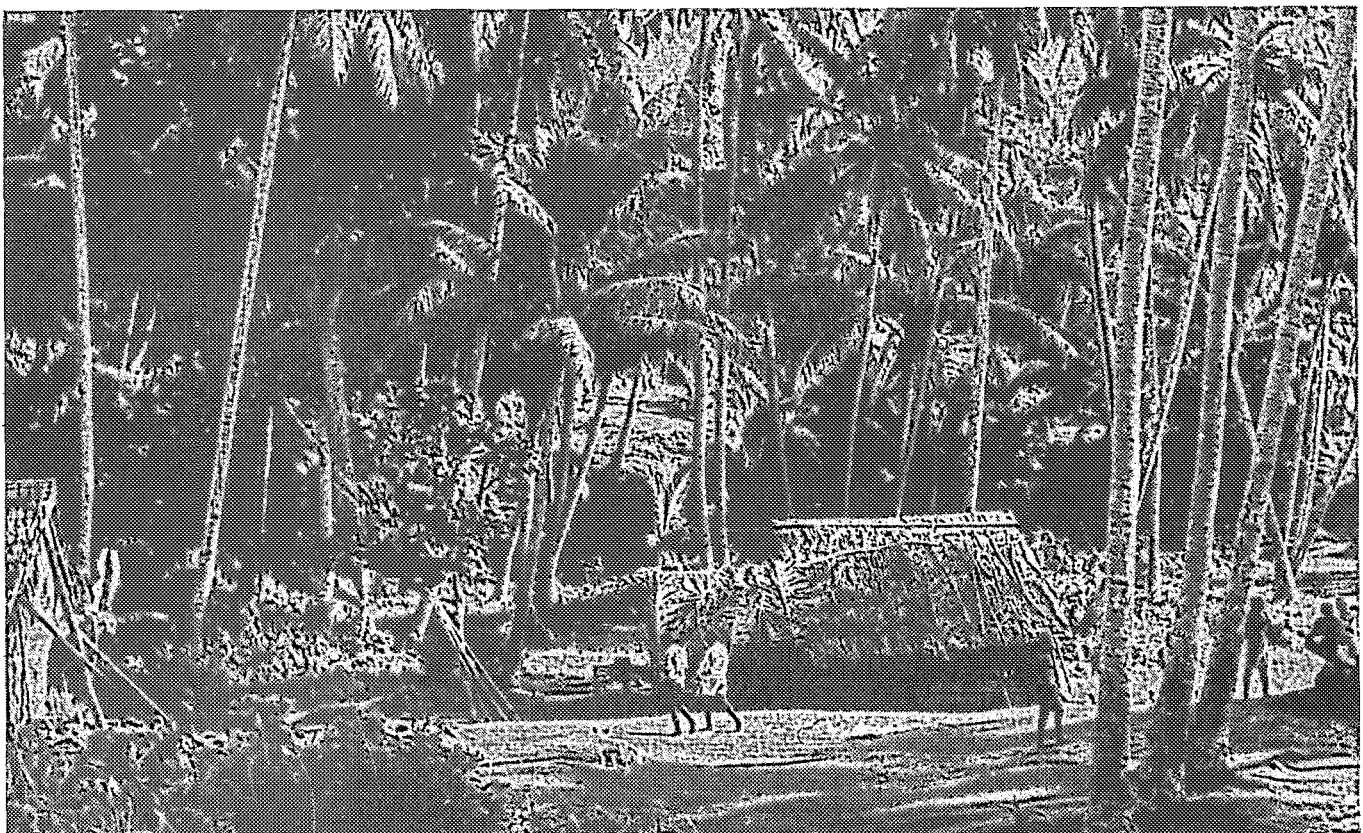
People belonged to tribes
People belonged to land

- Gods of the people*
- Gods of the tribes*
- Gods of the land*
- Land of the tribes*
- Land of the gods*
- Land of the people*
- Tribes of the people*
- Tribes of the gods*
- Tribes of the land*
- People of the gods*
- People of the tribe*
- People of the land*

From this system of relationships, it can be seen that people as individuals are situated, enclosed within, and in effect central to everything around them (figure 1). In other words, they are at the centre of the three major institutions (gods, land and tribes), which represented the total context of their daily existence. People benefited

from the gods in a supernatural form. With their faith in the gods, they received benefits such as good harvests and victory over enemies. Regarding land, they benefited through food gardens and forests providing building materials for homes, wood for fuel, as well as hunting grounds for birds and animals. Tribes, as already mentioned, technically are administrative bodies, with which all persons of a common ancestor identify themselves and engage in activities that reflect collective needs, like defense, security, and religion. Within this system, individuals can act and interact. Throughout their lives, people vigorously defended and safeguarded the tribe, which is so vital for their continued survival.

Obviously, people have much influence over this structured relationship with gods, tribes, and land. Their actions may please or displease the gods, and could thus result in success or failure. The solidarity of individual members of a tribe means security for the whole community. Land pro-



Solomon Islands

vides a home territory upon which people are located and can move throughout as they wish. Excepting land, gods, tribes, and people increase in number with time. On the occasion of birth, new members are added to both the tribe and the people. Likewise, at times of death, another member is added to the number of gods. The association of gods to land and tribe is permanent, fixed for all time, and enshrined in the minds of individuals throughout all generations. While individual persons might come and go, the gods, tribes, and land do not. These are firmly fixed, the land acting as an anchor which bound everything together year after year.

This association of different elements which make up traditional Solomon Islands society constitutes a system, each part of which is important. Disturbing any one element automatically threatens the security of these societies, so that the lives of individuals and of entire communities is put at risk. Indeed, the people would not permit such a basic threat to their communities and will certainly resist with all their energies.

However, this basic structure has been altered with the arrival of Christianity in the Solomons. Instead of tribal gods, there is now the universal god - Jehovah. Thus the original indigenous structure is transformed, as shown in figure 2.

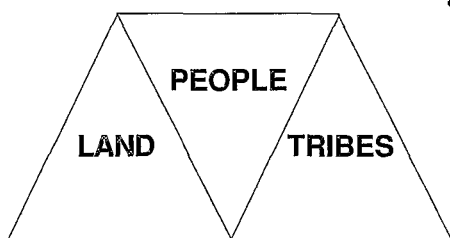


Figure 2 above is the remains of the association in Fig 1 after the arrival of christianity.

rights to use land through their respective tribes but cannot claim ownership in land. Consequently the relationship of an individual with the land is through the tribes. People are free to use any part of their tribal land and need not obtain specific permission, since the land is for the benefits and use of the tribe's members. There may be times when a tribe needs to make food gardens, such as for religious ceremonies, so that tribes as collective bodies also use the land and are not purely the custodians of it for individuals to use.

Mention was also made of the gods owning land, although not in a physical sense. In most cases, the gods are dead ancestors from both the recent and distant pasts. At different times, these ancestors must have lived on the land as human beings. Even after death, they continue to retain their human names (but such name would then be regarded as the name of a god), and their spirits always remain on and roam the land. These spirits, through their previous human form as membership for all times and therefore their relationship with land is permanent.

Figure 3 shows that the relationship of people or a particular individual with land is, on the whole, through the tribe. In short, the tribe owns and exercises administrative control over land for the benefit of its members.

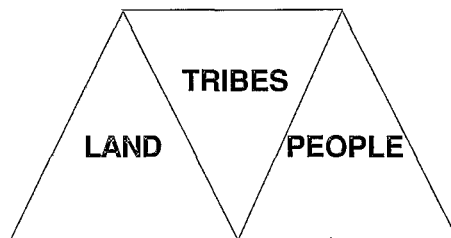


Figure 3 above shows the relationship of People with Land is through the tribes.

stances means the dependency of people or persons on land, whereas "relationship" refers to the ownership of land and the fact that it does not rest with any person.

From misunderstanding to confusion and conflicts

Ever since the arrival during the last century of colonial powers in the Solomon Islands, expatriate administrators have made endless efforts to resolve and harmonise land matters without making much progress. These administrators usually draw on personal experience, and those of others, gained from other countries. Similarly they often consult statute laws on land made for other kinds of countries. The basis of past and present land policies and laws for the independent Solomons evolved through this process. But the views held by colonial administrators reflect their knowledge of western societies. That is, they regard land as something tangible, which is seen in isolation and can be owned, bought, and sold by individuals. It is something to which a monetary value can be attached, which in turn depends on an open market at any given time. They consider land as isolated from human communities or societies, so that the relationship between people and land can be quantified.

Expatriate administrators fail to see that, with this thinking, they were directly attacking Solomon Islands communities and making them unstable. As a result, people resisted strongly the changes being introduced. To the administrators, such resistance on the part of Solomon Islanders was viewed as ignorance and misunderstanding of their good intentions, as well as being not only detrimental but also restricting and slowing down the modern development of the country. Probably without realising it, these colonial administrators, were actually destroying the very social fabric upon which Solomon Islands' societies have been built over hundreds of years and wanted to replace it with a totally new one. Solomon Islanders resisted these new doctrines brought by colonial administrators, not out of ignorance but rather

Ownership of land

From what has been said, it can be seen that land is largely owned by tribes together with the gods. Individual persons acquire

On the other hand, figures 1 and 2 show the association of persons with land. It is important that this key contrast be properly understood, for their implications are quite different. "Association" in these circum-

because of the destructive elements which they contained. People knew very well that to register land in the name of an individual confers ownership to that person and, by virtue of this fact, directly severs the relationship of people with their tribe - for that person, by definition, will be thinking more and more of himself and not the group.

Evidence of this sequence can be found today, but it is what colonial administrators have advocated and desired to see. They prefer to have individuals owning land and for such persons to be given the opportunity to pursue their individual wishes rather than have them limited by the group. Yet these same administrators were unprepared to evaluate the long-term effects their actions would have on Solomon Islanders. The people, on the other hand, understood very well and if there was any misunderstanding, it was the colonial administrators themselves who were victims of their own craft. The subject of land administration in the Solomon Islands underwent several policy changes, all in search of a system acceptable, but more importantly understood by its peoples. Consultant after consultant, expert after expert, had their chance to bite the cake, but the cake seemed to get more solid with time and no one was able to take a proper mouthful.

Yet people in the Solomon Islands remained firm in their original philosophies regarding land. Sadly, a few individuals who are energetic and wish to take the opportunity of the present confusion to improve their position, claim to own customary land under their own names and to be able to sell it to anyone who is interested. As already seen, land is owned by a tribe, so such a person must be misrepresenting himself and misleading others. Worse than this, the land in question may not belong to his tribe at all but to a different one.

For colonial administrators to take away the direct administration of land from the tribe undermined its basic functions (see figure 3a). This action, together with the introduction of Christianity, greatly reduced the importance of the tribe almost

to a point of it not existing. Although tribes remain today, they are not very active. Defence and security of the group having been taken over by the colonial administrators and religion by Christianity, the tribes are left idle and could easily die. As far as land is concerned, the functional insignificance of the tribe has created a major gap, which is not easy to bridge. As can be seen from figure 3, the tribe used to serve as a direct link between land and people, whereas in figure 4 there exists a gap, which is of great concern.

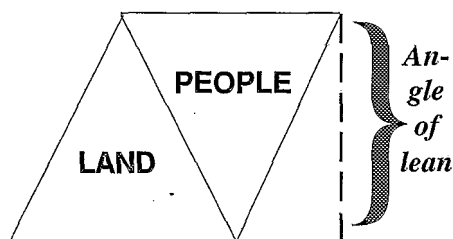


Figure 3 a above is a balance of the original association in Fig 1 after the arrival of Colonial Administrations.

Statute laws versus verbal traditions

Colonial administrators introduced documentation and rules, in the form of laws, as integral parts of this new means of administering land. A system of courts was

A gap is created in the absence of tribes

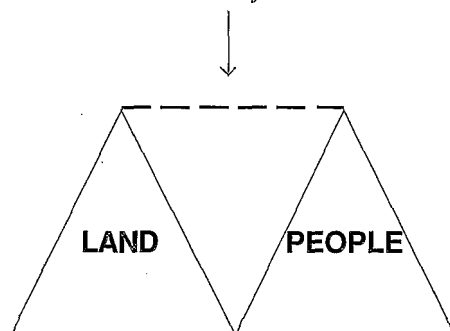


Figure 4 above is the remains of Fig 3 after the arrival of Colonial Administrations. Note: the gap created by non-functioning of tribes. This gap is what land Administrations find is difficult to grapple with.

also established. These function under authority given to them by statute laws, which define what they can and cannot do. Since these statute laws evolved beyond the Solomon Islands and were written by outsiders, there was no local input whatsoever in their compilation. The result of this action was resistance by the people to these introduced procedures. Realising the complexity in dealing with aspects of customary land, efforts were made to establish local courts about the early 1960s, some sixty years after the beginnings of colonial influence. With the local courts were to adjudicate land in accordance with the people's customs, but this was not so, since these courts were limited in their functions. Once again, a set of rules and procedures was compiled, but these also were done by outsiders with very little knowledge of matters relating to customary land. Even if members of the local courts, who are normally drawn from the area under dispute, know the real position concerning a particular piece of land, these rules and procedures effectively prevent them from giving the correct decision according to custom. Any action by local courts, which goes beyond their rules, can render proceedings erroneous in the eyes of the law and a rehearing would be directed.

Of most concern is the fact that our present laws, and even the national constitution of Solomon Islands, fall far short of stating the real position as regards to land, according to custom. Both the Constitution and present Land and Titles Act only recognize individual ownership of land; that is, perpetual estate in land can only be vested in a Solomon Islander or other category of person as may be specified by Parliament. A Solomon Islander by birth or citizenship is an individual person, whereas in custom it is tribes who own the land. The failure of both the constitution and the land acts to recognize the basic tribal ownership of land in the Solomon Islands is a major omission and threatens customary land tenures throughout the country. In short, the misconceptions carried by early colonialists several decades ago are very much alive today.



*Chewing betel.
(Guadalcanal
island, Solomon)*

There are suggestions that local courts should be strengthened to overcome this basic problem, but they only attempt to treat the symptoms rather than its root. Such suggestions are very similar to expecting a child to do a man's job. One failure of the land courts, noted already, lies in the limitations set by rules that regulate their operations. More than this is the fact that they cannot decide land ownership. What a land court does is to listen to an argument between two parties and decide which one is the most plausible. That decision may conclude the case as far as those two particular parties are concerned, but a third party is still free to claim ownership of that same piece of land just as is a fourth or fifth. The situation is quite open ended. Therefore the land courts, given the present legal provisions, are not the ideal and appropriate means, to deal with matters of customary land in the country.

In the Solomon Islands, the practice until now has been that anything not incorporated within statute law has no legal recognition. Since ownership of land by the tribe remains to this day outside these laws, customary ownership in land is not recognized and also cannot be dealt with by the existing administrative machinery. Although widely accepted that all lands in the country are owned by the people, often it is necessary to decide which groups own what particular piece of land. The real problem lies in legal recognition of customary ownership. Current statute laws cannot recognize such absurd for it totally ignores the fact that Solomon Islanders, in their traditional societies, had no means of writing and therefore all evidence was transmitted orally.

As can be seen in figure 4, the gap created by the absence of tribal functions is causing present land problems, yet administrators continue to grapple with an issue

they do not even see themselves. But hopefully, one day, a miracle might occur and land problems might be solved. But whatever the solutions, without recognition of tribal ownership and without using that fact as a starting point, land problems will only multiply and people will be split into smaller and smaller entities. The result will be that they will become isolated from one another and from the land.

From security towards insecurity

With the tribal gods having been replaced by Christianity or a universal god, with the tribes being immobilized by colonial administration, probably only land and people are left of the original indigenous social structure (figure 1). Yet land is consistently being undermined by Western philosophies and the trends of these recent developments is rather frightening. For if the outcome means the individual ownership of land, then most certainly

there will be many persons who might become landless. Under the original indigenous structures, no one was landless because every person could trace their rights to land through the tribe.

The operation of western laws is restrictive and only those persons whose names appear on the register may enjoy use of that land in the manner specified by those registers. If the Solomon Islander owning the land wishes to sell it to others, then no one can stop that. Through this means, slowly but surely, land will pass from the original groups of owners to others.

Conversion of ownership from tribes to individuals needs special mention. In custom, no one person can own land in the Solomon Islands. If an individual claimed to own land individually in his own name,

then that is not customary practise. But should the processes of law allow such claim to stand, what has always been customary ceases to be so anymore.

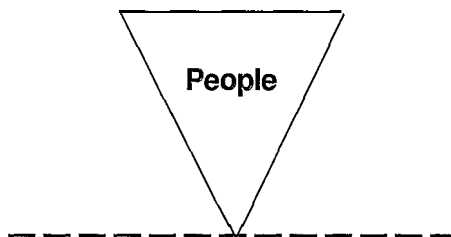


Fig 5 above is the remnant Fig 1 as a result of individual registration of land. Notice the insecurity of the people. The gods have gone and the land alienated!

As a result of the impact of western philosophies, the original structure of gods, land, tribes, and people (figure 1) has been reduced to only people (figure 5).

From the continuous resistance of Solomon Islanders to such changes, especially in land matters, there is sufficient evidence that they do not accept or want this to happen. The gods, the tribes, and the land so basic to indigenous association and community structure have all disappeared, leaving the people exposed and vulnerable (figure 5 above).

Leonard P. Maenu'u

*Permanent Secretary of Solomon Islands
Ministry of Posts and Communications*

The author

Leonard P. Maenu'u was born in 1939 on Malaita, largest island in the Solomons. He was educated at King George VI School, when it was located at Aligegeo on Malaita, and until 1973 worked as a forestry officer in the administration of the British Solomon Islands Protectorate. He has held many senior government posts, beginning in 1975 with Commissioner of Lands. He is now Permanent Secretary of Post and Communications.

A prolific writer of wide interests, Leonard Maenu'u has published poetry, notably *Who am I?*, edited the first Solomon Islands issue of MANA, and written several monographs on health and traditional medicine. Among his work on land and land use is a book, published in 1981, about his people of Kwara'ae, on Malaita: *Bib-Kami na Ano* ("Our source of security and survival is land"). The present paper, which reflects Leonard Maenu'u's current concern with the effects of colonialism on Pacific people, was originally written for the FAO Meeting of Lands Consultants held 10-14 April 1984 at Nukua'Iofa, Tonga.

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Education and Chamorro Identity in Guam

For the past decade the island of Guam, as with many others in the Pacific, has been experiencing a cultural revival. Since the early 1970s, Guam has witnessed a growing interest in all aspects of Chamorro culture, which is indigenous to the Mariana Islands. The primary institutional venue for this cultural revival has been the school, but how that revival plays itself out in the context of formal education has both instructive and baffling dimensions. On the one hand, the hope of Chamorro cultural continuity is offered as a legitimate goal of education yet the ideological and philosophical bases for reaching that goal have their origins elsewhere. Articulating such a goal on all but the most ceremonial of school functions has been disappointingly weak. Consequently, while there is strong support for Chamorro continuity as a legitimate and quite popular goal for public education, its impact upon the day-to-day operations of schools has been far less impressive. The origins of this situation lie in the status of Guam as a colonial entity within the political structure of the United States. Since Guam is a political dependency, with all the attendant social and political ramifications, the island leads a confused existence amid many trends that pull it in opposite directions. Despite these countervailing trends and the cultural nationalism of the past decade, institutions operating on Guam remain basically impervious to fundamental change. It could be argued that these institutions, such as schools, remains resistant to change because they originate from and operate on assumptions external to Guam. In short, they are colonial and colonizing.



Demonstration in 1978 for use of the Chamorro language in the daily newspaper of Guam (Photos by Mary Lyon).

The case of Guam may provide lessons for other Pacific Island areas, particularly those now reaching new thresholds of socioeconomic change. Guam's situation is interesting because the lines between colonizing institutions and those allegedly struggling to be free of them are quite blurred. The colonizing institutions have apparently allowed much of the ethos of cultural nationalism to exist within their boundaries by including Chamorro cultural

survival as a legitimate goal. Whereas those who support the institutions take this as evidence of their inherent democratic nature, those in opposition are frequently confused by institutional behavior they see as serving colonial interests. In this confusion lies much of the strength of these institutions to survive even the most telling criticisms.

In Guam, the process of appearing to incorporate cultural nationalism while avoiding real

change is accomplished smoothly and artfully. It begins with delimiting the possible philosophies and ideological bases for supporting Chamorro cultural nationalism and ends with the neat separation of cultural issues from educational ones. This essay provides one view of how this process works on Guam.

Recent revival of Chamorro culture and language

The renewed interest on Guam in Chamorro culture officially began in the public schools in

1970, with a federally-funded project in bilingual education entitled **Kolehion Mandikike**. The moderate success of this project led to a change in the codes of the Government of Guam to allow use of Chamorro as an instructional language previous to which it had been strictly prohibited. Four years later, there was begun another project on American funds called the Chamorro Language and Culture Program (CLCP). This was implemented in 16 out of 26 elementary schools in Guam. That same year saw the public schools of Guam have their first celebration of Chamorro Week, which subsequently became an annual event.

As funds from American federal sources became exhausted for the bilingual and CLCP programs, the local government assumed their expense. This was facilitated by the passage in 1977 of a local law, P.L. 14-53 better known as the Chamorro Language Mandate. Basically, this law called for the compulsory teaching of Chamorro language to all children in the elementary grades and on an elective basis in the secondary schools. For an educational system that a few years earlier had punished its children for speaking Chamorro and had sponsored Speak English Clubs, this appeared to represent a significant shift in both attitudes and policies. In

addition to these dramatic measures, many school celebrations, curriculum projects, and special programs now included some recognition of Chamorro language and culture. By the beginning of the 1980s, there was very little serious opposition to the Chamorro culture having a place in the public schools on Guam. Chamorro language and culture had become a legitimate educational activity.

Given that only 55 per cent of the school population is Chamorro and that anti-Chamorro language policies had dominated classrooms since the inception of universal education in 1905, these developments of the 1970s represented significant and thorough victories over forces arguing for the complete Americanization and homogenization of Chamorro into the mass societies of the developed world. Cultural nationalism had won major victories or at least appeared to have done so. As with any basic change in social institutions, an ideological vision was articulated and used to generate the necessary support for desired changes. Interestingly, in the case of Guam, Chamorro cultural nationalism was ideologically rather ineffectual. The above victories may have raised Chamorro emotions to new heights but caused hardly an intellectual ripple. This proved to make these cultural victories more apparent than real.

Chamorro cultural nationalism and American pluralism

Basically, what we find is that Chamorro cultural programs have been justified in terms of the rhetoric of American cultural pluralism. This rhetoric notes that having an ethnic identity is not incompatible with being an American, nor is being proud of one's heritage, maintaining one's language, or practicing one's culture. Supporters of American cultural pluralism argue that many human resources have been squandered by forcing on immigrants and ethnic minorities ill-defined American cul-



nationalism and, in fact, can be antithetical to it. Since Chamorro cultural nationalism has no overt ideological prescriptions of its own, the institutions that it seeks to alter have done the nationalists the dubious favor of providing an ideological framework through which their own sentiments can be argued. On closer investigation, this framework is found to be restrictive and to circumscribe the possibilities of Chamorro cultural revival by ensuring that it proceeds only in certain directions. Chamorro cultural nationalism cannot be based solely on the Guam experience, but rather must be incorporated into the larger framework of American historical experience with immigrant and minority groups. In this manner, the nature of the colonizing institutions remain barely scathed.

Much of the above debate over the ideological underpinnings of Chamorro cultural revival is seen as belonging to another world, is engaged erratically and without full understanding of alternative possibilities. On an emotional level, there is much support for the cultural nationalist position, regardless of the fact that very divergent or circuitous philosophical routes are utilized to arrive at such a position. However, what that support means in practical and institutional terms is quite another matter. Whereas support for Chamorro culture in an educational context is strong, its application to the everyday realities of the school and the classroom is relatively weak.

The division of cultural and educational issues

In what comprises the second strategy utilized by institutions to avoid substantive action, a sharp distinction is frequently made in the educational system between cultural issues and what may be termed those concerning professional education. On Guam, distinguishing the two has given the schools the appearance of fully supporting the goals articulated by cultural nationalists while avoiding any meaningful action. Cultural issues raised by nationalists are



Chamorro language teacher works at weaving with two students.

seen as statements with which to agree or rituals in which to participate rather than issues with meaning for the day-to-day behaviors of educators. In fact, any effort to intrude into the every day arena of professional education is frequently described as unrealistic or actually destructive of good educational order.

Such a reaction is reflected in the typical perception of what is meant by infusing the school environment with Chamorro culture, most of which activities are basically ceremonial in nature. These include the Chamorro Week celebrations (that have become ends in themselves rather than the culmination of yearlong endeavors), the obligatory songs and dances at selected school programs, and island-style decorations and adornments that have experienced some renewed popularity. All these neatly avoid curricular changes and always take on the aura of being out of the ordinary; that is, not expected to be part of the usual educational experience by either student or teacher.

The results are not entirely positive for the one major change in the curriculum that has affected the daily experiences of children is the Chamorro Language Mandate which requires that all elementary school pupils take Chamorro language classes. The Department of Education has implemented this mandate by offering twenty minutes of instruction in Chamorro

everyday, in almost all of Guam's schools. Implemented since 1980, this language program still is not considered part of the regular curriculum in terms of evaluation or general importance. Students who do not perform well are not penalized, nor is there any systematic attempt to assess the progress of individual students or the language program in general. This stands in sharp contrast to the comprehensive testing done for other subjects in the school curriculum. Of eighty teachers working in this program in May 1984, only one is a certified teacher under Guam's rules. Typically, Chamorro language teachers are hired for a limited term, but as soon as they obtain university degrees or sufficient credits to become certified, they leave the program to become teachers in the "regular" classroom. While a great deal of learning and much excellent teaching occurs on a daily basis in Chamorro language classes, this depends more on the efforts of outstanding individuals than on the institutional support mechanisms being provided by the educational environment (Plate 4). Despite its official status and numerous public statements of support, teaching the Chamorro language has not yet become an integral part of the daily reality of what schooling and education on Guam is all about.

By far the most effective way to deflect meaningful change is to characterize cultural

concerns as irrelevant to basic educational issues, notably by seeing culture as content rather than as process. If Chamorro culture is conceived in terms of content, then the rituals, the customs, the handicrafts, and even the language can be shifted around as if they were static commodities to be bought, sold, and transferred. If it were to be viewed as a process, then the implications would be far reaching and substantial; the links between teaching and learning, the strategies of instruction, and the process of evaluating students would all come under greater scrutiny. These and other aspects all involving weighty issues of professional education, would have an impact at all levels of schooling, and consequently are not addressed.

A recent "cause célèbre" over a special education study on Guam brought to light this process of differentiation between education and cultural issues. It was discovered that, statistically, there were significantly more Chamorro children in such categories of special education as "learning disabled" and "slow learner". In fact, in the slow learner group, Chamorro students were found three times as frequently as either Filipino or Caucasian children, the other two major groups in Guam's schools. The discussions that followed about some of these findings were revealing. Many Chamorro parents accused the researcher of being unfriendly to Chamorro and were concerned that other groups on Guam might think their children to be mentally slow. The education critics talked about the testing

procedures, the language of the tests, their cultural bias, possible ethnic bias by educators in recommending placement for children, and many other factors. But since many of these same factors would also work to the disadvantage of Filipino children, but did not in the study, the results provided the opportune moment to consider reorganizing some of the educational experiences in terms of the sociocultural reality with which Chamorro children must cope. Yet the question of Chamorro language and culture never entered the discussions, except obliquely as a possible explanation for the higher rates of failure. It never occurred to educators or parents that in local culture might lie a possible vehicle for success. The resultant response of Guam's Department of Education was to recommend further study and perhaps to offer stronger remedial programs. Essentially, the Chamorro children and their parents were the culprits and the institution of formal education remained unscathed.

In combination, the ability of educational institutions to formulate the ideological basis for cultural nationalism and to differentiate between cultural and educational issues allows schooling in Guam to maintain its colonizing mission. Unlike previous eras, there is no need to demand adherence or demonstrate superior power. Rather, a process of maintaining an intellectual hegemony on behalf of colonizing interests is utilized effectively and efficiently, so that whatever options for action are

determined have all the appearance of being selected democratically and after consideration of various alternatives.

Michael Apple describes hegemony as being more than the mere manipulation of opinions and even more than opinions themselves. Hegemony refers to "an organized assemblage of meanings and practices, the central, effective and dominant system of meanings, values and actions which are lived" (1). Thus for hegemony to work, meanings and interpretations must be implemented throughout the everyday life of the institution and in such a way that other options appear nonsensical or irrelevant. The mainstream interpretations consequently become not just the opinions of authorities, but even more important the commonsense view of things. In dealing with the case of Chamorro cultural nationalism within the context of American schooling on Guam, we not only see the manipulation of its intellectual underpinnings but also witness its role being defined in limiting ways within the ongoing life of the institution of formal education. The result: the cultural hegemony of the schools of Guam remains little disturbed.

Robert A. Underwood
University of Guam

(1) Apple, 1979 : 5

The author

Robert A. Underwood is Associate Professor of Education at the University of Guam and has an Ed.D. in international and intercultural education from the University of Southern California, Los Angeles.

Well known throughout Micronesia for his advocacy of bilingual education and the protection of indigenous languages, Robert Underwood has served as President of the Pacific Islands Bilingual/Bicultural Association and was a member of the National Advisory Council on Bilingual Education, United States Department of Education. Currently he chairs the Chamorro Language Commission of Guam and is a member of the Guam Review Board of Historic Preservation.

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Indo-Fijian Writing

Indian life in Fiji began in dislocation, in indenture and plantation work. Now after the two coups in May and September 1987, it appears to be on the brink of greater turmoil, further dislocations. This article attempts to deal with the first phase of Indo-Fijian writing in English when it evolved in close association with the new literatures in the Pacific, sharing its subjects and aspirations, but concerned also with assessing the past of girmity and schisms in contemporary Fijian Indian life.

What distinguishes Indo-Fijian writing from the emerging literature in Western Samoa or Tonga, for instance, is that the former has no apparent links with South Pacific oral literature (although investigators like Chadwick have traced Asian origins for a number of Oceanic folktales). Furthermore, the short stories of a writer like Raymond Pilai seem to have greater affinities with the moral fables of the **Panchatantra**, while Satendra Nandan's poetry is apparently inspired by the "complex fate" of indentured Indians and their descendants. However, there are obvious reasons to associate Indo-Fijian writing with the literary and cultural consciousness out of which South Pacific literature has emerged. It has more in common with the emerging literature (with which it shares the major themes of colonialism, cultural fragmentation, individual and ethnic identity) than with the literature in Hindi which derives its themes and motifs from literatures of the Indian subcontinent. Pillai and Nandan, who are among the most prominent writers of Indo-Fijian fiction, belong to the same general milieu as other South Pacific writers: they started their literary careers at the University of the South Pacific; were engaged in the activities of the South Pacific Creative Arts Society (SPCAS), a regional organization of Pacific authors; and have continued to publish their works in **Mana**, a journal produced by SPCAS.



Indo-Fijian woman and child

Colonial literature

The concern with image and self-image is also a strong factor in Indo-Fijian writing. In general, the Indo-Fijian writer often seems more sensitive to stereotyped images because, in his eyes, the Indian has been much maligned in European literature, first in the "coolie" image, and later as the South Pacific "Jew". There have been sympathizers too, perhaps less well heard than the detractors, but who have equally failed to give a balanced account. As Vijay Mishra observes, the Indian

... has had his share of neglect and accusation, of hate and vilification. There have been the Micheners forever in search of scapegoats, forever accusing and confusing; there have also been others more sympathetic who have left behind different pictures of this "race", but who

have conversely suffered from the enthusiasm of exaggeration. (1)

The Indian writer's efforts to renovate his image is allied to the general process of "rehabilitation" in the Pacific, and his attempts to deal with a complex reality of which he is a part.

Pio Manoa in a perceptive essay, "Across the Fence", has outlined the Fijian's image of an Indian, and shown how some of the stereotyped views are reinforced in European literature (2).

(1) Vijay Mishra, *Rama's banishment*, Auckland: Heinemann Educational books, 1979, p. 8.

(2) Pio Manoa, "Across the Fence", *The Indo-Fijian Experience*, ed. Subramani, St Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1979, p. 184-207.

Among the authors referred to by Manoa are John Wesley Coulter and James Michener. The following is how Michener approaches Fiji:

Imagine a group of islands blessed by heaven, rich in all things needed to build a good life, plus gold mines and a good climate. Picture a native population carefree, delightful and happy. Add a white government that works overtime to give honest service. Top it all off with a democracy that enables dozens of different levels of society - from Oxford graduates to bush dwellers - to have a fine time (3).

The exultant style of this writing betrays the persistence of the old myth of South Pacific paradise. It also exemplifies the deep distortion of the true impulses of "the native population", which surfaced after the events of May and September 1987. Nevertheless the hold the mythic view has is still evident and even when this idyllic concept of island existence is confronted by the complex historical reality, the outcome is not disillusionment, or shift of perspective, but simply incorporation of the new elements within the existing mythical framework. The above passage enables Michener to castigate the Indians whose "excesses" disturb the equilibrium of a colonial utopia. (It requires a different kind of imagination, the historical imagination of Walter Gill for instance (4), to see Indians themselves as victims of an inhuman colonial machinery).

Over a decade before Michener, in 1942, John Coulter had identified Indians as Fiji's "distressing problem", suggested in the

provocative title of his book **Fiji: Little India of the Pacific** (5). Michener's writing on Fiji belongs to the same milieu: *"It is almost impossible to like the Indians of Fiji. They are suspicious, vengeful, whining, unassimilated, provocative aliens in a land where they have lived for more than seventy years. They hate everyone: black natives, white Englishmen, brown Polynesians and friendly Americans. They will not marry with Fijians, whom they despise. They avoid English ways, which they abhor. They cannot be depended upon to support necessary government policies. Above all, they are surly and unpleasant. It is possible for a traveller to spend a week in Fiji without ever seeing an Indian smile"* (6).

Clichés and stereotypes are reductive devices. They help to simplify the world. It requires courage and a wider compassion to accept the world in its complexity. But Michener's particular vision would not allow Indians to be seen as victims of colonialism, as Gill does in **Turn North-East at the Tombstone**, or as an immigrant community which, because of historical reasons, has become entrenched in the rapidly evolving monetary culture of the islands. This is a characteristic of any immigrant culture, which is not rooted in strong genealogical tradition, and is certainly not the strongest feature of the Indian race as Michener seems to suggest. Evidently, a slow readjustment is taking place, as manifested in Indo-Fijian writing, which should not be ignored. It can be shown that already a new kind of sensibility is emerging among educated Indo-Fijians, through inter-

action with the Fijian environment and the dual influences off Western education and Indian background.

Michener's failure in writing fiction about the islands becomes apparent when he tries to translate the "formula" of his reportage into a short story. Instead of arriving at a more developed statement, which fiction should allow, the old stereotypes remain intact. His Indians in his short story "The Mynah Birds" are still

"The tangled brown parasites that hung from the branches like a myriad snakes." (7)

Their representative is Billimoria with the skin of "midnight black" - Michener's Prince of Darkness. If Billimoria is not quite the romantic Lucifer, or a symbol of the primordial bloodlust, he is at any rate of the devil's party - a vicious schemer bent on ending the love relation between a young American and an exotic Oriental maiden.

The reason for giving Michener this extended attention is his popularity in the West. He also represents a fairly universal European view of the Indian. His views have affected other writers. For instance, Grove Day, writing twenty-five years later, says of Michener:

"His essays on Polynesia, Fiji, Australia, and New Zealand served well to prepare me for my own year in the South Pacific. The visitor to Fiji, for example, cannot but recognize - as he drives around the rutted roads of Viti Levu - the "mynah birds", the unsmiling Indian women in their rainbow saris, the scowling shopkeeping



Bullock team and waggon, loaded with sugar cane just harvested, begin the slow journey to the nearest crushing factory (Photo: Fiji Museum, Suva).

Indian men, the grave children of the race that outbred the happy Fijians in their own islands." (8)

Thus the atrophy of human feelings we noted in fiction is carried a stage further into literary criticism (Day's book on Michener is described as "criticism and interpretation").

Ron Crocombe, in an essay on Pacific Indians, argues that the negative image of Fiji Indians is not created and propagated by Europeans but by Pacific Islanders.

"The Pacific stereotype of Indians", he writes, "is a chop suey of untruths, part-truths and truths, flavoured with substantial negativism. The key untruths are that Indians took all the Fijians' land (this is their greatest sin, even though never committed) and that they breed at an alarming rate (now about 2.7 percent, which is lower than most Pacific people). The key half-truth is that Indians are traders who exploit Fiji and Fijians (though European firms until recently took a larger share of the total profits, and Fiji gets cheaper goods and better service than other Pacific countries because Indians work more efficiently for lower profit margins). The key truths are that most Indians are not Christian (a sure sign of weakness and depravity for many islanders), and they are less "generous" (i.e. recognize obligations to fewer relatives and friends, and give less free community service) than islanders, and they originate from a country which is extremely poor and of no interest as a model for Pacific development." (9)

It is beyond the scope of the present paper to explain the psychology behind attribution of derogatory traits to an entire ethnic group or, more specifically, to look for deeper motives for such derisive and scornful portrayal of Indians. Paradise and "happy "natives" imply their antithesis, a godless world and the devil, and the status of Indians in Fiji make them especially vulnerable. There is a political explanation too: Billimoria is a "revolutionary" who threatens the happy colony of Europeans and "natives", and according to the Fijians the Indian is a cunning **vulagi** (foreigner) who is determined to take control of the country for his own race. Whatever the impulses, these stereotypes have become part of the consciousness of the region, and have given the Indo-Fijian writer the added motive to depict his community truthfully from inside.

Modern Fijian literature

It is against such a background that one has to read a poem like Pillai's "Labourer's Lament":

*We do not wear upon our sleeve
That damaging star of shame.*



Old immigrant market, Indian traders at the edge of a small town selling fresh fruit and vegetables to independent farmers and agricultural labourers (Photo: Fiji Museum, Suva).

*But need we symbols to believe
We're Jews in all but name ?* (10)

What is most disconcerting here is not the poet's self-consciousness, but how deeply the "usurer" or "money-changer" image has penetrated the Indian mind. Where such images affect individual self-concept, they easily contribute to the sort of neurosis that leads to racial disaffection or self-vilification. In this poem, as Manoa has pointed out, Pillai comes close to answering stereo-type with stereotype: "The blame is all on the Fijian now. He is held responsible for the grave injustice that the "labourer" feels... the poem rehearses a counter to Fijian prejudice - by a prejudice of equal dimensions" (11).

Pillai's short fiction, of course, belongs to a totally different order of creativity. How does a

(3) James Michener, *Return to Paradise*, New York: Random House, 1951, p. 123.

(4) Walter Gill, *Turn North-East at the Tombstone*, Adelaide: Rigby Limited, 1970.

(5) John Wesley Coulter, *Fiji: Little India of the Pacific*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942.

(6) Michener, *Return to Paradise*, p. 123

(7) *Ibid.*, p. 152.

(8) Grove Day, *James Michener*, Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1977, p. 66.

(9) Ron Crocombe et al., *Pacific Indians*, Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies, p. 108.

(10) Raymond Pillai "Labourer's Lament", *The Indo Fijian Experience*, p. 160.

(11) Manoa, "Across the Fence", *The Indo-Fijian Experience*, p. 205.

*Immigrant farmer
ploughing with a
team of horses to
prepare the
ground for sugar
cane
(Photo: Fiji
Museum,
Suva).*



story like "The Celebration" (12) accord with the problem being investigated here? In the story a young Indian farmer arranges to get his relatives together to celebrate after a successful cane harvest. But Rama's mother disapproves because his father has died less than a year ago; it is not proper for a Hindu family to engage in any festivities before the year is out. Rama goes ahead and slaughters a goat for the occasion. Most of his relatives stay away. His mother taunts him with her own brand of sarcasm. And his wife and son remain surly and aloof. Thus Rama is completely isolated. The only thing left for him is to fly into a rage and stamp out of the house.

The aesthetic impression created by Pillai's story is not substantially different from Vanessa Griffen's fiction (Griffen is a Fijian writer of part-European background). In these two writers the contemporary consciousness of reality finds the best expression. The fact that they seldom lose sight of the temporal perspective distinguishes their writing from the bulk of expatriate writing which tends towards myth and romance. Authors like Pillai and Griffen are beginning to write a more imaginative literature about Fiji.

In "The Celebration", Pillai confronts the reader with the relatively closed world of Indian

family-life. Without any artifice or undue attention to history, he reveals the Indo-Fijian world after it has emerged out of an indentured past. Pillai shows the world collapsing gradually, having found no secure anchorage in the new environment. The tempo of change is subtly insinuated - from Rama's father to Rama and then to Anand - as one generation moves away from another. The fact of acculturation is suggested by simply stating that the celebration will coincide with Christmas. In Rama's isolation in the end, one senses the beginning of an individualistic trend. Pillai's chief contribution to Indo-Fijian writing is that he has shown, through his own achievement in creative writing, that Indian life, which has been viewed by outsiders simply in economic or political terms, has a spiritual and an emotional dimension, and is worthy of treatment in serious literature.

Pillai's writing does not aspire to any deep or thorough representation of history. Almost all his works are set in contemporary Fiji. His works clearly indicate a didactic purpose, and fall neatly within the "moralistic" category of writing. Nandan's poetry, on the other hand, deals with the "more problematic" aspect of Indo-Fijian life and history. In Nandan's **Faces in the Village** (13), a description of the village, and the silences or incoherent babbling of the old

men reinforce the inanity of the transitional world. The recurrent motif is of old indentured men toiling and dying on an alien landscape (symbolizing the death of one world into another). There is also an acute sense, both in his poetry and short stories, of the **angst** of the children of indentured labourers, who are lured away from their parents by Western education, and then in turn find themselves dying inwardly without having found any firm roots:

*"... homeless, nameless between earth-sky
a race without a place must forever die ;
uprooted transplanted lives grow in pain,
to live, must their generations die again?"* (14)

This anxiety about "place" emanates also from strong fear of political strife:

*blood
rising into flood
life
dying into strife
breath
curdling into death
flesh
bleeding into clash
silence
simmering into violence"* (15).



Indentured agricultural labourers celebrating the end of a hard week's work (Photo: Fiji Museum, Suva).

and again :

*"The village is burning
will the sun fall
to char us all ?
will the ocean rise
in a blue bloody tidal wave ?
only the fish shall live
unless we learn to forgive". (16)*

These poems were written long before the recent events in Fiji; they demonstrate the persistence of certain anxieties in the Indo-Fijian mind. The main relevance of Nandan to the concern of this essay is however that he has postulated in contradiction to the charge of Indo-Fijian chauvinism in Michener and Day, a quiet yearning for accommodation. His poetry reflects the new kind of sensibility referred to above. A poem like "My Father's Son" brings together the different elements that constitute that sensibility : the contrast between the poet's Western education and his village upbringing (thoughts of the village often waft in memories of childhood, and give Nandan's poetry its autobiographical quality), his feelings of identification and estrangement, hopelessness and optimism. It is a sensibility that does not seek to escape from the difficult world it inhabits, but

shows a unique commitment to it :

*The little village is my second womb
this little island will be my only tomb
that formed-deformed my father's breath
this is the country of my life and death ? (17)*

Nandan's poetry is mostly introspective, reflecting upon the Indian past and the contemporary malaise. However, there is also a movement towards a unitary vision, and synthesis of Indian life with the Fijian environment. The latter task is made urgent by the grim prospect of "strife" and "deluge". A vision of harmony is dimly perceived in his poem "In the Shadow of a Mountain":

*Tonight there's a full tide
Dakuwaqa with his mermaids will ride
on the crest of a white wave,
green sugar shoots will grow again.*

*after the stormy morning rain
the bald black mountain will remain
neither beaten nor broken,
the sea will rise and fall
in dark blue waves big and small...*

...

*we're blessed that neither the dead
nor the living arise or awake
to ask Krishna
why he disturbed the serpent in the lake". (18)*

The snake that Krishna hurled into the South Seas, according to popular Indian mythology, resides in the shadow of Nakauvandra Range. Nandan is the first Indo-Fijian writer to use this mythology creatively. In the poem, Nandan works towards a synthesis at the mythological level. This is a notable development in his poetry; it reinforces the inter-exploration of cultures that Manoa has started in his nonfiction writing and Pillai in his story "Bride of Dakuwaqa".

Again there is the suggestion that the two tasks, of breaking down the cultural labels and

(12) Raymond Pillai, *The Celebration*, Suva : Mana Publications, 1980, p. 62-68.

(13) Satendra Nandan, *Faces in the Village*, Suva: Viti Publications, 1977.

(14) *Ibid.* p. 44-45.

(15) *Ibid.* p. 39.

(16) *Ibid.* p. 47.

(17) *Ibid.* p. 44.

(18) *Ibid.* p. 8.

searching for the regenerative principles in art, are inter-linked. This exploration of cross-cultural encounter, between Indians and Fijians, is taken a stage further in a recent play *Sera's Choice*, by the Rotuman playwright, Vilsoni Hereniko, that was produced most successfully in Suva for a multiracial audience.

One of the problems Nandan raises is how the history of indenture can adequately be written when the old labourers are already decrepit or dying :

"The old chap is quite senile - authentic history cannot be written with words from living mouths". (19)

Brij Lal in "The Wreck of the Syria" (20) has shown how history might be written. Brij Lal goes further back into history. The episode he picks for his story is the wreck of the indenture ship *Syria* in 1884 in which fifty-six immigrants and three lascars died. In the image of the drowning ship and uncomprehending panicking labourers, rescued by a European who is no lover of Indians, and the Fijians who must do what is necessary at that moment, Brij Lal has found a compelling symbol as well as a prophetic comment. Brij Lal's history becomes more than an account of Indians who were drowned or saved at Nasilai. It turns out to be an inquiry into human attitudes and values. In a dramatic fashion, he has managed to suggest what has enabled Fiji to survive all the negative prognoses by outsiders.

With the opening paragraph, the writer's imagination takes control of the documentary material. The human interest predominates as the narrative focuses on the drama of the rescue operation, and the behavior and attitudes of the principals who are carefully individualized through historical research. The person who assumes a commanding presence throughout is Dr. William Mac Gregor. A brief sketch of his background establishes the fact of his dislike of Indians. The next instant he is plunged into the thick of the rescue operation. The risks he takes to save women and children are described in vivid, sensory details. The climatic event of this story is when, in a letter, he faces the charge of having failed to save more lives. This final episode alters completely one's response to the man towards whom one initially felt indifference, if not a slight dislike. One is left convinced that MacGregor has come out of the experience deeply shaken and a changed person.

This engrossing episode from the story of indenture shows how close to fiction is an inspired history. Unlike Michener who in his short story seems to be working from

conclusions already reached before writing, Brij Lal, like a writer of serious fiction, seems to be exploring a situation without any foreknowledge of what the end might be. This is what sustains a writer of fiction. And a good historian too.

Working from the sort of historical consciousness already described, Mishra has found in the indenture experience

"Something broadly akin to a failed millennial quest". (21)

He goes on to explain,

"It is failed quest because upon arriving in Fiji the Indians were confronted with a world which was anything but a fulfilment of their dreams of the promised land - "promised" in the sense that the recruiters in India impressed upon all prospective indentured labourers the possibilities of escape from the degrading realities of Indian life. The responses which these labourers began to make to questions about self and identity, about "purpose", about their psychological and social commitment to the "new" land, indicate not only a corrosive angst but also a corresponding fragmentation of psyche". (22)

Mishra argues that this experience of indenture forms an "ideological" structure against which Indo Fijian fiction ought to be interpreted and evaluated.

Mishra has considerably revised his original hypothesis (one of the chief merits of the paradigm he has constructed is in its ability to reassess itself). However, in his first essay he has put his finger on a theme that runs through not only Indo-Fijian writing but the emerging literature as a whole. Responding to Mishra's thesis, Manoa points out :

"If the Indians are dreamers, then the Fijians are dreamers with a vengeance. The Fijians are dreamers pure and simple while Indians are dreamers who at least know and take certain means of attaining the dream". (23)

Indeed, the South Pacific has not been without its own "millennial dreams", reflected in the cargo cult and various nativistic movements, and a "failed millennial quest" in Christianity itself which was supposed to bring good life to the pagans. There is a cargo cult dimension to the recent coups in Fiji. These dreams and aspirations are given an eloquent expression in Manoa's poem "The Dream". It deserves to be quoted in full.

*"We crouched by the shore
When the sea threw you up.*

*You were the invader,
but armed with the promise
of paradise ;
you offered us
the recovery
of what our ancestors
lost in the storm
on the high seas -*

*our chest of intelligence
and freedom.*

*We took your word
believing your paradise
accessible.*

*And we have taught
our children -
they will no doubt
teach theirs -
that your words are true.*

And

*we shall all dream on,
feeding on our little versions
of your canned dreams
that we must purchase
to keep up high
in the web
we've all inherited"*. (24)

First the European vision of an island paradise where man will not be required to live by the sweat of his brow, then the various nativistic movements of Oceania, and finally the Indian's hope of a better life - the South Pacific seems to have touched off something essential and permanent in human nature. In the words of Albert Wendt, the Samoan novelist :

"In our various groping ways, we are all in search of that heaven, that Hawaiki, where our hearts will find meaning; most of us never do find it, or at the moment of finding it, fail to recognize it". (25)

And this is the paradox : such dreams can work for health and clarity as well as serious distortion. They work for health when they reveal to us the shape of what is possible and for distortion when they falsify experience.

Subramani
University of South Pacific



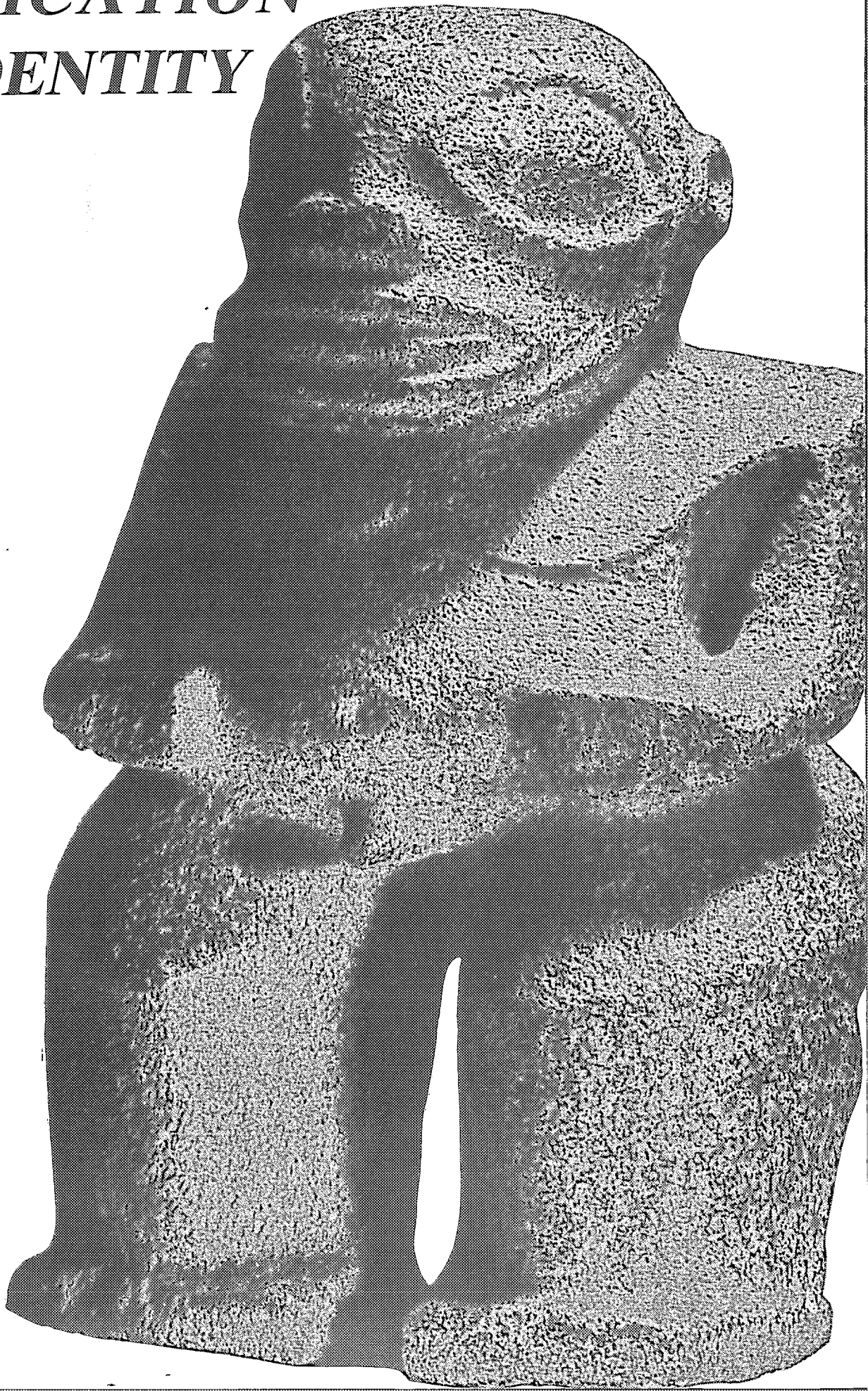
Wife of an independant farmer standing outside Fijian-style house (bure). Such houses were erected by Indians after the period of indenture. Some still remain in more isolated rural areas where Indians farm, but they are fast disappearing (Photo: Fiji Museum, Suva).

The author

Subramani has edited *Mana : A South Pacific Journal of Language and Literature* and the centenary volume, *The Indo-Fijian Experience* (1979). His critical study *South Pacific Literature : From Myth to Fabulation* was published in 1985. A book of his short fiction, including a novella, *The Fantasy Eaters* is ready for publication. Subramani is a Reader in English and Pro Vice-Chancellor at the University of the South Pacific and teaches South Pacific and Contemporary Literatures in the Department of Literature and Language.

- (19) *Ibid.* p. 27.
 (20) Brij-V. Lal, "The Wreck of the Syria, 1884", *The Indo-Fijian Experience*, p. 26-40.
 (21) Vijay Mishra, "Indo-Fijian Fiction and the Gimit Ideology", *The Indo-Fijian Experience*, p. 171-183.
 (22) *Ibid.*, p. 171-172.
 (23) Pio Manoa, *The Indo-Fijian Experience*, p. 198.
 (24) Pio Manoa, "The Dream", *Mana Review*, I, N°2, 1976, p. 20.
 (25) Albert Wendt, "Towards a New Oceania", *Mana Review*, I, N° 1, 1976, p. 49.

***VINDICATION
OF IDENTITY***



The Teaching of Vernacular Languages in New Caledonia*

In an effort to remedy the inequalities with which New Caledonian children, for whom French is not the first language, are confronted in the schools, the Dijoud Plan launched in 1979 a Bureau des Langues Vernaculaires (B.L.V.): Office of Vernacular Languages for which ten Melanesian instructors have been recruited.

This office, under the authority of the Director of Education between 1979 and 1985, conducted a linguistic survey that was headed by two researchers appointed by the Ministry of Education. The office prepares texts and, at college level, experimental classes for Kanak children. It also proposes curricula from the fourth grade through to terminal grades. On February 1986, the B.L.V. came under the jurisdiction of the Centre Territorial de Recherche et de Documentation Pédagogique (C.T.R.D.P.): Territorial Center of Educational Research and Documentation, when it became an autonomous institution. The B.L.V. proposes programs to be implemented by the regional administrations of New Caledonia.

At the end of 1986, the education administration and C.T.R.D.P. requested that the French government transfer the B.L.V. to a different organization, on the basis that there are no official texts for the teaching of Melanesian languages and that the function of the C.T.R.D.P. is documentary. The role of the B.L.V.

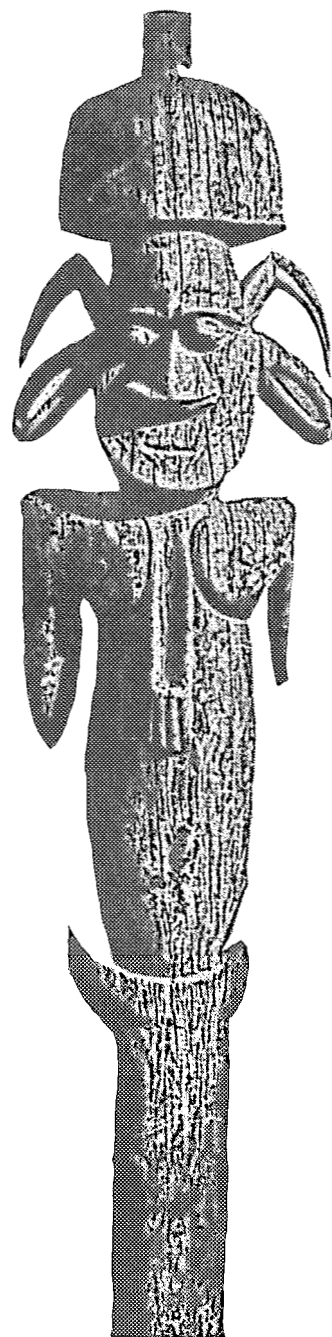
basis has not been redefined since then.

However, Kanak children are numerous in the public schools and their attendance is even greater in private institutions. The Kanak Peoples Schools, begun in 1985, also have Kanak children. The resolutions proposed in 1979 were, even with their shortcomings, answers to a de facto situation. Today, teaching exclusively in French remains a linguistic sham, since the different sociolinguistic and cultural background of one group of students is not recognized. Through the syllabus that we propose, Melanesians will be given the opportunity to renew their traditions.

This innovation should not, however, obscure certain problems inherent in any attempt to teach regional languages and cultures.

* The following people have contributed to this article : from the Païci Region : Madeleine Gurrera, Viviane Siorat, Bernard Bouchet, Albert Bouchet. Nödje Drehu (Lifou), Ernest Une Une, Raymond Ujicas. The Ajië region : Marie-Claire Kaemo. Nöde Nengone, (Maré) Jacques Haewegene. Hnyel Iaai, (Uvea). Tai Waheo.

This article recommends that priority be given to the teaching of regional languages in primary schools. Because of a shortage of time, teachers at Catholic and Protestant schools have not been able to contribute to the preparation of this study. We are, however, working in close collaboration with them and we would like to draw attention to the research that they are undertaking in the Xârâcùù and Ajië regions.



Oceania documents (O.C.M.) Sculpture, New Caledonia

These problems are as follows:

- The reticence of older people with regard to written language which they feel "fossilises" speech. For them speech is life itself.
- The feeling that the authority and the role of the older generation as the source of traditional knowledge had been usurped.
- A fear of the devaluation of this knowledge through its introduction into school curricula and the fact of its being undertaken by teachers who are fundamentally oriented towards Western knowledge and who have not themselves assimilated all the elements of their own culture. For all these reasons it is absolutely necessary to inform parents, pupils, the various administrative authorities concerned and the general public about the objectives of teaching local languages.

Our aim : bilingualism

Our languages are very much alive due to their role among the tribes in the daily life of the family and clan and in the events of the traditional calendar. But their absence from nursery schools deprives this stage of education of its essential function : the establishment of a link with the social setting, this link being an emotional, cultural and linguistic one.

The form of our society leads naturally to a biligualism through the inevitable movements of the population: inter-marriage, adoption and the movement of families for economic reasons. However, the establishment of nursery schools in the tribes and the teaching in French which children receive from the earliest age, tends to destroy the natural disposition to bilingualism among our youth. A language, a culture and a foreign universe are imposed on them before they have completely assimilated either our language or our culture.

The absence of written documents in the regional languages, the small number of Melanesian teachers, the plurality of the

languages and the innovative character of this teaching are factors which are sufficient to explain the difficulties of including the Melanesian languages in school teaching programmes. One thing must be clear: there is no question of completely replacing French by the local languages, but bilingualism can be achieved by means of a coherent combination of both languages (the mother tongue and the second language, French) to help our children who are not native French speakers to complete successfully their education by becoming bilingual. In spite of its imperfections, school remains one of the necessities of the modern world and we are its agents and partners. Our culture must not remain on the threshold of the modern world. It must enter, and it should do so by means of its language.

For the small child, French speaking or otherwise, the mother tongue is an important element in psychological development : it provides the basis of thought and it allows one to relate progressively to other people.

In the world at large, migration and colonization have led teachers and politicians to take the problem of bilingualism very seriously. A modern state needs to communicate in several international languages. In the Pacific the primary languages are English and Japanese. In New Caledonia, French, the language of education and communication is not threatened for the moment. But its pre-eminence cannot be ensured without the rehabilitation of the Kanak languages. This rehabilitation should proceed by means of two complementary aspects, teaching within the language, teaching the language itself.

• Teaching within the language

Each language has its own logic and follows its own paths. Educational research shows the way in which children express the notions or concepts, which are inherent in their culture, through their experience.

Our language could therefore become the medium for teaching in small groups where one could conduct various workshop

activities related, for example, to the organization of time and space or the teaching of grammar using a suitable method. The essential thing is to establish the framework which will facilitate the acquisition of a second language.

If it is conceived in this way, the teaching will fill the void between cultures that has been institutionalized by colonization and it will perhaps open up a way to the co-existence and interpenetration of different cultures.

Taking into consideration the difficulties of our task, we are persuaded that only an effort to inform people, reciprocal understanding, and the dedication of those concerned will allow education in this country to develop for the good of our children.

• Teaching the language.

We are only concerned here with this teaching in primary school classes. The pattern of courses in vernaculars and other languages at secondary level will only be broadly considered and will be the subject of a future publication.

Starting from existing conditions.

Since its creation (1979), the Office of Vernacular Languages, which falls under the administration of the Director of Education, has addressed itself to three objectives :

- The adoption of a standard for the written language in which a pupil will be competent at the end of education,
- The preparation of educational articles designed for readers in schools,
- The creation of programmes of teaching under the title : "Regional Language and Culture".

At present twelve teachers are working in their native language : six in the Loyalty Islands, of which four are on Lifou and five are on the mainland, four of them being in the Paicî region.

Each team organises its activity according to local conditions, in order that advi-



Melanesians from Lifou (New Caledonia, Loyalty Islands). P. Huneau O.C.M.

sors from the elders of the tribes (both Catholic and Protestant) be consulted to arrive at a consensus to determine the written form of the language.

Regional committees have been established, constituted by religious and lay authorities. The objective of this structure is to enable the population to be represented in all decisions taken concerning the language in a particular region.

Research is being done to collect materials for an optional language course at the third or fourth year level of secondary education. The formal approval of this programme is being obtained. Here, re-

gional languages will form a third language in the current syllabus of state education (the second language is English which is taught from the first year of secondary school onwards).

For the second cycle of secondary teaching, a research programme is underway which is designed to allow the student to assimilate other regional cultures, both in New Caledonia and elsewhere in the Pacific. This option implies the recognition of the independence of the Kanak culture.

The work of the Office of Vernacular Languages has been made possible by statutory procedures: the government cir-

cular of 21 June 1982 (The "Savary" circular, "Regional Languages and Cultures") and the deliberation of the Permanent Commission of the New Caledonian Assembly, which repealed the prohibition of teaching regional languages in schools (this measure had been effective as from 29 February 1984).

The work of the Office is also dependent on the perspectives that have been opened up by the recent establishment in the Paicf region of experimental teaching units. The establishment of a vernacular teaching unit at the Teacher Training College also defined the propositions put forward by the Office.

Achievements

It would be logical that in the syllabus, after nursery school, the acquisition of reading and writing should be made in the mother tongue. In fact, this acquisition occurs in the second language in contradiction to the principles of educational psychology.

To overcome this obstacle, it seems to us absolutely necessary to take into account all the socio-cultural factors which are operative.

In the middle years of primary school, the child having acquired the basis of reading and writing in the second language, will naturally learn to represent his own native language in writing due to the stimulus given him throughout the earlier part of his schooling.

The achievements that we present here are practical. They provide an answer to a need in a particular context, each region having its own aspirations and constraints.

There is no substitute for the teacher working on the spot. Initiative, freedom to choose material and methods of teaching according to the needs of the children, are among teachers' prerogatives.

The nursery school at Bayes (Nagee)

All peoples conceive and command time and space in their own manner and analyse the environment according to their own frameworks. The initial apprenticeship is made by trial and error, touch, feel and imitation.

The young Kanak is responsible for his experiences and their consequences from the beginning of his life, albeit under the watchful eye of adults or older children.

The children use tools from the earliest age and very soon they participate in social life through elementary tasks. Their games are played with the raw materials of the environment.

The universe of the Melanesian child is large, it includes natural limits, forbidden places and authorized relationships.

When children enter school they undergo disturbances of two kinds:

- A break with the socio-cultural context of his home, his scholastic objectives, being defined within a Western perspective and conceived according to the standards and prerequisites of the latter. The values of this system are not those of his family background.

- The channelling of the child's emotional responses according to certain norms and standards which are different from those under which his emotional character has previously developed. The reaction of the child is to become closed off from others; this reaction may become accentuated in his subsequent development.

The child's grasp of instruction in the French language, a second language, is conditional upon the ease with which the first-language is practiced. From this, comes the necessity to accord an important place to the first language in the child's education, giving the child sufficient time for its acquisition and mastery. Bilingualism will be achieved on completion of school education.

Two teachers at the nursery school of Bayes (Poindimie in the Paicî region) are at present undertaking the implantation of the propositions put forward in the syllabus above. The oral tradition of Paicî offers a range of subjects to exploit. The literary styles used in teaching are chosen according to the age of the children. In the nursery school, the "tâgedé" (fable) and the "ololo" (nursery rhyme) are the most appropriate.

The *tâgedé* describes people, animals and plants, abolishing the frontier between the real and the imaginary, but always presenting the Melanesian social structures clearly (A. Bensa).

The *ololo* is a nursery rhyme sung to children by old men or women. The personification of plants and animals is once

more presented within a particular social framework. There is an example below.

OLOLO *	ENGLISH
.gë nyë i nâ gë pwa dë	Why are you crying ?
.gë oro nâ gë wâ nâu	Why do you hold on to me ?
.gë i nâ gë pâ wii pë	You're crying, where do you want to go ?
.i nâ-gë pë dëre pë	You're crying, do you want to go somewhere ?
.o nâ-gë pë dëre pë	You're crying, which direction do you want to go in?
.bwa gori nâ di-gë	You won't be fed for a long time
.tieu nâ wâdo-gë	It's not the time to drink yet
.göri nâ di nâ pwâ-gë	It's a long time to wait for your next feed
.i jawë nâ më-gë	To wait for the milk which is for you
.di nâ më pwâ-gë	The milk which will rise to your lips
.di nâ umâmê-gë	This milk that will come right to your tongue

* From Mrs Meâdu, Goa, October 1973

The awakening of the child's mind in the middle years of the primary school of Poindimie.

Language teaching in primary schools involves a careful consideration of the objectives and the programmes which are most appropriate.

The mental awakening of the child must not lead to a preoccupation with Melanesian cultural heritage and its representation in folklore and myth. Our proposals on this subject can be outlined as follows :

- The expression, the communication and the growth of consciousness should lead the child to objectify his reference points in his native language. Working from these reference points the child will understand the reasons for his difficulties in the second language and will be more capable of overcoming them.

	OBJECTIVES	MATERIALS
Language and Culture	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To express oneself in one's own language • The practice of verbalisation • Awareness of the phonetics of the language • Awareness of the categories inherent in the language • Consideration of structures • Mastery of reading • Acquisition of writing 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Telling legends • Making up stories • Story-telling games: causal relationships • Study of the regional variations in the tonality of the phonetic system (games) • Semantic categories, families of words, semantic fields • A contrastive study of the native language with the second language • An audio-oral method; short texts from the oral tradition • Recopying a given text, annotating a rough copy.
Environment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To learn better: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - One's own social organization and its structure - The immediate environment: • The tribe: coastal and inland populations, routes and relations between tribes • The natural world: fish, birds, shells and insects 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The organization of space and time • The nuclear family: terms of address, finding out the family tree • The habitat: place names and family names • The myth telling of the origin of the people • The sea, the mountains and rivers • Exchanges and alliances (marriage) • Their practical uses (food and construction) • Their social role (offerings gifts, medicine, totems)
Patrimony and language	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A diachronic study: the cultural history of the country, its expression and its manifestations <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The natural heritage of the country: the occupation of the land - The cultural heritage: oral tradition, manuscripts 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tribes and villages (reservations and property) • Rock carvings • Features of landscape, ruins, topographic sites • Accounts, eye witness reports • Extracts from autobiographies, written reports concerning the arrivals of Europeans and colonization.

•It is important that the child becomes conscious of the way his own society is organized, this being revealed by, amongst other things, the creation myths, social structures, and the system of production.

•The study of the national heritage will be approached, taking into account the history of the region, which will show the contacts with civilizations both before and after colonisation.

•These objectives and the course materials allowing us to achieve them are summarized as follows (see above).

Example : making the children aware of the social organization. A study into family relationships in the Paicî country*

The pupils know more or less the relationships which unite them with the other members of the family, clan and the tribe. This may seem very obvious. However it must be remembered that the child is confronted with two systems of relationships when he begins school: the Melanesian system and the European system. This situation can sometimes cause confusion.

The study is therefore aimed to reassure the child in his knowledge of his own system of relationships. The fundamental elements governing his family setting and that of his clan or tribe will be made clear.*

Stimulating an awareness of local technology

Example: River fishing at Wailu. "Jé gëgë, fishing the grey mullet (bwifé)".

Objectives :

- To stimulate reflection and spoken language.
- To acquaint the pupils with technology developed in the village and to lead them to discover that it is in no way inferior to that imported from the towns.
- To impress on the pupils the use of organic material in the construction of equipment, from which it is made almost entirely.

The awakening of the scientific mind (from the early to middle years of primary school.

Example from Iaaï : Bongon biget (the earthworm)

Objectives:

- To teach observation.
- To draw attention to the similarities between forms in nature.
- To develop an appreciation of the role of those elements in nature which are useful to human activities.
- To stimulate the notion of scientific



Oceanian women. Tradition and modernity. Melanesian winners of a cricket match in Noumea with their children (1984).

objectivity according to hypothetico-deductive principle.

The place of regional languages at the Teacher Training College of Noumea

This program, which has been in progress since March 1983, has been made the subject of a test at the end of the first year of the CFEN (Certificat de Fin d'Etudes Normales) course.

Its aim is to complete the basic teaching of the Melanesian languages of the mainland and the Loyalty Islands in both the domains of phonetics and grammatical structure; to show through specific themes the cohesion and homogeneity of Melanesian languages within their diversity; and to study the difficulties of learning French in light of particular aspects of the regional languages.

The procedure which has been proposed is that of a study which is contrastive, comparative and discriminative, supported by examples taken from both literature and everyday life.

This pedagogical work should aid someone graduating from the college to find concrete solutions to the problems to

be encountered in classrooms.

Speakers of the language are required to consider in particular writing and the analysis of their language and to participate in practical work (group work, debates).

The participation of students who cannot speak the regional languages is in no way excluded. It is not a case of simply learning to speak one or two Melanesian languages, but to know their structures and to be able to teach them to others. The linguistic and sociological approach creates the basis for a way of thinking which enables an appreciation of other cultures, furnishes the elements for a dialogue with them, and prepares the way for a pedagogical study of their differences.

Outline of a programme for teaching regional languages in secondary school

This teaching starts in the third year. It consists of expression in the first language, discovery of its potentialities, the consolidation of knowledge and the development of capability.

The acquisition of reading and writing and a global approach to phonetics and syntax go together with a cultural ap-

proach, which leads to an understanding of the social organisation of the region in question.

- In the third year classes, the pupil become familiar with the organization of his own culture, situating himself in his clan, and analysing the system of production of his society.

He is led to objectify his relationship to the first language of his education (ie. French), by making a contrastive analysis with his regional language.

- In the fourth year, the situations and conditions of one's own local culture are related to those of New Caledonia in general; the differences and the similarities of the regional cultures are presented. The child is made aware of the common factors in the cultures making up the Melanesian civilisation.

The basic aims of the teaching are to overcome the particularities of the different regions by a knowledge of the whole of traditions and behaviour patterns, that are manifest in the regions of all the different languages and dialects in the country, as well as to see beyond tradition by situating the country in the modern world. Its situation is that of a changing society where a non-capitalist system is confronted by the question of its relation to the capitalist world. The underlying organization of both forms of society must be presented. This teaching must be supported by texts which discuss the present state of knowledge of Melanesian society in the areas of culture, economy, history and geography.

- In the fifth year, the teaching aims to give the pupil a knowledge of the Melanesian cultural heritage through the structural analysis of literary styles representative of the different linguistic zones : **Hoot ma whaap** (North), **Paici mâ Cèmuhi, Ajië** (Houailou), **Drubéa** (South), **Drehu** (Lifou), **Nengone** (Maré), **Iaai** (Ouvéa); the study of the material remains of this culture and their symbolism (the ritual axe, the hut, masks, spires, the divisions of the countryside, the design of the gardens), and an overall knowledge of cosmogonies, myths and beliefs.

The characteristics of the Melanesian, Polynesian and Micronesian civilizations should then be outlined, which will allow the people of the Pacific to recognize that they belong to the same one culture in spite of their differences and individualities, and that they do so through common origins, their historical development and their situation in the present world. The teaching programme should make constant reference to the course of history and the norms and standards which have been imposed on the Melanesian people.

The origin of the Austronesian people will be approached through a study of south sea island linguistics and archaeology. Historical development will be treated sociologically, for example that of technology, economy, politics and religion. The definition of the south sea islands as a cultural entity confronted by others will be the end result of this approach.

- In the final year, starting from a study of the cultural heritage, the social structures and the internal and external factors which govern the societies of the Pacific, we will consider their future.

Creativity and writing will be encouraged by a study of contemporary literature in the country.

The study of the social, cultural and technological changes, and that of the problem of their development, will stimulate the pupil to a critical awareness of his own society, confronted with a choice of conceptions by which his future will be conditioned.

The programme "Melanesian languages and Cultures" will be connected with the other programmes taught in French: Economics, Geography, History, all of them leading to an awareness of the world in general. It will complete and develop the impact of the media on young people through the struggle to understand their aspirations and preoccupations by the study of such themes as the relation of the individual to his culture and to the state, international relations and, in particular, the destiny of the south sea islands.

(Translated from the French)

* The authors refer here to a document which outlines the way in which children are taught about their own systems of family relationships. Unfortunately this document could not be included in the present article through lack of space (Translator's note).

Further reading

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Teaching in New Caledonia : a Few Problems

*Interview with André Gopea **
(March 1984)

New Caledonia has a very diversified system of education and a high proportion of children attending school. How is the system organized between public and private teaching ? What on the other hand are those sectors which are under the jurisdiction of the state and those which are under the jurisdiction of the Territory ?

In order to reply to this question, it is necessary to remember the initial rôle of the missions in creating schools after the annexation of New Caledonia. The Catholic schools were mainly situated on the mainland and the Protestant schools in the Loyalty islands, and it is there that the first Melanesian scholars were educated. Public education developed very slowly to start with and one can say that it was during the last quarter of the century that its progress, parallel to that of a considerable increase in staff, has been most rapid. In the course of the last ten years, one could observe a lessening in the relative size of staff in the private sector, which today is responsible for little more than a third of the pupils, 4/5ths of which are in Catholic schools. The proportion of public teaching continues to increase, notably with the increase of nursery schools during recent years. At the same time, the imbalance between Noumea and its suburbs (which included at the end of the seventies about 2/3rds of the pupils in the public sector) and the rest of New Caledonia is decreasing.

Primary education is almost entirely paid for by the territory which finances it through the agency of the municipalities and pays the largest part of teachers'

salaries. This teaching has been entirely subsidized by the state since 1980.

Secondary education, both technical and professional, has been subsidized by the state since 1965. School building is financed by the Ministry of National Education, to which all teachers belong. The Territory does not only finance the building of boarding schools. It has since 1978 subsidized the building of private establishments, the year the Debré law was implemented in the territory. But the salaries of teachers in the private sector have also been, since that date, paid by the state.

Post-graduate teaching is not, as yet, very well organized. There is a law school organized within the framework of the University of Bordeaux, there are preparations for examinations "Brevets de Techniciens Supérieurs" and technical courses organized by Centre National des Arts et Métiers. For this kind of teaching, which is relevant for courses of promotion, the expenses are shared between the Territory which is responsible for the daily expenses of running the establishments, and the State which pays teachers salaries and defines the curriculum.

However the Territorial Government wishes to coordinate this teaching and make it permanent. But it wishes to coordinate it by taking into account the organization of priority sectors and it will be coordinated according to the needs that seem most appropriate.

A first example of this has been the convention, passed in conjunction with Inalco ** for the training of teachers and the

setting up of educational structures in the field of vernacular languages. It remains that the State has borne during recent years, directly as well as indirectly, more than 75% of the cost of teaching in New Caledonia.

It is common place to talk of the multi-ethnic character of the people of New Caledonia, but in the system of teaching, the curricula are uniformly French and the language used for teaching is French. Does this produce problems and if so which?

To give a first answer to your question, let us figures : those of the Vice-Rectorat, quoted in the Atlas of New-Caledonia (ORSTOM, 1981) in respect of 1979, in a table which can be reproduced for your readers.

The first problem, which is well understood, is the imbalance of examination results between French speakers and those who do not speak French as their maternal language. This imbalance appears very clearly at the secondary level and increases during the long secondary cycle for Melanesians and Polynesians (Wallisians and Tahitians). The main reason is the linguistic handicap, to which we will return. The second reason is the adaptation of teaching methods to local conditions which are not entirely linguistic, but which have a real need in this country. It is all a question of

* Formerly Councillor to the Government of New Caledonia in charge of Education.

** Inalco: Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales 2, rue de Lille, 75006 Paris.

	Melanesians	Europeans	Wallisians	Tahitians	Other	Total
Primary	49	29	10	5	7	100
Secondary	30	49	6	4	11	100
Technical	29	40	11	6	14	100
Post-Graduate	11	78	11	-	-	100
Total scholars %	44	34	9	5	8	100
Per cent of population (1976)	42	37,8	7,2	4,8	8,2	100

This table relates to pupils of different origins in various educational categories in 1979. The last line refers to the ethnic distribution of the population at the time of the 1976 census.

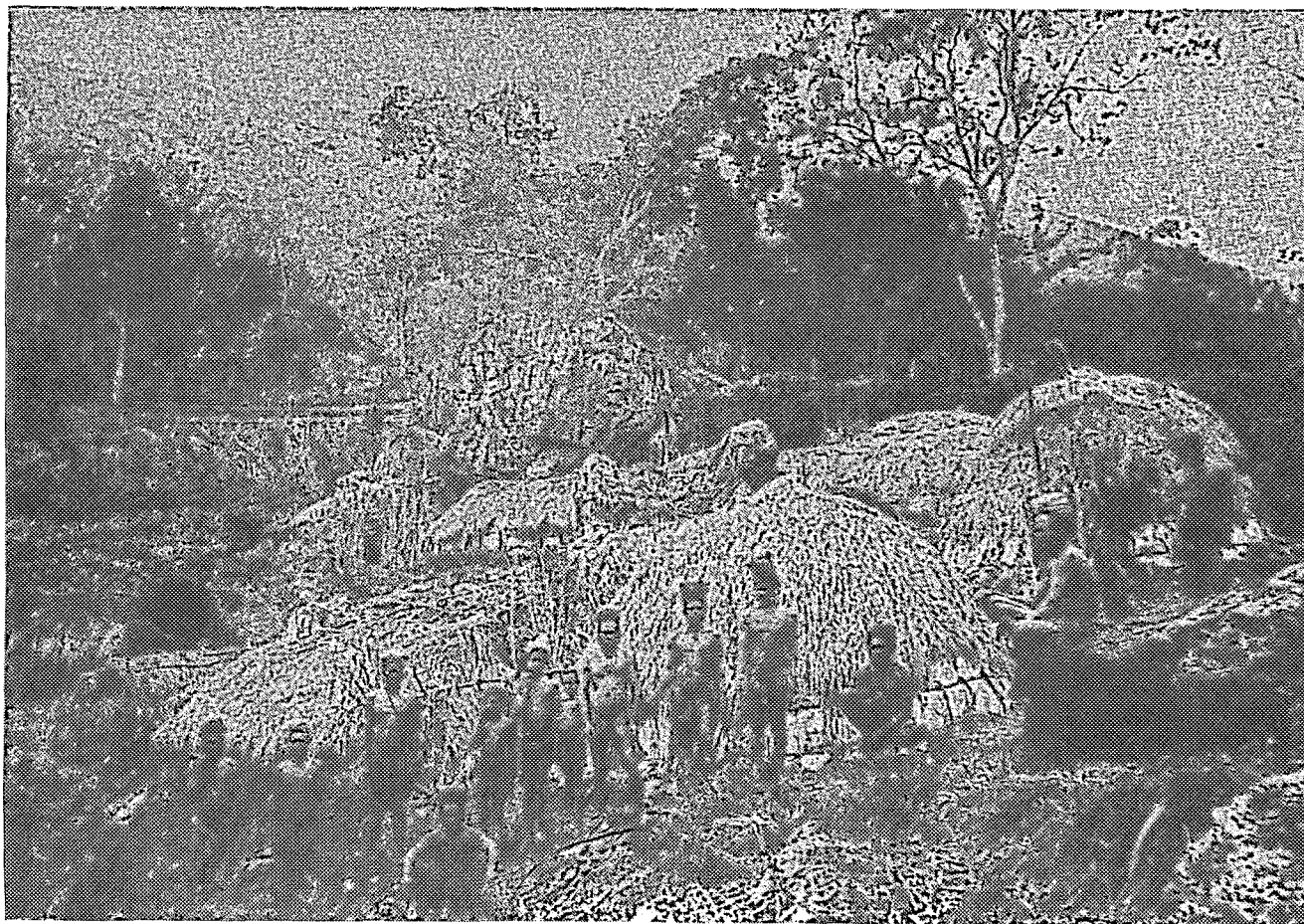
adapting the syllabus and also the infrastructure. One applies here the conventional school buildings, which could be revised with advantage without affecting

security of hygiene. By bringing in more local material, schools would be able to be less of a charge on the municipalities, and to adapt more to the needs of their pupils from

the islands, providing a better transition between the material conditions of the family environment and the artificial atmosphere of school. A group of experts on the social architecture of the East coast is currently thinking along these lines, for in this field as well as in others, one is talking very much and is thinking of proposals which could focus attention on changes which are thought to be necessary.

Where are your teachers from, and where are they trained?

The greater part of primary school-teachers with the exception of a small fraction of specialized teachers or of metropolitan teachers whose stay is temporary and who are used as temporary replacements, belong to the territorial framework. Parallel



Melanesian village in the west of the Grande Terre in the beginning of the colonial period (Cliché O.C.M., Lenormand collection).



Children in a modern school in Noumea

with our efforts to improve the qualifications of replacement teachers whom we have been obliged to recruit in recent years to fulfil our needs, we have just introduced a system of training for civil service teachers. This return to the formula of former teacher training schools with boarding schools and scholarships, tries to encourage young people from rural areas and from less prosperous areas, to open earlier the opportunity to obtain a more interesting career. You will know that in what we call here "the interior", that is to say the rest of the mainland as opposed to Noumea, and as we distinguish also the Islands (Loyalty, Belep and the Pine Islands), you not only have young Melanesians, who are underprivileged and are today looking for work, but also the children of an important part of the colonizers who are of European origin. The "Caldoches", who consider this country as their own, which means that they are not French but neither are they

Kanak. They are in the process of losing their influence on the land, as land reforms progress and there is a risk of them becoming displaced persons. We should not forget this.

In secondary education, teachers all belong, as we have said, to the Ministry of National Education. They have therefore received their training in the metropolis, which qualifies them to teach. One can regret that there are still very few Melanesians among them. Post graduate teaching is partly guaranteed by teachers from the metropolis on working trips, especially by law.

Is the system of education in its present form sufficiently oriented towards the actual and future needs of the country ?

The nickel crisis has obliged us to curtail the activities of the country, and redirect them to neglected sectors : agriculture,

fishing and tourism. In this respect, the existing system of teaching has some notable gaps. We have to send our pupils to the Lycée Agricole d'Opunohu in French Polynesia. The increasing autonomy is also provoking new needs in the field of civil service functions. The government councillors who are in charge of different sectors of the country's activities have been invited to state their priorities. Our needs lead us to put aside in the immediate future "de luxe" aspects of education, the concrete and practical applications of which is not obvious. But we must consider the development of a theoretical training at post-baccalaureat level, parallel to professional or vocational training in the priority fields of agriculture, cattle breeding, food production, fishing, mining, the steel industry, forestry and the timber industry, and of course, tourism. We want to tackle this last sector with care, to try to obtain the best formula in order to reduce to the minimum the divergent views

of this ambiguous activity. For the training of upper management, a structure has just been started in conjunction with the Centre Territorial de Préparation à l'Administration. Finally, it is important that we do not neglect the research which is essential for the implementation of our maritime and land resources and their rational administration.

One has often talked about the handicap suffered by an important part of the scholastic population for whom french is not their maternal language. What are the results of this ? Can it be lessened ?

The most obvious consequence of this linguistic handicap for non French speakers, who start their studies in a language which is not their maternal language, is the existing imbalance between examination results and which decreases their effectiveness, mainly at the secondary level. This problem mostly occurs in those parts of the country colonized by Europeans. It is not new but it takes on for us a particular dimension because of the multiplicity of Melanesian languages to which must be added those of Polynesian immigrants.

The first attempt to solve this problem has been to multiply the number of nursery schools (mini-maternelles) in Melanesian circles among the tribes as well as in the popular districts of Noumea and in communities where Melanesians and Polynesians are the most numerous. The second step has been to introduce vernacular languages into teaching, the purpose being to introduce these languages during the first years of schooling and progressively to introduce French, taught and learnt as a second language. Thus one could suppress the imbalance in the acquisition of concepts which are actually to the detriment of non-French speaking pupils.

What is the curriculum for the teaching of vernacular languages which have developed in the last few years ? Which languages and why those particular languages ? What level ? Optional or obligatory ? What difficulties have to be overcome ? What are the results and the perspectives ?

The diversity of our languages (28 local languages for some 60,000 speakers alongside the languages which are introduced) makes it difficult at first sight to construct a teaching programme in vernacular languages. But 40 % of the speakers are covered by seven of these languages, which already simplifies the list and has enabled us to pinpoint the languages which have to be taught. In order of importance these are **Drehu**, the language of Lifou, **Paicî**, the language of the central region of the mainland. Then there is **Nengone**, the language of Mare, and finally the other languages of the north, east and south of the mainland : **Ajië**, **Xârâcùù**, **Cémuhi** and **Dubéa**. The less spoken languages must be the subject of research in order to safeguard them. The principle adopted has been teaching in homogeneous linguistic circles, with teachers who belong to those circles. But one has had to do everything at the same time, decide upon the written form of languages which had none, prepare teaching documents, and train teachers. This is the work of the vernacular languages section of the Centre Territorial de Recherche et de Documentation Pédagogique (C.T.R.D.P.), the results of which appear today under the guise of the first supporting educational documents. It is at the secondary level (3rd and 4th form) that the optional teaching of vernacular languages starts and where it is the most advanced. Notably at Lifou, the implementation of this type of teaching is actively pursued... But in fact one has to experiment with the methods by which these languages will be used at the primary stage, where until now there has only been limited experimentation (in Poindimié, in the primary school annex of the college, and the one of the Bayes tribe in the Paicî zone, in Touaourou in the south in the zone of Noumea). Considering the definition and the generalization of this teaching, the absence of appropriate texts is not one of the least difficulties. For the time being, the text recognizing and fixing the conditions of teaching of vernacular languages in New Caledonia is still an adaptation of the text that implements regional languages in the metropolis. We hope that these initial material difficulties will be easily

overcome and that we will progressively generalize teaching in vernacular languages, until the level where the use of a single language is established. Parallel with the work of this department of vernacular languages in C.T.R.D.P., research is being pursued as to how to adapt the teaching of French as a second language to local conditions. In trying to organize the start of teaching to non-French speaking children within their own linguistic and cultural framework, one hopes for better results and to reduce the difficulties of adaptation found at the secondary stage manifested by a very high percentage of failures.

In the general context of recognizing and integrating Melanesian culture at the end of the seventies, one can say that private education, notably Catholic, has been the initiator in the introduction of vernacular languages into education. They have produced the first documents, trained the first teachers, and conducted the first experiments in their schools. C.T.R.D.P. has now begun this work by considering the specialized structure which has been given to it, and the creation of the Institut Culturel Mélanésien which has allowed teachers from Inalco to come to appraise local teachers about the concrete problems of teaching these languages and of using them in their teaching. Finally the advice of the government, following contacts and consultations, on the subject of these structures, has made the question an official one. The government has asked that the introduction of vernacular languages in teaching be achieved and also be defined by adequate rules.

Who is teaching these languages and how is teacher training organized ?

The instructors come from the areas where the language that they teach is spoken. According to their vocation and needs, they can follow career courses given by the Institut Culturel Mélanésien. They can receive the support of C.T.R.D.P., after which they can specialize in the metropolis at Inalco for a period of two years. Candidates for the public teaching profession are able since 1983 to ask directly to enrol in sessions in the metropolis to teach vernacu-

lar languages if they have their baccalaureat, thanks to special scholarships.

Up to what level do you think it is possible to press for the use of vernacular languages in teaching and as a method of communication in New Caledonia ?

Generally speaking, the teaching of vernacular languages and their use as teaching language at the primary stage does not presume that this excludes the teaching of French or of any other language of international communication. The reflection which has been pursued on teaching methods of French as a second language testifies to the fact that we are conscious of the necessity to retain such a language of communication in the context of a multi-ethnic population, and even for exchanges between Melanesians themselves. The same is true for relations with the exterior and handling concepts and technological ideas which are not at present included in the vocabulary of vernacular languages. At this stage of our deliberations we have now reached, it is more important to solve the problem of educational methods, in order to give an equal chance to pupils of different origins than to get involved in the question of preserving the use of a great language of international communication.

Do you try to adapt programmes to local and regional needs? Is any research being done, and if so how and by whom, and at what level and with what initiative ?

Except in the field of language, in which the work of adaptation have started five years ago, everything else remains to be done. The work of adapting programmes remains the initiative of the teachers who consistently use documentary support from C.T.R.D.P. Private teaching, mainly Catholic, has also done some interesting work. But the adaptation of programmes should be more systematic in geography, history and the field of natural science.

Could you say a word about experiences undertaken in the field of technical teaching and practical work ?

The whole of secondary technical education is the responsibility of the State. Alongside classical training, an effort to adapt this kind of teaching has been illustrated by the establishment in 1980 of annexes to the Lycée d'Enseignement Professionnel (LEP). One has tried to develop practical and polyvalent teaching able to respond to the needs and activities of the local population by giving their pupils the capability to enliven these modest projects in their own surroundings. One also had to satisfy their need for practical schooling outside the classical stream at secondary level, ensuring that this training did not become a backwater and giving the chance to catch up to the level of those pupils who have already arrived.

LEP must adapt itself entirely to the terrain where it is situated and the trainers must direct their priorities towards agriculture or activities offered by local outlets, like new building or the renovation of buildings, cattle breeding on a small scale, specialized cultures, or the mother of pearl industry. One seeks to avoid those projects which would be too big for the community to master. In another context, the Maisons Familiales Rurales (MFR) are also a basic training structure which appear to be better adapted to the needs of rural workers by giving them practical help and motivation. At the heart of the organization, the MFR learn and put to practical use new techniques to improve their working tools and their living standards within the framework of collective projects.

Is there any particular need on the Territory for any form of adult education? What would it be and how is it satisfied ?

The needs are important in this field, mainly in the interior and on the islands, and they are not very well catered for. Noumea benefits from promotional courses supported by the State and the Territory or organized within the framework of the Centre of Consular Training of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry. One can find technical courses (management, computer studies and law) or courses in foreign languages. In the rest of the

country, on the contrary, practically nothing is organized especially in the field of popularizing knowledge. LEP and MFR could be starting points for this type of education. The only adult courses actually organized are those of the Office for the Development of the Interior and the Islands. The courses concern fishing, the planning and organization of local development projects, the management of groups of producers, but there is a lack of an organization to demonstrate and popularize the methods and techniques to answer the needs of rural people within their own areas.

What are your projects in the field of university teaching? Do you think that existing courses should be expanded? Or that other courses should be created? Do you consider that there should be an increased recourse to the existing resources of the university structure within this region in spite of the linguistic handicap ?

In considering the projects for improving post-baccalaureat teaching, one thing is certain. We must try, as I have said, to make it fit in with the immediate needs and foreseeable future needs of the country, and avoid theoretical and practical training which has no direct bearing on this. This being said, we know that the possibility does exist in this region, so very near us, to send our students to island universities if necessary where the language taught is English. On this point, we have no a priori position. We are conscious of the interest our future cadres have in overcoming the linguistic handicap which stems from their regional English speaking environment. But the considerations of regional policies are one thing, and the satisfaction of our needs to satisfy our development is something else. Our only a priori concern therefore is the quality of the product that is proposed to us, given the training that we need, and our decisions can only be taken in the light of the quality of the final product.

*Interview conducted by J.F. Dupon.
(Translated from the French)*



Hawaiians protest military bombing of Kaho'olawe during trials of people who landed on Kaho'olawe (1976).

Fighting the Battle of Double Colonization: The View of an Hawaiian Feminist

Some 1,400 years ago, several small groups of South Pacific islanders, from the Marquesas and Tahiti, migrated north. They found a bountiful paradise gracing a vast area of the northern Pacific Ocean.

Among the 132 islands and atolls, eight were large enough to settle, encompassing four million acres of land. These lands came to be known as Hawai'i; the indigenous people were called Hawaiians.

From submission to militancy

Before the arrival of Europeans in 1778, my people enjoyed a stable, environmentally harmonious culture. The indigenous value of **Aloha 'Aina** ("love of the land": an ethic of caring and respect for the land) was grounded in a subsistence economic system in which everyone had rights of use and access to the resources of the land and sea. Private ownership of the land was unknown. The chiefs were trustees of the lands, the people the beneficiaries. Strange as it seemed to Europeans, Hawaiian society thrived on sharing and common use (1).

With the coming of British explorer James Cook, however, a Westernization process began which eventually led to the demise of my people. In a brief hundred years, native Hawaiians suffered the loss of their lands, the destruction of their social and religious system, and a savage decline, which can only be termed genocide. Ravaged by introduced diseases (syphilis, measles, influenza, whooping cough, cholera), the indigenous population fell from an estimated half-million in 1778 to less than 48,000 in 1878 - a decline by a ratio of more than ten to one (2). Finally, encroaching **haole** (white) business interests advanced the concept of private property, replacing the value of collective use with that of individual ownership (3).

By the 1850s, American business forces, mainly sugar interests had pressured the Hawaiian monarchy for a major land redistribution called the **Great Mahele** (great land division). Hawaiians lost their use and access rights to the land while **haoles** gained vast acreages (4). Later, in 1893, the same business interests that had forced the Great Mahele managed to overthrow the Hawaiian monarchy with the aid of American marines. By 1898, the world's most isolated island chain was a territorial possession of the United States government (5).

For the Hawaiian people, alienation of the land was the decisive factor in their cultural disintegration. Without a land base, the Hawaiians lost their identity, their sense of pride and place. They could no longer be self-sufficient. Taro and sweet potato fields were transformed into sugar cane and pine apple plantations. Fishing areas became military ports and bases; mountain forests appeared as tracts of virgin timber for aspiring American entrepreneurs, and places once sacred to my ancestors became luxury resort areas and military training grounds.



Taro Field, Wai'anae, O'ahu 1981. Taro was the staple of old Hawaiian society. Today, it represents an alternative to westernization, especially tourist development in Hawai'i. For modern Hawaiians, the planting of taro is Aloha 'aina (love of the land) in actual practices. Because most of Hawai'i's taro is imported, taro agriculture promises both cultural and economic revival for traditional Hawaiians.

A beautiful, strong, and creative people had become weak and imitative in the wake of American colonialism. Far from "civilizing" us, the West brought us savagery and degradation. Land and people were devalued by a new system: no longer spiritual and cultural in nature, they became capitalist commodities, valued only for the money they could generate. Since the granting of statehood in 1959, tourism has become the basis of Hawai'i's economy, causing increasing materialization of our culture. For indigenous Hawaiians, the distinctive spirit of **aloha** (generosity and love) has meant nothing less than the shameless prostitution of our culture in the interests of tourism.

But a recent response to American imperialism has been a rising activism among my people for self-determination and cultural integrity. Such activism has taken both political and cultural forms, and has come to be known as the Hawaiian Movement. This is the story of my personal commitment to the struggles of my people and how I came to know a kind of double colonization as a woman, and as an indigenous nationalist.

A story of political and personal commitment

My involvement in the Native Hawaiian Movement began in January 1978, when I returned home to Hawai'i after eleven years of study on the American mainland and in Eastern Europe. I had served a political apprenticeship of sorts during my stay at the University of Wisconsin-Madison in the late sixties and early seventies. Participation in the student, antiwar, and civil rights movements had broadened my understanding of social and political forces in America, and on the international scene.

After coming to understand a Marxist analysis (although not a Marxist resolution) of capitalism, I deepened my political education with insights from Marcuse, Sartre, Fanon, and later, most of the major feminist thinkers: De Beauvoir, Millett, Rich, Daly, Firestone. Fi-

- (1) See Handy, Handy and Puku'i 1972.
- (2) Schmitt 1968.
- (3) Kelly 1954.
- (4) Chinen 1958.
- (5) Kuykendall 1967.

nally, involvement in the women's movement illuminated the many contradictions, both personal and professional, I had experienced as an activist intellectual. By the time I returned home, feminism was integral to my self-definition and my vision of a better, more just world. Given my philosophical training and my activist commitments, I sensed that participation in the Native Hawaiian Movement would be a serious test of my political theories. I wondered whether, as a practicing feminist, I could survive in a grassroots movement, a movement of my own people but nevertheless dominated by men.

Despite my previous experience, nothing in my past had ever posed these dilemmas. Other Third World movements within America, particularly those of Indians and Blacks, had won my support, but they never raised doubts about my ability to interact within my own culture among my own people. And while the Women's Movement made me aware of the patriarchal nature of culture and politics, I still remained terribly ignorant of women's lives in traditional and contemporary Hawaiian culture. Worse, perhaps, was my general ignorance of my people's continuing oppression as a result of American colonization. Common sociological indices - income, housing, employment, education - show Hawaiians to be at the very bottom of Island society. But more painful to me was the discovery that the health conditions of my

people are appalling.

For those Hawaiians who manage to survive, even with a life expectancy nearly ten years less than that of the rest of the State, there is a special kind of living death. I am referring to an internal, **psychological** colonization, like that described in the works of Frantz Fanon, which goes beyond an identity of inferiority to encompass a fatalistic acceptance of cultural, economic, political, and social oppression. Part of this oppression results in the internalization of white standards regarding acceptable, even preferable kinds of work, education, life-style, diet, and of course, skin color and beauty. I was a good example of such internalization. Because I had grown up under **haole** (white) domination, I accepted **haole** standards for judging myself and the world around me. What I did learn from my mother about being Hawaiian was valued less, by myself as well as the larger society, than my fluency with Western ways.

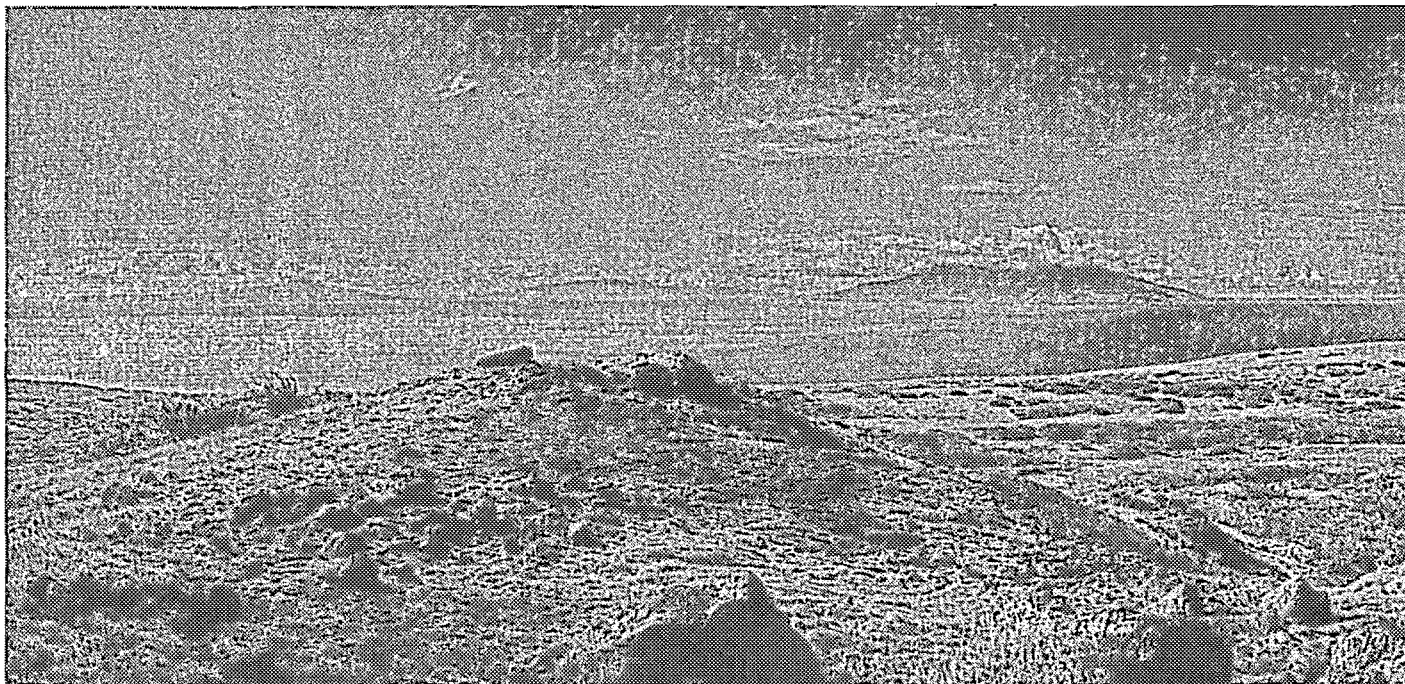
It was not until I left mainland America for home that I started on the long path back to my culture. The aura of Hawai'i, her spirit of beauty and plenty reminded me of my true heritage as a **keiki hanau o ka'a'ina**, child born of the land. With my return home came a total commitment to the struggles of my people. It was to be a commitment burdened with pain.

By 1978, the time of my return, the Movement was in its eighth year of activism, having

grown in the early seventies from a series of eviction and anti-development struggles into a full-scale social and political Movement with a developing native Hawaiian nationalist ideology. Historically, the Movement grew out of a basic transformation in Hawai'i's economy: from dependence on cash crops of sugar and pineapple and military expenditures in the first half of the 20th century to an increasing dependence on tourism and land speculation with rising investment by multinational corporations in the second half of the century. After Statehood, burgeoning tourism led to an overnight boom in hotels and luxury resort areas, which resulted in ever-enlarging demands for land (6). These demands brought heavy tax burdens on Hawai'i residents as the local political elite moved quickly to support tourism while reaping enormous private financial benefits (7). The effect on residents was predictable, economic strain as food, housing, land and other necessities soared in price. Additionally, a sixteen-fold increase in tourists since Statehood created intolerable population pressures on O'ahu, site of the major tourist destination of Waikiki, and home for three quarters of Hawai'i's population.

(6) Kent 1983.

(7) Kelly 1975



Pu'u Moiwi, Kaho'olawe island. This is the highest point on Kaho'olawe. From here, visitors are afforded a panoramic view of three other Hawaiian islands: Maui, Lana'i and Moloka'i. This area was once a quarry and contains archaeological evidence of the ancient Hawaiians. This area has been bombed by the U.S. military since 1941. Since 1940, the entire island of Kaho'olawe has been declared a national historic site (Photo Ed. Greevy).

In short, a major shift in the basis of Hawai'i's economy created a continual source of strain which, when coupled with increasing political consciousness about the exploitive effects of American colonization, resulted in radical activism in the seventies. Throughout the decade, specific struggles highlighted the crushing demands of commercial and military development for land; the resultant increase in evictions of local residents; the lack of community control over the type and pace of development; and State disregard for the needs of local people, particularly indigenous Hawaiians. The combination of strain and rebellion gave birth to the Hawaiian Movement, a series of political struggles between 1970 and 1980 characterized by demands for community self-determination and native Hawaiian cultural assertion and independence.

I chose to join the Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana (the word 'ohana in Hawaiian means the "extended family"). As a loosely-organized association with membership drawn from predominantly poor Hawaiian communities around the State, the Kaho'olawe 'Ohana was the focus for a strong cultural revival among Hawaiians. Born in 1976, after a series of so-called illegal occupations of Kaho'olawe Island by Native Hawaiian activists protesting U.S. Navy protection and bombing since 1941, the Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana was at the center of the Native Hawaiian Movement. By questioning the military, the 'Ohana exposed the heart of American imperialism in the Pacific. Through continual assertion of Hawaiian cultural values of **Aloha 'Aina** (love, care, and nurturance of the land) and **Aloha Ka Po'e** (love and care for the people of the land) the 'Ohana presented a clear alternative to Western capitalism and its ceaseless destruction of the human and physical environment. And the strength of our spiritual relationship to the land pointed up the shallow, callous reality of Western materialistic culture, especially in its American variant where land (our beloved 'aina) is nothing more than a commodity called real estate.

Since 1976, the 'Ohana had carried their struggle into the hearts and minds of Hawai'i's people, raising questions about military need for bombing, State land use policy, and the preservation of Hawaiian culture and its base, the land. This included a controversy surrounding protection of hundreds of historic sites on Kaho'olawe. Now, in 1984, the preservation issue has been partly resolved in favor of the 'Ohana: Kaho'olawe island has been declared a National Historic landmark. Unbelievably, the bombing continues. During my time in the 'Ohana (1978-1980), I had several responsibilities. At the start, my mainland and urban experience created difficulties. And, of course, there was the entire

problem of crossing back into Hawaiian culture - and local style, which is very slow and easy compared to the loud, aggressive style of mainland Haole - without losing my ability to deal with the dominant white culture. Despite these real hardships, I experienced my first year with the 'Ohana as a wave of excitement, fervor, life-centering commitment. Learning a new style of politics in my own land for my own people was not simply a novel variation on old themes. It was, truly, a change to new and better values which had immediate expression in political activity. It seemed that I had finally solved the dilemma of theory and practice.

But dilemmas are never solved, they merely evolve, reappearing in changed form before disbelieving eyes. While involvement in the Movement narrowed the tension between thinking and doing, it brought new tensions between my feminist politics and 'Ohana style, between my arguments and visions (always perceived as those of a woman), and the arguments of men, whether leaders or not. Slowly but resolutely, patterns of male domination and conscious exclusion of women from policy-making emerged out of the 'Ohana.

Women and politics in Hawaii

Unlike most Western organizations, leadership in the 'Ohana derived not only from skill but also from style (Hawaiian/local style), island of residence, genealogy, and the possession of spiritual faculties, what Hawaiians call **mana**. Apart from the presence of spiritual people in the 'Ohana, the organization itself was a practicing spiritual community. To me, and other Hawaiians as well, this characteristic of the 'Ohana made it uniquely appealing to the excluded and oppressed, particularly native Hawaiians.

As a political expression of the Hawaiian family, the Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana gave to its members a kind of warmth, nurturance, and solidarity only experienced in extended families. But like these families, the 'Ohana was also

a patriarchal institution pervaded by assumptions (and practices) of male domination and female subordination. Indeed, the positions of women in our political family mirrored the roles of women in the larger society: the supportive, ever-present wife or lover; and the unattached, often invisible workhorse. These females occupied a separate woman sphere, with tasks of childcare, support of men, and often important organizing jobs (arranging meetings, collecting money, finding accommodation), which kept the 'Ohana afloat but which carried no policy-making power. None of these tasks was given serious recognition. As women's work, such jobs were devalued and taken for granted by nearly everyone, including the women themselves. Full-time, rather than occasional child care was never done by men, and although many men contributed to various activities in a quiet, unassuming fashion they enjoyed tacit authority over women in the same position.

If the workhorse and supportive lover were clearly separated from the policy-making arena, there were two avenues to political influence open for women. One, the role of **kupuna** (elder with specific cultural wisdom), was only possible for a woman beyond her child-bearing years. As a political version of the traditional mother figure, a woman in this position wielded considerable influence over policy and there were at least four or five during my active involvement in the 'Ohana. Because of her life-experience and age, she posed no sexual threat to the men in leadership. Often, she treated them as sons, and they in turn acknowledged her as a wise, sometimes motherly advisor. If she possessed revered spiritual knowledge and personal power (what Hawaiians call **mana**), she occupied the roles of both **kupuna** and **kahuna** (priest), thereby increasing her potential authority. Women in this category tended to radiate confidence and conviction, perhaps because their capacity to survive gave them a sense of their incredible tenacity, which was readily communicated to the 'Ohana. Having lived through 20-30 more years of struggle than other, much younger 'Ohana members, these women had some basis from which to command respect and power. Many times during crucial periods of political wrangling they played pivotal roles, arguing forcefully for one or another position, often carrying the day. Given that the 'Ohana, as other families, included children (**keiki**), young people (**'opio**), middle-age people (**makua**), and elders (**kupuna**), no one thought it unusual for these women to exert some influence, as parents or grandparents often do in extended families. Interestingly, I can remember only one man in this same age group who was an active 'Ohana member.

The photographer

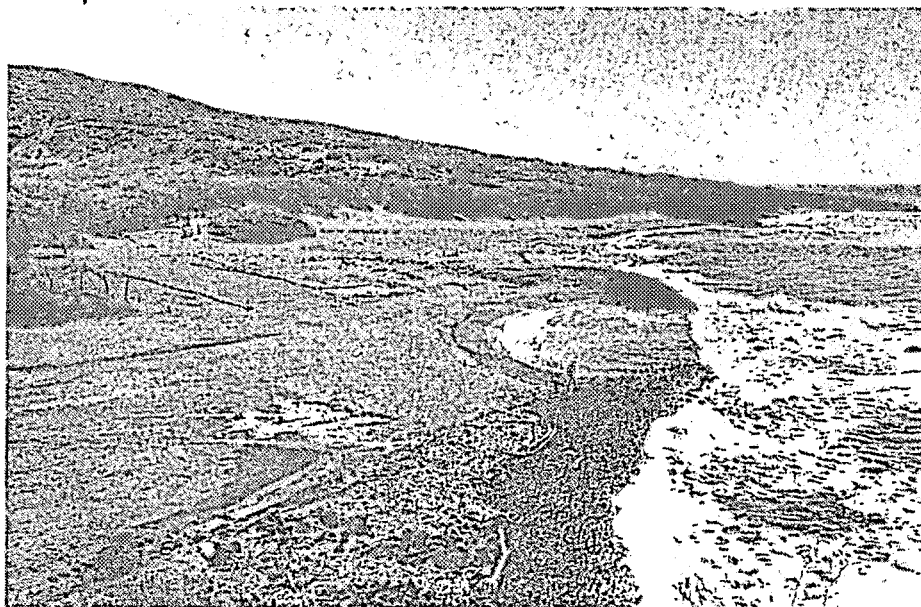
The photographs of Ed. Greevy, which illustrate this paper are part of a collection of more than 50,000 negatives and slides. They have been taken since 1971 and document the struggle of indigenous Hawaiians to regain access to and use of lands once exclusively their own. Ed. Greevy will provide the visual documentary for and be coauthor with Haunani-Kay Trask of "Native Hawaiians".

Finally, there were a very small number of women, among whom I include myself, who were young (20-35), single, often without children, and assertive. They did not occupy traditional mothering roles; they were generally college-educated, and articulate, unafraid contributors to political discussions. All of them were conscious of their independent, overt roles as well as their capacities to think and argue with some sense of political insight. Because they negated the prevalent characterization of women as merely erotic-reproductive objects (lover/mother roles), they did not speak from protected positions. In many ways, these women had to carve out their own creative space in opposition to the men, especially the male leadership. And when these women were successful, recognition by men was only grudgingly given. Also, this recognition never translated into authority, meaning acknowledged, legitimate power. For most of the activist women this message was received early on. Some women left; others remained, but steered clear of leadership positions and confrontations. The system worked remarkably well to keep women from rising to leadership.

The one or two women who continued to achieve and struggle met another barrier which seemed more intractable and elusive: their lack of spiritual power, and deep confusion about why they were excluded from its realm. I myself could not find an explanation for this until I saw that it is part of our culture. Only a **kupuna/kahuna**, an older woman beyond childbearing age could possess spiritual power in contemporary Hawaiian society. Since spiritual **mana** is one of the qualities of leadership, especially charismatic leadership, the exclusion of young women from its possession ensured their exclusion from the highest circles of leadership.

These baffling conditions meant that our activist women struggled within contradictory, politically ambivalent positions. They would always be limited in the development of their talents and the power to use them. And the 'Ohana would never benefit from their kind of leadership. The young women who went beyond traditional roles did so, in large part, because they had been exposed to formal education, urban environments, and previous political struggles, both theoretical and practical. These enabling qualities, however, often became avenues for scapegoating during heated political infighting. In this fashion, talents which may have been essential to the 'Ohana became focal points of derision.

Finally, the young, activist women, like all females, suffered from a kind of sexual vulnerability. I mean by this that a woman's sexual life, her marital status, and her maternal capacities were all fair game for attack when internal



Hakioawa - Kaho'olawe island

This area of Kaho'olawe serves as a base camp for the Kaho'olawe 'Ohana when they come to practice their culture and religion on the island for ten days every month. The area contains a large heeiau (Hawaiian temple), archaeological remains of a village and fishing shrines.

struggles became fierce. Given women's social definition as erotic/reproductive objects, failure to live up to this characterization - or worse, actual rejection of it - meant a constant undercurrent of sexual innuendo which the activist women had to address. It was during political debates that women were vulnerable to sexual baiting. Of course, such attacks were never made openly, because they would not have been condoned by most 'Ohana members. But they were made privately, they were intended to hurt and, in extreme cases, to drive the women from the 'Ohana.

In my own experience, my lack of children and single marital status were constantly mentioned, sometimes in the cruelest of ways, during tense, challenging debates. More than once, I was characterized as promiscuous. Other activist women had similar experiences. Some were accused of undermining their men; others of not inspiring and supporting their men with sufficient (meaning "self-sacrificing") love and attention. These accusations always seemed to arise when activist women began to argue in opposition to their men. It was clear to me that this kind of harassment served a political function. Like all character assassination, sexual innuendo undermines political credibility. When coupled with other negative characterizations (in my case, urban origin, mainland education), sexual innuendo could, if believed by enough people, effectively neutralize a woman's arguments. For me, the only response was to ignore

the baiting and proceed with the politics at hand. But underneath my resolve, the attacks took their toll. I always felt like leaving the 'Ohana, giving up my determination to organize, accepting class distance as insurmountable, laying down the burden I felt to be mine by virtue of my education and skills. While I never gave in to these moments of exhausting despair, I also never adjusted to the fact that an organization which espoused a loving, nurturant ethos for the land and its people, could tolerate such crude, appalling behavior.

Activist women suffered two other disadvantages which, in many aspects, I would judge more serious than the ones already discussed. One was the absence of any established, collective support network outside the mothering sphere. This absence was painfully felt, because of the presence of a strong support group for the men. In the 'Ohana, this boy's club is called the bruddahs, local pidgin for brothers.

Apart from enjoying fishing, hunting and other male activities together, the bruddahs share an undisguised, occasionally brutal macho ethic which includes violence toward women and children. As in the case of sexual innuendo, I was shocked by this, and very disturbed by its matter-of-fact acceptance by 'Ohana leadership. Indeed, it was not uncommon for men in the 'Ohana to defend violence against women as a man's prerogative or none of anyone's business. I was continually amazed to find some of the most ardent advocates of **Aloha**

'Aina to be perpetrators of violence against women and their children, and if not violence, then forms of neglect, especially regarding child support, which I would call abusive. Other men, who did not themselves act violently toward women, refused to confront their bruddahs on this point. Indeed, I heard more than once the incredible defense of child and spouse abuse as the Hawaiian form of discipline. And of course, there were always those men who defended their friends as basically good bruddahs who had but a few faults, by which was meant their beating of women and children. In the simplest terms, most of the men in the 'Ohana (and some of the women) accepted violence against women and children as part of the hard blows of life, or they deplored it privately but would do nothing publicly.

In such a hostile environment most women responded by supporting each other. But the basis of this support was women's functional roles as wives and mothers. Activist women who did not fall into either category were essentially without support. Of course, the activist women supported each other, but their number was so small and their positions so besieged, it was easier for them to make alliances with men for political if not emotional support. Not only were activist women isolated, then, by lack of support networks, but also they were operating in very unsympathetic surroundings. Moreover, alliances with individual men, even when genuinely supportive, never broached the specific problems of women on the front lines. In the Hawaiian Movement, and particularly in the 'Ohana, women's concerns, problems, and perspectives are treated as secondary when they are discussed at all. But the major reality is that they are rarely discussed.

The other disadvantage which I saw as specific to women in the 'Ohana was a spinoff from the first. Unlike activist men, all of whom enjoyed some kind of emotional sustenance from their women (wives/lovers), activist women in general did not enjoy comparable nurturance. The reasons for this are many. Men do not generally supply nurturance; it is not part of their gender role in either **haole** or Hawaiian society. And strong women, much more than the mythic feminine women, are not perceived as needing such support. Finally, 'Ohana men did not believe in expressions of public affection or private support to a woman regarding her work. All public and private support was supposed to flow to men, not the reverse.

Given the many hardships which women faced if they rejected traditional female roles, it is not surprising that 'Ohana leadership was, and remains, predominantly male. Apart from the rigors of leadership itself (the burden of responsibility, the task of constant mobilization,



A young Hawaiian activist wearing a gourd helmet at the criminal trial of so-called "trespassers" on Kaho'olawe island. This young man, as many others like him, wore traditional Hawaiian dress to protest the mistreatment of Hawaiians and their land. The protest was held in front of the Federal Court Building in Honolulu in 1976 during the criminal trials of Kaho'olawe "trespassers" who had occupied the Island in 1976. The wearing of traditional dress was intended to highlight the centuries-old links of Hawaiian land and Hawaiian people.

tion. Not only have our people been pushed to the very edge of society, but our culture continues to be prostituted in the service of tourism. Under these conditions, it is easy to understand why the people are afflicted by alcoholism, suicide, family disintegration, and violence.

But while this oppressed condition can be linked to colonization, it cannot justify the oppression of Hawaiian women by Hawaiian men. And yet, several of my Hawaiian brothers have argued this very position with me, excusing the abuse of Hawaiian women as part of blowing off steam against the system. They argue that Hawaiian men carry a special burden of oppression emasculation by **Haole** society and **Haole** men which Hawaiian women have escaped. This burden is often expressed in violent terms against wives, lovers, children, and other brothers. Thus, they conclude, the role of Hawaiian women is to understand Hawaiian men, to love them despite their abusive behavior. I have always responded by pointing out to these brothers that the same system which exploits them also exploits Hawaiian women. In fact, our exploitation is worse, given work discrimination, bad social services, and general social violence against women. But my basic argument is that as **Hawaiians** we cannot convince others of the superiority of our values, of our traditional cultural ways of caring for the land and the people of the land, **unless** we practice these values amongst ourselves. But I have never managed to convince even my closest brothers that what a

few of them do in the name of fighting the system is wrong, morally and culturally.

Despite my sobering experience however, I would not repudiate my actions or regret my commitment. Nor would I disavow political struggle. Now that I have a better sense of the Hawaiian Movement, and a sharper view of its internal politics, I am more fully prepared to deal with its problems; indeed to organize my Hawaiian sisters to counteract the bruddahs. For a woman like myself, educated but indigenous, there is really no question of choosing to fight. In the language of Third World analysis, I am a colonized woman of color. If I wish to survive while preserving something of my integrity and that of my people, I have no choice but to fight, and I have no other vehicle than the cultural solidarity of my people.

But liberation does not come all at once. To be doubly colonized as a woman and as an indigenous nationalist means to struggle twice as hard, twice as long. As I fight American imperialism and its agonizing effects on my people, I must work and live with my Hawaiian brothers who would add to the burden of colonialism another burden of sexual oppression and domination. Yet, I will not leave my people, women and men in the face of their oppression. But neither will I cede to my Hawaiian brothers the sovereignty of my Hawaiian sisters.

Haunani-Kay Trask
University of Hawai'i

against the state who supported the Navy; against local agencies caught in bureaucratic procedures and unconcerned about the island, the 'Ohana or the Movement; and finally, against both sexual and class politics inside and outside the 'Ohana.

Of course, it is also true that the domination of women by men in the 'Ohana reflects, in part, the dominant position of men in society, a society which has been shaped by colonization. Like our cousins, the American Indians, Hawaiians have suffered particularly from coloniza-

The author

Haunani-Kay Trask is a Hawaiian nationalist, author, and feminist. She has been a participant in various struggles to reclaim a land base for her indigenous people, and she has represented native Hawaiians internationally at various world forums. She is currently associate professor in the Center for Hawaiian Studies and the first chair of the Hawaiian Studies Council at the University of Hawai'i. Haunani-Kay Trask has a doctorate in political science from the University of Wisconsin at Madison, USA ; and has also studied in eastern Europe.

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Aspects of Cultural Life in Papua New Guinea

Music study and development in Papua New Guinea has been centred on the music department of the National Arts School, which department almost closed down in 1984 due to lack of official support; and also on the Goroka Teachers College, whose small music department had a notable conference in August 1982 at which numerous papers on Melanesian and other music were presented. The ethnomusicology department of the Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies has at present a foreign ethnomusicologist in charge of the department, a citizen studying at the music department of the University of Vienna for his Ph. D., an ethnomusicology trainee who has done a post-graduate course at the Musée de l'Homme in Paris, and a technician. Once again, and sadly, the government has not always funded all these positions in recent years. Music and culture, generally, is much spoken about by politicians but little is said when the budget is presented to Parliament. However, Melanesians are convivially musical and there are many stringbands which present a synthesis of styles, old and new, imported and native, and these bands are recorded by commercial companies within the country and their cassettes sell. In 1987, the music department of the National Arts School still survives.



Dancer, Papua New Guinea

Dance and theatre in Papua New Guinea is promoted by the National Theatre Company which is based in Port Moresby and does original plays and ballets, somewhat influenced by other cultures (for a number of the senior members of the company have studied overseas : Australia, Indonesia, U.S.A.). The Raun Raun Theatre, which has been led by a foreigner, has extremely high standards, has promoted village theatre without written scripts, and has now presented their interpretation of Trobriand legends written somewhat poetically in English by John Kasaipwalova. Various small theatre groups in the provinces struggle to survive with small provincial government hand-outs, whereas a foreign-founded theatre, Waigani Arts Centre in Port Moresby, is amazingly well-funded for a small town. It presents mainly foreign plays at a surprisingly high level of competence and attempts with varying degrees of success to involve Melanesian authors and actors in their productions. A notable success in this regard was William Takaku's direction of "One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest" (a Melanesian director who has studied at the Australian National Institute of Dramatic Arts, directing a largely foreign cast) and the production of plays, with Melanesian themes, by Nora Vagi Brash, Albert Toro, and myself. Theatre has also been promoted vigorously by the National Broadcasting Commission (NBC), led by a foreign play-producer now departed from the country and by the citizen staff which he trained. Once again, the budget of the NBC was drastically cut in 1984 and the drama department of the Radio Service expected to suffer. Pop music is cheaper and takes up a lot of minutes. In 1986, the National Theatre Company, decentralized into the provinces.

Art is alive and fairly well, having been encouraged by such foreigners as Georgina Beier and notably at the National Arts School, now under a Melanesian director. Artists from the school have exhibited overseas as well as in Papua New Guinea. Their work has included painting, weaving sculpture and applique. Village themes and styles, sometimes somewhat influenced by Africa via Europe have predominated,

although in Joe Nalo we have perhaps for the first time an artist who has made an individual breakthrough.

Villages produce their own carvers and potters apart from the encouraged artists in town; the National Cultural Council (NCC) has been of some assistance in getting such works sold, as has been the Department of Business Development, although at present the effort is suffering from budget worries. There are, of course, private entrepreneurs willing to market village art but these, in the past, have had a somewhat shaky history in promoting "the visible expression" of Melanesians. It is hard to see how the destruction of the material past can be prevented in the face of the overwhelming import of foreign artefacts and styles. By 1987, the NCC had collapsed.

To sum up so far, what we would all hope that our government and outside bodies are doing to help develop our culture and its visible expression is being done, with the help of such organizations as Unesco and the South Pacific Commission, but not being done well enough. Foreign researchers come to tell us what makes us tick, film makers arrive to encapsulate the exotic (as they see us) in short video programmes, and linguists trained in techniques derived long ago in Europe keep insisting that we are a thrilling blend of at least seven hundred languages, thereby unintentionally suggesting that we consist of more disparate groups than is actually the case. Tourist brochures hint that some of us are somewhat primitive, and traditional and modern capitalism inspires us, from leading politicians through businessmen down to the "grassroots" level, to see how many personal fortunes can be made out of it all.

Fortunately, such bodies as the Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies are battling to record oral history and on film, and has now begun to make feature films with a small staff, consisting of a foreign film maker and one assistant who has recently returned from the London International Film School, plus part-time technical staff. It also collects anthropological information : a former director of the Institute was a foreign anthropologist and the Institute

had a Melanesian studying for his Ph.D. in Sociology at the Australian National University. Other goals are to collect and publish traditional music, to build up an archive of valuable materials (also the work of the University and National Libraries, the National Archive, the National Museum and the various provincial cultural centres which function better in some provinces than others); and to promote creative writing.

Literature

Papua New Guinea is a country which has been lucky enough to have had great opportunities for writers to express themselves. Apart from the enthusiasm of foreigners anxious to promote or publish literature, there have been many organizations busily at work: the Summer Institute of Linguistics, the Literature department of the University of Papua New Guinea, the Literature Bureau of the Office of Information (now defunct, the Office also produced films) and notably the Literature Section of the Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies which took over from the Literature Bureau, the annual literature competition. The enthusiasm of some secondary teachers and tertiary institution lecturers obviously plays a large part in the competition process. Such competitions may have doubtful philosophical bases but do generate interest and material. The National Cultural Council had set up a literature committee with representatives from the Education Department, a private printing company, the National Theatre Company, the National Broadcasting Commission, the literature department of the University, and the Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies. It channels manuscripts to possible publishers, seeks funds, encourages the establishment of a Melanesian Writer's Association and runs the literature competition.

There is somewhat of a dichotomy in all this effort produced by a dual wage system which favours by a large percent the foreign community. Papua New Guinea receives much foreign aid, mainly from Australia, and employs foreigners in a small but significant percentage of the available professional and technical jobs. Government

maintains a number of elitist schools which the children of foreigners, and of citizen businessmen, senior bureaucrats and politicians attend. The system costs more than the rest of the education department and support fund (1) spent on the nonelitist system. The primary schools especially at the village level are of low standard, there is no apparent determination to promote universal primary education, and the high school standards are low as a result. Thus, although better entries which win the prizes in the literature competition are being received every year, the competition as a whole reveals how poor expression in English is. And English seems to be the inevitable national language. There are sections in the competition for Pidgin and Motu, the lingua franca of New Guinea (Pidgin) and Papua (Motu), but few entries are received and these of poor quality. Pidgin, for the record, is spreading faster than Motu. In the competition of 1983 there was a section for song lyrics (sponsored by the Summer Institute of Linguistics) in any vernacular language, with English translation; few sent in entries. I think there is a particular reason for this. For all pupils, reading, writing and basically spelling depends on years of learning non-phonetic English spelling. Thus, writers simply do not know how to tackle spelling of their own languages. One gets asked, "Can you spell this word for me in my language?" a language which, of course, one doesn't know. By tertiary level (2) the skill in expressing oneself in English has improved.

Context of creative writing

Our writers have been affected by forces other than having to earn an income by being articulate in a second and foreign language. They have read simple foreign texts, often Eurocentred, have been subject to foreign films and comic books, exposed to introduced religions and to foreign importations in politics, sport, and consumer goods. Some are very successful in business, many are successful in manipulating the internal politics of the upper echelons of the bureaucracy (but not necessarily with beneficial results to the country any more than their foreign predecessors) and can be

extremely awkward in Parliament when elected. In this last case, they appear to be acting out a charade in a Westminster system of government without quite grasping the rules of the game.

They play their game but not the one which will make the system work and hence the legislature is a collection of uneasy coalitions without ideologies or even policies. The government (no particular one, all of them in succession) just drifts on.

All of which has been noted to frame a background against which the writer must create. Very few have gone in for satire in this rich field but many write in true poetaster tradition (3), on Christian themes at a somewhat low level of mystical inspiration, and in imitation of the easiest foreign expression which, at least in imitation, often seems to be the most boring.

Attempts are made to get material based on tradition and experience by secondary schools, tertiary colleges and universities, the Summer Institute of Linguistics and the Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies. This results in the competitions and elsewhere some very superficial legends and other traditional information. It does not seem to be until tertiary level (or by special effort by those encouraging pupils) that one can get information packed with facts. This is improving gradually and at times one sees better folklore from citizens than from foreign researchers. Much of this is published by the Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies in its journal *Oral History*, the other and more notable publication of the Institute being the quarterly journal *Bikmaus*.

This last journal, sub-titled Papua New Guinea Affairs, Ideas and the Arts, publishes work by both citizens and foreigners on music, film, opinion, research and literature. When one reads the lists of contents so far, Melanesians feature more in the literature section of the journal than in other sections. Why is this? After all, Melanesians have been a people who were interested in facts, they made logical deductions from the evidence available to them, even if this was later shown to be unscientific to an

extensive degree. But their lives were active and what strikes the observer of traditional culture and life is its dramatic quality. Of course, today, something much less attractive is noticed. Decaying villages due to excessive outmigration, lack of educational and medical facilities, absence of young men, lack of development of agriculture, and in town, boredom, poverty, starvation. In the urban areas as well, life has its dramatic moments and however much we might deplore drunkenness, riots, wife-beatings and break-and-enter raids, could these not perhaps be an attempt to recapture some of the lost drama of the past? University students seem to find it a novelty to think logically (as foreigners see it) but also indulge in violence occasionally, no doubt in reaction to the pressure of their studies which are mainly quite undramatic.

The extrovert quality of what was once non-literate life is noticeable. Melanesians learn new languages with rapidity, including European languages, whereas English-speakers in particular find difficulty in learning other languages, especially the small languages found here. As suggested above, of course there is a much smaller number of large language families than the 700 distinct languages based on a biased scale which, from the Melanesian point of view, turn Scandinavian dialects into separate languages. One of the largest language families (Elema), comes from the Gulf Province of Papua New Guinea and has the greatest out-migration rate of all. Most of the members of this group live in cities and many of the second and now third generation were born there. They still know their

1. Each government department and many foreign businesses pay the school fees of foreign children, but not for indigenous children whose parents are poorer.

2. But not necessarily at a tertiary institution. Some of the more successful writers have not been to a college or university, whereas some graduates appear to be semi-literate.

3. Often plagiarised, especially in the poetry section, so that we have "bunnies" and "roses" as well as difficult words which one has to look up in the dictionary.



National Theatre Company of Papua New Guinea

language but only speak it occasionally. Rather one hears them speaking in Pidgin and English and rarely in Motu. This is not only when non-speakers of their language are talking to them. It is a contrast with many others one hears in Moresby's poorer suburbs who, it could be said, discuss in the vernacular, quarrel in Motu, and swear in English.

Elema-speakers are great story-tellers, extrovert and dramatic. They have always had a reputation for not being cowed by colonialism and authority, and often even in the vernacular they leave out the verbs at dramatic points in their stories yet still

manage to keep the story-line flowing. Many of them cannot transfer their story-telling skills to paper but make wonderful informants. I describe them here because they seem to me to epitomize the type of people who will produce creative writing. What they show so vividly is what is also at work among their fellow-citizens whose language groups are less well-represented in the towns. My experience is mainly in Port Moresby and no doubt other groups, Highlanders, Sepiks and Tolais, might seem similar in Lae, Madang, and Rabaul. In the last case however, the Tolai urban-dweller is much more integrated with his village than the Gulf man who has perhaps

never seen his. The behaviour of this Gulf group might serve to show why literature is more attractive to Melanesians than is writing a thesis, an article which requires foot-notes and proof, or university assignments.

So much for the background. There was a newspaper for Papuan villagers before the last war; some foreigners were getting people to tell their life stories and publishing them under the narrators' names. An Australian administration, with a reputation for benevolence and even haste at the end, took what were seen then as decisive steps to improve education (however disappointing the contemporary end re-

sult); researchers swarmed in (only now being made to feel a little unwelcome, notably in the Milne Bay Province where Malinowski is not seen as the saviour of anthropology) all begging to be told stories they could write down; the University was started and the literature department recruited some notable foreign enthusiasts, some fresh from similar work in Africa, even though a little sad at being incomed into departure in favour of nationals. The Summer Institute of Linguistics began its extensive programme, but, of course, mainly for religious reasons; the various missions expanded and with them, their schools; the Literature Bureau found some hard-workers including eventually a Papuan, Jack Lahui (also a writer); the journal PNG Writing was published. Some instant books were produced with the help of foreign friends. More newspapers started and began to take on more citizen journalists, as did the National Broadcasting Commission. A journalism course was commenced at the University, the Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies was started, and for a while it looked as if one would have had to have lost one's typewriter in order not to get published. The future looked bright for writers and many entered the literature department courses at the University. The numbers there have shrunk in recent years.

The government and the business world want people who do not major in literature or even in the Arts faculty except perhaps economists (in fact they would rather have accountants and probably more urgently need honest auditors). Students have realized that most writers do not get rich. Success comes from business; even a university degree is no longer a guarantee of a job; foreigners with less but particular qualifications are brought in at great expense to fill vacancies. A degree does not get you elected to parliament as much, perhaps, as the statistics of your linguistic background and the handouts from your economic support. Nepotism is notorious and disillusionment is the order of the day. So, in fact, there is plenty to write about, but why only from the point of view of a cynic whom nobody wants to read, let alone pay to read.



National Theatre Company of Papua New Guinea

Yet the entries from the would-be writers increase and the literature competition is flourishing.

One thinks back to the days when foreign enthusiasts helped to get work written and published to the days when people who thought they wanted to be writers, but in the end wanted to be something else, wrote poems and stories of protest against foreigners. Now we have passed through a different phase: many plays presented by the National Broadcasting Commission, often naive and romantic but often very Melanesian and a puzzle to foreigners; film scripts by Melanesians (John Himugu, Albert Toro and others); novels apparently untouched by foreign hand (Russel Soaba, Paulias Matane); the dying out of ultraslim volumes of even thinner verses to be replaced by collections of poems (or are they?) from the competition, all of them making comments which should be of interest to sociologists; novels which lack planning but barely disguise the authors' grudges, often of a disappointingly parochial kind. And most surprisingly of all, a myth that the production of creative literature has waned.

I have heard this myth repeated by both citizen and foreign "experts" and felt embarrassed for their ignorance. As those who labour through bulging files of competition entries and submitted manuscripts will testify, writing is the hobby of the era, threatening to rival sport, politics, and drinking among those educated in English.

Teaching literature

Which brings me to another possible myth; namely that literature can be taught. This seems to me a doubtful premise. At any rate we need a largely localized literature department and the University has made a great effort in this direction, sending three citizens overseas to do their MAs. One came back and went into business, but hopefully the others will stick with their apparently chosen fields. The Library Service and the Summer Institute of Linguistics teach literacy as do the high schools. It is suggested we should have literature workshops, but for whom? For people who

cannot yet express themselves in English? There is still a long way to go. Perhaps the best thing we can offer is the opportunity to publish and this still very much exists: Bikmaus, Ondo Bondo (UPNG), the newspapers, the National Broadcasting Commission, the Summer Institute of Linguistics and other mission publishers (obviously a very special field). And something which our budding writers do not yet necessarily appreciate (with the exception of John Kasaipwalova and Paulias Matane), publication at one's own expense as is done in other Third World countries. One can also write for the entertainment of one's friends, enemies and interested persons for the personal pleasure of writing. The idea that one writes something and then the world is anxious to buy it and read it, dies hard.

Obviously, payment is something writers throughout the world should aim for, but the truth is that except in rare situations (such as a literary-snobish

society like the Chelsea Group or the Algonquin Table), writers will get rich today by writing books of poor quality. Melanesians who wish to live by their writing would be advised to make their society appear as exotic as possible in order to compete with foreign video-makers and others. Or, they could face the fact that many writers have to take boring jobs which pay for meals, and write in their spare time. However, they might also take heart from the fact that the work of African writers (some of it of dubious quality) is now pouring out of European presses. They have become a fashion and, at least one Pacific writer has been taken up as a cause. Naturally they would prefer the reward to come before demise rather than afterwards but remember Van Gogh and take pen rather than paint brush.

Important it is, certainly, to write; if you carelessly sign away the film rights and the film becomes a shadow of your novel, at least some people will be led to read what

you actually wrote. And it would be reasonable to say that writing is good for you psychologically; it might affect some politician's voting. Juvenal wrote of "the itch to write" and that "in a corrupt society one must write satire". Making fun of one's society, even though one disapproves of it, is surely good for both the writer and his readers. Melanesians are great satirists verbally (and of course possess a large body of unpublished oral literature) and yet do not seem to have quite enough confidence in English to transfer this to paper. I exhort them to do so and append a list of readings, that they and others might like to seek out. Finally, to see the sun setting on culture throughout the country, in 1987 government decided that all cultural institutions should become part of the Department of Civil Aviation...

John Kolia
Papua New Guinea

The author

John Kolia, a naturalized citizen of Papua New Guinea works in Port Moresby with the Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies. He did his doctorate in oral history at the University of Papua New Guinea and has written dictionaries, textbooks, novels, and plays for radio and stage. For the last few years he has been producing long satirical poems in iambic pentameter.

Books for further reading

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The Renaissance of Melanesian Culture in New Caledonia

*An interview with Jean-Marie Tjibaou **
(March 1984)

A few years ago you were at the origin of the first big public demonstration showing the renaissance of the Melanesian culture in New Caledonia and today you are one of the principal political leaders of your country. Has your political struggle been paralleled by your struggle for the recognition of the cultural identity of your country ?

Melanesia 2,000, the demonstration to which you are referring, was the result of an increase in awareness and a crisis of identity. Excluded from the educational, economic and social system, denied in their humanity, in their hierarchy and even in their right to their land, the Kanaks conceived the demonstration as a claim to recognition, the refusal at the same time of the "masque blanc" and of subordination. The Central Government could only think of a plan to absorb this movement. The local conservative authorities accepted it, not without suspicion, because it was an official project. Blockages - historical and psychological, more than cultural - made the middle classes more hostile to the demonstration. The Melanesians themselves were divided. My party was against what it considered as a colonial administrative plan. The other movements which today have formed themselves into the Front hesitated, but they participated. In the political context of an interruption of the discussions held in Paris on the statute, in the social context of the absence of Melanesians from all posts of responsibility and their lack of integration into the educational system, the operation which was well publicized, had a significant impact. For the first time, two thousand Melanesians went to Noumea and openly claimed their identity.

What have been the major steps of your action and what steps do you envisage in order to pass from a recognition to a real renaissance of your culture?

You can date the beginnings of the reassumption of pride in the Melanesian personality from the "Movement for a Happy Melanesian Village", born in the second half of the 1960s from the initiative of the women of suburban Noumea, notably Madame Pidjot, wife of the deputy from the first electoral district who died recently. The chief aim was to fight alcoholism. The repossession of the husbands by the wives had to be achieved by an improvement of the habitat and its environs. Regaining self-respect and the consciousness of belonging to a group had to pass by means of this step, however naive it may seem. From there we went further, extending our action and preparing a second step: from regained pride to regained culture. It was from this that the idea of Melanesia 2,000 was born, strongly supported by the Department of Youth and Sports that was then in office.

But it is fair to say that this important step had been prepared by the action of the Kanak students after 1968. Even if, in the eyes of ephemeral newspapers, the demonstrations of groups like the "red scarves" were the echo of world protest movements, this action, as and when it occurred, was oriented towards problems which were specific enough to trouble the established colonial order and to prepare people's minds to accept Melanesia 2,000.

Since then, various policies for independence have reinforced the search for identity at the human, territorial and institutional level. And then more recently there has been the recognition of the right of the Kanak people to independence formulated by the Socialist Party and the political positions

* Formerly Vice-President of the Council of Government of New Caledonia.

taken up during the last meetings of the Pacific Forum. Now the government has officially recognized the status of the indigenous population and the injustice it has suffered. This recognition, manifest in the creation of such organizations as the Kanak Cultural Scientific and Technical Office and the Land Registry, opens the way to the cultural renaissance of the Melanesians of New Caledonia.

Today, we speak a lot about tradition in New Caledonia. Can you explain what is meant by that? Does it have a real meaning for the Kanak people as a whole, in spite of colonization and the change in life-styles? How do you understand the contribution of this concept to the reconstruction of the national heritage of your people?

In today's context, the term "Custom", which is broad, derogatory and ambiguous, is used especially for convenience in expressing the alien character of the Melanesian culture. I remember that it was coined by Europeans to designate very

generally that which made up the Melanesian Kanak world and that which did not concern them. To that the Kanaks responded by giving the term another meaning which distinguishes us from the whites, from the technological, economic and commercial world which is theirs, which is foreign to us and to which they deny us access. From then on, Custom became a refuge. From this comes the meaning of a remark by a Kanak: "In Custom I am someone, in the town I am nothing". This means also that Custom, apart from its distinctive material features, is also an assembly of institutions which are specific to the Melanesians, which are their own, which define and dignify them as men, which make them real men in their own eyes, more than the administrative acts instigated and imposed by the whites ever could. That which confers value and importance on Europeans in their own societies does not correspond to that which gives the individual importance in ours. With the Europeans, "The more you have, the more you are"; with us, "The more you have the more you must give in order to be" in other people's eyes as well as your own.



Jean-Marie Tjibaou, Hotel Matignon, Paris, 3 oct.1988 (photo G. Merillon/Gamma)

It follows that it is impossible for us to consider as values the things which are the foundations of your societies, because these notions are destructive of our own. For us, the economy is not an end in itself. It is a technique, a means to an end. Accumulation, saving, capitalization, investment, expansion, growth and their corollaries : efficiency, profitability, are only used by us as devices. We are conscious of coming from somewhere else and of being linked still to this other place, from whence come our reference points. The colonial system not only made the Kanaks a foreign people, despised in their own country, but men who could only be identified by economic criteria, by consumer goods. It was a very primitive system!... We prefer an identity through traditional character.

It may be objected that certain other countries of the Pacific have preserved various material aspects of their customs more than ourselves. In these cases it is often a question of protocol, of cultural manifestations isolated from their context and which seem to us by no means "de-colonized" because they are confined to folklore or are considered as such. It is in its totality that tradition must give a sense to the life of a Melanesian.

Decolonization in the South Pacific has given rise to a strong feeling of regional solidarity which expresses itself in a number of ways. What is, in this context, the importance of a demonstration such as the Festival of Pacific Arts? And if we try to go further... A culture not only identifies itself by its originality but also by its claim to universality. How do you envisage the reconciliation of the cultural responsibility of the Kanak traditions with this international aspect?

Demonstrations such as the Festival of Pacific Arts can in effect help the Kanak culture to play the role of all cultures in contributing to a universal heritage. But for the time being we are concerned with the facts that underline the effort still needed to reconstruct our culture.

Unemployment for example, which prevents our young people from learning a job in order to become men. In the present system, the schools are the only way which lead to adult life. The educational system has only one objective: the access to a salary, monetary income, which has become an end in itself and in the absence of which, being unutilized, a man is refused and denied.

The conception of a man is linked to the way in which the individual is initiated into knowledge, to life. It necessarily concerns the question of development. One of our immediate problems is this. How, starting with a redefinition of the programmes and objectives of the schools, can one encourage a truly human development - not simply the making of homo economicus, the salary earner?

How do you envisage the assimilation of new forms of artistic expression by the Melanesian culture? Do you think it is possible and desirable to encourage the development of a Kanak literature in French?

The present situation in which the Melanesians are living is one of transition, marked by a lot of hesitation. The elements of modern life are there, but we lack models for the integration of the traditional and the modern. It is therefore a time of debate concerning the option for modern life on the one hand and the fear of losing our identity on the other. The debate will be a long one and we will have to surmount this contradiction. The symbiotic relationship between the traditional and the modern will operate, in effect, by the pressure of events. The new forms of expression achieve it by integration of materials. The sounds come out of a guitar, but it is to accompany poetic themes or those themes which are inspired by life in contemporary Melanesia. The same is true for the manou (cloth), whistles, the powdering and painting the body, the harmonica and the drums used today in our dances, our pilous all show the integration of that which is modern, that which comes from outside. Perhaps it is less clear, but we also have assimilated elements from surrounding cultures in our choreography.

And there is linguistic material, French and English as well, in the poems and chants, together with material borrowed from other South Sea Island cultures. One can say that there is a movement in the Melanesian society to re-establish a new identity built on the base of its traditions, but through the mobilization of material elements borrowed from other cultures and the use of patterns of the universal culture which are offered today by all the media.

The hesitation which persists results essentially from the fact that we still lack composers within the Melanesian culture to offer us new models, artistic works of sufficient depth and scope to give rise to reflection, a consciousness of possibilities and the stimulation of creativity.

There are however attempts, timid perhaps, especially in song and also in the fields of painting, sculpture, dance and theatrical expression.

We must hope for a revival of poetic and literary creations showing an inspiration founded on the Kanak tradition but also adapted to the contemporary environment of the Melanesians, the town. As well as a salary, acculturation is vital in this new context. But there is a need to create a cultural environment where modern life is integrated into the spirit of our ancestors without which there could be no reinheritance of traditions.

What will be the role of the cultural and scientific organizations already existing, or recently founded (the Melanesian Cultural Institute, the Kanak Cultural, Scientific and Technical Office)?

Among the organizations which have been created, the Melanesian Cultural Office can without doubt contribute to the achievement of the objectives which have just been outlined. But you mustn't forget the importance of the role of the "Land Registry". Its action should allow the clans to reappropriate their traditional lands, their sacred and taboo places. You can only appreciate the importance of this if you remember that the system of hierarchy can only function if it has a spatial interpretation. The arguments between clans that spring up today in the reappropriation of territory result first from the fact that tradition, which, at the base of our culture, established the organic link between our society and space, was shaken at this very deep level by the appropriation of the land which accompanied colonization.

The restoration of land rights appeared, therefore, as the prerequisite of our culture. This having been said, what will the role of the Melanesian Cultural Office be? The first and the most important job, will be a census of the country's cultural sites. UNESCO, CNRS and ORSTOM will be asked to contribute. It will include the material forms of our culture as well as the oral tradition, traditional practices and magic. The interest in all these aspects is fading in the urban environment even though they are the very fabric of our identity. In order to preserve these elements which are dispersed and threatened with neglect, a political effort in the widest sense of the term will be required with very clear objectives. The scheme of identification with respect to tradition must be clear enough to allow the Melanesians to reconstruct their own identity whilst remaining in the setting of the contemporary environment.

The second responsibility of the Cultural Office of Melanesia is the patronage of the Festival of Pacific Arts which will be held at Noumea in December 1984.* For my part, I am trying to get the idea accepted that this demonstration should include two aspects: the indispensable spotlight on the traditional culture, but at the same time, another aspect: that which illustrates clearly the situation of South Sea Islanders in the contemporary context. This supposes artistic creations that throw light on present life-styles, that is to say their claims (cultural, economic, political) and their anxiety at all levels in the face both of life and death. I mean by that that the South Sea Islanders, once they have assured themselves of the classic forms of response of their traditional culture and confirmed their feelings of continuity and permanence, need new responses adapted to their new conditions of life, using new means of communication. More explicitly, the voice of the South Sea Islanders and the message it has about the South Sea

Islands; the voice of, and for, our people must be broadcast today in the media in order that we can continue to exist and to remain at peace with ourselves; to give value at last to our identity through creation.

The principal aim of the Melanesian Cultural Office for 1985 will be the continuation of the Festival. It is going to attempt to retain the best aspects of the community brought together by the occasion. The numerous groups formed will prolong and enhance what was gained by the demonstration. The new cultural centres of Noumea and Hienghene will be the setting for these activities.

As a follow-up to the previous questions, we would like to ask you a practical question. How do you envisage the solution of the concrete problems posed by the reconstruction and diffusion of the Kanak culture?

The Cultural reconstruction is a large task. The job of the various services concerned must be to think, to help others to think, to integrate culture and life and to arrange the space available, the setting of life, in favour of harmonious development of the inhabitants and the greatest quality of life. The distribution of territory is, however, governed by material imperatives. Consider the duality of space in New Caledonia at the present time. It is necessary to imagine possible solutions to overcome the irreducible differences of the two spaces which confront each other. If it is not possible to organize the town to integrate the tribe. We can try to organize the country to achieve the simultaneous integration of the town and the tribe. The idea is this: we subsidize the elements in the town which contribute to the quality of life, sports grounds, playing fields, swimming pools, parks... Why not take into consideration the activity of workers who, in the rural areas, procure the elements of the quality of life by making mats, baskets, the preparation of traditional money, the composition and execution of speeches, songs, dances. They participate through doing this in a concept of development which passes beyond the elementary well-being procured through material objects obtained by a salary. Modern money must aid the making of traditional money. These activities, the improvement of huts and of the facilities of the tribes could be given in return for exemptions (for example on transport, to facilitate mobility and exchange). These possibilities have been considered for inclusion in the next budget and development plan.

Therefore a reconstruction of culture, certainly. But a culture which includes an improvement of the whole setting of life and services, and which endows them with a style for the well-being of all.

* This was cancelled and later held in Papeete, French Polynesia.

Life in an urban setting, which is the situation of an increasing number of Melanesians, Polynesians and Micronesians, is in contradiction with a lot of the traditional values of the societies of the south Pacific (the attention given to natural rhythms, sharing, exchange, sociability, communal attitudes) which define the quality of life there. How do you reconcile the inevitable existence of the town with what we call here in opposition to the latter "the bush" or "the interior and the islands" ?

With its advantages but also its disadvantages, the urban environment is certainly foreign to traditional Melanesian society. The anonymity, the daily struggle for recognition, to obtain a place, to occupy a situation, to survive, are unknown in our rural societies. On coming to town the Melanesian knows that he will have to face up to new standards, those in the industrial society : efficiency, profitability, strict scheduling of events and also the individualism and solitude which are in contradiction with the illusory ease of communication and exchange.

These drawbacks are introduced into the tribes in the rural setting once the tribe includes salary earners. Once the tribe is itself brought into the urban movement, it begins to share a different system of "values". How can we adapt to this shock whilst remaining true to ourselves and at ease in our new setting? That is our problem.

To understand our malaise and our aspirations, you must remember that we are not yet decolonized. We see the non-Kanak environment, to which there is a demand that we belong, not only through the alienation of our land rights, but also through the obstacle of examinations, the rigors of management, the cold rules of the economy. This "modern" world, which has not yet exorcised us, continues to carry the mark of a colonization which diminishes us, which emasculates. The persistence of a mass amnesia with regard to the real situation of the Kanak people, the refusal to recognize our pedigree, the negation of the vestiges of our past, all of these things show that we are not wanted. The colonial system has made the Kanak anonymous. We have not become outsiders by chance, nor by a simple passive refusal. If today I can share with a non-Kanak of this country that which I possess of French culture, it is impossible for him to share with me the universal element of my culture. The reconciliation of the town and the rural environment must therefore pass through the recognition of the Melanesian identity and the complete restoration of our values.

Recent history has brought to New Caledonia, the land of the Melanesians, several foreign cultures. How do you conceive the co-existence of these cultures and the original culture? Do you think that we should cultivate the differences in the name of the

past, or, as Claude Lévi-Strauss has written, to try to "preserve the diversity of culture without reference to the historical content that each epoch has given to it" ?

The Melanesians find foreign cultures, in their most diversified forms, in the towns. But they are part of the general cultural transformation that our country has known. The French language and system of logic are taught in schools and all the children who attend school, Melanesian or not, are raised by this system.

In order to be capable of being integrated, a foreign system must encounter a "firm" personality, one that is sure of itself and of its system of references. Once this is the case for the Melanesians of this country, they will be able to face and integrate the best of a different system. The mastery of French, an international language of communication, is without doubt an advantage. But to use it, the Melanesians do not have to become

black Frenchmen. They must, in opposition to the rest of the world, be people who are faithful to their inspiration and their way of life, but capable of using the contemporary media and the schools to assimilate contributions from other cultures and to affirm their own identity.

Between the search for identity and the acquisition of elements from other cultures which make up daily life, defining the position of the individual in the new environment, the movement, the dialectic, is constant. But the fear of losing oneself and giving up one's identity should also be constant. It is a means of security, a reference point, a safe-guard against madness which has the same value to Melanesians who have decided to integrate foreign cultures as for other men placed in the same situation, confronted with the same choice. Observing that which is happening to my country, I have the conviction that cultural osmosis implies a certain fixity, a prolonged contact, not only of systems but of individuals living together. But before the sharing of cultures is possible, there must be the explicit recognition of the identity of each. The preponderance of the language of colonization is not the slightest bit bad as long as it is used by the local culture to affirm itself and to obtain recognition. Today in New Caledonia the media and the schools illustrate the necessity of making our cultural protest first of all a national protest. The Melanesian cultural identity can only attain its true dimension if the Melanesian society has the capacity to master its destiny. The various cultural organizations that were recently created are useful gifts, good tools, but can we build an identity with these tools ?

*Interview conducted by J-F Dupon
(Translated from the French).*

Towns, Society and Culture in the South Pacific : The Case of French Polynesia



Papeete, 1895, Coll. Musée de l'Homme, Paris.

As in many towns in the South Pacific, the spatial development of Papeete has occurred according to the distribution of money. In different districts, the site conditions individualize, then reinforce the discontinuities and the contrasts inside the social space of

the town. Tensions which arise from time to time are the obvious expression of differences. By strikes which happen in key-sectors of the market economy, the lowest classes claim more justice and solidarity. Minorities of the rich class oppose, for their part, the profound

structural reforms that are suggested in moderation by the parent state. They will put into effect a well set up social order, inherited from the colonial period. In this socio-cultural mixture, with a strong ethnic colour, the silent force of the Church is far from inactive.

Established facts

What type of people are present in the town of Papeete? What are the equivalent terms of **máòhi**, **taata**, **afa**, **popa'a** (stranger) and **tinito** (Chinese). To ask these questions it is already known that the town is the meeting place of four overlapping cultural patterns; that there exists side by side two universes joined by purely artificial links.

Máòhi universe

From figures, it is the largest. It highlights the Polynesians descending from the first occupants of the Máòhi territory. We prefer the term Máòhi to the word Maori, which has a New Zealand background rendered common place for a long time by various works written to glorify the cohesion of a cultural Polynesian domain. The word Máòhi is mainly a qualitative expression, popularized by the Polynesians who were of a stock and which underlined their ethnic pride, perceived according to essentially cultural criteria.

Minority models

Mixed with this first universe, one can see a second one, regrouping minorities fully represented elsewhere in the towns, consisting of three cultural groups: Demi, European (mainly French) and Chinese.

To describe the Demi, there are big ambiguities. Nearest by blood to the Máòhi, they never fail to identify with them, even if they become more and more removed. But it is also, paradoxically, the element that is the most French speaking. The inextricable character of their parent-hood necessitates research elsewhere than in race, the criteria of qualification. The number of people has probably been overestimated by official censuses that for many Demi would acknowledge that they are the product of cross-breeding. A certain number of them look with a jaunced eye at the formidable blooming of Máòhi cultural manifestations. The Demis have, for ancestors, soldiers, sailors, policemen, business men and adventurers, who came to Papeete

during the beginning of the colonial period. They have implanted themselves in a definitive way, constituting a landed inheritance in slightly doubtful conditions helped by metropolitan legislation. The small urban bourgeoisie formed in this way, the absentee landlords, get a rent from Polynesian share croppers. They soon invested in trade both between the islands and the outer world. Little by little, the upper class in the towns consolidated their position under the colonial regime. Then, thanks to the internal autonomy granted by France, they were free to gain mastery of the conduct of commerce and politics. The same names recur today in commercial society and in finance. The young Demi students have acceded to responsible jobs based, with a few adjustments, on the metropolitan system.

These vague definitions become erased with the two last types, Asiatic and European, the social status of which, as a general rule, the Demis have nothing to envy. Coming from two waves of immigration in the 19th century and in the first three decades of the 20th century, the Asiatics, Chinese mainly, have achieved social status later than the Demis.

They now occupy the forefront of the economic scene, and are models in the matter of education. Whilst the original generations were in very little agreement with the racial mixing, the most recent arrivals are very different in their attitudes from their predecessors. As to the European model, it is mainly composed of French speaking people. Most are bound by contract to the Pacific Experimental Centre (CEP), and to the military establishment. The rest are financiers and in the independent professions. Their social status, as well as that of other minorities, is negatively perceived by the Máòhi. All the same, they constitute a particularly permeable human circle, although more and more marginalized in the town of Papeete. They have accepted almost completely the integration in peril the existence of the group. But today the Máòhi element, firmly attached to the religious beliefs which govern part of its existence, rediscovers with success its

cultural riches and claims in a loud voice its own cultural identity.

Historical evolution in Papeete has founded an original society along ethnic lines, as in terms of habitation (town/country) and significant events (before and after CEP).

If we consider French Polynesia, there is a territorial contrast between, on the one hand, the town of Papeete, mainly middle-class, cosmopolitan and French speaking, where Tahitian is used as a common language by the immigrants, and, on the other hand, the rural hinterland where Tahitian is the main language and French is precarious. At the same time, the amount of mixing blurs the distinction between ethnic groups.

Sociological factors of differentiation - kinds of life in a strongly monetarized system, linguistic choice between the "Reo Máòhi" (1) with its four forms "Parau Máòhi"; "Parau Tuhaa Pae" (the language of the original inhabitants of the Austral Islands); "Parau Paumotu" (the language of the original inhabitants of the Tuamotu and Gambier archipelagoes) and "Parau Enata" (the language of the Marquesas Islands) and the French largely used in religious practice, professional activities, education create - according to the group a certain homogeneity, or underline antagonism.

Máòhi solidarity facing its contradictions

Religion as the cement of the life of the group

In towns, each individual situates religion on the same level as family organization or the residential community, as a necessary frame of guidance in society.

In Papeete, the urban population has above all embraced the Evangelical church, which is autonomous from the reformed churches. Religious practices and ideals are the criteria of social differentiation.

Among the Protestants, the clergy are entirely people of the country. On the contrary, among the Catholics, the penetration by people of the country is very



Traditional qualities of expression have survived in spite of changes in Polynesian society and its acculturation.

limited. Those in control of the clergy, Europeans, have not hesitated to encourage the families of the Tuamotu and Gambier archipelagoes, and of the Marquesas, to come and live in Papeete to facilitate attendance at private schools, which have real prestige.

The members of the clergy still have, in their parishes, a power and authority that is uncontested. Local political parties make use of their services. But the Protestant clergy benefit from a large scale of autonomy in the exercise of their ministry. The urban Māōhi find in religion a spiritual comfort which helps them in their material unhappiness. The European intervention in Tahiti was first accomplished by Protestant missionaries, then by Catholics before it became political (2). Polynesians and in particular the aristocracy accepted immediately the incorporation of Christian elements in their socio-political order, of which traditional religion constituted the base. But very quickly, the Māōhi, who had no power, witnessed the collapse of the old order of things and adopted the beliefs of

the missionaries. An entirely new order completely regulated by Christianity and market economy was put into place. After the first shock, the missionaries employed themselves in codifying and writing down the oral traditions (language, culture), then a social and cultural balance tried to establish itself and to organize a synthesis of ancient values and new customs. From 1960 to 1980 this tendency increased and took on a social dimension. The churches made themselves the champions of cultural tradition. All the same they advocated social conservatism in order not to push towards risks of explosion (3). Religion is opposed to the degradation of social relations and keeps the fragile balance of tolerance between the groups.

So the Māōhi have for example been proselytes, convinced Christians towards people coming from Asia, when the religious colleges, mainly the college Pomare IV, without waiting for administrative sanction, had been trying to promote the Polynesian language - reo māōhi. Parsons and curés have played an

important part in the Tahitian Academy, and bible meetings have been the best schools for the learning and popularization of the Māōhi language.

For the Māōhi, who likes community participation and relationships, religion today is a support of community life. It is the cement capable of ensuring the cohesion of groups, which have been put in peril by material constraints. How can we otherwise interpret the grouping of Polynesians coming from the same archipelago: in miserable slums? The reconstitution of community life compensates for the mediocrity of material conditions of existence.

Among the facts showing solidarity and Māōhi cooperation, in the midst of these sectors of insalubrious living where Catholic and Protestant priests have influence and are respected, one can name the

collection for May - **aufaura' a me** - organized by the reformed churches. This is an occasion where the pride of the group and the search for prestige is obvious. In other regions it takes the form of giving land or puts at the disposition of others, according to the work undertaken, a kind of family manpower. Religious cohesion is better expressed amongst the Protestants, where the money given each year to the church is noticeable. The collection (4) gathers together the financial participation of faithful members of the church grouped by parishes, and then sub-divided in **amuiraa**. Through pride, these people give to their deacons their money, and always try to seek the benefit of consideration of the most generous gifts.

The Māōhi often belong to a sector which is the most depressed in modern urban society. They live in insanitary houses, because they cannot afford a high rent or obtain land near to their place of work. So, in consequence, they are most marked by the signs of social pathology (alcoholism, drugs, delinquency) which affects the whole of the Māōhi population. Undeniably, religious convictions bring them spiritual comfort. It is not by chance

that a **fare amuiraa** (meeting place for the community) always has its place in these insalubrious areas.

But alongside this, the discomfort that they feel in this area of the town is the result of their tendency to buy prestigious consumer goods (5) (hifi, expensive motor cars).

This blind adhesion to an imported consumer society does not prevent the Mádhi from excelling as a craftsman, although it is not really a return to the sources in an artisan's environment. At the same time, the cultural renewal meets difficulty in penetrating the school walls to place Mádhi culture in its true place.

New start to a revival or renewal of culture

The missionaries have not only exercised an influence on the political scene since their arrival. Together with the sailors, the businessmen, and the colonial administrators, they were the real agents of acculturation. But models and values coming from Europe had been transmitted in an unequal way, incomplete and re-interpreted according to the ideology of the group. Hence the divergences and also the divisions of the urban population now exist in the context of a unitary culture, however exceptional (Peter Buck). The urban conflicts reflect the aspects of an acculturation which has not succeeded in killing ancient creeds or ancient customs.

The town of Papeete is, with its port and airport, without any doubt the part of Polynesia most exposed to external influences and to new ideas. These are reflected in the rural areas. Since the last decade, the action of the mass media has emphasized the danger of cultural emptiness. Young people are losing the use of the language of their ancestors and seek, pushed by their parents, a French model. The introduction of **reo mádhi** in teaching is too recent to estimate its effect. In building, the use of materials inspired by Europe is general. Plastic has entered into boat building. Songs and dances, which still are the favorite distraction, do not express themselves truly, except in the national festival of the 14th of July. Outside this period, the groups perform in tourist

hotels. These deep and obvious changes must not mask the current attempts to assure the renewal of Polynesian culture. But efforts take place in a kind of dispersed way in the field of art and craftsmanship as in the field of the language, everyone trying to make his point of view predominate. It is the case especially of teaching **Reo Mádhi**, where several schools of thought confront each other. Will the Tahiti Toa Association know how to restore the virtues of group life, and become the cement of this renewal?

One must hope so. However, the media misinterprets this movement of research into cultural identity. The truth is something different. The urban universe has caused the Mádhi population to become conscious of its position as an uprooted and disadvantaged people. The oldest urban migrants rediscover their cultural landmarks at the time of the July festivities. These **Fetii** of the islands or the districts of Tahiti come then to tell their **Pari Pari** (6), kinds of poems which enumerate places and events relating to their original place of birth. During a folklore evening, the urban Mádhi relive events of former times. Other traces still exist with more or less happiness. The old education, characterized by tolerance with initiative left to the children to participate in useful activities, still prevails. Unfortunately the social environment, based on a monetary economy, forces parents to employ children in certain tasks which bring in money: selling lottery tickets or necklaces of flowers or straw baskets. In another field, the songs which praise the way of life of the Mádhi, the theatrical plays in the Tahitian language, show on the one hand that the destruction of their culture has not been total, and on the other that the forms of collective life reappear on the occasion of these festivals. Hence the apparant contradiction between the words of these songs which refer to gods of the pagan religion (**Taaroa, oro...**) and the religious creed of the actors (Protestants, Catholics).

Finally there is an area where the Mádhi, for most part with preoccupations other than exploring their past, understand how to preserve their ancient customs and to resist those which have come from the Occident: that of the land. The method of

transfer of urban property within groups, even if it has a tendency to fade away, is contrary to the principle of the Civil Code (individual property cannot remain undivided). Two hundred years of acculturation have not shaken custom in this area (7). Real estate is the glaring evidence of the everlasting nature of Polynesian culture, which distinguishes the ownership of land (inalienable family rights) and the use of the land. Maintaining these conceptions has been an obstacle to the ideas of other ethnic groups, who tried to obtain their suppression, and that of the corresponding socio-cultural realities. In the past as today, tentative efforts have resulted in the formation of individualistic property, which increased the complexity of the situation but failed to produce a complete change.

Prestige and education

In town areas, residential segregation introduces the biggest differentiation. In the smart districts, the Mádhi group is not absent. Like other groups, the Mádhi have succumbed to ostentation which has brought them nearer to introduced models. This can be seen in the buying of superfluous prestige. For it is at the expense of the most essential needs (education, housing, food supply) that the more disadvantaged among town people buy their expensive consumer goods (large cars, hifi, video, motorcycles, etc.) If credit facilities, although common place, are inaccessible, there is always the solution of financing purchases by selling land.

In former times, in densely populated areas with bad housing, social forms of helping, associations for buying land, of looking after children, help with the search for work, have been spontaneously created between the partially integrated urban population and the new-comers. To look for the esteem of others, these associations also hoped to achieve a leading role as mediator between the island people and the administration, courted by people of political parties mainly when there is election fever (territorial, communal or deputations). This phenomenon is not new. Pouvanaa a Oopa had a political message impregnated with biblical quotations. The

first political party that he founded propagated its ideas through the deacons, very efficient mouthpieces. Today, indications of the relaxing of relations between individuals are perceptible. But it is neither their marginalization in urban society, which appears through the symptoms of social pathology, nor the help to return to their islands, officially pushed with little success by a special fund (Fonds d'aide au développement des îles), that will extract migrants from the town. Searching for work, the Mâôhi sees that he cannot hope to get employment which requires qualifications.

Parallel to the rising tide of juvenile delinquency, there is recourse to employment as security personnel (urban police, vigilantes, prison wardens, gendarmes, municipal agents) that require minimal qualification. This is an expedient, paradoxically and commonly used by the young Mâôhi to satisfy their need for flashy consumer goods. Their parents, influenced by electoral campaigns which are conducted exclusively in the Tahitian language, tend to form a clientèle relying on the local government to solve their minor daily problems.

Being influenced by all political trends, the Mâôhi group, if it is conscious of being disadvantaged, often tolerates the world wide imported system of education, centred on intellectual and abstract jobs, with teaching done in French. The failure rate in schools of its children does not seem to provoke resentment. If a diploma opens the door to a stable and guaranteed job, the Mâôhi do not often clamour for a change in the methods of education. This is because the Demis have the key jobs and pretend that French is an essential language for external communications. But what is the final goal of education if it is not to get a more balanced participation in possessions, power and knowledge between all classes?

Competition of minorities

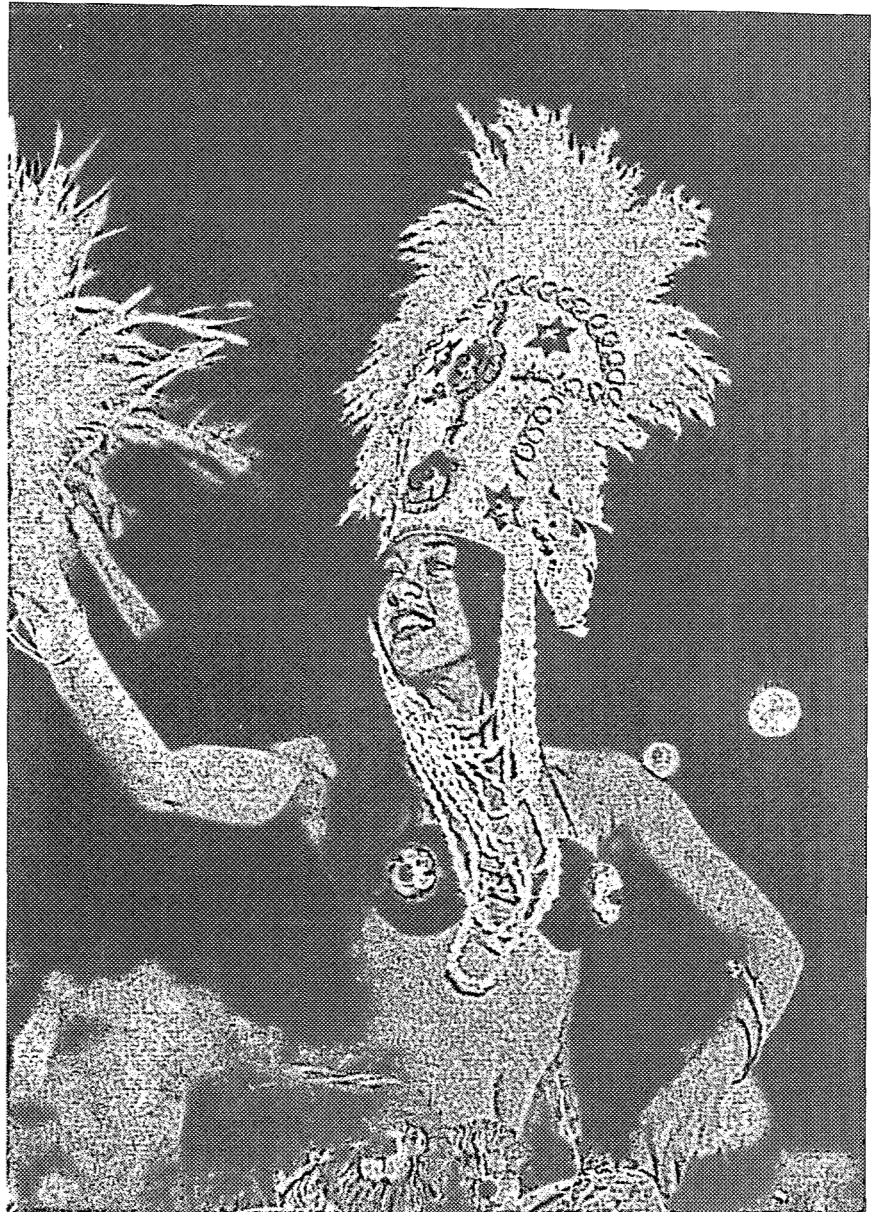
The Mâôhi group is suffering from an existing imbalance between its traditional thought and the rhythm of town life. Its position of economic inferiority is in

contrast to its weight in the demographic balance of the country. The Mâôhi take from the technological society only what their cultural profile can adopt, whereas the immigrant groups, Asiatic and European, have put into practice occidental concepts during the 150 years of their presence. The competition between Demis, European and Chinese can be observed in three principal fields, education, administration, and

finance, and is in practice exercised without the participation of the Mâôhi.

The attraction of administrative sinecures

Essentially implanted in Tahiti and Papeete, in particular, the public function has a plethoric character in French Polynesia. Scattered in substantial



"July 14th". Tiurai, or how a metropolitan commemoration has become a Polynesian institution.

services and in offices created more often as soon as a new class gets into power, the public sector is not closed to partisan influence.

The exaggerated development of the tertiary sector, amplified by the extension of the communal administration (in Papeete, 600 agents are working for the commune), are at the root of the inequality and shocking distortions between the urban categories of people. Illicit trading, high bids, manipulation, favouritism, double jobs are part of the history of the recent Polynesian administration.

The administrative employer has created by his existence an artificial commercial circuit based on imports where prices are aligned to the buying power of public salaries. The job market is completely deformed because the private sector, apart from a few large Asiatic, Demi, or European societies operating in a monopoly situation in a few loop holes, until now ignored (hydro electricity, pearl fishing), would not have such a role in an undiversified economy. And this, while the difference between the salaries of the administration and those of the private sector is considerable. And consequently, all the town dwellers are looking for administrative jobs providing security, stability and automatic increases in salary, social security and access to credit.

A social promotion, function of socio-cultural adherence

The Mádhi, because their understanding of the French language is not perfect, have not succeeded in penetrating the jobs which carry responsibility. On the other hand, they have good places in junior administrative positions in the lower ranks. Only 18.7 % of the Mádhi pupils reach the 6th form. They try for middle ranking positions and to enter the Teachers' Training College. Very few leave the territory to obtain a university degree. Some privileged people, holders of diplomas, take middle rank jobs. Young girls are engaged in jobs which require less qualifications (commerce, tourism, domestic service). The meagre financial resources are entirely absorbed by



Coll. Musée de l'Homme, Paris

consumer goods, for the benefit of local trade.

The Demis, by contrast, are able to put a definite value on themselves in the local administrative sector. Familiar with legal practices and administrative procedures of all kinds, which are strange to the majority of the Mádhi, they become the

intermediaries. Their children are given preference in the urban religious colleges, they currently use the French language and are often trilingual (French, Tahitian, English). Offering little resistance to the politics of French influence, they look with a jaundiced eye at the rise of the Chinese who for several years have disputed the

administrative leadership and to a lesser extent the political. The localisation of the executive group continues nevertheless to the Demi's greater profit. Tracing their strategies from the Europeans and Asiatics, they ensure their security by investing abroad in real estate. Having won the day as traders in the import-export field and displaced the Demis in retail business, the Asiatics put to good use the facilities that they have been given by the public authority in the name of the principles of equality. The central government, anxious for assimilation, has freely given them French nationality. Some of the descendants of the first immigrants follow the path taken by their parents and follow them in business, but today, the strategy of the Asiatics tends more to monopolize administrative senior positions and elected positions as trade unionists or politicians. They invade the liberal professions (medicine, accountancy). Mainly attending religious schools, the Chinese represent the largest relative percentage of school children. They become strictly French speaking, turning their back on the cultural schools of Kuo Ming Tang and Si Ni Tong. The new generation, is little by little, distancing itself from its former mother countries, (Hong-Kong, Taiwan), and is strengthening its links with France (Chamber of Commerce and Industry). It discovered, in the United States, another place to achieve a better education.

Conclusion

Born from colonization, the town of Papeete has become a crossroads where different cultures are obliged to live together in conditions which are rarely in favour of the development of an integrated society with a sense of social belonging.

In the artificial framework of a system of subsidized economy, marked by a preponderance of white-collar workers, the competition between existing groups which is regulated by largely foreign values is developing to the detriment of the Mādhī group. To its ideal of cultural identity, the influence of the majority group and the system of selection allowing for an improved standard of living in an urban environment create a barrier, which can only be surmounted if they get assimilated.

G. Tetiarahi

Tahiti

(Translated from the French).

Notes :

1. The works of Dura Raapoto, a Tahitian language teacher in the college Pomare IV inform the actual meaning and the philosophy of that word.

2. Two historical books, written by Reverend Vernier and Father Hodee, describe the respective parts played by Catholic and Protestant missions in French Polynesia.

3. Putting aside the bombing of the Post Office by Polynesians, the social explosion really happened in 1958 when the member of Parliament, Pouvanaa a Oopa, "metua" of Polynesians, was arrested because he had been found guilty of having organized an attempt to burn down the town. The old leader remained the "bête noire" of the French administration and of business circles on the island of Tahiti. Pouvanaa a Oopa represented the bitterness and also the hopes of popular circles in such a dynamic and authentic way, that the Mādhī could believe for the first time that they themselves could accede to power.

4. In his diary, James Morisson gives details at the time of European colonization of the uses of such collections. Thus it is not a contemporary phenomenon.

5. One can say that in Papeete, an individual is first seen through the material possessions that he can display.

6. The "Pari-Pari" have been valuable references to transcribe the toponomy of the Island of Tahiti when working groups of l'Institut géographique national (a mapping agency) were establishing basic maps.

7. Our research shows clearly that town people, having recently settled there and staying on, lose their rights of land tenure in their islands when they do not send news. Land and family is the same.

The author

Gabriel Tetiarahi is a Tahitian geographer. After obtaining the Doctorat IIIème cycle at the University of Bordeaux III in April 1984, he is currently engaged in obtaining the Doctorat d'Etat, the subject of his thesis being the urban organization of Papeete.

Books for further reading

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A Polynesian Culture Confronted by Geographic Separation : Wallis and Futuna

*An Interview with M. Sioli Pilioko**
(March 1984)

Can you describe in a few words the territory of Wallis and Futuna and say something about its uniqueness within the Polynesian setting as regards its political, social and religious systems, the distribution of the population ? How is cultural and artistic life organized ?

The territory of Wallis and Futuna is situated almost in the centre of the South Pacific, north of Fiji and Tonga, to the west of the Islands of Samoa. The three Islands that compose the territory : Uvea (Wallis), Futuna and Alofi, only make up 235 square kilometres of land. They support about 12,000 inhabitants of which two-third are found on the Island of Wallis. The uniqueness of our country in the heart of Polynesia is due to the fact that we have preserved our traditional political system. Our three kings : Lavelua of Wallis and the kings of Sigave and Alo at Futuna govern the country parallel to the French administration. The other uniqueness of our country arises from the uncontested hold of the Catholic faith, implanted by the Marist missionaries in the last century in an essentially Protestant environment.

You can say that the cultural and artistic activities exist in our country in a pure state. Song and dance and the manufacture of traditional objects remain spontaneous and, if I may say, functional. However the Cultural Affairs Service and the Cultural Association for Wallisian and Futunian Art takes responsibility for keeping fully alive the various forms of artistic expres-

sion and to safeguard those traditions which are threatened, to preserve the vestiges of the past and to promote art and local culture in all their forms.

Wallis and Futuna have preserved a flourishing cultural identity. What do you attribute this vitality to? How does it manifest itself (for example in song, dance, crafts, art)? Are there local variations from one Island to another?

The isolation, the preservation of our traditional political system, the strong social cohesion that no doubt the Catholic faith has enhanced, are objective factors that could be put forward. But it is true that we are proud of our culture, that our traditions are appreciably different from one Island to another, that at the local level emulation, a typically Polynesian characteristic which manifests itself on the occasion of dances, singing, games and other forms of expression, has without doubt contributed to the preservation of the vitality of our creations.

Our art is illustrated as throughout the rest of Polynesia by dance and song, which independent of its diversity and beauty is important in that it constitutes our oral literature. In the sphere of plastic arts, sculpture, weaving, the making and decoration of tapa, a sort of bark cloth, are very much alive. The same is true for the work of the carpenters (tufunga) who build our fale. In all cases one can speak of popular art which remains very close to its roots.

Do you have links with other Polynesian archipelagoes ? Are the art, language and material culture of Wallis and Futuna related to neighbouring groups of islands ?

Yes. According to tradition we have connections with the kingdom of Tonga, where the first inhabitants of Uvea came from, and with Samoa which was the origin of the people of Futuna. These connections are apparent in the domain of politics, language and art. We are aware of them and can identify them without difficulty.

Wallis and Futuna depend, in part, for their administration on New Caledonia, which is more than 2,000 kilometres away. Why are there such special relations with a Melanesian territory ?

The primary reason is a practical one. Noumea constitutes, up to a certain point, an adequate intermediary administrative centre between ourselves and Paris, being closer than Papeete. But you must remember that today there are as many Wallisian-Futunians living in New Caledonia as on Wallis and Futuna themselves. Most of these families moved at the time of the last boom of the mining industry, the nickel boom of the 1960s, attracted by the ease of employment. A lot of them stayed on and the group has multiplied.

* Head of the Cultural Affairs Service of Wallis and Futuna.

Do the Wallisian and Futunian population of New Caledonia maintain close ties with their islands of origin? Have they preserved their cultural identity? How has this been achieved? Do you help them in this?

The links, for a number of reasons, are as close and intricate as you would expect; they include blood and matrimonial ties as well as economic bonds. The present difficulties facing the mining industry in New Caledonia have not attenuated these links, the case is rather the contrary. The Wallisians and Futunians of New Caledonia constitute an extremely independent, solid and well structured group which has preserved with its Catholic faith the essentials of its cultural identity (clothing, food, festivals and, of course, language).

The religious associations for the youth which are in the form of organized prayer groups are matched by numerous artistic groups. Our compatriots also have their word to say in local politics.

The Wallisian and Futunian community of New Caledonia presents a social structure which reproduces in part that of the country of origin: the five presidents correspond to the three districts of Wallis and the two kingdoms of Futuna. The emigrants from a particular village maintain links with that village through their local administrator. Upon this administrative structure is superimposed that of the districts or sub-districts of New Caledonia which are independent of the geographical origin of the inhabitants.

The organization of the 4th Festival of Pacific Arts at Noumea at the end of the year will be the occasion for the Wallisian and Futunians to meet and to show the continuity of their culture. How are you preparing for this great occasion? ()*

Yes, it is a great occasion, a rare event. Although it is being organized by the Kanaks, the festival will also be that of the Wallisian and Futunian communities of New Caledonia. We are busy making preparations. Long and delicate negotiations have just been completed to deter-

mine the constitution of the delegation. At Wallis, the king has designated a village in the Hififo district to send participants. The overall organization is the responsibility of the Cultural Association. In all, the islands



Tapestry by Aloï Pilioko (Couple of dancers 1977). Wallis Doc. Sioli Pilioko.

of Wallis and Futuna will be represented by 120 participants and the community of New Caledonia will provide more or less the same number.

From your point of view what is the meaning and the role of a demonstration like this in the South Pacific? What are you going to show to illustrate art and culture?

The festival should be the occasion to affirm the regional solidarity of the insular Pacific countries, to show that they still share, beyond their differences, a system of communal values of which the finest is perhaps that of tolerance and to show also the ways in which these values can be expressed. Through their friendly rivalry in dancing, singing, etc., the participating countries can demonstrate these shared values and their solidarity with each other. This can be a lesson for the rest of the world. We will show the best that we have. For example, games: a kind of bowling which is played with fruit, the lafo, the ulutoa, which is similar to the javelin. As for dances and songs, the festival will be the occasion to revive some ancient traditions which have been somewhat neglected, like the ancient dance called soamako. We count on making our section of the exhibition a meeting place not only for both parts of our people now separated by the ocean, but also for all the other Islanders. It will be a centre of attraction. We are constructing a traditional fale with the material from our islands. We are rehearsing songs and dances. We will demonstrate the art of tapa, from the working of the raw material to the finished product. You will be able to taste our cooking and to drink kava. The stand and its fale will be a sort of museum of popular arts and traditions of Wallis and Futuna, but it will be a living museum. We hoped to be able to build a large canoe and to make the voyage from our home islands to New Caledonia, an echo of our ancient migrations, but it will not be possible to achieve the project this time. I would like to add that the festival is also a competition, which for the Polynesians adds an attraction, in that they see it as a game in which they can win and in so doing enable their country to win.

* This Festival was cancelled and later held in Papeete, French Polynesia.

The systematic inventory of the archaeological and prehistoric remains of your country is currently being made. Their protection and study will allow us to learn more about the past of your country and the things that tradition has not retained. Are the people interested in the investigations and their outcome? Have they been well received?

In effect the CNRS and the ORSTOM have, since 1981, been undertaking an inventory of sites in Wallis. This project fills a scientific gap as no such study has ever been made, a surprising fact when you consider the richness of the discoveries that have already been made. This programme has received the total support of the Association for the Culture and Art of Wallis and Futuna, which has been associated with the project in a new style of bilateral scientific co-operation. It has been received with unanimous interest and consideration by the people, who are

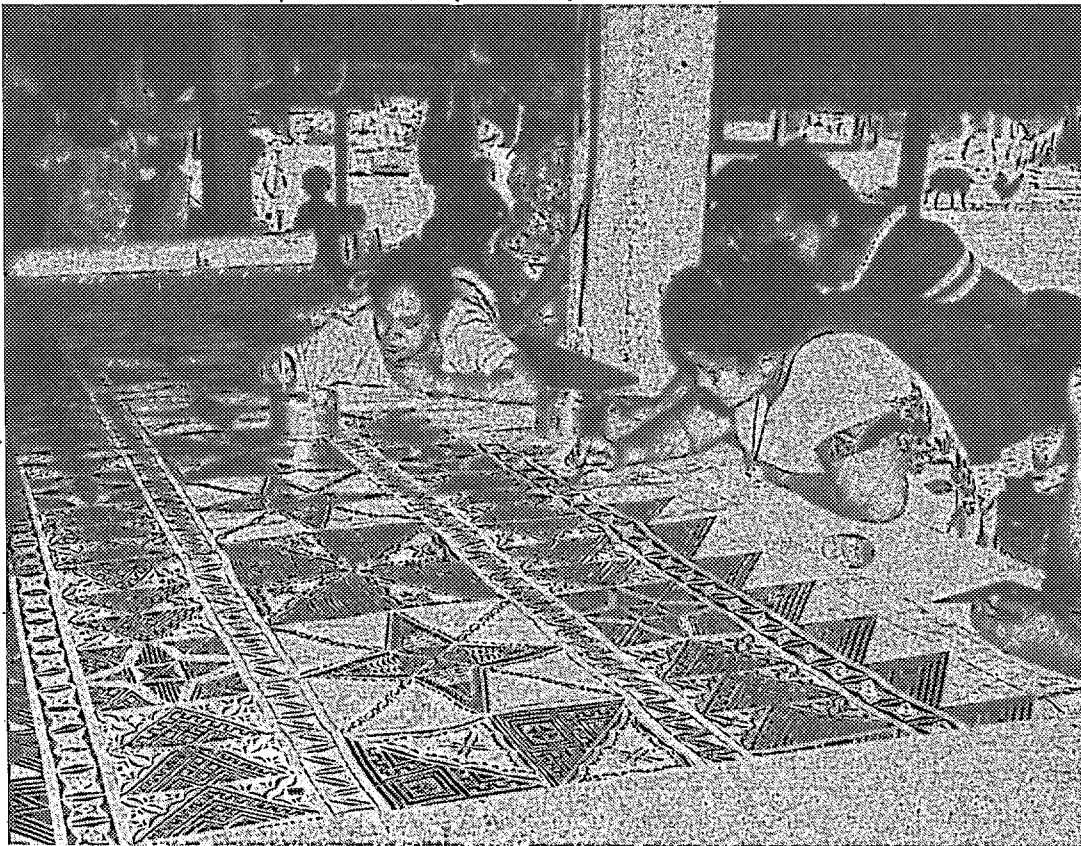
conscious of the importance of a better knowledge of this part of our cultural heritage.

Next to the ancient, traditional forms of their culture, Wallisians and Futunians successfully use forms of artistic expression, both religious and non-religious, which have been introduced from abroad. Can you give us some examples of these forms of expression, whether collective or individual, and some names of artists who participate in one way or another in this contemporary movement?

The plastic arts of Wallis and Futuna have been expressed, as I have said, in the past and up to the present day in the design and decoration of utilitarian or ceremonial objects. It is the case with sculpture for example, with kumete, the wooden receptacles for food and tanoa, for the ceremony of kava. There are carved maces, canoes, also the fales, since our sculptors are also

carpenters. But the use of new themes and materials has given rise to the diversification of our art. Several sculptors, who can be described as modern, work today on Wallis or Futuna. Among them, Soane Hoatau was the first to use a free statue form which fell outside the traditional themes. Soane Patita Lakina represents another movement: that of a meticulous search for the sources of Polynesian artistic inspiration, illustrated by the creation of traditional functional objects but also showing an affinity with the Catholic religion, as in the case of the making of carved altars. And then, there is another Wallisian artist, working today at Vanuatu, who has been able to approach diverse non-religious themes, starting from an inspiration in Polynesian plastics art but using non-traditional techniques and materials (tapestry and painting). His name is Aloï Pilioko, whose art is well known today beyond the limits of the South Pacific.

Finally there is the vocal art of Polynesia, which has been adapted to express the Catholic faith. A large number of canticles and liturgies have been translated and are sung with our own vocal arrangements. This is another example of the adaptation of our traditional forms because our culture is rich in song and has songs for every occasion. The funeral songs particularly, composed by specialists, are often very beautiful. They may be considered as the finest examples of our oral literature. We also practice satire on the occasion of festivals. The Fakatauka is a kind of verbal jousting where ironic or satirical couplets are exchanged more or less spontaneously, often being inspired by contemporary life. The art of embroidery, introduced by the need for religious ornaments and using imported materials, has entered everyday life as a popular art form. Patiently



Futuna. Painting of tapa in a collective fale for women. (Photo J.F.D.)

embroidered bedding in bright colours with original themes makes up part of a marriage dowry with the traditional mats and carpets. Embroidered festival costumes are commonly worn.

If you adapt yourselves too much, isn't there the risk of losing your originality? Do you have the feeling that your culture is being threatened in this way?

The Wallisian and Futunian culture is confronted today by two great problems which conditions its survival. The first is the geographical separation of our population, of whom practically half lives far from the sources of its tradition and often in the urban environment of Noumea in New Caledonia. In spite of the vitality and cohesion which our culture maintains in its host country, it is impossible for this community to evolve without losing some of its original values, which are inevitably replaced by others. This is already evident in some of the behaviour of young people who were born in New Caledonia. But the attitude of the youth in Wallis and Futuna is also marked by a certain loss of interest in traditional values, although it is less apparent than for other groups.

The continuation of our traditional culture therefore constitutes another, more general, problem which the geographical division of our people only makes more difficult. One could raise questions about the generality of public education and the teaching which is always in French. The access to knowledge, conditioned for the Wallisian and Futunian pupils by the mastery of a language which is not their mother tongue, exposes them to the same difficulties of adaptation as the other peoples of the south sea Islands, for whom the language of colonization has been considered superior.

We must have faith, however, in the faculty of adaptation in our youth. I notice for example that the art of musical composition and traditional singing continues within families side by side with the production of stereotyped modern compositions by the younger generation, based on the worst that Western culture can

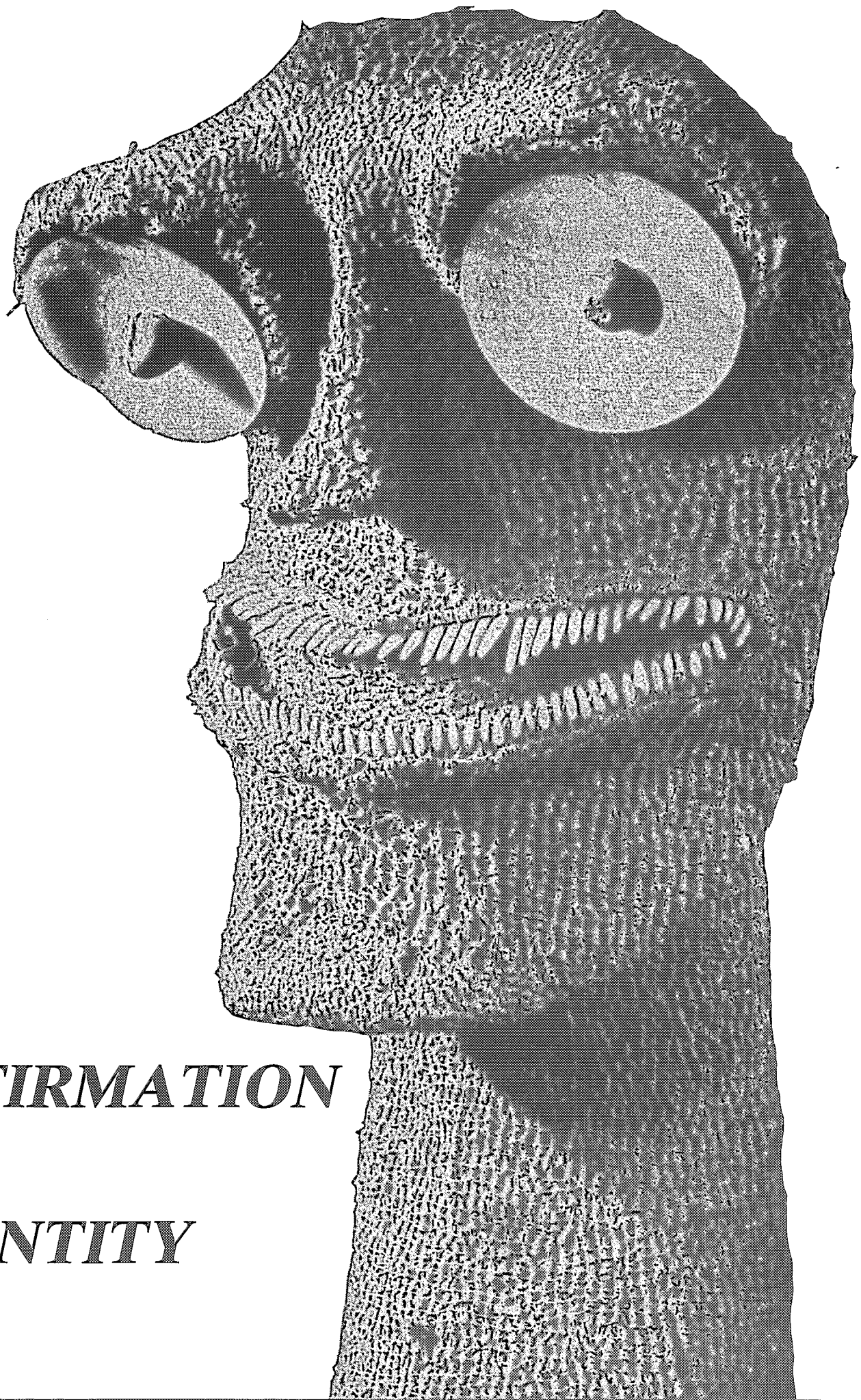


Wallisian brides, 1950's Tapa skirts (doc. Šioli Pilioko)

offer. The tenacity of the Catholic religion, the undisputed authority of our kings, the prestige and the force that certain of our cultural traditions preserve in the daily life of the family (those for example concerned with physical hygiene, or again the role of women in the centre of our society) make us

feel above all as Polynesians and make us think, act, and express ourselves as such. There is no doubt that we will continue to do so for a long time to come.

*Interview conducted by J-F Dupon,
(Translated from the French).*



***AFFIRMATION
OF
IDENTITY***

The Reawakening of the Fijian Language

In the vast Pacific, where interisland distances are measured on a gargantuan scale, population figures are, by comparison, lilliputian. Thus it is that, in terms of speakers, Fijian, with about 600,000, is probably the most important indigenous language in the Pacific. Although it in no way challenges the supremacy of English in government, commerce, and education, it is still the first language of the 300,000 native Fijians, and is spoken to some extent by perhaps 80 % of the 375,000 non-Fijians (mostly Indians) who have made these islands their home. The situation is all the more remarkable when one considers that earlier this century it was feared that the Fijian race was heading for extinction; that the Fijian language was prohibited in schools and totally neglected by the colonial authorities; and that Fijians are outnumbered in their country by Fiji Indians. In a Pacific where most indigenous languages are dying, or at best stagnating, Fijian appears to be thriving, and this article will suggest some reasons why.

Fiji's linguistic history

There is now fairly general agreement among linguists and archaeologists that Fiji was first settled about 3,500 years ago by people from the northern Vanuatu or eastern Solomon Islands region to the west, who brought with them the distinctive Lapita culture. Before long, they had branched out further, settling the small island of Rotuma to the north, and the threshold of Polynesia - Tonga, Niuaotupapu, Niuafo'ou, Futuna, Uvea, and Samoa - to the east. There were probably a number of important migrations to Fiji subsequently, and the result is a distinctive yet heterogeneous pattern of culture and language across the hundred or so inhabited islands of the archipelago.

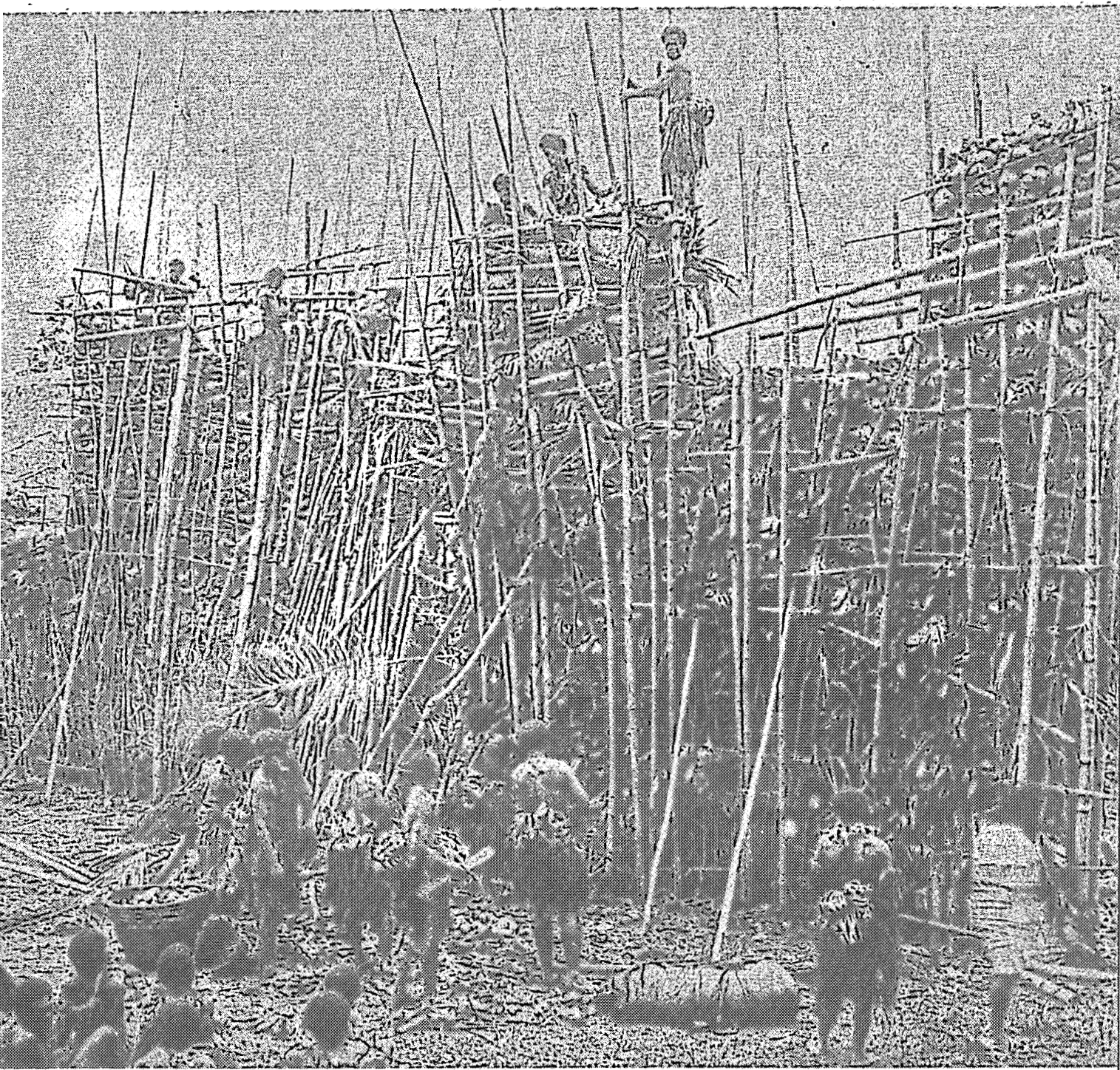
The indigenous language of Fiji comprises about 300 distinct communalects, each covering an average of three villages, but differences between adjacent communalects are very slight indeed. Nevertheless differences between communalects at extremes of the chain are such that they could be called different languages. In addition to these regional varieties, there are at least three types of non-regional Fijian which have enjoyed wide currency since prehistoric times: Meke Fijian, the language of Meke (poetry and song); Standard Fijian, a language of diplomacy and trade probably known only to chiefs and other widely-travelled persons, but now known by practically all Fijians and spoken colloquially in Suva and other towns; and Pidgin Fijian, which originated as a drastically simplified version of Standard Fijian used in communication with foreigners, mainly Tongans, but was then taken over by Europeans and Indians. The existence of standard Fijian has meant that Fijians have never needed a lingua franca, such as Pidgin English.

Fiji first entered European consciousness through the reports of the Cook expeditions. Cook never actually explored Fiji - he only discovered one small Island, and made no contact with the natives - but there were many Fijians in Tonga, and their manufactures were much in evidence. The Tongans were said to fear the Fijians as great warriors (and insatiable cannibals) and Cook and his men commented favourably on the quality of the Fijian weapons, barkcloth, mats, and earthenware vessels. The Fijian *drua* (large, twin-hulled, ocean-going canoe) was arguably the fastest and most manoeuvrable Pacific indigenous craft, and was much sought after by the Tongans. One legacy of Cook's visit still remains - the name "Fiji", which is the Tongan version of the Fijian name, *Viti*.

The first European intruders on the Fijian scene were the beachcombers, who arrived from the beginning of the nineteenth century, and who prepared the way for the merchants who followed them in search of sandalwood and *bêche-de-mer*. Whatever other changes they

may have wrought, their linguistic impact was virtually nil. But the Methodist missionaries, whose work started in 1835, brought with them literacy and, unwittingly, a new variety of Fijian. One of the earliest, David Cargill, was an accomplished linguist, and devised the excellent orthography which is still used today. Most, however, were not so gifted, and yet were under pressure to produce religious literature in Fijian quickly. As a result, there emerged a curious amalgam of Pidgin Fijian and translationese, with odd bits from the communalects of Lakeba and Viwa (two of the earliest mission stations), which became the Fijian of the missionaries and hence of old literature. The missionaries called it "Bauan" - an attempt to curry favor with Cakobau, the leading Fijian chief of the time, whose home was Bau and the name has since been applied to all non-regional varieties of Fijian. Such was the esteem in which European missionaries were held that their Fijian became considered the appropriate variety for worship and literature, an unfortunate association that has lasted, to some extent, even to this day.

Fiji was ceded by her chiefs to a rather reluctant Britain in 1874. The first governor was a great admirer of Fijians, and a staunch protector of their interests, and his policy was as far as possible to preserve the Fijian way of life intact. The administration was based on Fijian customary leadership, and a Lands Commission scrutinized all land claims with the result that over 80 % of the land remained in Fijian hands. This policy, by minimizing the amount of freehold land and hence of European settlers, played an important role in the maintenance of the Fijian language. Similarly, the keynote of educational policy (the schools were mostly mission-run) in the first fifty years of colonial rule was that Fijian be used as the medium of instruction, and by the 1920s there was a wide range of Fijian text-books in many subjects - more than at any time since. Nevertheless, the Fijians did not flourish. A combination of introduced diseases and lethargy of uncertain origin led to a marked decline in the population, and Fijians were in-



Piles of food - sovakele - at a royal wedding feast in Rewa, southeast Viti Levu, about the 1890s. Today the scale is reduced somewhat and the clothes are mostly European, but the ceremony is essentially the same (Fiji Government photograph, in Fiji Museum).

creasingly referred to as a "dying race". At the same time, another race was prospering - the Indians.

From the 1860s, European settlers had been moving in - families of colonists, most intending to preserve their own brand of civilization, while at the same time making their fortunes. They were first enticed by the "cotton boom" (the American civil war meant it was a seller's market) and later turned to sugar cane. Until 1879, their labor had consisted exclusively of Pacific islanders, supplied by the notorious "black-birders", but from 1879 to 1916 there was a steady stream of Indians, most of whom chose to remain after their periods of indenture had expired. These, of course, added a whole new dimension to the language scene in Fiji.

The 1920s were a momentous decade for Fiji. Fijians had responded to health campaigns and were increasing in numbers, but now their language and culture were to be threatened. It was now clear that Indians were in Fiji to stay. They set up their own schools, organized themselves politically, and by 1929 had gained elected representation to the Legislative Council. At the same time, the missions pleaded inability to continue running education single-handedly, and government, faced with a grave shortage of teachers, turned to New Zealand for help. The new generation of teachers that arrived had no inclination to learn Fijian, and viewed the culture and language of the Fijians with the same contempt that they had been accustomed to view that of the Maori. An important contributing factor was that the "Old High Fijian", which most Europeans spoke, following the missionaries, was a truly impoverished and restricted variety, so that popular notions about "primitive languages" were reinforced. Another was the oft-repeated view that, since Indians were here to stay, the only possible way that they and the Fijians could communicate would be through English. The use of Fijian in schools was looked down on, and very soon became a punishable offence. Government grants were given only to those independent schools where English was the medium of instruction. Thus the tone was set for the next fifty years, with the vernaculars branded officially as obstacles to progress, and the policy (at least implicitly) that Fiji should become entirely English-speaking.

The following is from a 1959 dissertation by R.S. Adam, who had been Principal of the Teacher Training College and Director of the Educational Research Institute for Fiji and the Western Pacific. "The whole community must understand that any improvement in living standards depends on improved technology, and that this requires English. The government should give a lead by using English on all possible

occasions. Its instructions, advice and news bulletins should be published in simple English instead of Fijian and Hindi. English should be programmed in early stages for firm foundations. Time for teaching vernacular in schools should be transferred to English. The government should study the present use of English with a view to a wide extension of opportunities for learning, reading and speaking English, especially in villages... The aim of education is the spread of English". Of course, the colonial government never took so strong a line, mainly because it would have been highly impracticable, but such ideas were generally applauded during the 1920-1970 colonial period.

Language in independent fiji

In 1970 Fiji became independent, while remaining a member of the Commonwealth, and the years since have seen a remarkable linguistic awakening. Slowly, but surely, the prejudice against Fijian and adulation of English has diminished. With the expanding of horizons, Fijians have come to realize that their former teachers somewhat exaggerated the importance of English. Japan in particular is seen as proof that it is not necessary to abandon one's mother tongue to progress. They are increasingly aware that there are other languages of wider communication, and languages such as French and Japanese are now being taught in adult education classes.

Independence has also meant localization, and so Fijian is now being used in informal discussions in places where it was seldom heard before - in offices and boardrooms, corridors of power and **ships' bridges**. In the Army, although forbidden by regulation, it has become essential for security reasons in Fiji's peace-keeping operations in the Lebanon, and the few non-Fijians who enlist find themselves learning it quickly. Localization in schools, combined with the trend away from formality in teaching, has resulted in its being increasingly used in classrooms, and the pan-Fijian school rule of colonial days that English must be spoken at all times, has, all but disappeared. If, as has been suggested, the use of vernaculars was formerly discouraged because it was seen as a possible threat by the monoglot English authorities, then the need for suppression has been removed, because the authorities now speak the vernaculars themselves.

Fijian in the media has increased dramatically. There were more books published in Fijian in 1983 than in the whole decade before Independence. On Radio Fiji, which is government-controlled (there is no television), hours of broadcasting in Fijian have increased from 37 per week in 1969 to 70 per week today (Hindi hours have also increased correspondingly),

while English has declined from 106 to 85. Since independence, the circulation of Fijian newspapers has more than trebled.

At the same time, Fijian has benefited from the now widely-held belief that loss of culture may be an important factor in the alarming increase in crime among young Fijians. Language and culture have been given greater prominence in school curricula and in 1984, the teaching of Fijian was extended from Form 5 to Form 6. It is now taught for credit at University level. Indeed Indians, who certainly value knowledge of English more highly than Fijians do, and are extremely scornful of their own vernacular, Fijian Hindi, have made no small contribution to the revival. They have never been averse to learning Fijian, but rather lacked the opportunity. Although many of them use Fijian in talking to Fijians and even other non-Fijians, it is almost exclusively Pidgin Fijian, only about 2 % speaking Fijian with native fluency. But now, a number of prominent Indians, most recently the Lord Mayor of Suva, have proposed that Fijians be designated the national language, and some wholly Indian schools have taken the initiative and hired Fijian language teachers.

Yet none of this has been due to any conscious campaign. No firebrand revolutionaries, no slogans, no post-colonial euphoria - just Fijians going quietly about the business of being Fijian in a changing society, and taking their language with them as they go.

The Fijian dictionary project

If there has been a catalyst in this simmering reaction, it has been the **iVolavosa Vakaviti** (Fijian Dictionary Project). Set up almost by accident in 1973, it has since become the recognized centre of Fijian language development. The project was initiated by the American actor Raymond Burr, who owned an Island and had business interests in Fiji. Concerned that little was being done to encourage the Fijian language, he invited international and local scholars to discuss what should be done. The outcome was unexpected. Professor Bruce Biggs of Auckland University came up with the novel idea of a **monolingual** dictionary, that is, one with definitions in Fijian rather than, say, English, and soon had the committee won over. He argued that a Fijian-English dictionary, though badly needed, would be of use only to a relatively small number of academics, tourists, expatriate workers, and such like. A monolingual dictionary, however, would be of use to all users of the Fijian language, especially with the growing importance of Fijian in the schools, and considering that Standard Fijian is, strictly speaking, a second language to all of its speakers, and one quite different from their mother

tongue for a great number, notably speakers of western Viti Levu communalects. Government approved and provided an office, and some of the staff. After a period when it was largely funded by the Australian government, the project was taken over entirely by the Fijian government in 1982.

In the compilation of the dictionary, standards have been set high. A study of existing dictionaries and other reference works revealed that they were far from comprehensive, and often Eurocentric or simply inaccurate. What was required was nothing less than a complete survey of every aspect of Fijian life, traditional and modern. A massive amount of material has been collected, on tape and in notebooks, from Fijian experts, and culled from old manuscripts and publications. This information is now being disseminated by the project in its publications and a popular weekly radio programme.

Although its original aim was - and still is - to produce a monolingual Fijian dictionary, the scope of the project has broadened considerably, as it has responded to the needs of government and the public. There has never been an authority on Standard Fijian spelling and word

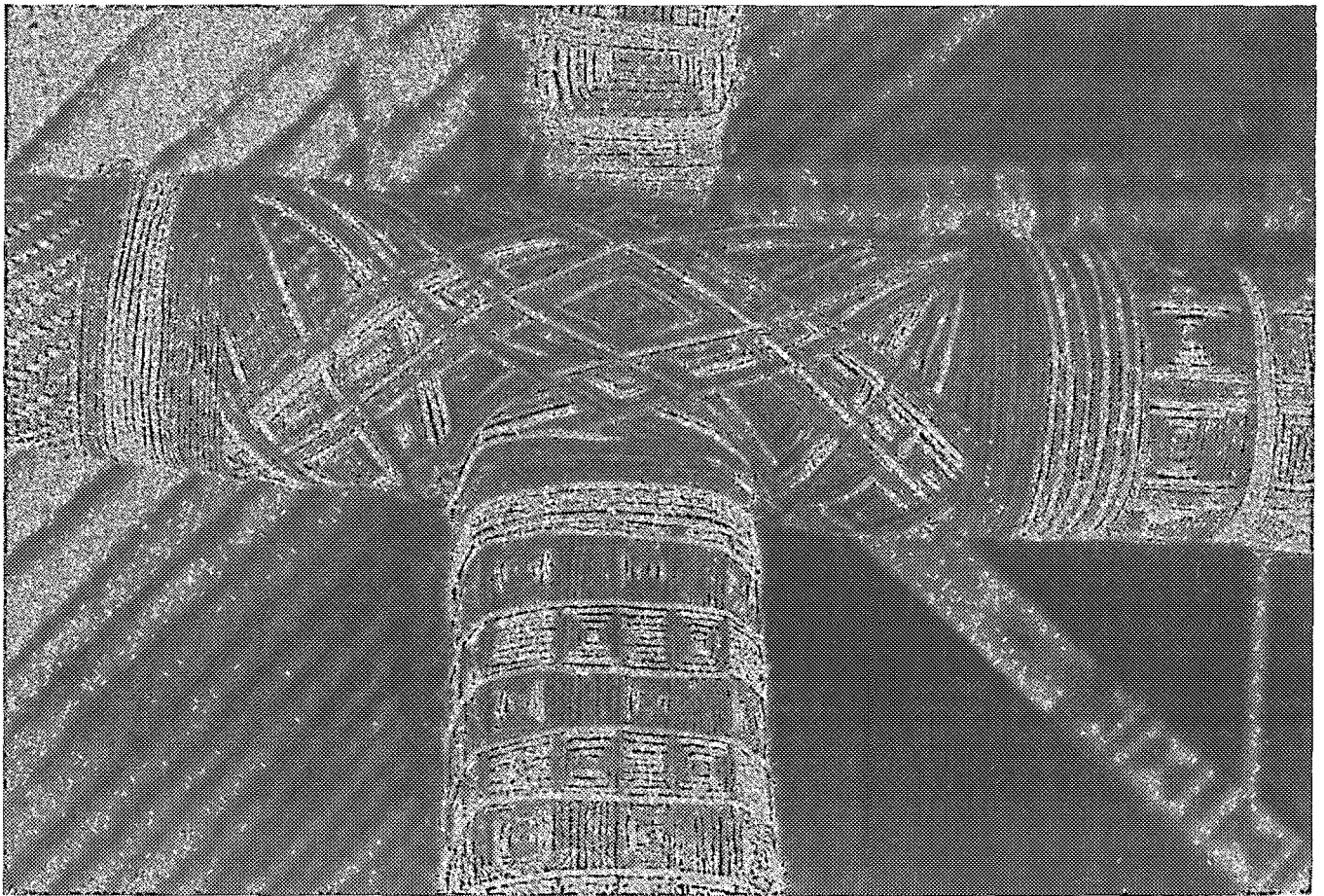
division, or a body to coin the new words that are constantly needed, so the project has filled the gap. It has become a Fijian language resource center, used by locals and visiting academics alike, providing advice and information to all whose work involves use of or translation into Fijian, working with the Ministry of Education on developing a new syllabus for the teaching of Fijian in schools, and training teachers to implement it. In 1987, the project became a permanent institution within the Ministry of Fijian Affairs and was renamed the Institute of Fijian Language and Culture.

Problems to be faced

But all is not well with Fijian. First, there is the problem of sheer numbers. Because of the relatively minute Fijian-speaking population, compared to the millions who speak English and Hindi, the market for anything in Fijian is small. Fijian books are always more expensive than their counterparts in English or Hindi, and distribution is difficult because the Fijian-speaking population is scattered. Films and video tapes in English and Hindi are readily available from overseas. Fijian can only be dubbed ; and if

television arrives, the problem will surely be aggravated.

Second, although the official suppression of Fijian has almost disappeared, it is still very much the victim of neglect. While commercial concerns have responded quickly to the demand for Fijian, government has been very slow, and still operates (on the official level) almost entirely in English. There are very few legal obligations to the non-English speaking public, and practically everything from the Constitution to the health warning on cigarette packets is in English only. Although the Constitution guarantees the right of Members of Parliament to address the house in Fijian or Hindi, there are no interpreters there, and nobody competent to do the job anyway. Court interpreters, translators, and radio presenters who work with various government departments, receive no training, and there is no check on their work. In education, the rule is still that English only should be the medium of instruction from Class 4 (about age 10) onwards, even though it is frequently disregarded by conscientious teachers. The teaching of Fijian has indeed been extended to Form 6 level, but the gesture is an empty one - no additional funds



Anderson, Cook's surgeon, reported in 1777 that Fijian manufactures he saw in Tonga "have all a cast of superiority in the workmanship". This is a fine example of lalawa, decorative lashing of house-posts with coconut-fibre cord, from about 1930. The art is in danger, but not entirely lost (Photo by C. Myer, in Fiji Museum).



*Oceanian
celebration
in Fiji (Doc.
CPS)*

and no training for curriculum developers has meant simply the continuation of a syllabus that its only outside assessor has judged "amateurish and professionally embarrassing". In short, government has yet to disengage the colonial mode of thought - that Fijian is a simple language, anyone who speaks Fijian can translate and write adequately in it, and we'll all be speaking English soon anyway, so why bother?

One of the biggest problems is an uncritical public. While Fijians are masters of their spoken language, they have never really taken over command of written Fijian from its original (European) practitioners, and most are at best only passively literate. Writing in Fijian has long been used for conveying the fiat of authority, sacred and secular, and radio is seen as

another means to the same end. So poor translation and meaningless information are tolerated. It is the reader or listener who is presumed to be at fault. The crucial problem here is one probably unique to Fijian: that it is the poorest variety of Fijian ("Old High Fijian") that has been the most prestigious. One of the aims of the Fijian Dictionary Project is to wean Fijian speakers away from their inherited bias by broadcasting and publishing in good, genuine Fijian, be it Standard Fijian or a regional communalect.

So while Fijian appears to have made considerable progress on many fronts in recent years, it could be argued that the gains in quantity are cancelled out by the lack of quality. The same could be said of spoken Fijian. Most of the artifacts that so delighted Captain Cook are no

longer made, the drua canoe is a thing of the past, and Fijian houses are now few and far between, so that vocabulary of a technical nature is disappearing at an alarming rate. Today's Fijian is ignorant of many words his father knew. At the same time, he knows many that were unknown to his father, and if most happen to be of English origin, it is simply because a language must adapt to the milieu of its speakers if it is to survive. One may regret the loss of traditional knowledge, but one cannot blame the language for reflecting that loss.

Paul Geraghty

*Tabana ni Vosa kei na iTova Vakaviti.
(Institute of Fijian Language and
Culture).*

The author

Paul Geraghty, born in England of Irish parents, holds an M.A. in Modern Languages from Cambridge, and a Ph. D. in Linguistics from the University of Hawaii. He worked from 1978 until 1986 as a researcher/consultant with the iVlavosa Vakaviti (Fijian Dictionary Project), and is now Acting Director of the Tabana ni Vosa kei na iTova Vakaviti (Institute of Fijian Language and Literature).

Books for further reading

- Geraghty, Paul A. *The History of the Fijian Languages*, Oceanic Linguistics Special Publication, N°19. University of Hawaii Press, 1983.
- Geraghty Paul A. *Language Policy in Fiji and Rotuma*, in Milner, G.B., Arms, D., *Duivosavosa: Fiji's languages, their use and their future*. Fiji Museum, 1984, pp. 36-86.
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- Schütz, Albert J. *The Fijian Language*, Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press, 1985.

The Melanesian Way

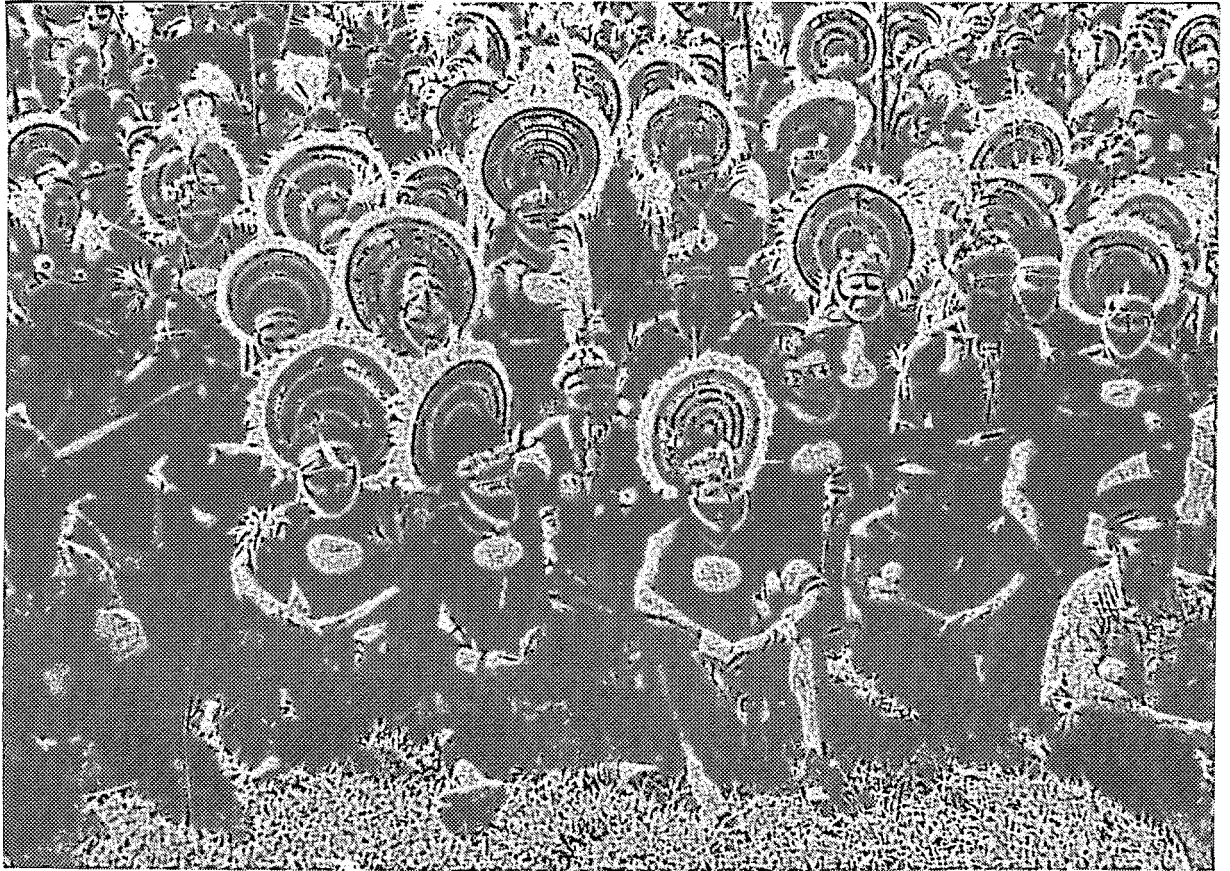
In 1976, the *Post-Courier*, the daily newspaper of Papua New Guinea published in Port Moresby, began a series of commentaries under the heading "Melanesian Voice". These appeared regularly until 1978 and were written by Bernard Mullu Narokobi, now a lawyer in private practise in Port Moresby. A selection of Narokobi's essays, along with reactions from his readers, was collected by Henry Olela, a staff member of the philosophy department at the University of Papua New Guinea in Port Moresby. These were published in 1980 under the title, *The Melanesian Way*, by the Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies. The demand was so great that this collection was reprinted, and in 1983 another revised edition published by the Institute of Pacific Studies at the University of the South Pacific (Suva, Fiji).

As a social critic and one of the most articulate of Melanesian philosophers, Bernard Mullu Narokobi has provoked strong reactions both for and against. Critics who wrote to the *Post-Courier* accused him of being a romantic, of dreaming about a lost past, and of not facing the reality of the modern world. His supporters countered that he was attempting to articulate basic principles and promote a confident reassertion of what it was to be a Melanesian.

The two essays reprinted here with the author's permission deal with the Melanesian Way, taken from the book of the same title, followed by two counter reactions - one critical and one supportive. Other themes that Bernard Narokobi has addressed are national unity, personal and collective identity, and the impact of foreign values on Melanesian ones. The continuing dialogue for almost three years between him and his readership indicates the range of cultural issues of concern to people who had recently regained their political autonomy, as well as the free flow of opinion and expressions encouraged by an open and independent press.

Narokobi is both an artist and an idealist. He does not write to please people and he tries to present a vision of a future for Melanesian societies. Nor does he dwell too long on the colonial past, but rather considers both present and future in a spirit of constructive criticism. In the words of Henry Olela, his compiler: "The call for a Melanesian way is one of identity. Who am I? What values do I have?... During colonialism and immediately thereafter human values, particularly in the formerly colonized societies, have been confused and undermined".

A writer and poet, Bernard Narokobi is also the author of *Life and Leadership in Melanesia*, published in 1983 by the Institute of Pacific Studies at the University of the South Pacific. He has been an acting Judge of the Supreme Court, chaired the Law Reform Commission of Papua New Guinea, and was consultant to the separate committees that wrote the constitutions of Papua-New Guinea and Vanuatu. His legal training was received in Australia and he holds a law degree from the University of Sydney.



Papua New Guinea
dancers - New
Guinea - Sepik

The Melanesian Way

Seeking paths for Melanesia

Melanesian Voice is conceived as a forum for reflection on world and domestic events from the standpoint of Melanesians.

Melanesians managed to live on these islands for thousands of years before Europeans came into contact with them.

It is assumed therefore that Melanesians have had a civilization with its cultures, values, knowledge and wisdoms which have guided them through the ages. These are their revealed truths.

Our history did not begin with contact with the Western explorers. Our civilization did not start with the coming of the Christian missionaries. Because we have an ancient civilization, it is important for us to give proper dignity and place to our history. We can only be ourselves if we

accept who we are rather than denying our autonomy.

Our history did not have the binding effect of the written word. It did not have the wheel to travel distances and it did not have the naked power of the barrel of the gun. Accordingly, our influence was limited. Still, it was a lasting human experience.

But today, we have the gift of the written word and the privilege of the wheel. We can reflect on our ancient past and the modern life. We can have a responsibility to ourselves and to the world to bring to the world the treasures of our civilization. For far too long we have known ourselves through books written by others.

Melanesian Voice holds that from creation, every person of a human community, be it called a village or a nation, is endowed with a sense of good and bad by the Divine Source, however conceived or named.

Accordingly, the inherent good or evil in Melanesia is, in some respects, unique to ourselves; while in others we share them with other communities the world over.

It is not intended to be syllogistically logical or consistent; it is meant to be reflective of human life which is experience filled with inconsistencies, contradictions, emotions, reason and intellect.

All manner of issues are open for reflection. Some of the subject matter will include religion, spirituality, culture, law, education, politics, economics, government, literature, business, history, sport and technology.

Melanesian Voice is conceived deliberately as a positive, creative and a constructive force. It is aimed at the good, the beautiful and the just. Consequently Melanesian Voice will be issue or principle orientated rather than being person directed. It will not dwell on the human short-

comings, except to point out the truth or to promote the positive, the healthy and the wholesome life.

It is hoped that through this forum, Melanesians will be honestly presented to Melanesians and others. Hopefully too, the Melanesians through the eyes of a Melanesian may see the world as it was, as it is and as it should be.

Melanesia consists of West New Guinea, Papua New Guinea and her outer islands, the Solomon Islands, Vanuatu, New Caledonia and Fiji. Melanesia is inhabited by people who are of neither Asian nor European stock. At the same time we are not African or Polynesian, even though we have people of lighter complexion.

Melanesia has been invaded by a huge tidal wave from the West in the form of colonization and Christianisation. Like any tidal wave, the West came mercilessly, with all the force and power, toppling over our earth, destroying our treasures, depositing some rich soil, but also leaving behind much rubbish.

This Western tidal wave has also set in motion chain reactions within ourselves and a thirst for a better future. Western influence has a negative and destructive aspect. Melanesian Voice also sees it as a wave that has helped to set free our creative forces. It is a wave whose moving ripples should be used as a living light for new future.

Whilst acknowledging our beautiful past along with its constraints, we also recognize the good in the new ways, and mindful too of the bad ways of today. With the freedom we have, we can make conscious decisions to opt for what is best in both worlds.

Today, we Melanesians stand at the cross roads. More than any people in the world, we can choose. We can choose to ape the West and the East or we can choose to be ourselves in our philosophy, our lifestyles and our whole beings.

Melanesian Voice is meant to be a force for truth. It is meant to give witness to the truth. Whereas the final or the ultimate truth is the Divine Source, the syllogistical or the logical truth is dependent on the basic premises one adopts. The Melanesian Voice is meant to be a forum of Melanesian wisdom and values based on Melanesian experience.

In some instances, Melanesian Voice will coincide with the Christian or other religious truths; in other instances it may coincide with logic, but it will not always be in line with both. It is both. It is not meant to coincide with these, because ours is a unique human experience.

Cut off from the rest of the world for many centuries, Melanesians nevertheless survived as a people. Now that we are finally connected with the world, we suddenly see ourselves through the world mirror.

Will we see our own true size images, or will we see ourselves in the images and the shadows of others?

Will we see ourselves in the long shadows of the dwindling light and the advanced darkness of the evening dusk, or will we see ourselves in the long and radiant rays of the rising sun? We can choose, if we will.

I see a new vision and a new hope for Melanesians. I see ourselves holding fast to the worthy customs of our people. I see Melanesians, accepting principles of Christianity. I see Melanesians as a people who have patience and time for every person. I see Melanesians giving their highest regard to the spirituality of human dignity and a proper but insignificant role to the building up of status through materialism.

Everywhere in Melanesia, the people are yearning for the good life, the utopia. Spontaneous movements have emerged and will continue to emerge. These movements are called prophetic, syncretistic, political, religious, economic or civic, depending on the name caller. Still, every one of the movements is searching for the ideal way, in terms of human association.

These movements are seeking to know who we are in our new human situation. As in childbirth, we groan with pains and fears; then rejoice and give praise when the child finally arrives and we have to continue with the excitement of nurturing its growth.

Like the fruits of our mother earth, we, the potters and the weavers, can and should shape our own history. It is sincerely hoped that Melanesian Voice will bear witness to the new growth. Melanesian Voice will not seek to inflict evil on individuals nor to hide injustice behind the curtain of Melanesian ways. It will seek to promote the good as it sees it without fear.

It's the "Melanesian Way" ... but what does it mean?

Since writing on the rich and beautiful ways of the Melanesians, many people have asked me what I mean by that expression and whether I am serious in what I say. Many have supported me, perhaps through spiritual unity and intuition, with little or no understanding of what it is all about.

It is now time to reflect more on Melanesian ways. My first response is - by their actions or omissions, you will know.

To me, the peaceful, non-violent, person to person way in which the Bougainville-Papua New Guinea government conflict has been resolved is a proud tribute to the wisdom of Melanesians. That is a Melanesian way.

I, perhaps more than anyone else, am proud of the leaders on both sides who, with initial distrust, but some trust, have come together, talked together, developed and created trust in each other. This is a Melanesian way.

This is human development of the highest quality by Melanesians.

Our Melanesians ways stem from the unquestionable fact that we are an ancient people, born to liberty, born to ancient culture and civilization.

We are not one year, nor are we 200 years old. We are thousands of years old. We might be new to modern institutions, but we are not new to human persons' strengths and weaknesses.

We have a right and indeed a duty to call on the wisdoms of our ancestors. Collectively we possess the treasures of time tested and proven strengths. These we can use in times of stress and strain to liberate ourselves from oppressive circumstances, of whatever nature or magnitude.

As Melanesians, we are a spiritual people. Even before Christians came onto our shores, we felt and knew the forces of a source greater than ourselves. That was our divine power, the Melanesian way.

We can and should call on the strength of that source. We have a right to demand interpersonal dialogue with the forces at work to change us. We have a right to be here, not as carbon copies, but as authentic Melanesians.

From our spiritualities, we had a communal vision of the cosmos. Our vision was



*Papuan
dancer*

not and still is not an artificially dichotomized and compartmentalized pragmatism of the secular society. Ours is a vision of totality, a vision of cosmic harmony.

Our vision sees the human person in his totality with the spirit world as well as the animal and the plant world. This human person is not absolute master of the universe but an important component in an interdependent world of the person with the animal, the plant and the spiritual. However he came to be, the Melanesian is.

Some people say the insistence on Melanesian ways is an attempt to have our people return to the gloomy days. I reject this argument.

First because the gloomy days have never been the gloom of our lot alone. Every civilization, every culture, every race and community has its day of gloom. Indeed, every generation and every person has his bright days and his or her cloudy days. There is no sunshine without rain clouds!

Secondly, Melanesians were in fact moving together long before Western contact. One needs only reflect at the intricate trade links that extend across the islands, the seas, the valleys, coastlines and the mountains to agree. If you don't agree, take a look at the Enga man who gets his shell from the Sepik man or the Mendi man who gets it from the Gulf man, and you will agree.

Thirdly, Melanesians are not and have never been slaves to their cultural practices, if they believed these were obstructing them. They liberate themselves by establishing new communities with new hopes and future.

Accordingly, sinking our vision in the past is not to be rooted in a dead and immobile past. To sink our roots in our past is to restore to ourselves our rightful dignity denied us by many whose purpose in Melanesia is to deny us our very existence as human beings.

We should spring from our cultural values to forge ahead in a world that is moving more and more towards a confused uniformity, monotony and insensitivity to the fine, subtle and sublime beauty of diversity. It is the simplistic imperialist who seeks uniformity as a technique to command obedience while portraying Papua New Guinea as a land of division, disunity, of 700 languages and thousands of cultures. Some have even dared to call it a land of chaos. These are arguments of defeat and despair, betraying an inability to transcend one's cultural conditioning.

More and more as I travel throughout these rich and beautiful lands of ours, and listen to the old and young, I am convinced Melanésians are guided by a common cultural and spiritual unity. Though diverse in many cultural practices, including languages, still we are united, and are different from Asians and Europeans.

Our ways are not so varied and contradictory as many have claimed. Our currency, common banks, the police and the military. It is not even based on a common language. These facilitate unity, but they do not make it.

We are a united people because of our common vision. True enough, it has never been written, but has evolved over thousands of years.

The vision of Christ, for example, was not written by himself, Others wrote of it. Our vision and our ways too are unwritten. But the little efforts we make will go to unfolding its reality.

Those who will stop to reflect, and make their way through the alien derived history and images of ourselves, will see that we are not a people of no consequence. Our history grew from our own solid shores.

We do not derive our civilization, our laws and our values from others. It is because of what we are that we can embrace the 20th Century and beyond.

Bernard Mullu Narokobi
Papua New Guinea

Critics

This article was contributed by a young woman who asked that her name should not be published. The Post-Courier publishes Narokobi's comments in the public interest. For the same reason, Weekend Magazine today features this article.

Against the Melanesian Way

To quote from Mr Narokobi's article, "The virtues of Western civilization are not yet benefiting the masses".

It may not be messing to your way of thinking, Mr Narokobi, but it certainly helps me and thousands of young, innocent girls like myself, to open our eyes and brains so as not to keep us down on the ground.

You know what men are like. Sitting all day long chewing betel nut, smoking, eating, drinking and fornicating from woman to woman. What else do they need? Of course bride price for their daughters, so the money and food can last long.

I am glad that Western civilization is getting deeper and deeper into our country and slowly stopping men like you dreaming of a Melanesian way of life.

My father is a typical Melanesian. Last year I completed my first year of teacher training and went home for the holidays. My father was madly gambling with other village men, while the poor women cooked their food and gave them all the comforts they possibly could.

The women kept going to the store and market to buy them betel nut, cigarettes and food with the money they won.

That lasted almost they weeks. They occasionally slept on the floor for an hour or so. At the end there was no money. My father lost Kina 150.

My father and my uncle came and got me at night and took me to a man's house and locked me in a room with this man.

The man said: "I gave your father Kina 100 in advance for a bride price. Now you are my wife". I said: "It's impossible. I have to finish my school first. I have one more year to go".

He just grabbed me. He didn't even hear what I was saying. He started ripping my clothes off. My father and other relatives were outside laughing while I was in agony not knowing what to do.

Finally, I started banging on the doors and walls and screaming like a wounded tiger.

One of the windows collapsed and after a half hour ordeal I ran and ran.

After that I could never go home. I heard that my younger sister was taken to that man.

When you speak of the Melanesian way of life, Mr Narokobi, you are only thinking of men like yourself.

Those times are gone and I am glad they will never return. Papua New Guineans are the biggest woman bashers in the world. And this is not funny.

Not because women are adapting to Western civilization, but because they are finding an equal place in the community. Because of that they are paying a high price.

To quote Mr Narokobi again: "I have seen husbands and wives take each other to court over matters they should have resolved themselves".

Of course, they, the husbands, bashed them and the matter was resolved. The husband then got a new young wife as a reward! Thanks to our Melanesian way of life.

Don't get me wrong, Papua New Guinean men and boys. I am not against you, I am only against Mr Narokobi and men like him who are losing touch in this new society.

In order that we can be free to shape our own national character, we have to do many things.

- . Stop chewing betel nut in the offices, churches and in the schools.
 - . Stop heavy drinking and smoking.
 - . Stop gambling.
 - . Respect and provide for our poor women who bear so many children.
 - . Stop fornicators getting away unpunished.
 - . And most important, give everyone equal education, so that the girls can stand on their own feet like I did.
- That would be a good start for a true Melanesia where I belong.

In favour of the Melanesian Way

I would like to defend good old Melanesian virtues of the modest Melanesian way of life.

Ms. "Westernized", tell me if your father was not a victim of Western civilization? The boozing and gambling of money. Was that a Melanesian way?

What is money in the old Melanesian way of life? The fact that your father and uncle sold you for Kina 100 reflects the miserable life of those urban drifters.

No one in the Melanesian villages could depend on money, to sell his daughter in the manner your father did to you. So it is clear that you are blaming modest Melanesian virtues for your family's corruption.

All Melanesian families live in humble villages, they are bound by their society's norms.

Such an incident as you have narrated in your article is typical of those Melanesians who are lost.

Those who drift to towns without a good education practise Western ideals.

So your accusations of Melanesian virtues are not true and not based on fact.

Your incident happened because of your family's unfortunate social situation. You should have known better and kept your complaints within your heart. You are a victim of westernization, not the victim of Melanesian virtues.

Fornication and adultery have increased with Western ideals. The books, the money (which pays for sex), and so many other things has exposed the secrets of married life to the Westernized Melanesian such as you and your father.

The incidence of rape has increased with the Westernized girls immodesty. The fast adoption of Westernized methods of women's beautification of her body, has brought us men to see glamorous femininity.

Why? Because it is new to us. It's fascinating more than ever. So plan for your women folk a modest way of dressing.

Remember many men are uneducated. Your new perfumes are new to their smell. So don't complain.

What you have said about Melanesian men being the biggest women bashers in the world is just not true. It involves far more and you contribute to it.

You stated that because women are finding an equal place in the community that men are beating them. Poor inexperienced girl, don't make such assumptions.

Just 20 kilometres from where you live there is a girl, young, attractive and educated (more than your meagre education).

She goes around on her own talking to women, educated men and uneducated doing her job. I tell you, she won respect. Not by talking. But by being respectable and being dedicated to her job. So this is a good example. Why not win respect as she did. A golden rule for you: "Be respectable in your deeds and you will win respect".

Your grievances are a result of pressures within your heart to take revenge on your father by publishing his dealings to the world without any shame.

Such persons as you should make up for the family's name. Get married to a good man and learn from your parents' mistakes, so that you and your husband can make a good name and in doing so you will get your satisfaction.

Books for further reading

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The Cultural Identity of the Polynesian People and its Contemporary Rebirth

If one excepts the departure of the volunteers of the Pacific Battalion, who showed great courage in different campaigns, and the arrival of the American army on the Island of Bora Bora, the 1939-1945 war isolated French Polynesia which had little contact with the rest of the world during this period.

Evolution of modern Polynesian society

The return of those who survived the war and the large scale departure of students to France marks, after the war, the most noticeable relationship between Polynesia and the outside world during the period 1945-1960. The volunteers of the Pacific Battalion came back with new ideas which had a great influence on Polynesian thought. They were eagerly listened to by everybody. They were Tao or Aito, that is to say the heroes who did not fear to risk death to show the world the worth of their mother country and their islands. The Polynesian tradition of worshipping legendary heroes perhaps explains the welcome given to the "Le Sagittaire", which brought back these soldiers, when she arrived at the harbour of Papeete. The dock was too small to contain the crowds of people from all districts of Tahiti and its sister island of Moorea. Many people from the Islands had taken small boats to travel to Papeete before the arrival of the steamer.

For the Polynesian population, vibrating in a kind of communion, these heroes

had acquired the privilege of being able to claim certain rights. Some of them asked insistently for autonomy in the management of internal affairs of the Territory. They were supported in this by ex-soldiers from the first world war. On the other hand, the Polynesian students becoming more and more numerous in France, encountered the difficulties of life in a country which was in the throes of national reconstruction. Mail was rare and nostalgia for their country was giving them an acute realization of their identity. The fact that their family circle was far away emphasized their desire to live as Polynesians more than ever once they had returned to their Islands.

But during their absence, the modern world had progressed in Tahiti, and even in the remote parts of the archipelagoes. It was evident in the opening in 1961 of the international airport of Faaa to major intercontinental airlines. It was seen in the opening in 1963 of the Centre of Experimentation of the Pacific (CEP). International tourism and the work of the CEP created new jobs which totally changed the Polynesian way of life. The great traditional Polynesian family was disintegrating. Young and even old people deserted their traditional places to go to Papeete, and its neighbouring conurbations. Formerly fishermen and cultivators, they became overnight employees. The consumer society was establishing itself in Polynesia, with its comfort and material advantages. It is the golden side of the Polynesian medal, but the reverse may not be long in showing itself; high cost of living, frustration, abandoning children for lack of time and money in an urban environment not yet ready to cope with them. The rapidity of this evolution brings a decline in moral standards, and alcoholism.

The island children, like their parents who have gone to densely populated areas, are the first victims of this change.

Undoubtedly, accommodation will be provided in town areas to welcome these new families. But one can very quickly see that the extent of the drift to the towns exceeds the capacity to cope with them, and this increases the problems. New districts invade the hills and valleys. This necessitates the building of new schools, new sports centres, new main roads and means extra traffic which destroys the natural scenery. At the same time, the construction of port installations and aerodromes and the improvement of communication between the islands favours this. In addition, the hotels which have been built in the Islands are accessible to tourists. Polynesia is completely open to the outside world.

Employment in hotels, building, and the activities of the CEP produce a new structure of salaried worker. The trade unions are aware of their increasing importance. A new code of work is called for. New agreements are signed between the employees, the employers, and the territory. Strike action occurs. The first of these was by civil servants of the territorial administration who asked for an adjustment in their salaries on a par with their metropolitan colleagues and obtained the creation of a special department for the administration of French Polynesia. The private sector will follow, thanks to the increase in prices, and new strikes are taking place in different sectors. The Polynesian people now know the social problems of industrialized countries.

It is therefore very easy to understand that culture is not one of the main preoccupations of the Polynesian people. The the-

atre of the Office Territorial d'Action Culturelle, which produces plays taken from ancient Polynesian legends is not very successful. This is also because many homes have television. It will not be long before video occupies an important part in

Polynesian leisure. Whole families gather together in their homes to see action films and sometimes horror films. Children exposed to this are bewildered, although local television programmes are well balanced and video can give immense service in the

field of education, information and research. But there is much still to be done to adapt these media to local needs.

Toanui, a Polynesian facing this evolution

In the wake of these upheavals, what has become of the cultural identity of the Polynesian people? Are Polynesian languages still used as a channel of Polynesian thought? Does the family home welcome all its members? What has become of the *utuafare*, which was the framework of the house, always open to the passer by and in which *tupuna* (the oldest member of the household) was listened to with respect and love? Has all this been reduced to ashes?

Let us try to risk a comparison in order to consider these questions. Many traditional, well-built houses stood up to the terrible cyclones which ravaged French Polynesia in 1983. A degree of flexibility in their joists has enabled them to resist the assaults of the wind, when the roofs of houses built of concrete blew away...

And to try to answer the preceding questions, let us listen to the testimony of a Polynesian who has been living through the changes of this period. Toanui was born into a traditional Polynesian family, in Tahiti in 1933, six years before the declaration of the Second World War, in the *Taiarapu* peninsula, some distance from the town of Papeete. If he was not of pure *Maohi* stock, he was never bothered by the problem of mixed breeding. He lived in a purely traditional environment. His maternal language was *Maohi*. His father was a fisherman and cultivated the land. His mother did the household work. He can remember her when she went to do the dinner dishes, and to launder the linen in the river which ran peacefully near the house. The water was so clear that he could see the little fish swimming between the pebbles. His father would go fishing every night and bring back enough fish to feed his large family because Toanui had twelve brothers and three sisters. The youngest of the family, everyone loved him and he took part in the daily tasks. Several times he accompa-



10 June 1976 : Demonstration in Papeete
(Photo Linden/Gamma)

nied his father. He knew the traditional method of fishing and also the names of the fish. He knew how to recognize certain stars that his father had shown him. The beneficent phases of the moon had no secrets for him. The use of bait was familiar to him. He attended the village school for three years. He would have been happy there, for Toanui did not have too much trouble in learning to speak French, and possessing another language helped his relations with his family and school friends.

After this period, Toanui learnt about the war where men were killed and killed themselves. He was not very much preoccupied by this, although something worried him because he had seen one of his brothers embark with other soldiers on a very large steamship.

When he was ten years old, his parents decided to send him to a boarding school, the Brothers of Ploermel at Papeete. They wished to ensure that he would have a dignified future. Toanui revolted and came back to his village on foot. His parents sent him back to the boarding school in Papeete. But one does not put an old head on young shoulders. He bore the stamp of his traditional childhood. In spite of this initial setback, he did well enough in his studies. However, Toanui will never feel at ease among those erudite people that he will be forced to associate with in his adult life. He will always remember the wisdom of his parents and their simplicity. The traditional Polynesian way of life has left its mark on him forever.

Toanui sees more and more petrol-driven vehicles taking the place of horse-drawn transport in the streets of Papeete. The town has become familiar with its wooden houses hidden behind shrubs. He starts to like it. Thanks to his perseverance and that of his school masters, Toanui gets in 1950 his primary school certificate, then his diploma of studies in the first cycle. It is always with pleasure that he returns to his family during the school holidays, but he begins to feel the need to know other things than those he has seen in his childhood and at school. His brother comes back from the war, and tells of all that has happened to him in far-off countries. He often talks to him of Paris, capital of remote France, with some emotion. Toanui, who wants to discover the world, is also afraid to leave his village and

his parents. But the call of adventure is stronger. Having obtained a scholarship, he leaves in a ship like his brother several years before. It is 1951. The airport at Faaa has not yet been opened to inter-continental air traffic. He sees at last, after the wonderful adventure of the voyage, the bright lights of Marseille. What a marvellous experience to share with other Polynesian friends, who have taken the same ship. The separation at Marseille is hard, because they are going to several different towns in France.

During school holidays, the Polynesian students in France try to see one another again. The years pass. The remoteness of his country and family is beginning to weigh heavily. Married to a Polynesian who had taken the same ship from Papeete, Toanui is forced to work as well as pursuing his studies, because it will not be long before he has a child and then a second one. But nothing he has seen and experienced can erase his adherence to the traditional Polynesian environment from which he comes.

After a stay of eight consecutive years in France, on returning to his country, Toanui constantly asks himself questions as to the underlying purpose of his life. He has not yet properly grasped what Polynesian cultural identity is. Because for him the culture is simply his life. He gets a position as a teacher of mathematics in the technical college of Papeete. For 20 years, without interruption, Toanui teaches mathematics to young Polynesians, in the departments of mechanics and concrete making, and it is through this teaching that Toanui will discover the real meaning of Polynesian cultural identity. His pupils, coming from all parts of the district and the islands, and after 1961 from the new populated districts of Papeete and its neighbouring conurbations, remind him of his childhood. He helps them to express themselves in French, in which they will obtain technical knowledge and open the door to the outside world. But he quickly learns that his pupils need to know their maternal language. Other social upheavals have cut them off from the traditions of their early childhood.

The Polynesian, in fact, calls his soul by the word *varua*, in the Christian sense of the term, and *aau* in the human sense. Perhaps the *varua* can be satisfied by the religious teaching that the child receives in his local

parish. But the *aau* can suffer from the fact that the mother-child relationship has been impoverished because the first words between mother and child are engraved in the soul of the child. While the mother, thinking that she is doing the right thing, speaks to the new born child in French, but unfortunately often in incorrect French, so that the *aau* will not develop quickly enough and the child will carry this lack of initial communication throughout its life.

Having taken notice of that, Toanui launches his efforts for the cultural revival of his country. For 18 consecutive years he takes part in the performances of *tiurai* (festivals in the month of July) as a member of the jury. At the same time, he creates songs and dances in the establishment itself using his own pupils. His relationship with his pupils becomes more friendly, but the work in the classroom does not suffer. At the request of the directors of the traditional songs and dances, the members of the jury of the *tiurai* create an association called *Tahiti Toa*. Toanui joins in the work of this association. He is returning to his sources. It is in the midst of these groups that he finds the living language, *Maohi*. The traditional songs take up the old themes in which the beauty of our mountains and valleys are transcribed in a living and pure language. The traditional dances, although they are impregnated with creativity and external elements, guide the bronzed bodies of the men and the long hair of the women in perfect harmony by the sound of traditional instruments such as the *pahu*, the *toere*. Polynesia sings of its past on the occasion of the performances in the middle of the social upheavals unprecedented that they are going through. Nothing can stop the sound of the *toere* in the beautiful place of *Vaiete*, deep in the heart of Papeete.

In 1983, when Polynesia has just suffered the disastrous effects of the cyclones, the *toere* continued to ring in the depth of the valleys. The best dancer of *tiurai*, in 1983, interprets in a frenetic movement a dance which makes the spectators shiver. The cyclone comes back with the whistle of the wind evoked by the music, then the harmonious movements of the dancer depicts the fall of uprooted trees and the roofs of houses which are blown away. Then suddenly, the dancer makes a half turn and interprets in front of the jury the demeanour of the Polynesian people in the face of

adversity. This dance reflects what the country has known.

After the cyclones are over, the first helpers have started to struggle with a desperate determination against demoralization and despair, so that Polynesia finds again its cheerful face. Culture and life are linked. The association Tahiti Toa has itself participated in the effort, organizing after the tiurai a pilgrimage to the sources, towards the sacred island of Raiatea, where groups of songs and traditional dances have interpreted the ceremony for welcoming the King on the prestigious marae of Taputapu Atea. On the final day, a Sunday, all the participants attended a religious service at the temple of Opoa. After a traditional meal, a column of trucks (the bus of Polynesia) returned slowly along the road to the little town of Uturoa, where the boat "Temehani" was waiting to take the 600 participants back to Tahiti. During the long drive from Opoa to Uturoa, over 30 kilometres, the sound of toere continued to echo from valley to valley. On the quayside at Uturoa a sizeable crowd was waiting for the departure. After a last dance, a last song and a last prayer, the participants started to embark. The sound of toere continued to be heard as the rays of the setting sun illuminated the boat with a light that accentuated the red of the clothing and called to mind the royal Ura. Everything combined to give the scene a pure and simple majesty. Eyes were full of tears, there were smiles on emotional faces, shouts from some and from others the silence of a heart too full to speak. The "Temehani" went slowly away from the quay at Uturoa. Already far from the shore, it started to move and finally disappeared over the horizon when the toere was finally silent.

Toanui's participation in the cultural renewal of his country has encouraged him

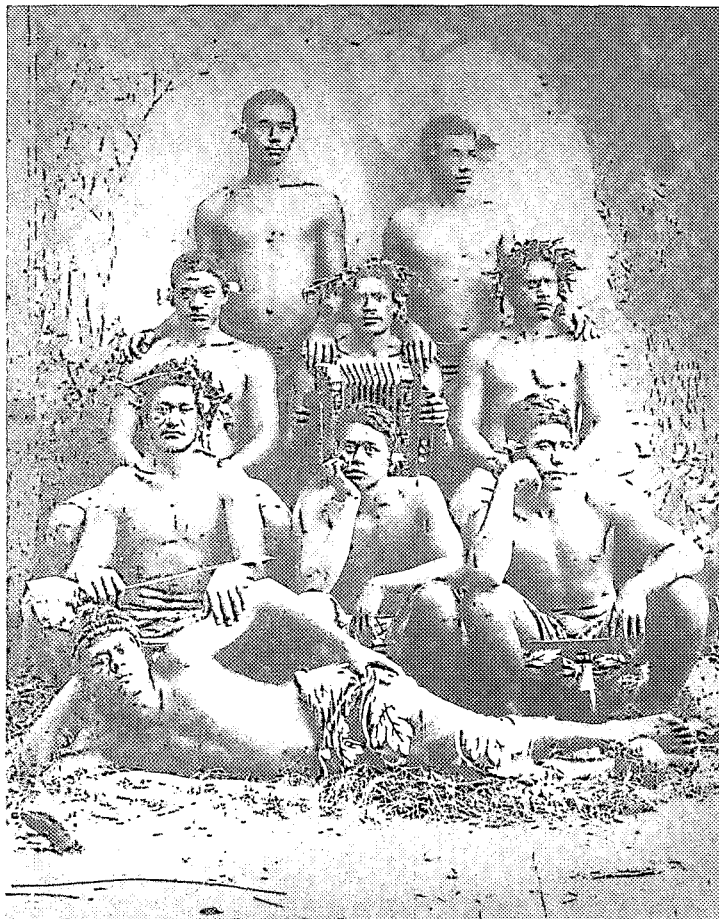
to study and to look for a better understanding of the Polynesian people, and his behaviour in the change that he is undergoing. Hence he is not passive, but he analyzes the situation. He understands the necessity to open himself to the external world, but not

them with him. Polynesian society is impregnated to the depth of his being with this love which comes from God. The traditional song (tarava ruau) is used by Polynesians to express their love of God and to express earthly love, like the fangu song

from the archipelago of Tuamotu expresses the pain caused by the death of a parent or of a friend.

The use of the past to face the future

Modern life today is the heaven, the catalyst of Polynesian cultural identity. Toanui has been able to promote and to keep his own traditional culture by means of songs and dances and also by parish groups. Craft associations, where women can find and exploit their natural dexterity with their fingers to make beautiful tifaifai, hats and baskets, using local material, play the same role. Sculptors both in wood and stone are also active in these associations of Polynesian art, and in particular, those of the Marquesas, Austral, and Tuamotu islands. Each archipelago has its own originality. But these groups seek to go beyond tradition by the creation of new works. The government of the Territory helps them and is conscious of the human capi-



Tahiti 1869, cliché Dormoy de Laharpe (Collect. Musée de l'Homme)

at any price. If he adheres to the generous ideas of Christianity and the Gospels, if it is with joy that he joins in parish meetings when he finds memories of his parents, it is in the Polynesian tradition. He lives his Christian faith, but he respects and loves his traditions. In Polynesia, God is already present before the arrival of the gospel. Taaroa personifies God the creator. God living amongst men that the gospel has made known will bind painlessly the Polynesians to their God the creator. For them, the life that we are given has no price. It must be loved and respected. Then God brought love to perfection, even to the extent of giving his son to men to reconcile

tal they represent and which constitutes an asset for tourism that could not develop without the active participation of the population. You can have beautiful beaches, it is true, but these can be found elsewhere. The particular charm of Polynesia rests in its traditional cultural manifestations that must be kept alive and not allowed to fade away. Hence the importance of meetings and occasions such as the tiurai for the singers, dancers and artists returning to their sources.

Tourism and the increase of socio-economic relations have their counterparts. To open oneself to the outside world is without doubt a necessity and a need, but it is not

necessary to lose one's soul. An irresistible taste for new things has caused the Polynesians to dream of the consumer society. How to give back to our families a sense of the simple working life in a living tradition ? How can we develop an education able to evaluate all that was best in the old life ? Technology and the advance of science has without doubt caused the Polynesian to reconsider the situation. The setting up of new economic structures and the use of new techniques are well understood by the population. Museums, archeology, and the study of traditions have helped to preserve a better understanding of the heritage which has been handed down, in order to encompass the problems of the present and prepare for the future. One can offer a child the most perfect tool box, but if he is not motivated, he will not use it. Motivation starts from the interior, a realm which belongs to the culture of a people. There is no motivation for a better being if there is no internal creativity and no group which desires self expression.

It is in their living maternal language that Polynesians express themselves best. The Tahitian Academy, *Fare Vana'a*, works to preserve our beautiful language which gives life to those ancient objects that the Museum of Tahiti and the islands preserve with loving care and allows

groups of singers and dancers both to express themselves and to create. The contribution of the groups is to provide a living expression of the Maohi language. Polynesian art must not remain a prisoner of its tradition. It must be a living art which creates from its roots and at the same time respects the heritage which has been handed down from Polynesian ancestors and it must have a sense and an awareness of beauty. The young students from the Centre des Métiers d'Arts have shown through the work that they have done after only two years of training that Polynesian art is capable of surviving the immense social changes of the 20th century. But fully to ensure its role in a world of perpetual change, the Polynesian must also acquire a perfect knowledge of the French language, as a means of communication but also not only of additional internal expression. Biligualism is already a source of richness for Polynesians and a knowledge of English also helps to establish relations with their neighbours in the South Pacific.

On the other hand, a better knowledge of science and other cultures must allow the Polynesian to realize more consciously his attachment to his own culture, to enable him constantly to refer back to his own sources. The catalyst and fermentation of the blossoming out of the Polynesian, the

traditional culture must be most attentively cared for. Techniques and traditional values must not be put away in an old wardrobe, hidden from the sight of young Polynesians. These values must remain one of their most precious heritages. For they will be the safeguard against any eradication, the capital that will bear fruit like the pearls that are produced by the oysters on the atolls, so that the country remains Polynesian but at the same time participates today in certain of the values of other cultures that history has brought together.

Wilfrid Lucas

(Translated from the French)

Meaning of terms that are not self-explanatory

Marae : A surrounding wall in which is situated the "ahu", which is the altar of an ancient cult.

Ura : Red feathers, the emblem of a king.

Paumotu : An inhabitant of the lower islands of the Tuamotu archipelago.

Tifafai : Patchwork.

The author

Wilfrid Lucas was born at Afaahiti, Tahiti, on the fourth of October 1933 and has held the following positions :

- Teacher, Enseignement général des collèges (Mathematics and Sciences), from 1959 to 1978 and again (Mathematics and Tahitian) since 1985.
- In charge of socio-educational and cultural activities. Composer of traditional Polynesian songs put out by schools television.
- Cabinet attache to the Government Council, cultural delegate from 1978 to 1982.
- Director of the Polynesian Center of Human Sciences, "Te Anavaharau", from 1982 until 1985.

Culture in Polynesia

*An interview with Jacques Teheiura **
(May 1984)

Is culture one of your hopes ?

This question was posed two years ago on the occasion of the world conference held in Mexico, which was concerned with cultural politics. The challenge was to consider "the seeds of time, and say which seed will grow and which will not", in other words to face up to the tensions in the world today and to decide what to do through humanity and for humanity.

I think that this approach, which some people would consider as utopian, must be considered as essential to a harmonious development of Polynesian society. Culture is the future, the hope of the Polynesian. And I'm not just talking about traditional culture, I'm referring equally to that which we all know today : contemporary culture.

Let me make it clear that my aim is not to restore the way of life of the last century (we mustn't forget that paradise was the home of two people), but rather to invigorate it by integrating into it contributions from technology which can improve the material conditions of life.

What is the role given today to Polynesian culture ?

The fact that until recently Polynesia had no official policy as regards culture



Jacques Teheiura

prevents us from giving an account or making an exact analysis of the situation.

One thing is clear and that is that until recent years, the cultural life of the territory was characterized by a certain inactivity and this was due to four factors. These were:

- The impact and grip of colonialism, both political and religious.
- The absence of any real organization to stimulate cultural activity and to present it to the community (for example cultural centres).

- The absence of any important centres of artistic production.

- The fact that the cultural activity that there was depended almost entirely on the rural oral tradition, notable for the preservation of the singularity of the archipelagoes and the multiplication of small associations without any links with each other.

In the last few years however, the territory has been changing. Parallel to this

** Member of the Government of French Polynesia in charge of education and cultural affairs.*



Reconstruction of the crowning of a king at the Marae of Arahurahee. (CPEA, Tahiti).

change, there has gradually developed a consciousness of a national culture. This has been the result of several factors :

- The awareness of the population to cultural problems, through the media, . Individual initiatives,
- The active policies of certain townships,
- The interest in these matters shown by certain elected representatives,
- The creation of the National Office of Cultural Action, the Centre for Human Sciences, the Craft Centre and the National Arts Conservatory,
- The creation of a Centre for Training and Research into South Sea Island Languages and Civilizations,
- The increase in aid given to the territory,
- The creation of a Cultural Affairs Service,
- The participation of the French government,
- The formulation of a planning policy (1984-1988).

To that we must add, and it is an important addition, the renaissance of Polynesian creativity manifest in the initiatives and research of such varied domains as archaeology, literature, writing, theatre and music.

Is there a political policy concerning culture ?

In effect there exists such a policy and it is based on three fundamental issues :

- The preservation and the enhancement of the heritage of our country,
- The encouragement and development of new ventures to enlarge the scope of our culture, to give it new content, new expressions and new audiences,
- The reinforcement of the cultural network, notably in the archipelagoes.

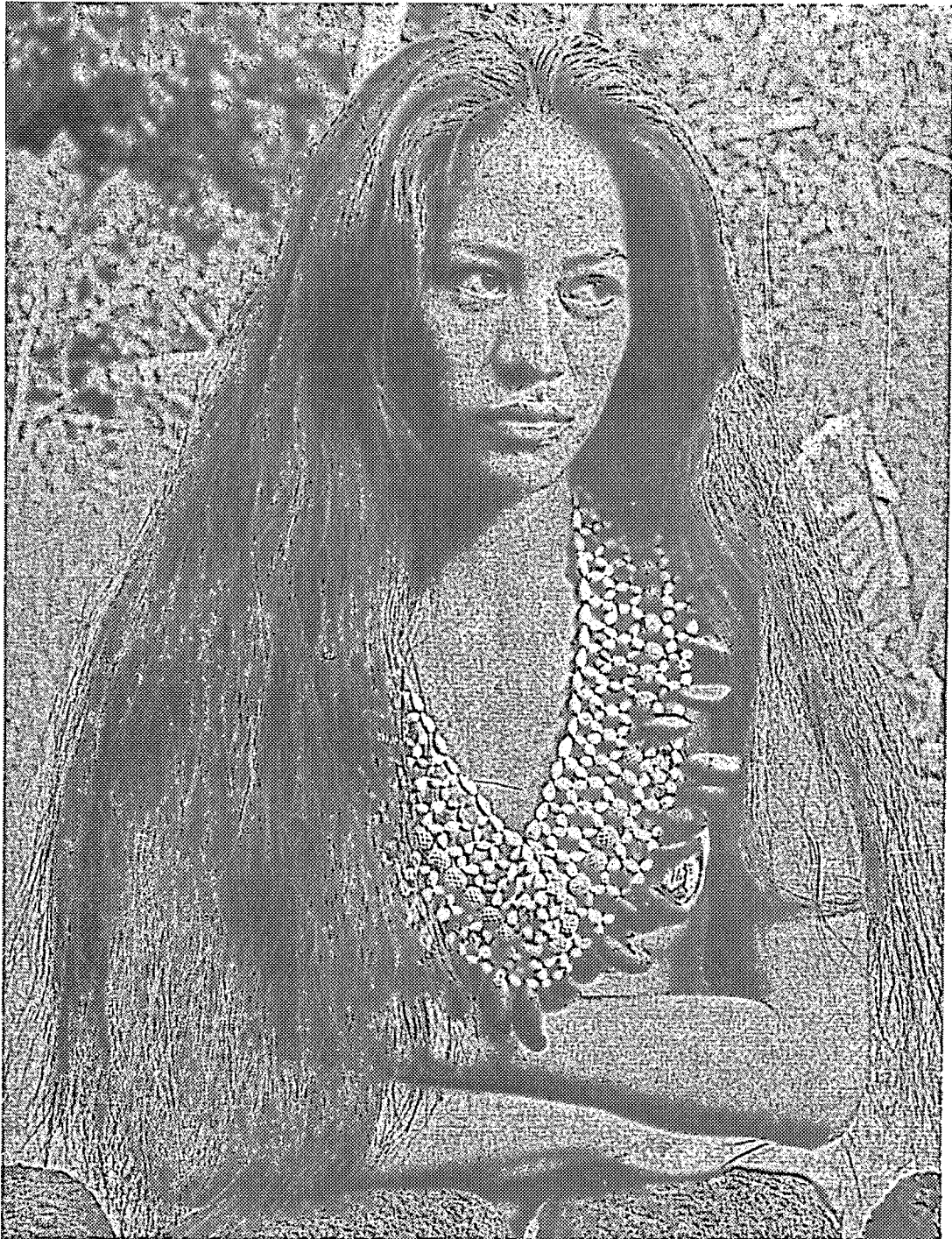
The restoration, improvement and preservation of sites of cultural importance, the presentation of travelling exhibitions, the treatment and exploitation of oral material and their use in education, the

construction of a building suitable for the preservation of archives, as well as the extension and enlargement of museums, have been proposed as measures to enhance the cultural heritage of the country. This programme will be supported by a series of activities that could be led by schools, associations and official organizations.

In addition, in order to invigorate the work of animating and diffusing the culture, the Territory wishes to promote research and creativity in such diverse domains as the plastic arts, music and theatre.

New initiatives, such as newspapers and magazines, cinema and audio-visual programmes, free radios in the islands and the aid given to publishers are also considered to have a vital role to play in the development of the culture of Polynesia.

It has been pointed out that the cultural development of the Territory has been undertaken in a rather unbalanced way, favouring the islands, giving them an



The Tahitian woman, an important actor of the Polynesian culture

advantage over the more central areas. We wish to redress this imbalance by reinforcing the cultural activity in the central, non-urban areas by :

- giving support to the small organizations which already exist in these areas, especially in the form of equipment for their activities,
- studying the formation of teams and centres of activity which could, among other things, maintain contact with certain distant islands.

Where, in your opinion, is the social need for cultural material ?

Everything in Polynesia seems to be a mass culture. That needs explanation.

First of all, our traditional culture was eroded mainly by exposure to cultural values which were completely foreign to Polynesia. There followed the adoption of western patterns of consumption by immature Polynesians. This brought about a standardization of cultural values (and this uniformity is still characteristic of western consumption today) and the proliferation of industrial techniques and materials aimed towards the promotion of leisure (cinema, video, the press, music...) without any other criteria for their choice, except that of profitability.

Although we must not ignore the negative aspects of this tendency, I think I can perceive in the mass culture, such as we know it in Polynesia, an emerging culture which has as yet imprecise frontiers, but which is fundamentally linked to the cultural conflict between Polynesia and the Western world.

I consider that in the opposition between mass culture and traditional culture, the effort that we can make should be devoted to the stimulation of traditional cul-

ture; I think it would be extremely difficult to attempt to modify the development of Western culture itself.

Finally, I think that we must bear in mind the resistance of the public towards cultural activities. Considerable energy and money have been spent on supposed needs; plays and programmes considered "cultural" in nature have been presented to empty theatres.

In conclusion, I think there will have to be two aspects to our work. To set what is known as traditional culture on its feet, and to enable it to take initiatives in order to solidify the collective memory of Polynesia through various presentations. The choice of these events would be quite independent of a consideration of their profitability. And also, parallel to this, to remain alert to the demand from our society for material from other cultures.

In a world such as your own, that is to say one which is pulled between its root values and those resulting from "a universal democratization of culture", what functions do you think that Polynesian culture could have ?

I think they are essentially as follows :

- Conservation : I'm thinking here of the national heritage.
- . Formation : to give a sense to the past and allow a clearer vision of the future.
- . Communication : notably through education and also the media.
- . Criticism : a stance which is very often misunderstood but which is, however, necessary to the health of man, a proof of democracy and the indispensable dynamo for change and social progress.
- . Creation : that is : "Everything that a man has been, everything that he is and would like to be. Everything that he has

dreamed or imagined, thought and planned to understand and transform reality. The images, the extremes and the gradations of human passions. In short, everything that constitutes man as man, all this has been captured by the great creators of words, pictures and sounds, and they constitute the cultural heritage of humanity".

You are also Advisor in charge of Education, what sort of "relations" do you have with the "other you", as the Advisor in charge of Culture ?

My "relations" with the Advisor for Education are clear and simple. They aim principally to bring about the unity of all educational perspectives with all cultural projects (and vice versa).

Thus the plans for the support and reinforcement of the cultural network, a priority of the ninth development plan with the development of newspapers and magazines and audio-visual materials, are linked to a programme for the development of a policy for artistic education and activity within the educational system.

*Interview conducted by
J. Salmon, the Tahitian Office for
Cultural Activities*



Sharing rituals : Francis Bugotu Former secretary general of SPC presides at a Kava ceremony Western Samoa (22 nd South Pacific Conference, Pagopago, 1982)

The South Pacific Commission

*Interview with Francis Bugotu **

(February 1984)

Secretary General, the South Pacific Commission (SPC) is an organization, created in 1947, with the purpose of economic development. Could you briefly recall for us its history, starting with the five foundation members to its present position of having 22 member states who have gained independence ?

I regret that I am not able to outline the history of the SPC in complete detail in the form that you and your readers would probably like to see it. What I will do, speaking as a newcomer, is to attempt to highlight those areas from 1947 to the present day in the way in which I see them and which I feel have been important in the development of SPC.

The SPC was established by the colonial powers in order to provide a meeting place for discussion on matters affecting their territories, not only in the field of economic development, but also in that of social and cultural issues. The original members each appointed a commissioner to attend the conference, which was convened annually, and which discussed the problems facing their island dependencies and attempted to find ways of helping them.

** Formerly Secretary General of the South Pacific Commission (February 1984)*

This was the pattern adopted by my predecessors since 1947 in the conditions and under the circumstances that prevailed at the time.

I took over in 1982, and I have been in office for eighteen months, and I now feel that a change of emphasis is due. World conditions are constantly changing, and if the SPC is to continue to be relevant, it too must change.

I therefore consider that my main function, as Secretary General, is now to pursue this aim. In view of this belief, I have in fact written a review of the internal working of the SPC, which is entitled "The Secretary General's Review of the Commission of the South Pacific".

This is now available, the project having been approved by the SPC at its meeting in 1982, and the finished work endorsed by the SPC at its meeting in 1982, and the finished work endorsed by the SPC in 1983. In consequence, I am now engaged in implementing the provisions of my review. There are several very important issues in it. Perhaps the most important and the one on which all the other issues hinge is the establishment of full voting rights and equality amongst all the 27 member countries, some of which are independent and others territories. New rules are being formulated to regularize procedures and a new committee is being formed which replaces the two former committees, i.e. the Planning and Evaluation Committee, and the Committee of Representatives of Participating Governments. This new committee is called the Committee of Representatives of Governments and Administrations (CRGA). It will meet for the first time in May, to decide what internal changes should take place and to fix the level of the financial contribution of each member. All countries of whatever status will, as full members, be expected to take their full share in this context.

All members are pleased with their developments, and a major step forward has been taken, namely that all member countries will nominate their own representatives and that every country is now an equal partner in SPC.

As well as the South Pacific Commission, there is in existence a South Pacific Forum. Could you therefore tell us about this organization, and the relations existing between the two. Are they in competition or complementary to each other ?

They are complementary, but it is possible that this fact is not understood by everybody. The Forum consists of political heads of government and is therefore a political organization, whereas SPC is a body created to give technical assistance and has completely different functions. The Forum has 13 members from independent, self-governing countries. SPC has 27 members all with equal status, and is concerned with helping people by technical assistance to improve their lives, and not with making political decisions.

The main areas of development in the South Pacific would appear to be the development of marine potentials, of tropical agriculture, alternative sources of energy and health in liaison with The World Health Organization. Could you tell us in what direction you are going in respect to each of these ?

The most important area is that of developing marine resources, which is of concern to everyone of the 27 member countries, large or small. This envisages the organization of an efficient fishing industry both to cater for internal consumption and to export.

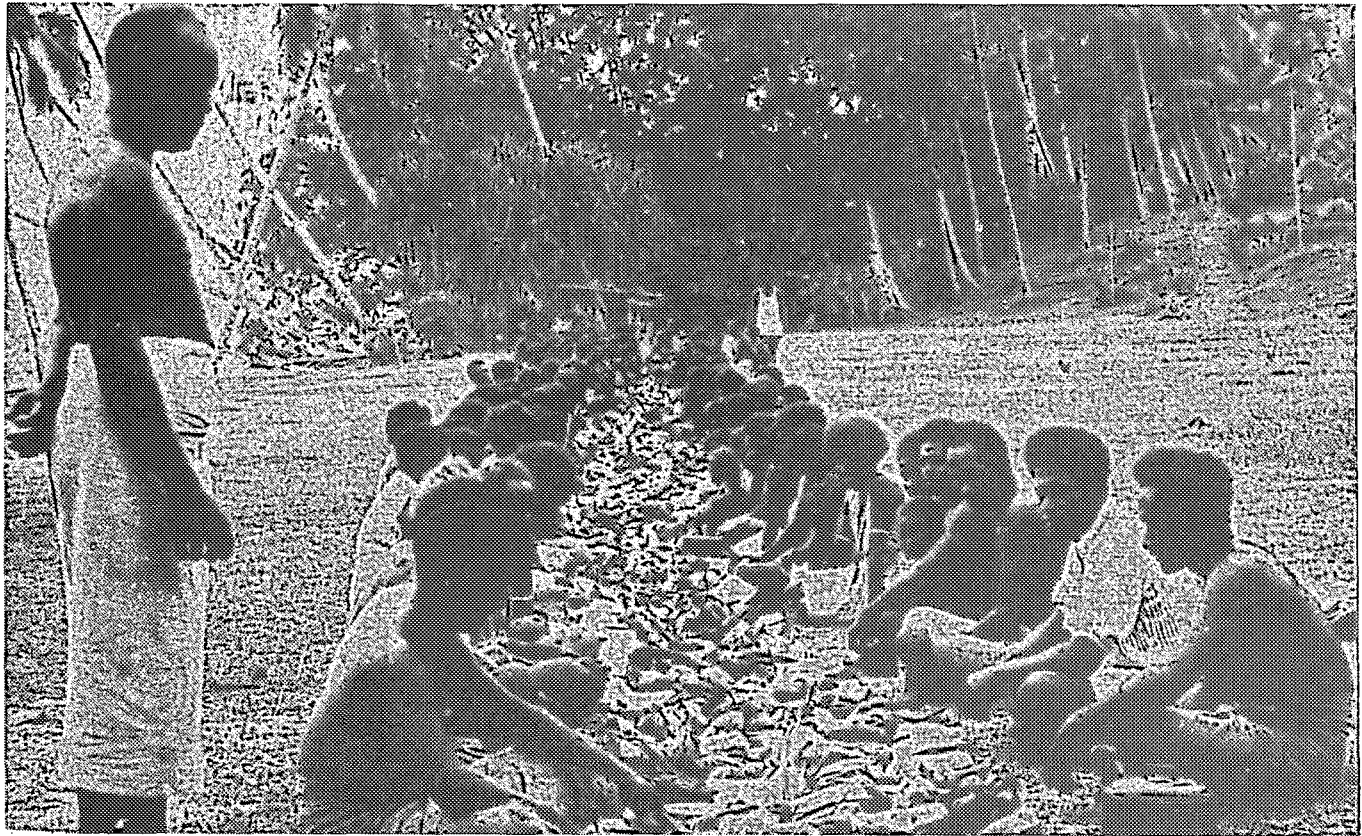
Linked with this is tropical agriculture which also is a most important activity. A certain amount of produce is imported, but basically home grown products are essential to the economic life of the area. Apart from fish, the main objective of SPC is to develop the production of rootcrops and to promote research into this with the aim of expanding the usefulness of such aid to all members in the region. Certain countries can benefit by the expansion of the copra industry, although this is not common to all.

A further and very important project is the exploration of alternative sources of energy. This project has the backing of the SPC. Within the region, different countries have different potential. The larger countries would wish to develop their potential in the direction of hydro-electric schemes, harnessing the power of their rivers, whilst forests would provide fuel for power plants, but in the smaller countries the emphasis is on the development of solar energy, an area in which SPC is particularly interested. This means that efforts in this field will be concentrated on smaller islands that have no rivers from which hydro-electric power could be obtained.

SPC also operates its own programme in the spheres of health and education and very much formulates its own policies on this. It works with the World Health Organization and similar bodies, but these act purely in an advisory capacity, the final decisions remaining the province of SPC, which has its own programme that it devises and implements.

As a former educationalist - you were Director of Education in your country, the Solomon Islands, and as such you were instrumental in reorganizing education after your country became independent in 1978 - you are very concerned with questions of educational training in relation to development projects. I believe that you are very interested in the role of women. In this context, may I ask you what your ideas concerning the teaching and education of women are ?

The education of women at the adult level is one of the major concerns of SPC, and one of its principal projects this year. A centre has been set up in Suva with a completely revised curriculum approved by the Conference.



An actual view of Oceania: sharing a ceremonial meal (Solomon Islands).

A new site has been made available for this purpose by the Government of Fiji.

Courses will be held every year and last for nine months. This curriculum is at present under review and will possibly be extended. In addition, there are two women education officers, one French speaking and the other English, based at Suva, whose task is to visit the islands with the object of helping the women there to form clubs and groups. It must be emphasized that the role of the education officers is to develop and expand the ideas of the women themselves and not in any way to promote preconceived ideas, which would be resented. In addition there are nutritionists and a health education officer, also based at Suva, who are part of the women's bureau, which works with the education officers in providing help and advice to the women's clubs in these fields.

All this has proved to be most successful and ways and means of expanding their service are constantly being investigated.

It is the Council of Arts, part of the South Pacific Commission, which is organizing the Fourth Pacific Art Festival. The name of the festival is in English: "Pacific, Our Home", with two subtitles, one in English, "Our own Pacific way for our new home", and the other in French: "Pour une voie océanienne de développement". What is the primary purpose behind the organization of the festival? How do you envisage*

that you and those who surround you will achieve the object of the festival itself?

The Pacific Arts Festivals are organized by the countries themselves and all the ideas and preparatory work, as well as the production of the festivals, is entirely their effort. The role of the Council of Arts of the SPC is purely supportive and gives help with the development of the plans and ideas initiated by the country which is organizing the festival.

My own belief is that it is of paramount importance for the cultures of the various communities to be retained and these festivals play a big part in this. It is a great challenge for the country which is acting as host in any particular year and organizing the festival. All these countries wish their cultures to survive, and the festivals provide the means whereby this may be achieved. SPC does all it can to be of help without in any way usurping the autonomy of the country concerned. In other words, we help them to help themselves and try to ensure that they obtain their full share of the credit that ensues.

*Interview conducted
by Denyse de Saivre
(former Executive Editor of Recherche, Pédagogie et Culture)*

* 1972, Suva, Fiji
1976, Rotorua, New Zealand

1980, Port Moresby, Papua New Guinea
1985, Papeete, French Polynesia

Culture, Change and Hawaiian Music

Early in the history of anthropology, E.B. Tylor (1) defined culture as “that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capacities or habits acquired by man as a member of society”. If we accept this definition of culture, then music is certainly a part of that complex whole. Ethnomusicologist Alan P. Merriam (2) has suggested that music is comprised of three separate but equally interrelated parts, labelled concept, behavior, and sound. Concept is the way in which we think about music - for example, its power, value, or fundamental function; behavior includes the acts of musicians, the activities that precede, accompany, and follow the production of musical sound; and sound is the music itself. Merriam’s three-part model demonstrates clearly that music is more than just sound.



Traditional (“ancient”) musician Ka’upena Wong chanting and drumming on a pahu (wooden drum with skin membrane).

Although ethnomusicologists use various approaches to study the relationship of culture and music most agree that, by and large, a culture determines the nature of its music. Bruno Nettl (3) suggests that while biology, geography, or climate may influence a music, the nature of the set of ideas and values which forms the core or center of a culture overridingly determines the character of that culture's musical concepts, behavior, and sounds. Conservative cultural values, values that tend to maintain traditional views, are expressed in traditional musical characteristics, whereas adaptative cultural values, those that tend toward change and assimilation, are expressed in recently adapted musical characteristics.

In this paper I describe several conservative and adaptive Hawaiian cultural values and show how they are expressed today in traditional and recently adapted musical concepts, behavior, and sounds found in Hawai'i. Using as guides my knowledge and understanding of various aspects of Hawaiian culture and music, I list only those cultural values that appear to be most clearly expressed in musical characteristics. This list is not exhaustive, for more research will undoubtedly uncover other expressions of such values in Hawaiian music.

Several historical, social, and cultural aspects of Hawai'i provide context for my specific concern with Hawaiian music. Although the settling of foreigners in Hawai'i dates from the late 1700s, Hawaiian culture and language predominated until the end of the 1800s.

Especially since the beginning of the twentieth century and after Hawai'i's annexation by the United States, ever-increasing numbers of people settled in Hawai'i from many different parts of the world - mainly North America, Asia, the

South Pacific, and Europe - thereby creating a society of diverse ethnic, cultural and linguistic makeup. Today, Hawaiian culture and language no longer predominate in Hawai'i and Hawaiians are one ethnic minority among many.

After the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchical government by American expatriates in 1893 and the subsequent takeover by the United States, the maintenance of Hawaiian culture and language was discouraged and in many instances prohibited, in an effort to hasten the assimilation of Hawaiians into the cultural and linguistic mainstream of Anglo-America.

From a Hawaiian viewpoint, this effort produced disastrous results, with significant losses occurring in the knowledge and perpetuation of traditional culture and language. Nonetheless, total assimilation has not happened. Since the early 1970s, in fact, a widespread and renewed interest in Hawaiian culture and language has devel-

oped, the primary focus of which in the late 1980s is Hawaiian music.

Hawaiian music genres

It is possible to list several genres of Hawaiian music, in which may be identified the expression of Hawaiian cultural values:

Table 1

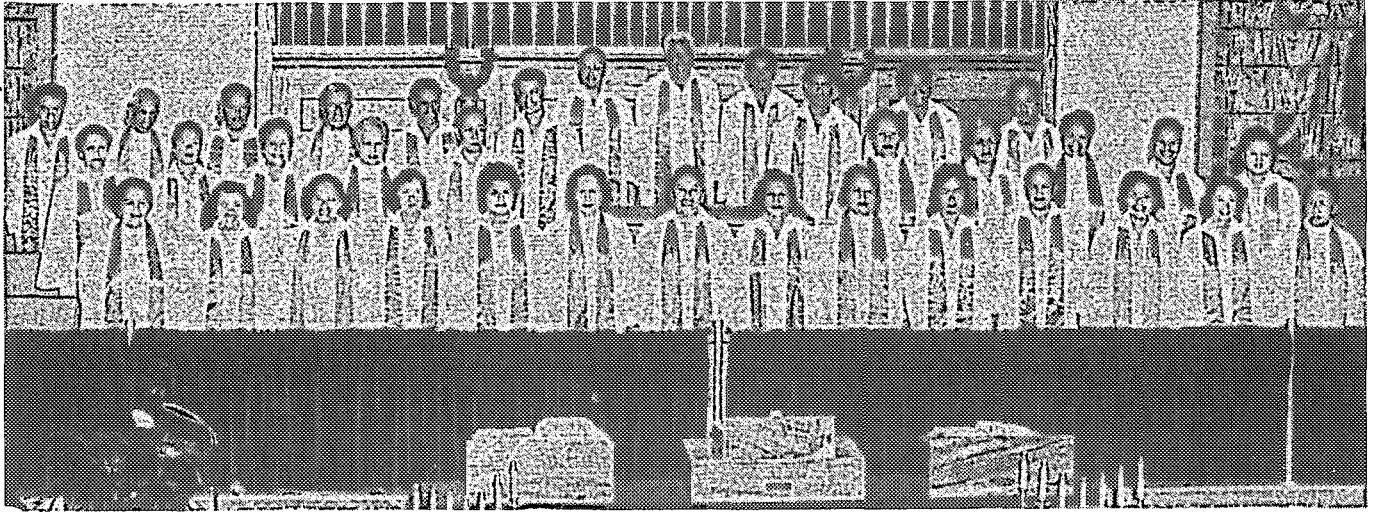
1	Traditional ("Ancient")
2	Christian hymn singing
3	Choral singing - sacred and secular
4	Hapa haole (Half-caucasian)*
5	Slack key guitar
6	Male falsetto singing
7	Female falsetto singing
8	Chalangalang
9	Contemporary "Hawaiian" and "Island"

* *Caucasian* refers to an individual of the Indo-European races



Traditional musician: Author Kalena Silva chanting and drumming on an ipu heke (double-gourd drum) in accompaniment to dancer Nalei Napaepae (Photo by Thalia Drunscic).

(1) 1871 : 1
(2) 1964 : 32-33
(3) 1983 : 240

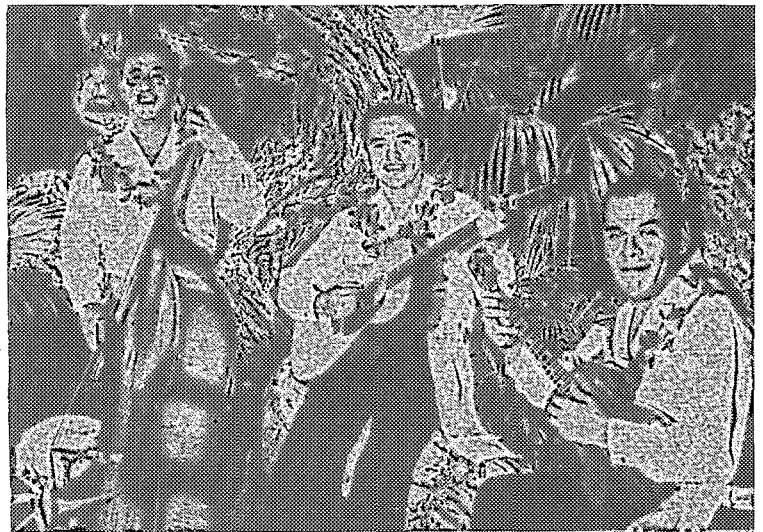


Choral singing : the Haili Church choir of Hilo, Hawai'i.

Traditional ("Ancient")

Today, so-called "ancient" Hawaiian music usually refers to the chanting of traditional mele (Hawaiian language poetic texts) by an individual or in unison by men or women, who sometimes accompany themselves on native Hawaiian instruments and/or by dancing. The qualification "so called" indicates that several chant genres are no longer performed in the same contexts as they were formerly. A recent study by ethnomusicologist Elizabeth Tatar (1982) shows that Hawaiian chanters of the nineteenth century used vocal qualities substantially different from those of contemporary chanters. Therefore it seems more accurate to refer to this music as "traditional" instead of "ancient", because it is the product of that which has been handed down from one generation to another and having changed in the process, is no longer performed exactly as in former times. In the not-too-distant past, this genre of Hawaiian music was neither as widespread nor as public as from the period beginning about 1970. Today it is performed by such noted chanters as Kau'i Zuttermeister, Ka'upena Wong, and Hoakalei Kamau'u, and is taught mainly in Hawaiian dance schools. Chanting may be heard in concerts, nightclubs, and competitions.

Falsettist Kahauanu Lake (right, with 'ukulele), Al Machida (guitar), and Tommy Lake (string bass) of the Kahauanu Lake Trio at the Hau Terrace, Halekulahi Hotel, in Waikiki, O'ahu.



Christian hymn singing

Christian hymns introduced by New England missionaries in the 1820s were translated into Hawaiian and sung in Western harmony by mixed male and female members of newly-organized church congregations. Today, Hawaiian hymn singing may still be heard in Hawaiian churches.

Choral singing, sacred and secular

Sometimes after the advent of hymn-singing, two types of Hawaiian choral singing developed that tend to be more

musically complex and therefore normally require performance by a trained group of singers. One, in a sacred style, is usually found at church services; the other in a secular style, is sung outside of church services. Today, the sacred choral style may be heard in Honolulu, as performed by the Kawaiaha'o and the Kaumakapili Church choirs, as well as in Hilo by the Haili Church choir. The secular choral style is frequently heard at concerts and competitions; of the latter, perhaps the best known are the Annual Kamehameha Schools Song Contest and the Annual Association of Hawaiian Civic Clubs Song Contest.

*Hapa haole (Half-caucasian)**

According to Tatar (4), **hapa haole** music probably began around 1895 but was officially launched in 1903 with the song "My Waikiki Mermaid". Other songs like "On the Beach at Waikiki", "Hula Blues", and "Sophisticated Hula" followed, imitating American popular music styles of the time like ragtime and Tin Pan Alley. Although several Hawaiian musical characteristics are retained in **hapa haole** music, its distinguishing feature is lyrics written predominantly in English but with a smattering of Hawaiian words. The English lyrics have caused much debate among Hawaiians about whether or not **hapa haole** music should be considered Hawaiian.

This music reached its peak of popularity and commercial success during the period 1930 to 1960, not only in Hawai'i but also on the mainland United States and in parts of Asia and Europe.

It is still performed today in concerts and nightclubs, usually as a musical novelty from the past or in updated versions.

While at its peak, **hapa haole** music had an international audience, whereas Hawaiian music genres like slack key guitar, male and female falsetto singing, and chalangalang were not widely publicized and were performed mainly for Hawaiian audiences.

Slack key guitar

The origin of the slack key guitar apparently dates from the early part of the nineteenth century, when the first guitars were probably brought by Mexicans engaged in trade with Hawai'i. Although this style of guitar playing has continued to the present, only since the early 1970s have several artists made this genre of Hawaiian music available through commercial recordings to an increasingly large listening audience. Slack key playing may also be heard at concerts, nightclubs and parties.



Falsettist Linda Dela Cruz at the Blue Dolphin Room, Outrigger Hotel, in Waikiki, O'ahu.

The brothers Cazimero : Roland (left) and Robert, perhaps the best known contemporary Hawaiian musicians to both residents and tourists.



Male falsetto singing

The origins of male falsetto singing, like those of slack key guitar, are not clear, but Elizabeth Tatar suggests that falsetto singing "is... a combination of sources in pre-European Hawaiian chant practices, early hymn singing, and the introduction of popular European music in the latter half of the 19th century" (5). Falsetto singing features glides and yodel-like breaks in the voice with alternation between middle and high vocal registers. Today, predominantly Hawaiian language lyrics are sung by falsettists like Bill Ali'iloa Lincoln and Kekua Fernandes, as part of the performance by trios such as The Kahauanu Lake Trio and the Aloha Pumehana Serenaders, and also by quartets and choral groups. Falsetto singing may be heard at nightclubs, parties, concerts, and in recordings.

Female falsetto singing

Female falsetto singing apparently developed most extensively this century. The glides, yodel-like breaks, and alternation between middle and high vocal registers of male falsetto singing also occur in the female version. Except for certain cowboy songs, which are generally sung by men, song repertoires and run in of male and female falsettists are practically indistinguishable. Female falsettists like Genoa Keawe, Linda Dela Cruz and Leina'ala Haili usually perform with musical accompaniment on 'ukulele, steel guitar, guitar, and string bass, among other less-frequently played instruments. They may be heard at parties, nightclubs, concerts, and in recordings.

(4) In *Kanahele 1979* : xxv

(5) In *Kanahele 1979* : 86

* Refers to an individual of the Indo-European race.

** The term "swipehouse" suggests that this type of music was played in establishments that sold beer. Swipes signifies spillage which occurs when glasses are overfilled. This is collected in a tray and sold at a cheaper price.

Chalangalang

Chalangalang, a recent term, usually refers to the music genre in which may be heard "swipehouse"*** - the term used by some to refer to a kind of male or female falsetto singing associated with **Chalangalang**, which is usually played on 'ukulele, guitar, and string bass. The origins of the term **Chalangalang** are not clear, but it appears to refer to the sound of the rhythmic strumming on 'ukulele and guitar that is characteristic of this music genre.

The term "swipehouse" suggests that this type of falsetto singing may, at one time, have been associated with establishments in which home-made braw was available. **Chalangalang** may be heard at nightclubs, parties, and in recordings.

Contemporary ("Hawaiian" and "Island")

Contemporary Hawaiian music includes both traditional and recently-composed music influenced by a variety of styles, such as American popular, country western, jazz, rock'n roll, folk rock, Latin American, Carribean, and Tahitian. Song lyrics may be in Hawaiian or English. There are two categories: "Hawaiian" contemporary music, which includes traditional and recently-composed songs with predominantly Hawaiian lyrics performed in contemporary music style; and the "Island", generally recent songs composed in English about aspects of Island life, not exclusively Hawaiian, also performed in contemporary music style. As with hapa haole music described above, there is debate whether "Island" music should be considered "Hawaiian". Of all music genres discussed here, contemporary Hawaiian reaches the largest listening audience, mainly through disc and cassette-tape recordings by such musical groups as The Brothers Cazimero, The Peter Moon Band, and Olomana. It is also performed at concerts, night-clubs, and parties.

Hawaiian music and Hawaiian cultural values

How are these music genres related to conservative and adaptive Hawaiian

cultural values? Table 2 attempts to demonstrate such links, some of which are obvious and some more indirect. ***

1) Knowledge of and respect for traditional social hierarchy is a conservative value expressed today in the order in which **mele** are performed in most complete traditional **hula** performances. **Mele hula** (chants which are danced to) are separated into three major **pale** (segments) that honor deities, royalty, and common people. Performers always include one or several **mele oli** (chants which are not danced to) as introductory pieces of the first **pale**, and generally include a **mele oli** at the beginning of the second and third **pale**. **Mele hula** within **pale** for deities are usually ordered according to the decreasing relative importance of those gods honored. **Mele hula** within **pale** for royalty are ordered according to age, with the oldest members of royalty first and the youngest last. The sequence of **mele hula** for common people usually reflects the personal preference of performers.

2) Uninterrupted progression of activity - especially major activity - is a conservative value expressed in the continuous flow of chant text and vocal sound characteristic of most types of traditional chanting. The importance placed upon this value is underscored by numerous examples found elsewhere in Hawaiian culture. A musically-related example is found in most kinds of traditional **hula** in which flowing, connected, body movements are desirable. Similarly, in fishing, questions like "Where are you going?" asked of a fisherman on his way to the beach or stream interrupt the progression of his activity, invite malevolent forces, and result in a cancelled fishing trip and an angry person. Still another example exists in many kinds of Hawaiian quilting, in which one begins at the centre of piece and quilts in unbroken patterns out toward its edges.

3) Conforming to a predetermined or acknowledged standard of group behavior, another conservative value, is expressed in the relatively few opportunities for musical improvisation available within a traditional group performance. Nearly all aspects of a performance by a group of traditional

musicians is determined before the performance, thereby limiting the opportunities for improvisational departures.

4) A countervailing conservative value is the opportunity for greater freedom of individual behavior when not in a group, as expressed in solo chanting, which provides more possibilities for personal interpretation and improvisation.

5) Symbolism is a conservative value expressed in several concepts and resultant behavior of traditional performers, as illustrated by three examples from my 'uniki (graduation rituals) from the **Halau Hula O Maiki** (Hawaiian Dance School of Maiki). In 1972, I was one of twenty-six students awarded the title of **ho'opa'a** (chanter-instrumentalist) and in 1973 most members of this group were awarded the title of **kumu hula** (dance teacher).

• My **kumu hula**, Maiki Aiu Lake, considers the color blue to be special because a vegetable dye of this color is difficult to obtain. On the evening prior to the 'uniki in 1972, the attire we were given to wear as **ho'opa'a** was dyed blue to symbolize difficulty of attainment and, therefore, to serve as a mark of achievement.

• On the same evening Aunty Maiki instructed the oldest male student of the class and the youngest male to pick twenty-six leaf buds from twenty-six **ti** (**cordyline terminalis**) plants - traditionally believed to be a potent agent of benevolent forces and good fortune. She believed that just as a **ti** leaf bud is always in the process of unfolding to become full, so a student's knowledge of the many aspects of the **hula** should be ever-maturing, deepening, and broadening. After the **ti** leaf buds were gathered and brought back to the group, one was passed out to each student as a symbol of the learning, growth, and development we were expected to continue after our 'uniki.

• Prior to the 'uniki in 1973, Aunty Maiki informed us that we would be known as the **lehua** class. She pointed out that,

***The numbers of the following paragraphs are the same as those in Table 2.

Table 2

Hawaiian Music Genres	Hawaiian Conservative and Adaptive Values -> Expressed in -> Musical Concepts, Behavior, and Sounds	
Traditional ("ancient")	X 1. knowledge of and respect for traditional social hierarchy	1. order of mele performed
	X 2. uninterrupted progression of activity	2. continuous flow of chant text and vocal sound
	X 3. conformation to a predetermined or acknowledged standard of group behavior when in a group	3. little musical improvisation within a group performance
	X 4. greater behavioral freedom of individual when not in a group	4. individual chanting
	X 5. symbolism	5. blue performance attire ti leaf bud lehua as class flower
	0 6. Westernization	6. lack of complex and diverse traditional Hawaiian vocal qualities adaptation of chant to essentially Western vocal style
	0 7. change in ideas regarding use of certain materials.	7. dog teeth bird skin
	0 8. Western technology	8. new tools and materials used to make native Hawaiian instruments
Hymn singing	X 9. establishing favourable rapport with the supernatural	9. hymn singing
Sacred choral singing	0 10. form and content of Christian religious beliefs	10. relatively strict adherence to musical form and textual content of hymns
Secular choral singing	0 11. increased Westernization	11. secular choral music
Hapa haole	0 12. Westernization	12. English language song lyrics Imitation of American popular musical styles Music as a commercial product
Slack-key : male falsetto female falsetto Chalangang	X 13. traditional past	13. traditional musical characteristics
	X 14. conformation to a predetermined or acknowledged standard of group behavior	14. little improvisation within a group performance
	X 15. greater behavioral freedom of individual when not in a group	15. soloists
Contemporary	0 16. Westernization	16. English language song lyrics Imitation of American, Latin American, Carribean, and Tahitian popular musical styles Music as a commercial product

Code: X = conservative value
0 = adaptive value

after a volcanic eruption, the 'ohi'a lehua (*metrosideros collina*) is the first tree to take root and emerge above the surface of the lava flow. She urged that, when performing, we use lehua leaf buds and flowers in our leis, wristlets, and anklets, as a means for generating strength and courage in the face of adversity.

6) Westernization is an adaptive value expressed in several aspects of traditional Hawaiian music, notably in today's lack of complex and diverse vocal qualities characteristic of chanting of former times, and adaptation of the chant to an essentially Western vocal style. Over the years, the cultural contexts of many chant genres and associated vocal styles gradually disappeared and consequently the genres themselves fell into disuse or were lost. In addition, it appears probable that the chant genres that did survive were passed on in broad outline, without as much attention paid as formerly to the fine points of performance.

7) Adaptive values are reflected in changing ideas about certain materials. Dogs teeth, once part of the anklets of dancers, are no longer used in this way because Hawaiians have come to think of dogs as pets rather than as producers of teeth for anklets. Certain kinds of bird skin, that once covered part of the tops of some 'uli'uli (feather gourd rattles), are no longer used because Hawaiians today only think of birds as pets or food.

8) Western technology has expressed itself in a related way. It is now easier to use machine tools rather than native ones to make certain instruments, to have glue rather than breadfruit sap hold together instrument parts, and to use machine-made cord for drum lashing rather than coconut sennit.

Today, several native Hawaiian musical instruments are frequently played, but it is clear that certain adaptive values have resulted in alterations to the construction and appearance of these

instruments and, perhaps, also to their sounds.

9) Establishing a favourable relationship with the supernatural, a conservative value, is expressed in hymn singing. Although formerly certain kinds of prayer chants were performed for this purpose, hymn singing may be considered a different expression of the same value.

10) The adaptive value of the form and content of Christian religious beliefs is expressed in the relatively strict adherence to the musical form and textual content of Christian hymn singing.

11) Increased Westernization, an adaptive value, is expressed in the development of secular choral music. When first introduced, hymn singing was a part of Hawaiian christian worship. As its influence and popularity increased it became the foundation upon which secular choral music developed.

12) As an adaptive value, Westernization expresses itself in several major characteristics of hapa haole music: first, song lyrics in the English language; second, the imitation of once prevalent styles of American popular music, such as ragtime and Tin Pan Alley; and third, marketing through commercial recording procedures.

It is valuable to place this in historical perspective. The arrival in 1778 of the first European explorers initiated what became a subsequent influx of foreign peoples, with different ideas about how Hawai'i should be governed. Despite strong foreign influences, until 1893 Hawai'i maintained its internationally-recognized status as an independent and sovereign nation. Three events that resulted from political and cultural conditions of the time provided fertile ground for the rise of hapa haole music: first, the takeover of Hawai'i by the United States; second, the loss of Hawaiian political leadership; and third, an ambiguity in the political and cultural

identity of Hawaiian people - especially urban dwellers - many of whom undoubtedly pondered the question: "What does it mean to be both Hawaiian and American?"

The beginning of hapa haole music in 1895, just two years after the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy, represents one answer to this critical question. The performance styles that imitated American popular music and the English language lyrics, which usually projected haole views of Hawai'i and Hawaiians, demonstrated the willingness of some Hawaiians to Westernize. To some, hapa haole music served as a positive sign of Hawai'i's progress through changing times; it provided a means to put aside the troubling and confusing past of an indigenous monarchy overthrown and to look ahead to better times in liaison with America. Indeed, when hapa haole music was at its peak, from the 1930s to the 1950s, many groups of Hawaiian musicians travelled to the mainland United States and performed for a living.

13) Slack key guitar, male and female falsetto singing, and Chalangalang have been combined into one group because several of the same cultural values are expressed in all four genres. The conservative value of the traditional past is expressed in the several traditional musical characteristics of these four genres and also in the appearance that musical innovation (not to be confused with improvisation within a genre) is generally not a major concern. While innovation does occur, its intensity and frequency appears to be lower than in, for example, contemporary Hawaiian music.

14) Similarly, conformation to predetermined or acknowledged standards of group behavior is expressed in the relatively few opportunities available for musical improvisation, although certain styles of playing slack key guitar may be the exception.

15) The countervailing conservative value is the opportunity for greater freedom of individual behavior when not in a group, as expressed in the solo performances of slack-key guitarists, male and female falsettists, and the vocal soloist of **Chalangalang** groups.

16) Westernization is expressed in several major characteristics of contemporary Hawaiian music, especially the "Island" category: the use of English language song lyrics; the imitation of popular music styles, mainly from North America, Latin America, the Caribbean, and Tahiti; and procedures used to market commercial recordings.

Conclusion

Although Westernization as an adaptive value is found in all genres of Hawaiian music (Table 2), only in **hapa haole** and contemporary Hawaiian music

(especially the "Island" variety) does it express itself in nearly identical ways. Nonetheless, a fundamental difference between **hapa haole** and Hawaiian contemporary lies in the fact that during the former's peak of popularity and commercial success, traditional genres like "ancient" music, slack-key guitar playing, falsetto singing, and **Chalangalang** were neither as widespread nor as public as nowadays. This indicates that, in the **hapa haole** period, the desire for Westernization apparently overshadowed the wish to maintain - in public, at least - traditional music. Today, in contrast, contemporary Hawaiian music is a major genre but traditional forms are also important. This characteristic indicates a resistance to complete Westernization and a desire for the maintenance, through music, of a uniquely Hawaiian identity.

In short, both conservative and adaptive Hawaiian values are expressed in the continuity and change of Hawaiian music.

Today, cultural-ethnic identity and Westernization are major Hawaiian values, both clearly expressed in the importance placed upon both traditional and contemporary genres of Hawaiian music. Thus Hawaiian cultural values, both conservative and adaptive, will continue to determine the nature of Hawaiian music today and for many years to come.

Kalena Silva
University of Hawai'i

The author

Kalena Silva is an Assistant Professor of Hawaiian Studies at the University of Hawai'i, Hilo Campus, and is completing his doctorate in ethnomusicology at the University of Washington, Seattle, USA. He is coauthor, with Kauanoe Kamana, of *The Hawaiian Language: Its Spelling and Pronunciation*. Kalena Silva has performed, taught, and lectured on Hawaiian music and dance on most of the inhabited Hawaiian Islands, on the mainland United States, and in the Republic of China. This paper was originally presented in August 1983 at a Hawaiian Song Writers conference held in Honolulu.

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Basic Sources for Pacific Island Studies

Since the 18th century, beginning with the birth of the myth of the happy islands, then the spread of missionary enterprises followed by the progressive colonization of all the archipelagoes by the industrialized nations of Europe and the United States, the tropical Pacific has given rise to a superabundance of literature.

The countries of this region of the world, the last ones to be decolonized, continue to evoke an interest that is much greater than the numerical importance of their populations and the size of their territories.

While this myth of Oceania continues to be maintained by stereotypes fueled by tourism, the problems the young island nations face today in their quest for an identity are manifold. All have been severely affected by two centuries of European contact, nor can their futures be disassociated from world politics.

The principal centers for the study of Oceania are above all located around the Pacific. They are found in the great nations which border the region such as Australia or New Zealand, themselves created by European colonization, or the United States whose historical interest in these islands has been evident for a long time and is motivated by geopolitical considerations.

The former colonial metropolises constitute the European centers for island studies : Great Britain, secondarily Germany, and above all France, whose role - due to the trusteeship over three territories, all of them francophone - remains important in the Pacific.

In some cases, the young nations of the region have themselves also assembled important library resources, in tandem with their academic, museum, or archival establishments.

To attempt to provide here a list of recent research ongoing in both English and French, even when limited to the topics of culture, language, and education in the Pacific islands and that would not be English or partial, would be an exercise in futility. Such a list would satisfy neither the specialist nor the general reader searching for basic information.

Therefore, we thought it more appropriate to indicate the places where the outstanding libraries are located, the principal bibliographies available, and the specialized periodicals of major importance for Pacific studies.

Renée Heyum
*Center for Pacific Islands Studies **

Edith Legras
Paris, CNRS

Lynette Furuhashi
*Pacific Collection, Hamilton Library **

Karen Peacock
*Pacific Collection, Hamilton Library**

Pacific Libraries

AMERICAN SAMOA

The Library
American Samoa Community
College
P.O. Box 2609
Pago Pago, American Samoa
96799

National Library of Australia
Canberra, ACT 2600
Australia
Mitchell Library
Macquarie St.
Sydney, NSW 2000
Australia

ENGLAND

Museum of Mankind Library
Ethnography Dept. of the British
Museum
6 Burlington Gardens
London W1X 2EX, England

London School of Oriental and
African Studies
The Library
Malet Street
London WC1E 7HP, England

FIJI

Library
University of the South Pacific
P.O. Box 1168
Suva, Fiji

National Archives of Fiji
Government of Fiji
Suva, Fiji

AUSTRALIA

Library (Menzies)
Austrian National University
P.O. Box 4
Canberra, ACT 2600
Australia

COOK ISLANDS

Cook Islands Library
P. O. Box 71
Rarotonga, Cook Islands

** University of Hawai'i, Manoa
Campus, Honolulu*

- FRANCE**
Bibliothèque
Musée de l'Homme
Place du Trocadéro
75116 Paris, France
Bibliothèque
Université de Bordeaux III
33605 Talence Cedex, France

Bibliothèque Nationale
58 rue des Francs-Bourgeois
75141 Paris Cedex 03, France

Département Evangélique
Français d'Action Apostolique
Service Protestant de Mission et
de Relations Internationales
102, Boulevard Arago
75014 Paris, France
- FRENCH POLYNESIA**
Bibliothèque du Centre
ORSTOM
BP 329
Papeete, Tahiti, French Polynesia
- GERMANY**
University of Hamburg
Seminar für Indonesische und
Sudseesprachen
Rothenbaumchaussee, 45, II
2000 Hamburg 13
West Germany
- GUAM**
MARC Pacific Collection
Micronesian Area Research
Center
UOG Station
Mangilao, Guam 96913
Nieves M. Flores Memorial
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PO Box 652
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- INDONESIA**
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- NEW CALEDONIA**
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Papua New Guinea
- POHNPEI, FEDERATED STATES OF MICRONESIA**
Library
College of Micronesia
PO Box 159
Pohnpei, FSM 96941
- SOLOMON ISLANDS**
National Library Service
PO Box 165
Honiara, Solomon Islands
Solomon Islands Archives
Ministry of Education and
Training
Honiara, Solomon Islands
Library
National Museum
Honiara, Solomon Islands
- TAHITI**
Société des Etudes Océaniques
Rue Lagarde
Papeete, Tahiti
French Polynesia (Polynésie
Française)
- TONGA**
Library
'Atenisi University
PO Box 90
Nuku'alofa
Tonga
- TRUK, FEDERATED STATES OF MICRONESIA**
Micronesian Seminar
PO Box 250
Moen, Truk
FSM 96942
- UNITED STATES**
Library
Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum
PO Box 19000-A
Honolulu, Hawaii 96819
Pacific Collection
University of Hawaii Library
2550 The Mall
Honolulu, HI 96822
The University Library
University of California, San
Diego
La Jolla, California 92093
- VANUATU**
Library
Vanuatu Cultural Centre
PO Box 184
Port Vila, Vanuatu
- WESTERN SAMOA**
Nelson Memorial Public Library
PO Box 598
Apia, Western Samoa
- Pacific periodicals -
A selected list*
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