

**FROM SEA AND GARDEN TO SCHOOL AND TOWN:
CHANGING GENDER AND HOUSEHOLD PATTERNS
AMONG POLLAP ATOLL MIGRANTS**

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POPULATION MOBILITY in many parts of the world is not a simple matter of migration, with permanent movement from rural to urban areas. Nor are recent movements necessarily a radical change from some previous stage of equilibrium or stability. The term "migration" has typically implied a permanent move and a new process contrasting with a sedentary past, yet movement patterns often show considerable continuity with the past, even when factors such as foreign administrations, growth of urban areas, and entry into the world economy affect population movement. Furthermore, movement in many situations and among many migrants is not permanent; people return home, though perhaps only after a long sojourn away, and in other cases, they circulate between two or more sites.

The term "circulation" has been proposed for this latter process and is a common pattern in the Pacific (Chapman 1985; Chapman and Prothero 1985; Prothero and Chapman 1985). This applies to the case of people from Pollap, one of a group of three atolls known as the Western Islands of Chuuk State, part of what is now the Federated States of Micronesia.¹ They also have a heritage of mobility, so that in many respects today's movements are continuous with past ones. Yet this is far more the case for men than for women; mobility is part of male but not female gender ideology. A male focus on travel and adventure appears, in fact, to be a widespread Micronesian cultural factor involved in migration (Rubinstein 1993:260). In recent years, however, women have increasingly participated in these movements.

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For Micronesia as a whole, women and men tend to migrate in approximately equal numbers, although the rate is higher for men over longer distances (Connell 1983:22). One analysis of gender differences in Belauan population movement suggests that fewer women return home because of outmarriage and high demands on their labor if they were to return (Nero and Rehuher 1993:251). This study of Pollapese movement argues that current patterns offer more continuity for men than for women, with consequences for gender relations and household patterns. The following cases are illustrative.

Case Histories

Cecelia left her home on Pollap atoll when she was seventeen to attend a junior high school on a neighboring atoll to the north. By the mid-1970s, pursuing a secondary education and leaving home had become expected of most Pollap young people, men and women alike. At her new school Cecelia met and interacted with students from several outer-island areas, and she befriended a few. Although she was identified as "Pollapese," she was also a "Western Islander," and thus a person from the most traditional area of Chuuk. Most of her friends came from those islands. During the school year she lived in a dormitory, although she spent several hours on weekends with a sponsor in the community, someone who was a member of her same clan. Two years later Cecelia continued her secondary education at a high school on the island of Weno, the administrative center of Chuuk. This school drew students from the entire state. Cecelia again lived in a dormitory, but she spent much of her time in the afternoons and weekends with Pollapese living in a migrant community in a nearby village. During those visits, she met a man from another island to the west of Pollap in Yap State, a man related to other Pollapese through his own and his father's clan. The two young people eventually married and settled on Pollap to raise a family, following the common practice of uxorilocal residence. Like other women on Pollap, Cecelia works in the taro gardens to provide food for her family. She lives with her mother, other female kin, their husbands, and some younger brothers and sisters. She considered attending college in the United States, following in the footsteps of an older sister, older brothers, and many other Pollapese who had recently graduated from high school. Her family persuaded her, however, that she was needed to tend to family concerns, especially the land and taro gardens.

Luisa left for school along with Cecelia, attending both the junior high school and the high school. Like Cecelia she wanted to attend college in the United States, but she managed to convince her family to allow her to go. At

the time, in the late 1970s and early 1980s parents were agreeing to allow at least one child to leave to attend college, eager for the employment, money, and prestige it could bring. They knew, however, that it would mean their children would probably have to look for work on Weno or even farther, because the only paid jobs on Pollap were at the elementary school, and those jobs had been filled for years. Luisa stayed in the United States for several years, attending a college together with some other Pollap women, although she later transferred elsewhere. Before she completed her program, however, she married a man from another Chuuk island, returned to Weno, and started raising a family. Her husband has a job on Weno, and they live in a village with kin of her husband rather than in the village of Iras among the Pollapese in the migrant community. Luisa would like to get a job, but her husband discourages it, and she spends most of her time in the house cooking, cleaning, and caring for children. She does not tend taro gardens, and she and the rest of the family rely on her husband's income for food.

Josepha went to both secondary schools with Luisa and Cecelia and initially attended college with Luisa as well. She, too, returned to Weno. Because of her college training, she was able to find a job teaching at a local school on Weno and lives in the Pollap migrant community in Iras. She has to rely on her monetary income for most of her food, as do others living in the migrant community.

Patterns of Mobility

The situations of these three women illustrate many critical aspects of contemporary migration from the atoll, especially ways in which current patterns differ from past ones. Field data and interviews reveal that women are leaving in larger numbers than before, a desire for schooling and employment are common motives, and many are going farther and staying for longer periods than in previous years. The people of Pollap--like their neighbors--have a history of mobility, but today's population movements differ in significant ways from those in the past.

These differences need not imply there are no continuities, however. In certain ways contemporary mobility patterns, including circulation to and from Pollap, dovetail with older frameworks, since Pollapese historically traveled to other islands in pursuit of social and economic opportunities (Alkire 1978:112-131; Flinn 1992:21-27; Lessa 1950). A web of social, economic, and political ties connected Pollap with neighboring islands and atolls, and islanders--especially men--transformed the ocean from a barrier to a road.² They traveled widely, with roots nonetheless still at home.

Pollap is part of a coral complex linking atolls throughout the Central Carolines previously part of the Yap Empire (Alkire 1978). Tribute payments to Yap involved contact with the other atolls in the system and thus provided further opportunities for trading and maintaining social ties through marriage, friendship, and adoption (Lessa 1950). Smaller systems of tribute as well as reciprocal trade existed within the system, including one involving Pollap and its neighbors.³ A system of matrilineal clans links the islands throughout Chuuk and the outer islands of Yap, with food, shelter, and companionship expected from fellow clan members. Survival in the midst of periodic typhoons and other disasters on these tiny atolls presumably required such ties (Alkire 1965).

Pollap oral tradition brims with stories concerning the adventures of its people in contact with other islanders, with tales of sailing, trading, visiting, and fighting. Some involve only the nearest neighbors; others tell of far-flung sites. The art of navigation, in fact, is essential to Pollapese pride, because they believe it originated with them. In addition, for men mobility is a defining characteristic and part of male gender ideology. Accordingly, not only do Pollapese in general pride themselves on their heritage of mobility, but they believe that men by their very nature are inclined to travel.

Thus, movement today is not a thoroughly radical change from the past. In fact, it fits the Pollapese sense of history and identity. Nonetheless, specific reasons for mobility have changed, as have the numbers of migrants, their ages, the proportion of women, and the destinations. These in turn are bringing in their wake other changes, some of which negatively affect women, especially women like Luisa and Josepha.

Whereas mobility in the past centered on trading opportunities and social obligations to kin living elsewhere (Alkire 1978:112-131; Flinn 1992), more recent versions of this pattern involve pursuit of education and jobs. This process has involved higher proportions of women than did previous patterns of movement for trade or battle. Furthermore, many moves are longer term and more permanent than before, with young people moving to Guam and the United States rather than to a neighboring atoll. As part of this process, a migrant community has been growing on the island of Weno, the port town and capital of the state of Chuuk. In this migrant community, Pollapese have made conscious attempts to assert and practice a way of life and identity as Pollapese, resisting some changes but embracing others. Pursuit of employment and reliance on a money economy are affecting gender relations and household patterns, putting them at variance with those found in the atoll community.

The home atoll consists of two inhabited islets, Pollap, measuring 0.262

square miles, and Tamatam, measuring 0.096 square miles (Bryan 1971). Pollap's population was close to 450 in 1980 and has continued to grow. Islanders have not felt the full brunt of this increase because so many people are off the island for schooling or work. The economy on the atoll is still essentially subsistence oriented, with women tending taro gardens and men fishing. Little cash is needed for everyday life, although everyone is now dependent on at least a small amount of money for goods such as cloth, tools, and kerosene. Furthermore, purchased materials are increasingly taking the place of indigenous ones, especially for building houses. Thus, there is an increasing need and interest in earning money. A few people are employed as teachers at the elementary school, people sold copra until a few years ago, and in recent years they have begun selling fish, but otherwise most options for earning money are on Weno or outside the Federated States of Micronesia. With the population growth, people are also aware that eventually resources will be strained.

The other major reason people leave, however, is to attend school. In many respects this is related to an interest in obtaining employment, but leaving to attend secondary schools has also become an expected part of the life cycle now. This was certainly the case for Cecelia, Luisa, and Josepha. Initially, boys outnumbered girls, who traditionally traveled far less than men and left home less often, but today girls are almost as likely to leave for secondary school as boys are.⁴ The first secondary school they attend, for ninth and tenth grades, is on a nearby atoll about sixty miles to the north, but for the final two grades they go to Weno.⁵ In the 1970s, several then left for college in the United States, and some have not returned--and may never return. Of the nine women away at college in 1980, all but one have returned, however, including Luisa and Josepha. In recent years, as parents realize the cost of sending students to the United States and as they see how few actually obtain a degree, they are increasingly reluctant to allow their children to go so far. So Guam and Saipan are now more popular, as are other choices closer to home such as Micronesian Occupational College in Belau and Community College of Micronesia, which has an extension center on Weno. The goal for many of these students is to obtain a job. Many now are looking on Guam, but a popular choice is still Weno, where they can both earn money and be a part of the Pollap community.

This is possible because Pollapese have formed their migrant community on Weno, close to the downtown area, situated on land purchased by Pollapese in the 1950s. Weno became the district center during the American administration of Micronesia following World War II, making it also the center for training teachers and medical personnel. This attracted outer-island migrants, including some Pollapese men. These men, including two receiv-

ing medical and teacher training, were able to stay with kin on Weno, following a very old pattern of clan hospitality, but they wanted a place of their own. In the late 1950s the two Pollapese purchased land in Iras village from fellow clan members, and a few years later a third Pollapese man purchased a contiguous plot. This was adequate for about twenty years. Increased migration began to strain resources, however, and in the 1980s Pollapese bought additional land. One is a large plot purchased by the Pollapese municipality with community funds rather than by an individual, but as yet no houses have been built there. The land is to provide additional food, primarily breadfruit, though Pollapese still have not purchased land suitable for growing taro, a critical staple food at home.

The presence of monetary exchange notwithstanding, stories people tell of the initial land acquisition and migration during the American period are consistent in several ways with older stories about migration, mobility, and settlement. Some of these older stories tell of mobility bringing new clans to Pollap. Others tell of movement from Pollap, taking its clans elsewhere. A similar process has established Pollapese clans on Weno. Even the clan said to be autochthonous to Pollap has as part of its tradition a heritage of mobility and connections with people elsewhere. These connections imply kinship and potentially can be the basis for claims to land rights. A kinship claim implies at the very least access to food and shelter, both of which depend on kin land. Furthermore, both kin and island identities are linked to land; the land on Weno belonging to Pollapese is in effect a piece of Pollap, so that Pollapese remain connected with both land and kin even while not on the home atoll (Flinn 1990).

Furthermore, the two clans most involved in this land acquisition are two critical ones: one generally accepted as indigenous to Pollap and thus the original chiefly clan and the other the current chiefly clan. A lineage claiming to be descended from Pollap's autochthonous clan is also the founder of the community on Weno, adding a layer of legitimacy and continuity. Furthermore, the present *de facto* leader in the migrant community is a member of the current chiefly clan. At the same time, his father was one of the original buyers who helped spearhead the purchase of Pollap community land. Allowing other Pollapese to use the land is consistent with the obligations of a chief to care for his people. Thus, despite the appearance of radical change from the past, the establishment and growth of a migrant community is nonetheless grounded in established frameworks for movement, kinship, and identity. At the same time, however, it provides a basis for further change; the existence of a land base and shelter, with the security of living with kin, facilitates migration and the pursuit of higher education and employment.

The community in Iras village has been growing rapidly as young people attend school and then look for work on Weno. Rarely do these migrants plan permanent residence on Weno, however. They periodically return to Pollap, at least to visit, although more people are increasingly spending more time in the migrant community. One indication is the increase in the number of houses built on the two plots of land that form the center of the community. In 1980 (during my first period of fieldwork) each plot had only one house, but by 1986 (a second period of fieldwork) six more had been built. In addition, a meetinghouse, to be used in part as housing, was under construction.

In 1980 the houses typically held quite temporary visitors, who were on Weno to buy supplies, seek medical care, prepare to apply or leave for college, tend to municipal affairs, or pursue other similar tasks. Few families lived for long periods on Weno, and those that did lived nearby rather than on the land belonging to the original buyers. With government jobs, they had access to government housing and money for rent. The Pollapese land was used by the more temporary migrants. Nine years later (during a third period of fieldwork) the case had changed considerably, with many more families living more permanently on Weno (for years rather than months), and more of them living on the Pollap land. These included Pollap men who brought their wives as well as a woman whose husband was a non-Pollap sailor often away from the island. More people had jobs on Weno that they considered permanent, and several Pollap women--like Luisa--were living permanently elsewhere on Weno with their non-Pollap, employed husbands. Furthermore, it was far more clear to Pollapese that young people were likely to remain for long periods of time abroad, some perhaps permanently. Some of these young people living abroad used Weno as a place to visit kin. Other young people were also longer-term residents because of attending college classes offered through the Community College of Micronesia. Thus, more people were on Weno and for far longer periods of time, with more families settled more permanently on the Pollap land. At the same time, however, more women were settling with husband's kin elsewhere, living away from their own female kin. In the future, perhaps other female kin will marry into the same families, but as yet that has not happened.

Pollapese were also perceiving more stress on resources. That was a primary incentive behind purchasing more land and for building a meetinghouse. The meetinghouse could shelter more people and the extra land could provide breadfruit, coconuts, and bananas. Nonetheless, people still had to rely heavily on those with incomes to provide rice and other imported goods.

More consumer goods are also evident in recent years, with refrigerators, fans, TVs, VCRs, and the like more apparent in some houses, taking advantage of the existing electricity. There is also increasing differentiation among the houses, some made of more expensive materials, such as cement blocks and louvered windows, and furnished with more goods; others are made of cheaper, flimsy materials, such as plywood and corrugated iron, and with fewer consumer goods. This reflects not only increased access to consumer goods, with more available each year in Chuuk, but also increasing differential access to these goods because of heavier emphasis on a monetary economy, with many on Weno without employment. In fact, many Pollapese temporarily in the migrant community are seeking medical care or other services, not working for wages, and thus rely on their kin for temporary support.

Throughout Chuuk part of being kin involves sharing food, shelter, and other goods (Marshall 1977). Those with money providing access to resources are expected to help provide for others. Although this represents continuity over time in some aspects of kinship beliefs and practices, it nonetheless entails a shift: Much of this assistance cannot be reciprocated in as balanced a way as would be the case at home, where equal access to critical resources is still essentially intact. Since most food on Weno must be purchased, Pollapese in town have unequal access to some basic resources. Those with monetary incomes are therefore permanently more able to give money and goods, receiving prestige in return. Those earning money incomes, then, not only have differential access to the new resources but also to the traditional ones of respect and prestige, because these are tied to generosity. Inequality is consequently growing.

Migration, Gender, and Household

Shifts in gender relations are also taking place. Part of the explanation lies with employment options: Men are more likely to obtain employment on Weno, and they are also more likely to obtain better paying and more powerful positions than women, a common story worldwide (see, for example, Brydon and Chant 1989; Engracia and Herrin 1984; Khoo 1984; Little 1973). The employed Pollapese men have jobs in areas such as administrative government work, secondary and elementary school teaching, sailing, mechanics, and health. Women work as elementary school teachers, secretaries, or health aides.

Pollapese men for years have migrated off-island to take jobs as sailors on government ships and freighters, work that has required little formal education. Sailing on a ship is consistent with the male role of sailing canoes,

Pollap's ideological association of men with mobility, and Pollap's heritage of voyaging. In the past, sailing certainly provided men with access to ties and resources throughout a wide area, and the paid jobs added the resource of money. A more dramatic change from the past, however, is that the base for sailing is not Pollap but Weno, encouraging more permanent residence there rather than on Pollap. That, in turn, encourages women married to these men to settle on Weno rather than Pollap.

Other jobs require more formal education. Although both men and women are attending school, more men than women have found employment. Both the female pattern of employment as well as choice of college major fit Pollapese beliefs about women as nurturers and supporters of others. Nursing, education, and secretarial skills are the common interests expressed by women going to college. Women find it harder to find a paid job, and choosing to be a housewife, even when it does not involve gardening, fits traditional gender patterns for women in the way that sailing fits the male image.

Only a few Pollap women are currently employed, and most of these work at the island's elementary school. A more dramatic impact of women leaving the island in pursuit of formal education has been the marriages to non-Pollap men. On Weno, although a few Pollap women have paid jobs, many more are living in the capital because they are married to employed men. The lives of these women, including Luisa and Josepha, differ in striking ways from the lives of their sisters and mothers at home (women like Cecelia). Changes in household patterns are emerging, despite conscious attempts to remain Pollapese and retain Pollapese customs on Weno. This is happening in part because the women married to non-Pollap men are being pulled away from the Pollap community and their kin. Rather than live in traditional uxorilocal residence, the husbands--in large part because of their work on Weno--are able to have their wives join them in virilocal residence, taking the women away from the support of their own kin and in effect constraining their lives.

Women like Luisa contribute no food or money to the families they live with and are subject to the authority of husbands and husbands kin. Women on Pollap reside with their kin, but Luisa needs permission and transportation even to visit relatives living on Weno. Josepha is under the authority of those she works for and subject to constraints of relatively low wages, but at least she has her own kin for emotional and practical support, and she can contribute a modest amount to the financial support of others in the migrant community.

In many respects, Pollap women on the atoll live secure lives, living with their female kin with whom they have close emotional ties. They can sup-

port themselves and their children from their own land and even supplement their diet with marine animals caught within and along the reef. This situation is not unique to Pollap but common wherever women make substantial subsistence contributions; migration, wage labor, and other changes often bring a decrease in women's abilities to control their own lives (see, for example, Bossen 1975; Schlegel and Barry 1986). Pollapese speak of the respect women must show their brothers, who have authority over them, but the authority is muted in a variety of ways. First, their brothers do not reside with them. Second, the brothers themselves have obligations to safeguard their sisters. And even when a brother has made a decision regarding his sister, she has recourse to change his mind, primarily through her mother, who can influence him. Some women say they can obtain what they want if they just keep asking, and they point out that mothers can be influential allies. The women living with their husbands are subject to the demands of his family but without the regular, daily recourse to their own kin. The longer Luisa and other women in her situation talked, the more examples I heard of places they wanted to go or events they wanted to participate in that a husband or husband's relative made impossible. They rarely have opportunities to go home to Pollap--or even to visit the migrant community on Weno. They do not participate in dancing, an activity that is open to all Pollap women, and even for public performances cannot come.

A Pollap man married to a non-Pollap woman living with her kin does not face the same set of difficulties.⁶ He must attend to demands of his wife's kin, but he also has considerably more freedom to visit and maintain ties with Pollapese as well as with other islanders. According to Pollapese gender ideology, a man traditionally "moves," whereas a woman "stays." He needs little reason to wander and visit, whereas she needs a reason and often permission to do so. She easily has reason on Pollap considering her daily work responsibilities, which take her away from home to work the taro gardens, gather pandanus, or help her father's sister make a new sleeping mat. But these are atoll activities. On Weno, the couple subsists primarily on purchased food, and the wife is much more confined to the home caring for children, cooking, and cleaning.

Thus, a man can more readily maintain a position within his own community and establish and nurture ties with others. For example, when Pollapese dance on Weno for public occasions such as a church dedication or governor's inauguration, Pollap men dance with a much wider group of Western Islanders (their geographic and cultural neighbors), whereas the women dance only with fellow Pollapese.

Another difference for women concerns household patterns and land use within the migrant community. On the atoll young people receive rights to

land from their matrilineage when they marry. A man in effect gives his land over to his wife to care for, to provide for their children. It is viewed as a resource for the woman's descent group; Pollapese speak of land moving out of the group through the men and into the group through the women. This notion, however, of the land a man brings to the marriage being for his children, combined with the diminished female subsistence role and the heightened ability of men to find jobs and have higher incomes, has helped to promote in the migrant community a land system that is leaning more in a patrilateral, male-oriented direction. Pollap men purchased the land; they neither received it from their matrilineage nor turned it over to wives for caretaking. Their jobs provided the money for the land and houses, required them to reside on Weno, and allowed them to bring their wives to live with them. Consequently, the residential core is beginning to center on sons and other male kin with jobs rather than matrilineally related women caring for descent-group land. They speak in fact of the land as belonging to the men; those with jobs seek their own houses, bringing in their wives. The wife does not use the land to provide sustenance for her children but as a residence for the nuclear family. That certainly is essential, but it does not provide her with autonomy comparable to that of her kin on the atoll. The other pattern is not completely gone: One house is said to be for a group of "sisters," but that has not led to the development of a matrilineally related core of women in residence, and none of these women appears likely to bring a husband there to live with her for more than a temporary visit to Weno.

Women with more freedom are either those who work themselves, like Josepha, or those married to employed men who are often not in residence, such as sailors. Employed women have a fair amount of freedom of movement, especially compared with women living with their husband's kin away from the Pollap community, and those with access to cash have more control over their lives, including the simple ability to pay for a taxi ride to travel downtown.

Even the work of those not employed is far different from that on Pollap where women bear responsibility for providing the staple foods, an essential subsistence role. On Weno they may spend a certain amount of time on such work, gathering food on some of the newly purchased land or from land belonging to kin, but these are not regular, daily activities and do not provide adequate food. Instead, people rely heavily on purchased rice for their staple food. In addition, they have to rely much more on men not only to "gather" the food but to provide access to it, since men are more likely to own and operate a car or truck. Women are more self-sufficient on the atoll. They need men to gather breadfruit and coconuts on Pollap, and they can call on a variety of kin to do so. They have fewer choices on Weno. Most of

their time in the port town is taken up with cooking and washing clothes at home. Those with money play bingo, but the life is much more sedentary. They may have more places to go and more diversions, but they cannot take advantage of them the way men do.

Most of the women on Weno say that they enjoy a break from subsistence work, and women who have returned from college speak ambivalently about returning to the atoll. Men who have returned from college often speak rhapsodically of an atoll life where food is abundant and free, whereas women speak of the hard work of laboring in the taro gardens. Yet the seemingly freer and easier life made possible by formal education and the hope of paid employment move women away from interdependence with kin to dependence on other people and impersonal institutions. Some marry men who appear to be promising mates because of their jobs, only to find themselves isolated at home with affines rather than their own kin and with little control over their movements. Those who still live in the migrant community are experiencing a patrilineal shift in emphasis on land rights and usage. Those with jobs have most control over their lives on Weno, but it puts them nonetheless at a relative disadvantage to men who are able to earn more money at better jobs, and they have to rely on money and the goodwill of supervisors for their livelihood.

From the perspective of Pollapese in general, however, these islanders are exploiting as best they can the existing opportunities and available options. The system of formal education provides access to many of those options, even though Pollapese are aware that a diploma is no longer sufficient to easily obtain a job. With the Compact of Free Association, islanders can easily migrate out of Chuuk, many to Guam, for work rather than just for schooling. Thus another option has been opened. Pollap families for the most part try to allocate members across these options, encouraging at least one younger person to return to the atoll to tend to descent-group affairs. This is what happened with Cecelia, since women more than men are encouraged to return home. In this manner, the group as a whole ideally maintains access to the various opportunities. The decision-making process is not a simple, individual one, but a group concern.

When a decision is made to move, the existence of the migrant community on Weno allows pursuit of these options while maintaining a connection with kin, rights to Pollap land, and an identity as Pollapese. Pollapese on Guam and Saipan, for example, can readily return to Weno when needed. If they want to visit with kin but cannot take the time for a visit to Pollap, they arrange for their kin to travel by ship from the atoll to town, where they meet and visit. In addition, those wanting to look for a job, take some college courses, or even work at a job that pays poorly can all do so because of

access to housing and food provided by others in the community. The result, however, is that even though Pollapese are attempting to obtain land for gardening on Weno, they are moving away from the self-sufficiency of atoll life towards dependence on outside forces, and the toll falls unevenly on men and women even as it creates other differences between the employed and the unemployed and between Pollapese in town and Pollapese at home.

NOTES

1. In 1989 a Chuuk State Constitutional Conference changed the spellings of place names to more closely match the indigenous pronunciation. Chuuk previously was Truk, Weno was Moen, and Pollap was Pulap.
2. For specifics about this navigational system, see Gladwin 1970 and Lewis 1972.
3. For a description of the Woleai system, see Alkire 1970; for a description of the system involving Lamotrek, Satawal, and Elato, see Alkire 1965. Both areas lie to the west of Pollap and were part of the Yapese Empire. Damm and Sarfert (1935) mention the West-ems and Namonuitos paying tribute to Polowat. See also Flinn 1992:24.
4. The following figures are from a census I conducted in 1980; birth dates before the late 1940s are only approximate. Of the twenty-eight people (twelve women and sixteen men) probably born in the 1920s and thus of age for schooling under the Japanese administration or very early American years, five of the men but none of the women had off-island formal schooling. Among the twenty-eight people (seventeen women and eleven men) probably born during the 1930s, none of the women but four of the men attended off-island secondary schools; four women did, however, spend at least a few years at an off-island Catholic elementary school. Of the twenty-two people (ten women and twelve men) probably born between 1940 and 1947, none of the women but seven of the men attended a secondary school; three of the women attended the Catholic elementary school. Those born beginning in 1948 were eligible to attend Weipat secondary school on a nearby atoll, the opening of which was a turning point; parents felt more secure about sending their children, including daughters, to Weipat (see Flinn 1992:107 for a more extended discussion). Of the 124 students eligible for Weipat, only fifteen did not attend. These were women, but their reasons for not attending were because of marriage, severe illness, or failure to pass the entrance test, not because of parental reluctance to send them. The stated expectation is that all elementary school graduates will continue for secondary schooling.
5. Transportation to and from school is provided by a government ship that carries the students to school in September and returns them home in June.
6. Nor has suicide plagued Pollapese men as it has others in Chuuk.

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