

*Traditional Micronesian Societies:  
Adaptation, Integration & Political Organization*  
Glenn Petersen

Reviewed by KAREN NERO

Glenn Petersen. (2009). Honolulu, Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press. 278 pp, 13 plates, 2 maps, 10 chapters, notes, references cited, index, \$42.00 (cloth).

It is fitting for this book review to be included in the introductory issue of the new journal *Pacific Asia Inquiry: Multi-disciplinary Perspectives*. Pre-eminent Micronesian scholar Glenn Petersen presents a socio-cultural anthropological overview of traditional Micronesian societies, multi-disciplinary in its scope drawing upon data and perspectives from archaeology, linguistics, botany, political science, history and philosophy. This volume introduces the major debates on the region, providing the readers with bases for their own considerations. This volume is a worthy and necessary balance to the earlier academic review of anthropological work on the region, *American Anthropology in Micronesia: An Assessment*.

Petersen begins by acknowledging the origin of the Pacific peoples in Southeast Asia and then more recently from Island Southeast Asia. The book provides a challenging yet highly accessible scholarly exposition of Micronesian societies, timely in its careful analysis of new and ongoing archaeological research from the wider perspectives of the Asia Pacific region. Petersen focuses on the fundamental Micronesian emphasis of the matriliney (lineages reckoned by descent from an ancestral woman). Early settlers into what is now called Micronesia were all Austronesian speakers, sharing deep patterns of social organization and ways of living. More significantly, over past centuries the inhabitants forged the interlocking matrilineal lineages and clans (“*the central point of this book*” p. 1) that provide Micronesians with support critical to their survival in a region subjected to frequent typhoons, droughts, and climatic changes. Petersen provides new interpretations of botanical data suggesting how these relationships would have been strengthened over time as settlers adapted food crops from their High Island and low atoll habitats. At a time when it is common for scholars to challenge recent Eurocentric categories of sub-regions in the Pacific, Petersen argues that Micronesia is indeed a region forged over at least a thousand years of carefully maintained social relationships. Above all, Petersen celebrates the resilience of these northern Pacific navigators, agriculturalists, arboriculturalists, and long-distance travelers, and the degree to which they continue to adapt deeply traditional beliefs and practices to inform their responses to contemporary challenges.

Petersen’s rich perspectives upon the region are based upon a deep ethnographic engagement with communities of Pohnpei for over thirty years, and as a scholar and visitor throughout the region. He uses this experience to guide the reader’s understanding of these island- and sea-based societies. Certain beliefs and values that underpin Micronesian ways of living may appear to be contradictory to outsiders. How can respect for one’s leaders and a multi-generational focus upon the community still support strong individual and lineage autonomy? How can societies be governed by hierarchically ranked leaders, but retain egalitarian ideals? The approach Petersen takes in guiding the reader’s progress into a deepening understanding of Micronesian beliefs and practices is through presenting contradictions as dialectic counterbalances rather than binary oppositions. As noted by Petersen (p. 211), “*these multiple, crosscutting, and sometimes apparently contradictory principles allow for a great deal of flexibility*” both within island societies and as common principles are differentially applied across the region.

In Chapter One Petersen confronts perhaps the central challenge to his readers – how does he understand and use the term “traditional” throughout the volume in a way both deeply historical and contemporary. Petersen chooses to use the present tense to refer to the underlying “*common framework of organizing social life*” (p. 4) that is foundational to these societies despite impacts and changes experienced during the past two centuries of colonialism, world wars, decolonization and independence that he briefly covers in Chapter 10. Rather than focusing upon perhaps expected conflicts between the traditional and modern, he discusses a tradition that is both

past and current, as much as it is constantly reconstituting itself as one of the ways of responding to the modern. In recognizing the considerable changes that have occurred, Petersen provides ethnographic and comparative ethnological frameworks and understandings of these adaptations. He invites the reader to ground their understanding of Micronesian societies in these traditional values and principles that inform more contemporary studies of the islands today.

On a more practical level, Petersen then situates this northwest region of the Pacific geographically, beginning with the commonalities – the small coral atolls that predominate among the over 2200 inhabited islands, and the region's location within or along the Intertropical Convergence Zone close to the Equator, with its heavy rainfall, storms and frequent typhoons, as well as the frequent drought associated with the El Niño-Southern Oscillation (ENSO). There are also significant variations – first between the central Oceanic part of Micronesia, and the Western continental high islands of Palau, Yap and the Marianas. These islands on the eastern-most edge of the Philippine tectonic plate share geological aspects with eastern Asia and were the earliest settled, by at least 1500 B.C. To the east of the plate are found the few high islands of Chuuk, Pohnpei and Kosrae – volcanoes that have risen from the Pacific floor – surrounded by the many coral islands, either uplifted like Nauru or the many low-lying fringing reef islands like the Marshalls that once surrounded now submerged volcanoes. The Oceanic area is the geographic and in some ways cultural core of Micronesia – islands more closely linked by frequent voyages among islands and through strong genealogical relationships. Petersen also clarifies the many current usages of “Micronesia” moving from its most narrow use by some today to refer a) only to the Federated States of Micronesia, to b) the more recent colonial periods including Palau and the Mariana Islands (except Guam) and the Marshall Islands, finally c) to include Kiribati and Nauru. Petersen argues that all of these islands form a socio-cultural region defined by both historical and contemporary linkages and ways of living, despite their more recent historic separations and differences.

Petersen's argument of a regional cohesion is deepened in Chapter 2 in his review of two scholars leading the opposition – represented by the historian Hanlon and archaeologist Rainbird. This scholarly debate concerns the appropriate criteria for the recognition of regions. Petersen argues that a region is forged by the ongoing actions of the people inhabiting it, rather than as other Pacific regions have been defined by historical descent for Polynesia or by geography for Melanesia. Petersen argues that a more relevant criterion would be that of on-going social relationships among inhabitants of the chains of islands. He argues that despite different settlement dates and types of islands inhabited, Micronesian societies share fundamental patterns of social organization based upon their dispersed matrilineal clans with local land-owning lineages, long predating later shared colonial histories. These matrilineal clans and lineages formed the bases of reciprocal relationships with neighboring islands, maintained by frequent canoe trading voyages that provided safety nets in case of need. Petersen focuses upon linkages between high and low atolls and what they share, but does not discount the complexity of the region. He concludes the chapter with in-depth introductions to each of the islands or island groups, again demonstrating differences and idiosyncrasies. He includes a discussion of the early network of relationships referred to as the “Yapese Empire” that connects villages on Yap to the atolls lying between it and Chuuk. Even the distant inhabitants of Palau on the boundary with Asia still draw upon “*migration, 'blood,' land and residence*” (drawing upon Smith 1987:87) as core principles of organization - widely shared Micronesian primary factors in basing group membership.

Academic scholars and general readers will appreciate Peterson's review of the current state of our knowledge of the settlement histories of the region in Chapter 3. This is a moving target as recent and ongoing archaeological research adds to our knowledge base and highlights gaps and inconsistencies for linguists and socio-cultural anthropologists to reconsider. Petersen provides a brief review of the earliest settlement of Australia and New Guinea from Southeast Asia at least 50,000 years ago, and the much later arrival of Austronesian-speaking migrants from Island South East Asia who settled some of New Guinea's shore areas and off-shore islands and interacted and intermarried with the original settlers. Eventually these Austronesian-speaking peoples continued their migrations into the Pacific. There were at least two major waves of migrants into Micronesia. The first settlers from island Southeast Asia at around or slightly before 1500 B.C. traveled northwards to Palau and the Mariana Islands, bringing their mainly root-crop irrigated agriculture of taro and yams, pigs,<sup>1</sup> pottery traditions, and mainly lagoon-based fishing. Perhaps 500 – 1000 years later other voyaging canoes set out in multiple settlements, with those settling on the few high islands of Chuuk, Pohnpei, Kosrae continuing their agricultural and pottery traditions, adapting to new conditions. As sea levels changed, atolls emerged and became inhabitable. Linguistic and archaeological evidence suggest that some of the new atoll settlers came from the Santa Cruz and Reef Islands region, where they had begun to adapt to atoll living and different food crops more dependent upon tree crops such as coconut, breadfruit and bananas, as well as pandanus. Those living on the atolls lacked the materials to make ceramics, and relied on trade with their high island neighbors.

There is still much to be learned about the archaeological history of the region, especially in the rapidly unfolding histories of the earlier settled western region of Palau and its neighboring islands that Petersen considers. Yap and Palau have been in contact for nearly two thousand years, and it was likely through these linkages that Palau participated in the wider Carolinian exchanges, documented by the presence of Yapese and Palauan pottery on several Central and Eastern Micronesian islands at least by 1250 AD. Peterson seconds Janet Davidson's early caution not to underestimate repeated contacts through the region and communications between the centre and the margins (pp. 51-52).

To me one of the most important of Petersen's contributions to our understanding of the prehistory of Micronesia is his work analyzing and applying botanical data on breadfruit species found in the region to these societies. The salt-intolerant *A. altilis* breadfruit cultivars originally brought by settlers into Central and Eastern Micronesia were not very productive in these atoll habitats. Only on the Western border in Palau and the Mariana islands was the endemic salt tolerant seeded *A. Mariannensis* growing. Existing trade relationships permitted the identification and transportation of the new cultivars, most likely hybridized in the Central or Eastern Islands, and then distributed throughout the region, back to Palau and as far as Tokelau and Tuvalu to the southeast. Petersen's section on this topic, pp. 54-63, is worth careful consideration for the potential influences upon social relationships and political-economic power throughout this region. I quote Petersen (p. 61):

*The systematic connections linking the islands west of Chuuk to one another and to Yap, in particular, were enhanced... [and] newer and stronger links were added to the already existing ties to Yap and Palau...A complex pattern of behaviors and values diffused from Nuclear Micronesia. In time the peoples of the eastern and western islands would come to share characteristically pan-Micronesian social and cultural life ways. It seems that the success of the breadfruit revolution, with all its accompanying social and cultural ramifications that provided impetus for expanding populations, proved so impressive to the peoples of the west that they incorporated aspects of the earners' social organization into their societies quite quickly, though the sequencing and rate of this diffusion remain far from clear.*

At present academics including a new generation of indigenous scholars are re-engaging in multi-disciplinary research upon these foundational historical periods. We look forward to increasing our knowledge not only within the Micronesian but concerning its links elsewhere in the Pacific. Petersen's review book is a timely foundation.

Chapter 4 Descent and Descent Groups and Chapter 5 Household and Family, Land and Labor are the core of Petersen's work. "*Micronesian communities exist and survive because of the interlocking webs of matrilineal and lineages that bind them to other communities*" (p. 55). In the fourth chapter he considers anthropological approaches, in preparation for more grounded studies in chapter five how these descent and residence principles are used in the many island settings. The most inclusive relationship is within named clans, often widely distributed and better considered as categories of people rather than interacting members of groups. Clans consist of people related through their mothers. Membership is automatic at birth and not lightly changed, with nearly unconditional rights and responsibilities flowing from clan membership. Lineages are also matrilineal, although a child can and generally is recognized by the father's lineages and so earns cross-cutting relationships and rights that are more transcendent, often recognized during the father's life or the duration of the parental marriage. These important relations are conditional. Residents within a community are drawn from several lineages, representing as number of clans resident on other islands or in other communities. He demonstrates the differences through which descent groups emphasize different principles for specific purposes as they organize political and social behavior, more similar within the central core of the island region, and differing especially in the margins of western islands such as Palau with patterns similar to those found in Indonesian societies, or with Kiribati greater influences from neighboring Polynesian societies. Petersen discusses the variants in some detail, demonstrating the shared characteristics of the degree to which the matrilineality is foundational in the region. Daily relationships are governed in the first instance through the lineage chiefs, and then on a territorial level by the leader of the highest ranking clan. The communities are thus twice organized according to one principle – that of matrilineality. However Petersen cautions the reader against conflating the two and assuming that primogeniture based hierarchy of political titles are characteristic of all forms of clan organization. Throughout the region societies use clans with many variants in a number of ways as in organizing tasks in responding to local issues of land tenure and the organization of labor.

In practice however patterns of daily behavior demonstrate that much of Micronesian kinship is in fact bilateral. Kinship is reckoned through both the female and male, with different behavioral expectations according to the types of ties. Once again insights into how the Micronesian systems actually work are gradually communicated through demonstrating the dialectics between apparent contradictions. Both the enduring matrilineally inherited female ties

(maternal) and more conditional or short-lived male ties (paternal) cross cut and permit wider networks of relationship and greater flexibility as needed.

These insights are further developed in Chapter 5 Household and Family, Land and Labor. The local term for the household may be synonymous with the lineage and in some cases the land itself. Throughout the region it is through the individual's work on the land that one earns positions and develops access to both political and economic power. Readers will enjoy Petersen's brief discussion of household activities in some of the main island groups, and the roles of Micronesian households in socializing children and training them in expected skills. Again there is considerable variation in local communities, and flexibilities in recognizing "rules" of residence that are not strictly followed depending upon local conditions. Flexibility is another key principle of Micronesian social organization and reasons behind particular actions may be ambiguous, providing considerable fodder for well-known academic debates in anthropological theory, such as that between Fischer and Goodenough on residence rights, in the 1950s.

Gender is an organizing principle highly developed in both daily activities and ceremonial life in Micronesia. Petersen introduces the reader to the worlds of gendered foods as well as activities, following a binary food classification with two variants. In the westernmost islands women produce root crops and men fish and the activities and foods may be so engendered, whereas on the central and eastern islands men are the arboculturalists, with women more involved in collecting shells and lagoon fishing, as well as the production of woven textiles of utilitarian and ceremonial value. Different types of cooking and childcare may be associated with one gender or the other. While jobs and daily tasks may be gendered, rules are not strictly adhered to and generally either men or women may do them. Influenced by the availability of genealogically appropriate candidates, women may hold and fulfill the roles of chiefly titles normally considered male, even in the most extreme case in Palau where both male and female lineage-based counterpart titles and chiefly councils are recognized.

Another central puzzle that continues to challenge Micronesians as well as academics and visitors, is the ways they organize access to the limited lands of the region. English concepts and terms such as "ownership" and "tenure" fail to capture the multiple levels of nested individual, lineage, clan or village use rights over the lands and sea resources and their products. Land remains a highly contested area and the readers will benefit with Petersen's careful, historical, and island-based discussions of this topic. Here there are three key aspects (p. 109): a) rights may be vested in groups, individuals, or both; b) these rights are residual and provisional, and vary by degree and kinds, and c) distinct plots may be added to joint estates, and rights to access may be added or removed through a variety of transactions. Matrilineal descent is only one of the many ties recognized in access to land and titles. Many of these rights are contingent upon the labor of the individual and lineage over time, and therefore the ability of households and lineages to recruit laborers. In Micronesian societies both historically and today adoption is an important way in which households respond to demographic shifts. Petersen's discussions of local examples will help clarify these processes and their relationships to land rights and access to political titles.

In Chapters 6 Chieftainship and Government and Chapter 7 Politics and Leadership Petersen considers the highest levels of political life in Micronesia. In Chapter 6 he focuses upon the formal structures of political life that institute chieftainship at the level of lands and titles, and shape external relationships. In Chapter 7 he moves to the dynamics of Politics and Leadership. He carefully develops the next dialectic relationship that often confounds students of the region – the ranked hierarchies of chiefly councils that are counterbalanced by individual and lineage autonomy.

The basic conundrum of Chapter 6, Chieftainship and Government, is the "twin themes of descent and land." Petersen carefully defines government as the "formal structures of political life" and politics as "what people want their communities to do for them and how they set about achieving these goals" (p. 125). He identifies the many different kinds of chiefs, especially differentiating between the lineage chiefs and territorial chiefs and their different relationships to land and the wider territory of the polity. In describing the various patterns throughout the region, Petersen identifies several overall principles of Micronesian chieftainship: that titles belong to descent groups and therefore are exercised by the group as well as by the current titleholders; that chiefs are expected to provide services to their peoples and there is a reciprocity of responsibilities of right, conceptualized as mutual respect between chiefs and their peoples; and that the ranking and structures of complementary sets of titles serves to decentralize rather than centralize power. Those interested in cross-cultural perspectives will enjoy Petersen's overview of traditional warfare in the islands. In conclusion he notes (p. 156)

*Nearly every aspect of Micronesian leadership involves some degree of duality or multiplicity of chieftainship. Despite the hereditary aspects of chiefly succession and the powers ascribed to the chiefs, Micronesians have managed at every turn to place checks in the way of anyone who would abuse his authority."*

In Chapter 7 Politics and Leadership Petersen returns to his focus on the managed production of land and sea resources, again highlighting feasting. At ritual and practical levels feasts provide the opportunities for chiefs to demonstrate their ability to successfully wield authority and provide bountiful results. It is at the feasts accompanying public events that equality and hierarchy are balanced, and mana and legitimacy are performed. There are many variations in the different high island and atoll settings. Once again Petersen discusses the interplays that occur in the lineage and community selection even of the paramount chiefs: while genealogical aspects are important, in most cases this serves only to establish a range of candidates who are then assessed on their leadership abilities and styles.

Petersen's analysis of the adaptive qualities of Micronesian sociopolitical organization (pp. 181-186) considers how the chiefly systems have been adapted to differences in population size, abundance of resources, and ritual requirements, which leads him into Chapter 8 Aesthetics, Beliefs, Values and Behavior. Danced presentations of historical chants are an integral part of the feasting and political performances. As Petersen recognizes properly covering these rich dimensions of oral historical and political knowledge would require a different book. This chapter is a welcome and rare addition to sociopolitical analyses, and provides a window into the social and political aspects of Micronesian religion, magic and belief. It is through these domains of behavior that cultural values are demonstrated – the importance of caring for people, and of an essential “gentleness,” compassion and nurturance that counterbalance equally important values of bravery or power. In very small societies elaborate protocols of reciprocal respect are required to ensure smooth interrelationships, supporting modesty over arrogance – which also enter into the dynamics of leadership.

Throughout the volume Petersen has considered why Micronesians continue to consider chiefs to be of both ritual and political use, despite the checks and counterbalances constantly practiced to contain them in the traditional systems of organization, and today in relationship to new national political structures. These are briefly discussed in Chapter 9 Some Exceptions to the Pan-Micronesian Patterns, and Chapter 10 Epilogue discussing the relationships between Traditional Societies and Modern Micronesian History, Petersen considers the many ways in which traditional Micronesian forms have been adapted to new conditions, and re-iterates his thesis that the ways in which Micronesians continue to deal with changes are not just dictated by outside environmental and political challenges but reflect their Micronesian forms of social organization and long histories of adaptation.

One of the important contributions of Petersen's study of Micronesian political systems is the way in which he draws parallels between Western and Micronesian philosophical and political discourses that on the face may appear to be very different. In Chapter Four Petersen commented upon parallels between locally autonomous islands and their management of interisland relationships with Western studies of international relationships codified by Grotius and elaborated by Morgenthau and Waltz (p. 76). In Chapter 5 Petersen considers Micronesian landed political relationships both within their ethnographic realities, and in relationship to Locke's treatises considering relationships between land and political life, and legitimacy. He points out to readers that these do not represent Micronesian concepts. Rather he is using these Western analytical languages and concepts to explain the dynamics of Micronesian political relationships. His skillful ethnographic identification of Micronesian practices and ways in which these may parallel similar Western practices are available to the readers to aid their understandings of different life ways in environments very different from the West.

The University of Hawai'i Press and its editors as well as the author are to be commended on the quality of the production. The book is remarkably free of typographical errors or misspellings – which appear to be limited to misspellings of indigenous words such as *udoud* for the Palauan glass and ceramic “bead money” (p. 36). Black and white reproductions of historical photographs of the islands, their peoples and architecture, and drawings from early ethnographic studies are well used throughout the book providing readers with visual introductions to the peoples and places so described. Scholarly notes are provided in a series of chapter endnotes to the volume, followed by a useful bibliography of references cited.

*Traditional Micronesian Societies: Adaptation, Integration, and Political Organization* is an important contribution to Pacific Studies and Asian and Pacific Studies, as well as comparative studies of contemporary indigenous societies and their regional and global relationships. This small volume is carefully crafted, building upon knowledge provided in each successive chapter. It provides an accessible entry for those reading about the little-known or understood region, while providing the careful academic consideration of current knowledge on the region and remaining areas for future research and analysis.

## Notes

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<sup>1</sup> A very rare factual error, but understandable given Petersen's focus upon the core of Micronesia with less attention to the margins. Remains of pigs have been found in early archaeological sites on Fais, as well as Babeldaob and some of the rock islands of Palau. During an early period of resource depletion, the pigs were extirpated and only later replaced by the introduction of European species.

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### *Island Spirit: Selection of Abstract Works*

Ric R. Castro

Reviewed by JUDY FLORES

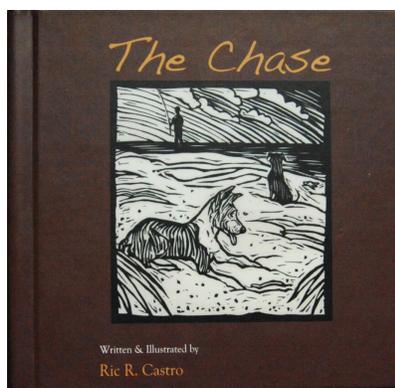
Ric R. Castro. (2009). Mangilao, Guam: College of Liberal Arts and Social Sciences, University of Guam. 51 pp, 51 plates, preface, essay, artist profile, bibliographical references, \$50.95 (hard cover, dust jacket), \$53.95 (hard cover, image wrap). <http://www.blurb.com/bookstore/detail/808133>.

Ric Castro calls himself a painter and image maker. His contributions to the island art community span exactly 40 years to the publication of this book, starting with winning his first art contest at age 8 to his current position as an art educator and professional fine artist. His accomplishments include a career as a highly successful graphic artist, several successful one-man shows and the prestigious Interpacific Fellowship Award for Pacific Islanders which enabled him to earn his MFA at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts. Upon graduation, he received the coveted Ware Travel Award to experience art in Germany, Italy, France and Spain. He eventually returned to his home island of Guam where he currently teaches as a tenured faculty member of the University of Guam fine arts department.

This publication provides a colorful retrospective of his artistic journey over the past fifteen years. The text and images take the reader through a kaleidoscope of early woodblock prints and realistic-style paintings which allow us to see the gradual metamorphoses into abstract and non-objective art. Throughout this metamorphoses the fish “(especially the red ones)” and the Inarajan cave pictographs, the human figure, Latte ruins, and the island's flora and fauna continue to present themselves as familiar hints of Ric's connection to his island culture and landscapes. His worldwide artistic education enables him to speak profoundly through his art to global audiences, while his interjection of local symbols can be especially appreciated by islanders. He has stripped away the narrative that formerly accompanied his work and successfully engaged the viewer to become a participant with a visual dialogue of his or her own.

An essay written by his fellow art professor and island contemporary, Jose Babauta, eloquently describes the artist's successful blend of “...regional identity concerns with modernist formalism.” He attributes strong influences of Jackson Pollack, wherein “he projects a vision of a modified modernist style in a refreshingly original manner.” He states that Ric's paintings operate on an existence of dualities between a formal dialogue discussing pictorial problems, at the same time evoking emotions typical to the Pacific experience of respect for the land. Reminiscent of the painter Willem de Kooning in his colorful, gestural figurative distortions, Ric's modifications of fragmented organic shapes of local fish and ancient pictographs successfully energize his work. Indeed, Ric's “contribution to the aesthetics of Pacific sensibilities counter the malign notions that art emanating from this area tend to focus on the idyllic, pristine tropical paradise.”

The hard-cover book provides 50 pages of exquisite, glossy color reproductions of images, together with a few black-and-white reproductions that show off the artist's successful play of contrast and depth. Self-published through the on-line Blurb-provided layout designs and graphic elements, the author has engaged the talents of Victor Consaga for the photography. Ric's experience in graphic design enables him to make the most of the Blurb creative publishing service. The portfolio layout style will make this book equally successful as a way to introduce the artist and his work. In the Preface, Ric discusses his influences and methods of approach to find his cultural identity through art, while trying to discover his "artistic identity through culture". The essay introduction by Professor Jose Babauta provides scholarly and artistic critical commentary to the publication. Each image reproduction documents the title, medium, date, size and owner. Some enlarged details show the brush strokes and use of printmaking methods to create the visual effects. These pages are followed by a biographical sketch "About the Artist", accompanied by a Selected Biography of his extensive exhibits, awards and inclusions in private collections. The page on "Subject Matter and Medium Influences" briefly recaps these influences in image and text. The final full-color page shows the artist surrounded by his images, again impressing the viewer by the range of sizes and the rich color pallet of his art.



*The Chase*

*Ric R. Castro*

Reviewed by JUDY FLORES

Ric R. Castro. (2009). Mangilao, Guam: College of Liberal Arts and Social Sciences, University of Guam. 19 pp, 16 plates, introduction, illustrated poem, \$17.95 (soft cover), \$29.95 (hard cover, dust jacket), \$33.95 (hard cover, image wrap). <http://www.blurb.com/bookstore/detail/782299>.

Artist Ric Castro uses a short poem illustrated by images he created from linoleum block prints to create a story that appeals to a wide range of ages and interests. It certainly works as a children's story, with vocabulary that can be understood by primary school children and appreciated by adults as well. The poem guides the reader through the adventures of the author's two dogs who pick up the scent of a wild boar – and the chase begins.

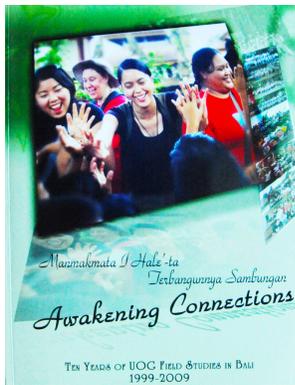
While the storyline succeeds in capturing and holding the reader's attention, it is the exquisite illustrations that make this book a collector's item for art-lovers as well. Ric's technical knowledge of linoleum block carving and skillful control of creative elements allow each image to stand on its own artistic merit. His use of linear design creates energy, movement and texture that entice one to move from one image to the next. The story is told as much through the images as by the text.

The author's experience as a graphic artist further enhances the layout design of this book, which is self-published with the assistance of an on-line creative publishing service, Blurb. It is available in softcover and in hardcover with a dust jacket.

This is a compact little book of twenty pages, measuring a square 7-inches by 7-inches – a perfect size for small hands and children's bookshelves. It is equally at home as a side-table book in a bedroom or living room – a book to enjoy repeatedly for its sixteen beautiful illustrations.

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*Awakening Connections = Manmakmata I Hale'-ta =  
Terbangunnya Sambungan: Ten Years of UOG Field  
Studies in Bali 1999-2009*

*Kirk Johnson (Ed.)*

Reviewed by MARK C. GONIWIECHA

Kirk Johnson, (Ed.), 2009. Mangilao, Guam: College of Liberal Arts and Social Sciences, University of Guam. 267 pp, photos, bibliographical references, \$30.00 (paper). Email inquiries to: [kjohnson@uguam.uog.edu](mailto:kjohnson@uguam.uog.edu) .

Any alert visitor from Guam to Bali immediately notices the similarity between the Guam Chamorro word, “Chalan” (“street” or “road” in English) and the Indonesian word, “jalan.” Likewise, the Indonesian word “molek” (“beautiful” in English) can be seen in the Chamorro word “mauleg,” or “maulek” (“good” in English). The Indonesian and Tagalog word, “paniki,” (“fruitbat” in English) is “fanihi” in Chamorro, and the Indonesian word, “tanah,” (“land” in English) is “tano” in Chamorro.

Whether the Indonesian words are cognates with the Chamorro equivalents, or more likely, linguistic antecedents or proto-cognates, I suspect that I could uncover many other similar, related words in the vocabularies of these two Malayo-Polynesian languages, if I spoke either one of them proficiently. That’s because the Chamorro language descended from one of the Filipino or Indonesian languages, a couple of thousand years ago, when the ancestors of today’s Chamorro people set sail from one of the Philippine or Indonesian islands in their ancient quest to find and occupy islands of Micronesia.

The prehistoric ties of the Chamorro people of the Mariana Islands to the people of Indonesia are recognized and explored in this eclectic volume of essays, which celebrates ten years of University of Guam field studies in Bali. University of Guam field research in Bali is eminently appropriate precisely because of such ties. Some contributions, such as those by Ron Crocombe, Rebecca Stephenson, Hiro Kurashina, Harya Putra, Tom Iverson, Jane Walters, and Jon Jonassen, offer the valuable research results and observations of professionals and academics. Other chapters, such as those by Sandra Okada, Typrina Kisimiro, Michelle Castro, and Sandy Stilwell are the work of students reporting on their first trip abroad.

The quality of the writing is uniformly good. In one chapter, Ron Crocombe (since deceased) outlines the “paradigm shift” as Asian influences replace the West on Pacific islands, in language expansion, in “patterns of thought,” in religion, in information and media, in economics, trade and politics. In another contribution, Rebecca Stephenson and Hiro Kurashina discuss the dangers of overseas field schools in a globalized world. Zohra Baso examines feminism in Indonesia and how some Muslim fundamentalists portray feminists as anti-male lesbians, and the movement as non-indigenous and irrelevant. Michelle Castro considers how the shift from subsistence lifestyles to competitive cash economies affects families and women’s roles in Bali and Guam.

Chamorro and Micronesian students from Guam and Micronesia recognize themselves reflected in the faces they see on Bali. They understand instinctively that their ancestors voyaged to tiny and distant Pacific islands from larger islands closer to the continent of Asia. They observe similar skin colors, and related body language and cultural traits, besides whatever vocabulary cognates they may notice.

In addition to the 18 chapters, there are several “Reflections from Bali,” and the five-part “Casting Our Net” section, about the making of the class-project documentary film, a program assessment in an appendix and biographical sketches of the contributors. This work is an excellent contribution to the literature of sociology, anthropology and Micronesia, and is recommended for all those interested in Guam, Micronesia, Bali, Indonesia, sociology, anthropology, and intercultural and interdisciplinary social sciences.

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