

An Investigation on Socialization and Education on Tanna, Vanuatu: Methodology and Focus

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ABSTRACT Research winds through a topic area and in the process may uncover new ideas and ways of understanding. To explore socialization and education, this project began with a literature review, then pursued fieldwork on Tanna, Vanuatu. In so doing, the search gradually forced the researchers to look beyond the schools themselves to the social context in which schools are embedded to try to understand what was taking place within the schools, the role of students, and the school activities.

INTRODUCTION

The process of studying cultural patterns is like getting the end of a piece of thread and following it to see its effect on the warp and weave of a large pattern. Bits of information, gathered daily in the field, gradually link to one another to form patterns that yield insights. This study examines the organization of cultural factors that determine the various educational and socialization choices for students. Another part of the study looked within the schools at the modes of adaptation used by the students. This analysis is described in "Structural Determinants of Socialization and Education on Tanna, Vanuatu" (a paper in preparation). However, it is the thesis of this paper that focusing on schools alone, without attending to social and contextual issues may be irrelevant. The methodological strategies used to answer the research questions in this study led inexorably toward a focus on social conditions that profoundly affected schools. The research question, then, served as a thread to lead toward understanding of social and cultural factors affecting schools and students. The methodological issues are discussed to demonstrate the value of multiple approaches.

The research question posed was: How do

the cultural modes of adaptation (MOA) affect education and socialization on Tanna, Vanuatu? This study made use of several methodologies to gather data relevant to the research question. These methods included literature review, participant observation, examination of historical documents, and structured questionnaires. The value of each method was evident, but having four different methodologies proved essential to understanding the topic at a deep level.

BACKGROUND AND LITERATURE

The search began with a review of literature. Two major bodies of research appeared relevant: Socialization and education. This literature provides an argument for and discussion of the need for a sociological view on studies of schools, students and learning activities.

Socialization

Culture, which exists at levels beyond the individual, must be transmitted through the individual through a socialization process. Numerous definitions of socialization are given in the literature. Three are given here to illustrate different emphases. Williams (1972) describes socialization as a process that transmits human culture. Goode (1960, 1966, see also in Biddle and Thomas, 1966) stresses the idea that socialization is the internalization of values or norms, rather than merely learning cognitively the actions which will be punished or rewarded. Clausen (1968) views socialization as a lifelong process by which individuals learn to incorporate cultural meanings. Regardless of which definition is used, socialization has several important features. It is a process by which we

learn in a social context through sanctions the specific norms and values which become internalized and affect our lives in ways of which we are not always aware.

This review does not deal with the volumes of literature that link the influence of the family to the socialization process. A summary of studies which relate the influence of family to school outcomes is found in Boocock (1972). However, the influence of the family in the socialization process is paramount. Values, attitudes, social norms, and ideologies are learned through them. But Merton (1968) points out that:

what has been until lately overlooked is that the family largely transmits that portion of culture accessible to the social stratum and groups in which the parents find themselves. It is, therefore, a mechanism for disciplining the child in terms of the cultural goals and norms characteristic of this narrow range of groups (p.212).

The role is again of concern in the socialization process for it is the point of direct articulation between the personality of the individual and the structure of the social system (Parsons, 1967). One of the reasons for examining the socialization of children is that by adulthood, overt indications of social forces have been internalized. In childhood, the rules for behavior are present, but the child may still be struggling to learn them, hence the process may be more observable. Dreeben (1968), in speaking of schools, describes how both the superordinate and subordinate acknowledge the legitimacy of the rules that justify the superordinate's (authority) right to give directive. Yet children are in a process of learning the rules and sometimes behave without awareness of transgressions. Biddle and Thomas (1966) stated:

By the time we are adults ... many of the more important prescriptions that govern our behavior are learned and, when internalized, they govern our behavior without further need for the pressures of external demands (p.26).

A comprehensive and useful review of some of the psychological and sociological literature on socialization skilfully blended with the anthropological view is available (Williams, 1972). The work includes substantial biblio-

ographies and a listing of the major ethnographies that carry information about socialization.

Probably the major theoretical work on cross-cultural socialization that has been conducted is by John and Beatrice Whiting. In 1936, John Whiting went to the Sepik River area of New Guinea to live among the Kwoma. His ethnography and information on children served as a dissertation, and later, along with a reanalysis of the data using learning theory, his work (1941) became a classic. Since then, Whiting and Child (1953) reviewed ethnographic data to provide ideas and information on cross-cultural socialization. The essence of their theoretical framework appears to be that ecology and habitat influence the economic, political, and social organization of a society, and that these in turn affect the practices of child training. This in turn affects the personality of children. Eventually, the adults further help determine the projective or belief systems held by the people of a given society.

Whiting and Child differ in their approach from that of Merton (1940). Child training practices form an intermediate variable, within the above-stated framework. For Merton, direct influences on children's behavior are due to direct interaction between a child and the organizational structures of the society.

The Whitings and others organized a six-culture study of child-rearing and socialization to provide better data for their hypotheses. Results of this project have been reported (Whiting and Whiting, 1975). Cultural variation is indeed present, and all children can be found to have at least a sampling of the full range of behaviors studied. Three independent variables included the culture type, the age, and the sex of the children. However, no single factor, nor theoretical position, was found to account for the entire situation. Further studies will undoubtedly be forthcoming, as their students and colleagues continue to collect and analyze data now available.

The socialization process is a learning process particular to the culture involved. The learning and the process itself, however, have certain generalities, such as the differing types of learning that contribute to socialization, i.e., the acquisition of techniques such as language, tools, and so on, versus development of the emotional reactions that underlie and motivate social behavior. The socialization process

according to Williams (1972) can be broken into four subsystems of human behavior: (1) social relations, (2) language, (3) technology, and (4) ideology.

Another split concerns the purposes of socialization. On the one hand, socialization takes place to satisfy an existing and immediate need, while on the other, much socialization is anticipatory; that is, the socialization aims to produce behaviors that will be needed for a future role or position. Much of the socialization in schools involves the latter type.

It is through socialization that the plural roles needed to function are learned. In fact, social adjustment in society is generally measured by the degree to which a person is able to fulfil the normative social expectations of behavior that constitute roles. Pertinent to the idea of socialization and plural roles is Merton's development of social structure and its elements. It is the elements of social structure that articulate possibilities of discontinuity and conflict.

Merton (1968) holds that social structure is comprised of the patterned arrangements of role-sets, status-sets and status sequences. Role-set refers to the array of role relationships structurally related to a single role. Status-sets are "the complex of distinct positions available within and among social systems" (p.434). Status-sequences are the succession of acquired or achieved statuses through which set portions of the population move. Role-set and status-set are structural realities that exist at a particular time. Status-sequences are the given socially determined succession of status-sets that may be occupied over the course of time.

The role-set and the social mechanisms that operate to articulate the expectations of those structurally related to the role incumbent have already been discussed. It will suffice to say here that even with the social mechanisms there will be some residual conflict within the role-set that will interfere to a degree with role performance.

A society is a complex of interdependent social systems, each with its own status-set. Statuses which make up a set are not random, but are selected on a basis of compatible values. Certain statuses are rejected and others are sought as internalized values operate to attain an integrated status set through the mechanisms of self-selection. This same mechanism works

to reduce conflict as successive statuses are sought. These elements of social structure, including role-set, status-sets, and statussequences and their mechanisms, work to reduce conflict to provide continuity and compatibility.

The socialization process contributes to discontinuity and conflict (Benedict, 1938; Inkeles, 1968). Benedict explores continuities and discontinuities in cultural conditioning. The "inescapable" discontinuity in the life cycle involves the fact that in infancy we are dependent on others and later in adulthood others are dependent upon us. The extent of this discontinuity is affected by the cultural commitments to emphasize the contrasts that exist between child and adult. The discontinuity which can occur in three areas of contrasts are discussed: (1) responsible - non-responsible status role, (2) dominance - submission, and (3) contrasted sexual role. Cross-cultural observations best highlight these areas of contrasts.

Child training in some cultures is a continuous process that emphasizes expectations and tasks that are adapted to the capacity of the child and promote responsible social participation at all stages. The child is conditioned to a responsible status role by initiating the desire to share the responsibility behavior that is valued by adults. In the area of dominance and submission, the stress is on approval and praise, not obedience. Finally, in regard to sex role, the child is not taught anything that must be unlearned later. Contrasts are, therefore, minimized and importance is placed on continuity.

Discontinuity, on the other hand, involves the presumption of strain. In age-graded cultures, it is expected that there will be different behaviors for different periods of life. When a new behavior expected for a new period does not occur, the blame is placed on the child.

Inkeles (1968) picks up on this idea of discontinuity when he views the socialization process as one in which adults cope with the challenge of the infant and child as an organism. He defines socialization as a conscious process of training that anticipates future social roles. He feels this view, in which socialization directly affects future roles, has been neglected.

Inkeles' ideas about competence stress the end-product of socialization; what the individual will be like after socialization. Competence is defined as the ability to attain and perform in valued social roles. In other words, adults must

be able to fulfil the social obligations that the society and cultures place on them. Socialization for both Benedict and Inkeles, then, is the process that provides the seeds for integration, continuity, and competence or for conflict discontinuity, and incompetence. To function adequately in a complex society, one must learn in the socialization process how to assume roles in one's own subcultures with varying statuses and values at any one time (synchronic) and overtime (diachronic).

Education

Education serves the needs of society, not the needs of the individual (Durkheim, 1961). From Durkheim's point of view, education is the means through which the individual is taught to serve society. Parsons' (1959) analysis of classroom structure also sees education as an agency of socialization that functions to allocate or select human resources within the role-structure of the adult society. For him, schools serve society through their function first as a socializing agent and second as an agency of selection. This is accomplished by the development of commitments to the implementation of society's basic values and the development of capacities both to perform societal role tasks and to live up to others' expectations in regard to behavior appropriate for these roles.

It is Halsey's (Smelser, 1967) formulation that "educational structure refers to the clusters of roles organized around functions of transmitting culture and forming social personalities" (p.385). Influences on "schools" by society are numerous. Corwin (1965) discusses major changes in our society that have had an impact on education, including: (1) the population explosion, (2) urbanization, and (3) suburbanization.

Another way society influences schools is through the borrowing of techniques and practices which have proved effective in other fields. Callahan (1962) speaks of the tragedy of education in America where business and industrial values and practices have been applied without regard for the purposes or values of education. The student is viewed as product and the emphasis is on the "lowest price," not the "finest product."

Pertinent to the examples above is the

thought by Durkheim (1956) that technique degenerates into vulgar empiricism when the one who uses a technique never thinks about the end pursued or the means it employs. Education is a means through which we socialize our children.

For Kant, Mill, Herbart and Spenser the object of education would be above all to realize in each individual carrying them to the highest point of perfection, the attributes distinctive of the human species in general ... there is one education and one alone which is (ideally) suitable for all ... (Durkheim, 1956, p.301).

Our education systems are not ideal and they not only serve society but also reflect society. For Durkheim (1956) society cannot have a system of education other than that implied in its structure. In the United States, strong class influences are found in school systems (Corwin, 1965). Four major conclusions can be drawn from research about the realities and influences of class:

- (1) Communities are stratified in five to six major social classes: one-fourth to one-fifth live below subsistence.
- (2) Social classes differ significantly in behavior, values and attitudes.
- (3) The school is a middle-class agency, and
- (4) Schools discriminate against lower-class students.

Further evidence of this type of influence is found in Riesman's *The Culturally Deprived Child* (1962). He characterizes these children as having a unique set of beliefs and customs, "a culture of the underprivileged" or a "culture of poverty" which is transmitted through the family and neighbourhood group. This culture includes such characteristics as fatalism, feelings of frustration and alienation with respect to the larger society. All of this is the antithesis of the conventional middle class orientation. He argues that schools need to develop a positive new approach toward these children and teaching methods that suit their particular view of the world and learning systems.

Becker (1968) examined the manner in which public school teachers reacted to cultural differences and perpetuated the discrimination of the educational system against lower class children. His analysis is based on interviews with sixty teachers in the Chicago, Illinois, school system. Three problems became apparent in the teachers' reactions to their students, including

(1) the problem of teaching itself, (2) the problem of discipline, and (3) the problem of acceptance of the student.

As cultural differences produced variations from the image of the "ideal" student, teachers tended to use class terms to describe the children with whom they worked. Three categories based on teacher classifications were used: lower, middle and upper. The middle-class child generally presented few problems in any of the three areas. Studies done by Warner, Havighurst, and Loeb and Hollingshead and reported in Becker (1968) have demonstrated that schools tend to favor and select out children of the middle classes. The upper-class child was sometimes hard to handle as they were not as submissive and the teacher's power was limited by the fact that these children were able to mobilize their influential parents to exert pressure on school personnel. The lower-class child was a considerable problem in all three areas.

Becker concludes that as a result of this study,

all institutions have embedded in them some set of assumptions about the nature of the society and the individuals with whom they deal, and when we must get at these assumptions, and then compounded by social differences and values, those students affected must adopt other strategies in order to cope. These social differences bring with them various expectations in regard to individual students (1968, p.163).

The Rosenthal and Jacobson, (1968) study illustrates how these expectations can be manipulated to produce gains in learning, particularly in the early grades. Such arrangements, however, may be complicated by a limited range of intellectual classroom approaches and styles. Cohen (1968) as reported in Boocock (1972, p.111) has data to show "that cognitive style is related to both the child's likelihood of meeting behavior expectations of the student roles ... and to socioeconomic status." Cohen found that children from low-income homes demonstrated a more relational approach to cognitive problems. Stodolsky and Lesser (1967) tested four ability areas of four ethnic groups and found that ethnicity contributed to the development of unique ability patterns. Children from the various social classes within each ethnic group reflected

the same ability patterns and the higher class merely performed at high levels and the lower group at lower levels, but the same pattern persisted. Boocock (1972, p.309) comes to the

Inescapable conclusion ... that the major determinants of school performance are factors external to the schools. Variables, i.e., background characteristics ... home experiences of individual students and the composition of school student body explained considerably more of the variance in achievement than did school facilities, characteristics of teachers, and the curriculum ... and other features of the internal educational system.

Field Research Procedures

Following the literature review, the next procedure involved data collection in the field: the data collected to examine the research question include the ethnographic data obtained through participant observation during a fifteen month field study on Tanna, Vanuatu to study the John Frum Cargo Cult (Gregory and Gregory, 1984). During this field study, the authors lived in the "bush" in a wild cane hut and observed and participated in the daily life of the Tannese people. Two headmen acted as primary informants. One served as an informant on an almost daily basis, while the other contributed only slightly less frequently. These two men became close colleagues and were instrumental in efforts by the authors to learn about life and education on Tanna. During the field study, numerous other Tannese people also acted as informants and provided information and experiences. Taken together, these varied informants provided a guided set of experiences, a socialization into and through the Tannese culture. These people were socializing agents who freely and even eagerly taught their way of life and culture.

Historical data pertinent to the research question were also obtained through extensive research at the Archives of the Western Pacific High Commission of the British Government at Suva, Fiji, and at the Mitchell Library in Sydney, Australia. In addition, government records and documents on Tanna, including school reports, census data, and so on, were reviewed to gain many insights relevant to the study.

Still another type of information was gained

through use of questionnaires and formal interviews. For this aspect of the research project, three schools were chosen. The "custom" school was chosen because of its uniqueness. Two others were selected because they were representative of other schools on Tanna, and were reasonably accessible.

Lenakel, the first chosen, was in the most populated area of Tanna and was one of the biggest schools. It had six teachers, including one who served as a headmaster, and approximately 180 students. All buildings were made of wood and/or concrete blocks. Three classroom buildings housed two classes each, while one building served as the cafeteria and library. Teachers lived in six small houses, and two dormitory buildings served to board some students.

Lenakel was considered a full senior primary school as it had all six grades. This was the senior primary school closest to the government complex and some of the students were children of government workers (police, health care, administration) or children of parents who worked at one of the nearby trading posts or stores. For these reasons, students from other islands attended. Also, students who did not have a full primary school on their own island could board at Lenakel.

Boarding, an idea brought in by the missionaries, was previously used to enable them to indoctrinate converts and to reach those in the interior who were less accessible. During the time of this study, boarding was not encouraged except in cases where necessary. Instead, the British government officials were trying to build day schools in various locations near the more remote villages.

The second school, Loukatai, was also located near the coast though it was more remote from the government complex and trading posts. Five teachers and approximately 150 students from second through sixth grade were all from Tanna. None of these students boarded. Three classroom buildings were permanent-type, and one classroom was made of local (wild cane, bamboo, and coconut leaf) materials. The teachers lived in small houses beside the classrooms. Overall, Loukatai was not regarded as modern in appearance as Lenakel.

The third school was a "custom" school. This school was designed and developed by the group of people on the island who sought to

preserve their own "customs" and traditional ways of life. They, with the help of a visiting anthropologist-photographer, started the school in 1974 as an alternative to the government schools, which were still heavily "Christian" oriented. The buildings were "bush-type," that is, made from local materials. Two large wild cane huts were used for classrooms, and two huts were used for either sleeping or cooking by the teacher and his family. The desk tops, only about eight inches wide, were smooth slabs of wood set on legs. The seats were the same, only closer to the dirt floors. A portable blackboard served the teacher and 45 to 50 students. The school was described as a junior primary school as it only included the first three grades. The "custom" school was only for boys, for girls were not allowed to attend.

Tuition fees were paid in a "custom" way, that is, not through an exchange of money, but only through the exchange of goods. Vegetable crops were grown, then given to the District Education Officer (DEO) who sent them on the government boat to the Capitol city of Vila on Efate Island where they were sold. The money thus obtained was used to provide a salary for the teacher and operate the administrative network.

DATA COLLECTION

Residence on Tanna totalled fifteen months. An additional three months of active study in archives and libraries in the South Pacific was devoted to examination of reports, letters, and documents about Tanna and the region.

The initial six months on Tanna were consumed in getting situated, acclimated, and acquainted with the people of one part of the island. Generally, it was a time of settling in and establishing a role. It was also a time to learn as much as possible of the language spoken in the area of residence, the Nvhaal language. However, at least five or six major and distinct languages exist on Tanna, along with between 25 or even 30 separate dialects.

After about six or seven months, permission to pursue the research was granted by the British District Agent (BDA), the official British government representative for the Southern District. Also, the British District Education Officer (DEO) approved the plan and supported the activities of data collection.

Initially, a cover letter and Questionnaire on School Rules were sent to 26 teachers in the Southern District, including Tanna, Erromanga, and Aneityum. Because neither a formal nor a regular mailing system between islands existed, the 26 teachers were those with whom the DEO had contact during that period of time. Only 11 of the 26 forms returned.

Observational visits were made to five schools to gain a better understanding of the schools, to meet students, to talk with headmasters and teachers, and to discover the regularities which occurred in schools on Tanna. Subsequently, three of these schools were contacted and teachers and/or headmasters were informed about the purpose, the plans, and the procedures for the research. Classroom observations led to understanding of the daily routines, acquaintance with the students and their ability levels, development of rapport with teachers, and the gathering of some relevant data from school records.

Interviews with the DEO, teachers, and others were basic to the determination of the roles which were structurally related to the students and which would therefore comprise their role set. The determination of the role set members was important for a number of reasons. It was necessary to identify those who would enforce the norms and set the expectations for student behaviors. The role set members were the primary informants for this study. Those roles which comprised the role set were strategic to the development of the Role Set Members Questionnaire.

The Role Set Members Questionnaire was given to the twelve teachers of the three schools. Assistance was available to the teachers of the two schools during meetings, arranged and held solely for the purpose of answering the questionnaire. Some teachers, however, requested additional time and took the questionnaire home with them. One teacher was absent and completed the questionnaire at a later time without further clarification. The teacher of the custom school completed his questionnaire alone, although clarification on several questions was sought.

In addition to the Role Set Members Questionnaire, the twelve teachers were asked: (1) to rate their students' modes of adaptation as operationalized in Teacher Ratings of Student MOA, and (2) to estimate the socio-economic

status of their students by the criterion outlined. A form for rating the students was given to the teachers. On this form a list of the names of each of their students was typed with two columns to the side, one headed Student Behaviors and the other headed Estimated Economic Status.

Ratings for 325 students were obtained. This total included 169 students from Lenakel School, and 114 students from Loukatai. Only the fifth and sixth grade students were given the student questionnaires. It was felt by all involved in the discussion that the lower level students would not have the necessary language skills to handle the questionnaires. Also, it would have become extremely difficult to have a translator for that many students. This decision proved to be sound. The questionnaires, given to the second year students of the Custom School, were administered with the aid of a translator, a long, laborious process.

The Student Questionnaires were given during class time and in all cases a researcher was present for administration, clarification, and interpretation. A total of 109 student questionnaires were given. Below is a breakdown of the schools and classes:

Lenakel (38 students)	5th form - 15
	6th form - 23
Loukatai (48 students)	5th form - 23
	6th form - 25
Custom (23 students, all in their second year of school)	

At this point, the questionnaire on Rules had been obtained from 11 of 26 teachers, the Role Set Questionnaire had been given to the twelve teachers of three schools, and the Student Questionnaires had been given to 109 students in three schools.

A determination was made that in addition to the teachers the role set of students on Tanna included: parents, village headmen, Advisory Committee members and Education Officers. The design of the study was that the Role Set Members' Questionnaire was given to all those identified as being members of the students' role set.

In initial talks with the DEO it was felt that, though difficult, it would be possible to reach these various role set members. Numerous problems were encountered, however, and though attempts were made, it was not possible to get role set members other than the teachers

to respond to the Role Set Member Questionnaire.

Some of the specific problems encountered with parents and headmen were as follows:

1. remoteness and isolation of villages, and
2. translation difficulties, for few, if any, spoke English. Virtually all were illiterate.

The problem with Advisory Committees was that though they were supposed to meet one or two times annually, they never met during the nine months of data collection. Also, Education Officers from the main office in Vila failed to visit Tanna during this period.

Generally, it was extremely difficult to set up meetings, communicate, or organize as one would do in many countries. Each time a meeting was set or a school was visited, it meant an approximately twelve-mile walk. The exception was the "custom school", which was a walk of only about two miles. There were, of course, no telephones and mail delivery was non-existent. Other factors to contend with were a long rainy season, personal energy levels which were lower given the climate and nutrition, and bouts of malaria and dengue fever both of which require long recuperation periods. Still another consideration for the senior author was being a female in a male-dominated culture.

On the one hand there were these difficulties and limitations; on the other there seemed to be numerous and valid reasons to continue the research effort. The decision was made to continue, based on several reasons. First, the Role Set Members Questionnaire, which had been given to the teachers, did contain information regarding the relations of role set members. It was felt that this perspective was valuable and could be used to examine the social mechanisms of the role set "as perceived by the teachers." This would change the unit of analysis of the study from the role set to the teacher, but the influence of the SMORS (as perceived by the teacher) on student MOA could still be examined.

Second, it became evident from the attempts made to reach role set members that the schools were relatively isolated and the role of teachers in defining student behaviors was central. Other role relations such as the school committee members and the Education Officers were peripheral and their involvement was minimal.

Third, the lack of specific questionnaire data to a degree could be overcome by supplementary

materials which might give more implicit information regarding the factors operating within the role set.

Fourth, and most important, by this time in the data collecting process it became apparent from visiting the schools and examining census data that Tanna proportionately had fewer children in schools than any of the other areas of Vanuatu. The children, except those at the "Custom School," were from a very narrow range of the population, essentially those who belonged to or who were affiliated with a Protestant church, primarily the Presbyterians. Also, rebellion as a mode of adaptation (MOA) had been anticipated in the schools to some extent, but it did not exist. In the proposal it was stated that due to the cargo cult on Tanna, "a high degree of anomie throughout the society would prevail." It was expected that this anomie would be reflected in a certain amount of rebellion in the schools.

These findings seemed to suggest that factors outside the schools influenced the number of students in schools and determined which children became "students". To that extent, these outside factors also influenced the MOA used by the students who were in the school. It was hoped by extending the scope of the study that some of these outside factors could be examined. Therefore, in addition to the questionnaires, surveys, and interviews which had already been done, the use of historical materials and ethnographic data were sought to pursue the ideas outlined previously. The complexities of research were evident, but so too were the positive understandings unearthed by the process of research.

A set of provocative questions found (Boocock, 1972) gave further strength to the rationale for extending the scope of this study:

Is the relationship between a set of components in that one system, or (2) is it explained by some characteristic of the larger society, or (3) is the relationship characteristic of the larger system in general? (p.278)

It seemed valuable insights could be gained by continuing even though strategies and procedures had to be changed.

It was not possible to get the parents to respond to the Role Set Member's Questionnaire. Another meeting was held with the DEO to determine if it would be possible to reach the parents in an alternative way. In an effort to

obtain some information from parents, a modified questionnaire was developed and sent home with the students who administered them to their own parents.

This questionnaire to a limited extent examined (1) the immediate and the long range expectations of the parents, (2) insulation, (3) power, and (4) possible conflict areas, specifically absenteeism. The DEO, headmasters, and teachers all felt that absenteeism was their biggest problem with the school system.

Again, these questionnaires went to the schools that the DEO visited during that time period. Two schools were involved: Lenakel and Ienaula, a school on the opposite side of the island. Some seventy-seven parents responded, including 38 from Lenakel and 39 from Ienaula. This parent sample, unfortunately, did not match the student sample.

FINDINGS

Tanna had proportionately fewer children in schools than any of the other islands in Vanuatu. Generally only those associated with the church or government sent their children to the schools. The children who were in the schools were therefore from a narrow range of the total population. To understand the dynamics that existed within the schools, it was necessary to look at the external relationship of the schools to the cultural modes of adaptation.

Briefly, the cultural MOA and the resulting subcultures that affected education had evolved and crystallized over the past 80 or so years. The Presbyterian missionaries first came to Tanna in the mid-19th Century and attempted to convert all Tannese by destroying their culture. These efforts, backed by the government, achieved significant success from 1900 on. Means used to convert people were punitive and restrictive and became known as "Tanna Law." The John Frum Cargo Cult evolved in the late 1930's and early 1940's and the churches emptied (Guiart, 1956a, 1956b). Two major interpretations of the cult developed. One group chose to retreat and reject the outside world, preferring to hold to their traditional customs. The other group mainly from Sulphur Bay, rebelled against the church and the government. They created a new social order.

A third adaptation included the people who never left, or who initially left the church, but

returned to it and conformed to the values and beliefs of the church and government. These three adaptations have formed three distinct subcultures that are fairly autonomous. Each of these three groups socialized their children in their own way.

SUMMARY

Schools are a part of and are influenced by culture. To the extent that a society is stable, various model types of adaptation to the culture will evolve. The groupings or collectives of the various types may unify and form sub-cultures. The degree to which these sub-cultures are autonomous determines their interaction with the larger culture or with other sub-cultures.

In the United States, where attendance at schools is compulsory, children from various sub-cultures and socio-economic classes are required to interact. This interaction, however, is somewhat limited due to factors such as segregated housing. On Tanna, Vanuatu, education was not compulsory. Historically, schools were under the aegis of the churches. Many Tannese turned away from the churches because of their punitive methods of conversion, i.e., the churches tried to destroy their tradition and culture. As a result, the children who attended schools on Tanna were from one narrow segment, basically the children of the church-going population.

Each of the three sub-cultures on Tanna was autonomous. Each socialized their children within the bounds of their own sub-culture. The schools were only one of the methods used to socialize. The mode of adaptation of the "students" within the school had to be analyzed with that understanding and perspective. It was, therefore, necessary for the scope of this study to include the influence of the cultural modes on education and socialization.

Although contemporary approaches to social science methodology are many and handbooks or guides are readily available (Sproull, 1995; Black, 1999; Babbie, 1998) the choices made about research techniques to be used may influence or even determine outcomes. Using several methodological approaches, including literature review, field work, historical and documentary studies, and questionnaires contributes to a far deeper understanding of the nature of most research problems. Although

costly in time and effort, multiple methods offer insights that one method can not yield. In this project, the combination of methods enhanced the understandings gained by the researchers, particularly the contextual background and historical traditions surrounding the schools, and accordingly, the results of the study were much more profound.

NOTES

1. The research project was conducted as part of studies carried out by the Senior Author for a PhD at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.
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