

many intersecting expectations, *Mr. Pip* takes the audience through many mental contortions as we appreciate the arts of imagining and remembering in the face of war's destructive intrusions.

The film runs for over two hours but could be shown to classes in two screenings. It offers many challenges and raises many issues for discussion. Produced by the New Zealand Film Commission, it was originally shown at the Toronto Film Festival, where it received acclaim, as it has done following its recent release in New Zealand. It is definitely unique and falls in the "must see" category.

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*Breadfruit and Open Spaces.*

Documentary film, 30 minutes, color, 2013. Written, produced, and directed by Lola Quan Bautista. Available for purchase from <http://breadfruitopenspaces.com>, US\$299.00 (universities and colleges), US\$99.00 (high schools, libraries, and community groups).

*Breadfruit and Open Spaces* is a short film written and directed by Lola Quan Bautista that uses the breadfruit as a metaphor for the setting down of roots by Chuukese families and for their growth and development as they struggle for autonomy through landownership on the island of Guam. Bautista's narrative is both a recognizably broader story of immigration, community formation, and empowerment and a memorable and nuanced

glimpse into the cultural and social norms of the Chuukese people.

The film begins its journey with close-ups of breadfruit trees, the sounds of a rooster crowing nearby, and chickens clucking excitedly. A woman slowly walks along a long dirt road. As the camera pans out, the view lingers for a moment on a road running through trees and the seeming openness of the landscape. We are in the Gil Baza Subdivision in Yigo village, located in northern Guam. A boy walks with a dog toward a small shack where a woman is sweeping outside. A guitar plucks out a cheerful island melody in the background as we meander through the sights and take in the apparent tranquility of the social and natural setting. Our protagonists are members of the United Pacific Islanders' Corporation (UPIC), who reside in the subdivision. Most have come from neighboring islands in Micronesia. We meet a Chuukese man, who lists all the things he grows on the land: "I grow my breadfruit, I grow my banana, I grow my sweet potato, I grow my tapioca, whatever I can consume, I grow it. That's part of me, the soil." He learned his view of land when in Chuuk from his grandmother, who told him, "You have to take care of your land because you cannot survive on this island unless if you take care of the land." But this intimate, living relationship is threatened when the residents are faced with eviction due to noncompliance with Guam Environmental Agency sewage management regulations. The land developer who sold the subdivision lots to the residents had failed to install the required sewage system. Faced with eviction because

of the developer's refusal to fulfill its contractual obligations, the residents rallied together and formed the UPIC to challenge the eviction and collectively sue the developer.

This story of voyaging from the Micronesian island of Chuuk to the neighboring Mariana island of Guam is symbolically rich and may remind some viewers of a distant precolonial past in which a once-thriving network of trade, commerce, and social interaction existed among the different peoples of Oceania. Culturally speaking, Bautista observes many parallels between the Chuukese residents of the subdivision and the indigenous Chamorro people. Notions of land, space, family, kinship, food, and some traditions are similar. Other Chuukese cultural traditions, while not distinctly parallel to Chamorro cultural understandings in contemporary Guam, are nonetheless informative and insightful. For example, Bautista's subtle exploration of gendered Chuukese cultural understandings of space—including potent issues of shame bearing on the body, with respect to clothing choices, the placement of public outhouses, and the gendering of domestic space in family homes—is all the more remarkable for her taut, concise filmmaking.

As Bautista's story unfolds, she hints at the underlying history, economics, and power dynamics of migration and diaspora in the contemporary Pacific but does not directly engage those issues. Bautista describes, for example, how her father owned a large-scale cucumber farm on Guam and hired workers from other Pacific Islands, mostly from Chuuk. While she briefly mentions the 1986 Compact of Free Association, which

enabled Pacific Islanders of Micronesia to immigrate into the United States, she avoids the more critical and controversial historical, political, and economic questions of why the Compact of Free Association existed in the first place, why it was necessary for people to travel from Guam to neighboring islands in order to find laborers to work in their fields, and what the situation is concerning landownership by the Chamorro people.

Landownership for the indigenous Chamorro people of Guam is a deeply controversial issue rooted in the island's history of colonization and occupation. Many Chamorro have lost their family land through eminent domain and other controversial land-acquisition methods. While Bautista draws parallels between the cultural understandings of landownership of the subdivision residents and the Chamorro people, she leaves it to the viewer to grapple with the complexities of the political and historical differences. For instance, as the film's narrator, she says, "It's interesting that the residents actually call it a ranch because Chamorros think of a ranch as a place where you plant your roots, you grow your trees, you grow small crops for, you know, daily meals. It's a place where the extended family comes together." A subdivision resident continues, "To be a landowner in Guam, it really gives me the sense of security . . . and you have a sense of belonging." Another resident sums up the power of landownership when she says, "No landlord come and arrest me . . . the land give me freedom . . . for my relative . . . for my family . . . that means I am the power on my land." These political and historical

landownership differences underlie major issues that continue to be highly contentious and feed a palpable negative sentiment and perception of “outsiders” on Guam among the Chamorro. The Chuukese are immigrants acquiring land on an island that they view as wide-open space. The Chamorro people are indigenous to the island, have collectively lost their land through colonization, have been confined to smaller spaces of land, and, as a result, perceive the available space of the island as limited. The Chuukese, then, while as Pacific Islanders culturally similar in some ways in their understanding of the power of land, are distinct from the indigenous Chamorro in that the Chuukese are viewed as outsiders competing for the limited land spaces once belonging to the Chamorro. In short, the Chuukese people acquire landownership and, therefore, power in Guam, while the Chamorro people are still struggling to own their land and gain back the power they have lost.

Still, *Breadfruit and Open Spaces* illuminates similarities in traditional values bearing on family, food, and land familiar to Pacific Islanders in general and in so doing importantly highlights some of the unexpected conflicts across cultural boundaries in ethnically complex contemporary Pacific communities, a situation by no means unique to Guam. The subdivision residents live on the land as well as from it, which sets up the residents as responsible stewards of the land in Guam. This provides them with autonomy and sustenance presumably not available to them, for whatever reasons, in their homelands. Significantly for Guamanians and

the indigenous Chamorro, Bautista’s film serves to humanize the Chuukese people in Guam by providing intimate insights into this largely understudied and underserved population of Pacific Islanders residing on the island.

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*Savage Memory: How Do We Remember Our Dead?* Documentary film, 77 minutes, DVD, color, 2012. Directed by Zachary Stuart and Kelly Thomson. Produced by Sly Productions, Jamaica Plain, MA. DVD available for purchase at [transitmedia.net](http://transitmedia.net), US\$250.00 (institutions); US\$75.00 (high schools, libraries, community groups).

Of the personalities and times of Pacific anthropologists, we sometimes hear from more or less three kinds of voices: (1) letters and diaries, like Margaret Mead’s (*Letters From the Field*, 1977); (2) memoirs, like Michael French Smith’s (*A Faraway, Familiar Place*, 2013); and (3) biographies, like my own (*Gregory Bateson: Legacy of a Scientist*, 1980). Rarely, however, have we heard from descendants. Yet, the bittersweet, beautifully made *Savage Memory* provides us with not only a portrait of Bronislaw Malinowski’s kin, debating the moral status of the great man’s life and work, but simultaneously one of Trobriand Islanders, doing the same.

*Savage Memory* is not exactly a labor of love. It is more like a labor of ambivalence. With the help of the documentary filmmaker, Kelly Thompson, Zachary Stuart, one of