

Micronesian Reporter

THIRD QUARTER 1979

"And the children's faces looking up, holding wonder like a cup." And in the background is wreckage of yesteryear . . . World War II amidst the long white beach and vast blue lagoon.

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This Quarter's Worth

Meeting of the minds from two different cultures often creates dissonance and frustration between the giver and the receiver, between a teacher and a student... perhaps this is a universal axiom. Cecilia Cooper, Ph.D. in her article, "The 'Common Sense' of Providing Training in Non-Western Culture" gives an indepth analysis of this dilemma. Cooper wrote, "The majority of the trainers (in Micronesia) have been Americans or persons who have been strongly influenced by Western values and attitudes... Many of the trainees whom I taught proved to be outstanding students. Nevertheless, I have had persistent feelings of dissatisfaction about what transpired as a result of the instruction provided. Many whom I taught are probably still vaguely discontented with the outcome of the training."

The handicrafts industry offers one viable avenue of economic development for Micronesia. Michael L. Yoffee in his article "The Economics of Handicraft in Micronesia" concludes that "the value of handicrafts to Micronesia is about \$1 million per year, making its development highly significant to the economy of Micronesia".

One learns a lot by travelling to different places and seeing new things and people. And many Micronesians do not know too much about their neighboring island-nations. As Toyoko Ruluked said about Fiji, "I thought it would be pretty much like us, like Palau and Micronesia. But it (Fiji) was completely out of my scope. It's much larger than I thought and the level of economic development is much more advanced than I thought".

Who's Who

...in this issue of the Reporter

Cecilia R. Cooper, Ph.D. hails from Boston, Massachusetts. She received her Ph.D. in Counselling Psychology from Boston University and her Master's Degree in Public Health from the University of Hawaii. Dr. Cooper taught for six years at Springfield College in Massachusetts. She first arrived in Micronesia in 1974, and was employed as a Mental Health Specialist at the Bureau of Health Services, Headquarters. She left for the mainland in the early part of this year. While with health services, she developed textbook material for three courses in health counseling in Micronesia.

Toyoko Ruluked and Sanday Adachi both work in the Palau Department of Education in the area of English Language Curriculum Development for lower elementary grades. In their recent workshop, they were able to visit Fiji and American Samoa, and had the opportunity to observe the education system in those two places. Toyoko had studied at the University of Guam and the University of Hawaii. Sandy has a Bachelor's Degree in Psychology from the University of Hawaii.

Ms. Carolyn A. Webb and Bryan J. Vila are both working for the Justice Improvement Commission at Headquarters. Ms. Webb was born in Los Angeles, obtained her BA in Political Science and her Master's Degree in Public Administration from California State University at Long Beach. She worked for two years with Los Angeles County as an Administrative Analyst, and just before coming to Micronesia Ms. Webb worked for the LEAA program in San Jose,

Calif. She has been with JIC since 1977. Vila is a unique individual. He is a veteran with a Purple Heart medal, Presidential Unit Citation, Navy Unit Commendation, National Defense Medal and Rifle Expert's Badge. He is a former sergeant with the Los Angeles Police Department. He joined the Justice Improvement Commission last year.

Dwight Heine, Special Consultant to the High Commissioner, is a regular contributor to the Micronesian Reporter. Heine is member of the magazine's Editorial Board, and is one of the delegates representing the Trust Territory to the White House Conference on Library and Information Services. Recently Oakland City College in Indiana awarded Heine an honorary degree in Humanities.

Mrs. Elizabeth Udui is Chief of the Foreign Investment Branch, Bureau of Resources. Mrs. Udui has contributed several articles to this magazine, and she is the only woman who is a member of the Editorial Board.

Michael L. Yoffee is a Handicraft expert from the United Nations Development Programme. Recently Yoffee spent three months in Micronesia studying the handicraft industry and conducting workshops in Palau and Ponape, introducing new crafts and demonstrating techniques to local handicraft producers.

Ms. Kit Porter is currently working on Higher Education plans for the Northern Marianas Department of Education. She hails from Vermont. Ms. Porter first arrived in the Trust Territory in 1967 and served two years as a Peace Corps Volunteer teaching on Rota in the Marianas. In 1975 she once again left home and returned to Saipan to direct the bilingual programs in the Northern Marianas. Ms. Porter received her Master's in Teaching English as a Second Language (TESL) from St. Michael, Vermont, and obtained her Bachelor's degree in English and Education from Elmira College in New York.

The "Common Sense"

by Dr. Cecilia Cooper

BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

Born and raised in Boston, Massachusetts, the author received her Ph.D. in Counseling Psychology from Boston University and a Masters Degree in Public Health from the University of Hawaii. Prior to moving to Saipan she was a College Professor for six years at Springfield College in Massachusetts.

Under a special grant from the National Institute of Mental Health, she recently developed textbook material for three courses for persons in the helping professions in Micronesia.

She was employed as a Mental Health Specialist for the Mental Health Branch of the Bureau of Health Services of the Trust Territory Government from 1974 to 1979.

This article is based upon observations and experiences I have had during the process of providing periodic in-service training in the health care field to the staff of various governmental and non-governmental agencies in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands and in the Northern Mariana Islands from 1974-1979.

In sharing these belated hindsights with you, the reader, my concern is that the views which are presented strike a familiar note in your mind either because you have been a Western trainer in the islands, or because you have been a Micronesian receiving training from a Westerner. I would like what is described to prompt you to say, "Oh yes, I remember something like that happening when I was in such-and-such a learning situation." Perhaps several memories will be recalled and along with them, a faint but persistent, rueful lament will also echo from the past, "Oh yes, I remember, and I wish things could have gone differently." That is why I am writing now, so that things might possibly go differently in future training situations for there is no rule that states trainers and trainees must be perpetually wistful about the process of formal learning. If, perchance, you are a reader who is about to participate in your first cross-cultural learning experience, either as an instructor, or as a student, my wish is that this article will help you to go through that experience contendedly because you will be more aware of some of the problems that may arise and can therefore deal effectively with them before they become a source of regret.

We did become frustrated.

Looking back at the training I gave and hearing reports about the results of training given by other Western instructors, I must admit there has been a great deal of frustration. Most of the instructions about which I am speaking were aimed at developing specific job skills needed by the students in order to carry out their assigned responsibilities in their respective places of employment. The instruction was usually more technical than theoretical. Because of the emphasis on skills, concerns about the impact of training were restricted to its effect on the job situation. The impact on the trainees' families or on the community was not usually considered by those persons who were responsible for designing and/or providing the training. The majority of the trainers have been Americans or persons who have been strongly influenced by Western values and attitudes both in terms of their approach to teaching and learning experiences and in terms of their approach to paid employment.

For the most part, the trainees have been islanders who are from the non-western cultures indigenous to the Territory and the Northern Marianas.

A good deal of excellent learning did take place. Many of the trainees whom I taught proved to be outstanding students. Nevertheless, I have had persistent feelings of dissatisfaction about what transpired as a result of the instruction provided. Although they may not be as vocal as I in expressing it, more likely than not, many of the people whom I taught are probably still vaguely discontented with the outcome of the training.

One of my complaints has been that the subsequent application of the training in the various work situations has not been what I had envisioned. It frequently falls woefully below my expectations and slips into a general state of mediocrity. With rigorous on-the-job supervision, the trainee's application of what was so diligently and beautifully mastered in the classroom may improve considerably. But alas, as soon as the supervision decreases, there is a significant drop in on-the-job performance. This is especially true if forces that are outside of the work situation but are central to the trainee's personal life are activated. For example, if an important village event is to take place, the trainee's interest in following through on some of the more basic but not vital aspects of a particular task at work may wane. A mental health counselor might decide to put off the home visits until after the village event. With that decision, there is the risk that the patient's medication may have run out, creating a small crisis in the family. There is also the momentary lapse in the therapeutic relationship between the patients and counselor.

The patients may be looking forward to the counselor visits. In this same situation, there is another way in which what has been taught in the classroom may not be practiced. The counselor may have studied and endorsed the principle that mental patients need opportunities to socialize. Yet, as the village event nears, the counselor may defer to his or her own needs and not plan to involve the patients in the festive activities because it would be personally inconvenient. I, as a trainer, have seen and deplored these discrepancies in job performance. The persons whom I have trained have reacted with equal negativity to my emphasis on work performance when these other, and to them more important, matters have arisen.

But, if I have been righteously morose, so, too, have been the trainees. Their complaints are also legitimate. They have found some of my instructions irrelevant. They have not had their added knowledge and skills recognized through any change in pay level

or position title. They have tried to put to use what they were taught only to have their efforts rebuffed by their supervisors or others within the work situation who prefer to maintain the old status quo.

Why did it happen to us?

While the causes of the above mentioned mutually shared disgruntlements are many, I have explained the existing dilemma to myself as being the result of friction arising from the introduction of my Western approach to training, along with my accompanying foreign expectations, into the non-western island cultures. And, looking back, I can see what a mistake it was for me not to take into consideration the potential impact of the training on the trainee's family and community life. It is that seemingly innocuous oversight that I see as making the difference between long-term success or failure after the classrooms are vacant.

Then I thought, if my theory is right in this matter, that I should be able to use it to analyze some of the parts of the training process. I did so. What follows are some reflections of that analysis. They are divided into three parts, each of which will be looked at in reference to (1) cultural expectations and values and (2) the trainee's established relationships in his or her family and community.

I looked at three parts of the training process. They were;

1. the principles underlying the approach to motivating people to learn
2. the task of learning and
3. the effects of learning.

THE PRINCIPLES OF LEARNING.

There are several ways of motivating people to learn. These include:

1. the use of coercion
2. the use of positive reinforcement
3. tension reduction and
4. the establishment of a positive identification with the trainer.

1. Coercion.

People do learn if they are given no choice, so to speak. Children can be drilled on numerical tables; adults can be pressured into memorizing rules or procedures. The threat of punishment is usually associated with *coercive learning*. The principle in back of this type of learning is simply that the person will perform as required in order to avoid unpleasantness. The unpleasantness may be in the form of rejection, criticism, shaming, or physical abuse, etc.

Under the four different foreign powers that have governed Micronesia, the use of a coercive approach to learning has been practiced. Some of the powers used is more often than others. Moreover, within many of the indigenous cultures themselves, a coercive approach to the process of socialization has prevailed. Thus, the young child's learning customs, traditions and correct social behaviors have at times been through fear of punishment. A similar approach to learning has been used in Western cultures both with children and with adults. However, it is not highly or consistently endorsed by the majority of the people as the preferred means of getting learning to take place.

Trainers with a Western orientation toward learning, especially Americans, are apt to minimize the use of this approach in their training activities in non-western cultures and when they must resort to it, to become excessively anxious about the possible imposition on the trainees' personal freedom. It is the value placed on the worth of the person that is at stake.

The Western trainer may well feel that being coercive is to show less respect and to devalue the person. But that feeling must be evaluated against the expectations of the trainees and in the light of the conditions they espouse as being essential indications of respect. Just as some children may not feel loved or wanted unless they are being told very specifically what they can and cannot do, within some cultures non-authoritarian approaches to learning may be experienced as signs of disinterest or of incompetency in the trainer.

If the Western trainer insists on starting on the training on a less coercive basis than what the non-western trainees are accustomed to, he or she should be aware of the increased stress that may be caused by not adhering to the student's familiar approach to learning. It might be better to begin with what the student expects and to then gradually shift into another approach. Or, if the trainer feels it is essential that a different approach be used from the onset of the instruction, time should then be taken to explain the changes involved and to help students deal with the feelings engendered by these changes. While this last suggestion sounds very reasonable, Western trainers may not follow it because of their own insecurity. It is anxiety-provoking to deal with the tensions and possible hostility of students. Moreover, there is no guarantee that the trainer's preferred method will work in *another culture*. Therefore, to have to explain the method and predict successful outcomes which have a hidden degree of uncertainty is not a completely comforting task.

The personality of the instructor often determines the acceptance of a coercive approach to training by the trainees. A "benevolent despot" may be tolerated more than an "uptight democrat".

2. Tension reduction.

It is well observed that people learn when they want to, i.e., when they feel there is a need.

The person who lives on the outer island can throw a net in the ocean in back of his house to catch his supper. In the district center, he may have to go to the store several miles away from his home. On the outer island, the person refuses to learn to drive. In the district center, he learns quickly because he does not enjoy the long walk to the store in the hot sun. To know how to drive in the district center meets the person's needs.

When a need exists, the person experiences tension. When it is satisfactorily met, the tension goes away. It is said to be reduced.

The skilled trainer tries to gear training to meet some of the personal needs of the students. But Western trainers may have difficulty in determining what those needs are for non-western students. More importantly, the Western trainer may wrongly assume that meeting personal needs per se has the same high priority in non-western cultures as it does in many Western ones. However, the non-western student may only be happy meeting a personal need if, at the same time, the needs of the group to which the person feels a strong allegiance, are also met. Thus, the non-western student is unhappy about being rewarded for achieving unless the results of his or her actions also furthered the cause of the group.

It is the identification not only of the non-western students' needs but also of the qualifying circumstances surrounding them that is essential if a tension-reduction approach to learning is to be successful.

3. Positive reinforcement.

The idea of ignoring undesirable behavior and rewarding the "good" behavior has gained considerable popularity in the writings of Western child psychologists, social workers, and early childhood educators. The effectiveness of this approach to learning is not restricted to young populations; it is also being increasingly favored by marriage and family counselors, and by employers.

Among other things, it is dependent upon

1. the use of rewards that are valued by the person to be rewarded and
2. the reward schedule.

But what is a reward in one culture may be a cause of distress in another. In some non-western cultures overt praise may be considered impolite or insincere or a forerunner of painful criticism. The Western trainer may be puzzled by the reaction of the trainee when praise is given for doing a task correctly. The trainee may shrink from the praise.

Since dependency factors come into play when reward systems are used, Western trainers may also discover that they are required to be far more involved in giving rewards than they had intended to be. If praise is acceptable, a few words of praise at the beginning of a task may not be enough. The non-western trainee may be so dependent upon authority figures that he or she will expect praise for each minute step of the task that is correctly completed. Or the opposite may be true; the trainee may be so schooled to avoid looking for signs of approval from others that he or she is exceedingly uncomfortable with praise that is expressed more than once.

And lastly, it should be pointed out that tangible rewards may be more meaningful to some non-western students than intangible ones, *regardless of the age of the student*. An adult trainee may place extreme importance on being given a certificate at the end of a one week workshop. An adult trainee may want a grade of A or B or even a star placed right on the paper even though there is other less obvious evidence that the paper was approved by the teacher.

4. Positive identification.

Perhaps one of the most powerful influences during a learning process is the student's or trainee's identification with the person providing the instruction.

When positive identification is an operant factor it results in the student's absorbing the attitudes, values, and ideas of the teacher and integrating them into his or her own personality.

In non-western cultures, the basis for establishing a professional identification is by way of a personal identification first. This means the student is aware of an accepting of the *person* in the training role. That emphasis is slightly different from one in which the student is aware of and accepting of the *role* of the person conducting the training. For example, a student may focus on the *person* of Mrs. _____, who provides secretarial training or the student may focus on the *role* of the secretary as it is carried out by Mrs. _____, who, by the way, is a person.

The Western trainer may be more used to a process of identification in which *role* takes precedence over a

person. As a result, the trainer may make extra sure to model the *correct occupational role* for the students only to find that the students have still not "taken hold." The non-western student may have been disappointed in the trainer as a *person*. Therefore, the identification process becomes blocked. A western student may be able to say, "I can't stand Mrs. _____ as a person, but I sure hope I can be as good as she is as a secretary."

The non-westerner may be more apt to say "What good is Mrs. _____? She may be outstanding as a secretary but she's a failure as a person. I wouldn't want to be like her." In rejecting the *person* the non-westerner also rejects taking on the trappings of the person's *role*.

This dilemma is not unlike that experienced by some young people who reject their parent's occupations because they do not wish to be like their parents as people.

It is not uncommon for western trainers to "hide behind their roles" and to be inept in situations in which their occupational roles are inconsequential. If the non-westerner feels a need to get to know the trainer as a *person* first, this poses a problem. Language barriers may be more of a nuisance outside the classroom setting since the tendency is for students to lapse into the language with which they are the most comfortable. If that language is not one the trainer knows, communication becomes frustrating.

Also getting to know the *person* may mean spending time in ways that the Western trainer finds irritating. For example, in Micronesia, "endlessly" sitting in silence can create anxiety for the Western person but be relaxing to the non-western person who sees it as a pleasant means of becoming acquainted.

Thirdly, the Western trainer may value privacy, and being reserved; both factors limit the extent to which being known as a *person* is possible. The non-western person's need to become "better acquainted" may consequently be viewed as an intrusion, bordering on disrespect and "over familiarity." By the same token, the unwillingness of the trainer to reveal him or herself may raise suspicions of "being a cold fish", or "being stuck up," or "being uncaring."

There is one common denominator that runs through the comments made above concerning the four approaches to learning that were discussed. It is, the notion that the principles involved in each may hold for both Western and non-western cultures but the application of the principles requires sensitivity to cultural factors that may greatly change the way in which the application is responded to by the trainee.

THE TASK OF LEARNING.

This next section will focus upon the task of learning for the trainee. What are some of the issues involved? What, if any, significance do they have in terms of the trainee's relationship outside the work setting?

There are six issues that will be discussed but this by no means represents all of those that may be involved. The six that have been chosen are:

1. language limitations
2. cognitive abilities
3. relevance
4. cognitive dissonance
5. application of what is learned
6. the affirmation of an identity.

1. Language limitations.

In providing training for persons whose first language is not the same as the one to be used for reading assignments or for lectures there is the obvious concern of language proficiency. Do the students know the language used sufficiently to be able to understand it and to express themselves with it? If the other languages spoken by the students are to be used in addition to the "foreign" language, are the translations that become involved accurate? Who is available in the class to make certain that they are?

It may be that some of the "new" concepts to be taught have no linguistic counterpart in the student's native language. For example, in Micronesia the word "anxiety" is not readily translated into any of the nine languages of the islands.

When word-to-word translation is not possible, an alternative is to find several descriptive phrases that will suffice or to convey the meaning of the foreign word by creating short narratives that lead to a gestalt-like response, i.e., the student senses what is meant from the imagery in the story. The use of phrases and narratives requires more time than word-to-word translations. As a result, instructors may become impatient.

Not infrequently, the Western instructor who is just becoming familiar with the process of using an interpreter may erroneously conclude that some of the information being exchanged between the translator and the student is irrelevant because of the time involved. The translator may be suspected of adding his or her own interpretations or of digressing.

For the student, tuning in and out may present some problems. Ideally, the student should attend both to what is said or written in the language or instruction and to the translation into his or her own language.

More often than not the student may defer attending until the point of translation. As a result, it may be more difficult for the student to maintain a train of thought related to the subject matter in between translations. Instructors may encounter similar problems in attending as they wait for the interpreter's precis of the student's feedback.

One further point to be kept in mind regarding translations is the potential offensiveness of some of the foreign words. For example, while the word "penis" may be viewed by the trainer as an appropriate scientific label for a part of the anatomy, the student may react with shock or anger because direct references to the genital area are forbidden in his or her culture.

2. Cognitive Abilities.

A second problem that may arise with respect to the task of learning is one which involves abstract reasoning. In some cultures, thinking appears to be more concrete and rooted to tangibles. For example, there may be nine different words to describe various states of possession by ghosts; each word may be based upon the physical appearance or behavior of the person. The Western trainer may wish to summarize all of the states by indicating "unrest". But the non-western student may be perplexed by that more general term and revert to a repetition of each of the more specific, concrete terms. Western cultures tend to value abstract reasoning. Moreover, such reasoning is often viewed as an indication of the level of intellectual ability of the person. If the ability is not satisfactorily manifested, the person is apt to be considered "retarded" or "stupid." What is of crucial importance is the difference between inability based upon "cultural deprivation" and inability based upon "inherent deficiency". Western trainers may too readily assume the latter is true of non-western students. Even if that assumption is not made, the Western trainer may be lacking in the skill needed to help students develop the more abstract reasoning ability. The resulting frustration for the trainer and the students may lead to detrimental compromises concerning what is to be expected of the students, locking them into a level of planning and practice which is inadvertently more tedious because of the lack of general principles for guidelines.

3. Relevance.

The art of making instruction relevant is difficult in any culture. When the training cuts across cultures the difficulty is more pronounced. The Western trainer may strongly feel that lucid explanations of theory and

concepts will automatically lead to their ready application by the students. In transcultural learning situations that end result is not often easily attained. Both the students and trainers need to work together to achieve relevance. The trainer needs to have enough information about the students and his or her environment to be able to fashion examples *using situations familiar to the student*. But students should also assume an active role in trying to apply what they are learning. One of the problems arising for the trainer may be due to a reluctance to omit material which may deal with refinements of theory or with studies. The trainer's personal interest in some of the more esoteric aspects of academia and his or her need for "in depth" coverage of a topic may promote an abundance of information which the student finds overwhelming. In transcultural learning experiences it appears to be better to present a few basic theories and ideas, with numerous examples, leaving the introduction of still more theories and concepts to a later date when the students have had a few months to apply the earlier learning and to integrate it into their on-going routines. While it may be reassuring to the trainer to know all of the studies that have led to the development of a theory or principle of behavior, since the studies have usually not been conducted in the non-western student's country or on the population represented in the non-western student body their value is apt to be questioned by the students. Moreover, the great names of researchers so meaningful to the Western trainer may be perceived by the non-western student as a boring litany.

The above does not mean that no research should be cited by the trainer. It does emphasize the importance of being selective and of reporting the research in a manner that allows the non-western student to see its relevance for his or her life situation.

The student, on the other hand, needs to cultivate a receptive, scholarly frame of mind that will be open to reviewing the results of research, regardless of the location of the studies.

4. Cognitive dissonance.

Mild anxiety tends to accompany the acquisition of new information and the development of new skills. As such, it facilitates the learning process. However, when the information or the skills are perceived by the students as being significantly disparate from skills and knowledge the student already has, the cognitive dissonance that is created may result in anxiety so intense that the person's subsequent mental and/or physical functioning becomes impaired.

The Western trainer who delights in "kicking ideas around" and in divergent thinking may be startled by the dismal constriction of the non-western students as a lesson unfolds. To prevent the dire effects of cognitive dissonance, the trainer may need to expend greater effort in identifying similarities between the "new" and the "old" information. Open discussion concerning the anxiety that is involved when existing ideas are challenged by new ones may also be helpful. The identification of the source of the anxiety can avert the compounding of problems arising from erroneously attributing the cause of the tension to personal inadequacies or to deficiencies in others, including the trainer.

5. Application of what is learned.

When what is learned has excited the student there is a natural desire for him or her to share the learning with others. If that sharing is impulsively carried out, the student may be met with rejection. Those with whom the information is shared may feel threatened by it. They may feel their ways are being criticized. They may feel they are being asked to change. They may feel they are a little less bright because they had to be told the new ideas. If the student is "young" or of "lesser status" for him or her to have information of value may be even more distressing to the listener. Both the trainer and the student need to be knowledgeable about constructive ways of introducing new ideas into existing systems. Some knowledge of systems theory can be especially useful in this regard since such theory looks at interrelatedness of units and the effect that changes in one unit has on the other units.

In the classroom situation, the trainer and students may wish to see if they can identify all of the effects that a piece of information or a new skill could have in the student's home, employment setting, and the community.

6. Evolving identity.

As a person learns new information and acquires new skills his or her identity is altered. It may be altered vertically or horizontally. If it is altered vertically the person may be said to have deepened existing bodies of knowledge and/or to have perfected existing skills.

If the identity is altered horizontally, the person may be said to have added knowledge and/or skills in areas that were previously so undeveloped as to be considered inconsequential.

Horizontal development may lead the individual to feel like a "new person." In retrospect, the individual may wonder that the "old person" even existed.

Both vertical and horizontal development may cause the student to feel alienated from his family and friends.

The non-western student may try to resolve the ensuing tension (1) by totally adopting the identity of the Western trainer or (2) by totally rejecting the training or (3) by consciously striving to create a new identity in which parts of the old and the new are integrated.

The total adoption of the trainer's identity lead to conflict between the student and the student's environment.

The rejection of the training leads to personal and professional stagnation.

The third solution, that of carving a new integrated identity is not easily achieved. It requires open dialogue between the student and the trainer, and the student and those units within his or her environment with whom a constructive relationship is still deemed desirable, i.e., home, community, social groups, etc.

THE EFFECTS OF LEARNING.

The possible effects of learning are numerous. A partial list is provided below:

1. Personal growth/professional growth.
2. Thirst for more knowledge.
3. Greater access to more knowledge.
4. "Professionalism."
5. Frustration/dissillusionment.
6. More responsibility and demands from others.
7. Greater dependency on external machines.
8. More free time.
9. Improved services.
10. More rewards.
11. Greater mobility.
12. Heightened expectations (self and others.)

I took one of the twelve effects and imagined how it might influence the person's behavior in his or her place of work, in the family setting, and in the community. The effect I chose was number ten, more rewards.

I imagined stet the mental health counselors whom I trained one being given a raise in pay because of the new expertise acquired from the training.

The counselor, whose fictitious name is Anthia, has a background in nursing. She is now at a higher level of pay than another staff person, Regina, who has ten years experience in the field of nursing but has not received any formal in-service training since she received her nursing diploma. In the work situation Regina is annoyed that Anthia received her raise in pay. Anthia's family is delighted. More of her relatives

expect to be able to borrow" money from her. In the community, Anthia is expected to donate more money to the church. Was Anthia's raise in pay such a nice reward, after all? Perhaps you feel this example is not a good one. If Anthia is smart, you say she will ignore Regina's attitude, and refuse to give her relatives and the church more money. Can Anthia do what you are suggesting in *her culture*?

Suppose Anthia was given more status at work because of her training? How would that influence her behavior at home? What effect does that have on her family's standing in the village? Is the family elevated as the "family of the Director of Mental Health Services for the district of _____?"

REACTIONS TO THE EFFECTS OF LEARNING.

While many non-western students successfully cope with the effects of learning, some have considerable difficulty because of the stress mentioned in the previous section. Those students may exhibit the following behaviors because of their inability to resolve the tensions generated as they interact with their families.

1. The trainee may terminate prematurely thereby avoiding future conflict in the family.
2. The trainee may become an activist at home and in the community, demanding significant changes in both systems and incurring more stress as a result.
3. The trainee may complete the training but use it minimally in the work situation in order to avoid increased responsibility or status.
4. The trainee may regress and exhibit numerous psychosomatic ailments.
5. The trainee may seek an escape through drugs, alcohol, suicide, or physical re-location outside of the family and the community.

Unless the Western trainer is sensitive to the stress in the trainee's family that may be created by the learning experience, he or she may view the trainee's maladaptive behaviors as being an indication of a personal shortcoming in the training.

It is my contention that these behaviors are a function of a "misfit" that has evolved between the trainee and the family or community system *because of the training*. To prevent such "misfits" from occurring, I would like to suggest several factors be incorporated into the training during the early planning stages and implemented as training proceeds.

As I wrote the suggestions for the first time, I could hear a voice saying within me, "but of course, these are just common sense." And so, that is how they are offered to you as "common sense" which for me will always characterize the elusive art of teaching in another culture or even in one's own.

"Common Sense" suggestions.

1. try to assess the potential impact of the training on the trainee's family and community.
2. try to identify possible problems that may arise in introducing change into trainee's work, home and community settings.
3. incorporate instruction concerning the effects of change and the constructive ways of implementing change in existing systems into the training package. Potential change in personnel policies, in supervisory roles, or in approved ways of conferring status, may need special attention.
4. incorporate sufficient examples of good and bad ways of integrating the skills and knowledge resulting from the training into on-going systems so that the trainees (1) are sensitive to the specific constraints in each situation and (2) can see the broader application of what they are learning.
5. incorporate ways of having persons from the trainee's home and community environments add to their own on-going informal and formal education so that the general knowledge gap between them and the trainees will be lessened.

In closing, I would like to say it has been a privilege to have been taught so much by my trainees.

Report on Administration of the Foreign Investors Business Permit Act Calendar Year 1978

by Elizabeth Udui

Introduction.

While Micronesia has development opportunities for foreign investment in agriculture, marine resources, tourism and small industry, these opportunities are limited by the geographic dispersion of land and people, distance from markets, lack of physical infrastructure, a long history of subsistence activities, limited mineral resources and poor soil, scarcity of skilled labor, lack of indigenous capital and management, foreign investors' uncertainty as to political stability, and a traditional cultural "set" positive toward an extended family, clan system and negative toward individual gain.

Until 1974, foreign investment was restricted to U.S. citizens under the "most-favored nation" policy of the U.S. administration. In 1974, this policy was changed to allow investors from other nations to do business. However, to date, the bulk of investment remains predominantly U.S. citizen owned.

In 1976, a Five Year Indicative Development Plan for the Territory was adopted. This plan pointed out the need for encouraging private foreign investment to offset income deficiencies and to generate employment. Despite this encouragement, foreign investment assets have increased by only a few hundred thousand dollars in the last three years.

As the Trusteeship under which Micronesia is administered by the United States draws to a close, and the transition to constitutional government begins, the role of foreign investment should be realized to have vital importance to the development of a viable private sector.

The Foreign Investors Business Permit Act.

The Foreign Investors Business Permit Act (Title 33 of the Trust Territory Code) became effective in February 1970. Previously business permits had been issued under Public Law 4-22 and earlier under Section 1110(b) of the 1966 Trust Territory Code.

The primary purpose of the act is to make certain that foreign investment is responsive to local desires and that benefits of growth stimulated by investment are available to the widest possible segment of the population. The law is regulatory in nature. It does not provide investment incentives such as other developing nations employ to induce large scale participation of outside capital and/or expertise.

However, the Trust Territory does have a favorable climate for investment.

—There are no real estate or corporation taxes.

—There are no restrictions on repatriation of dividends, interest and related fees out of the Territory.

—There are low taxes on wages and salaries and gross revenues.

—There is a one and one-half percent Social Security tax on salaries which is matched by the employer.

—Import taxes are low.

—For tax purposes, no distinction is made between Micronesian and foreign companies.

—For purposes of foreign investment, no distinction is made between the United States and other countries.

The Foreign Investors Business Permit Act establishes procedures for obtaining a permit to do business in the Trust Territory. Prospective investors file applications for business permits with the Director of the Bureau of Resources. (Because of transition activities taking place, as of June 8, 1979, applications for business permits for the Marshall Islands are filed directly with the Secretary for Resources and Development of the Marshall Islands. Permits are issued by the President of the Marshalls.)

The Director (and Secretary) is responsible, in reviewing each application, for ensuring that the investment is consistent with Trust Territory policy and will promote the general welfare and development of the Micronesian people. Staff of the Bureau of Resources serve as secretariat for purposes of administering the act, reviewing applications, running credit checks, meeting with prospective investors, etc.

The Bureau helps attract new foreign investment by actively seeking out and contacting potential major investors and promoting favorable foreign contacts in business sectors requiring development in relation to the economic goals of domestic governments. It also seeks to locate Micronesian businessmen who might seek joint-venture relationships in their sectors of activity. The Bureau monitors the progress of newly created foreign and joint-venture enterprises in order to assist in any immediate problems that might be encountered.

In some instances, the Bureau has been instrumental in having prepared pro forma feasibility studies and collected data to assist a sector of industry in locating foreign investment partners.

In order to administer the law more effectively, to provide as complete information as possible on prospective investors and to assure a bona fide relationship, credit and reference checks are run on all applicants.

After initial review to ensure completeness, the application and supporting documents are forwarded to the Foreign Investment Board or Boards concerned. The Board reviews each application according to criteria established by law, holds public hearings, and recommends either approval or disapproval of the permit to the High Commissioner through the Director of Resources.

Criteria by which the Boards review the application, which should be fully covered in any investment proposal, are as follows:

1. Economic need for the services or activity to be performed.
2. Extent to which the operation results in a net increase in exports or a net decrease in imports.

3. Extent to which the operation will deplete the island's natural resources or adversely affect the island's economy.

4. Extent of ownership, management and employment of Trust Territory citizens.

5. Extent the operation will enhance the overall economic well-being of the state without adversely affecting the existing social and cultural values and ethnic conditions of the State.

The application is also reviewed by other bureaus of the government and by the Trust Territory's Environmental Protection Board, if necessary.

When the Board recommends approval of a permit application, it also indicates terms and conditions under which the permit may be granted. These include duration, scope of business activity, minimum Trust Territory citizen ownership and control, and guarantees of employment and training for Trust Territory citizens.

Permits to do business are issued on a state by state basis, as conditions may vary from state to state and from proposal to proposal. The potential investor is urged to establish personal contact with the Board in the state where he proposes to do business and to gauge the Board's reaction to his investment proposal. Of even more value is a visit to the state for a first hand view of economic potential and meetings with members of the Board, local leaders and businessmen.

Activities of the Bureau of Resources.

During the year Bureau officials held more than 50 meetings with prospective investors including about 10 Japanese groups. This is less than one half the activity of the office in the previous year and may indicate a serious problem with desire of foreign businessmen to find out about investment opportunities in Micronesia.

Again, about 100 responses to written inquiries compared to 200 in 1977 were sent out. About 200 actions directly related to foreign business permits as compared to 400 in 1977 were taken.

Pamphlets entitled "Business Location Factors" were prepared for Ponape, Palau, Truk and the Marshalls. The booklet "Invest in Micronesia" was reissued.

A promotional mailing to 100 international banks which were thought to be interested in investing in a \$7 million pepper project in Ponape were undertaken. Although five or six banks responded, there was no interest in investment shown.

The Bureau continued its contacts with the Japan-Micronesia Association for industry promotion.

Status of permits.

During Calendar year 1978, the Bureau received and processed 31 permit applications; 19 permits were issued. This was slightly more permits issued than the previous year.

Reasons for disapproval of permit applications.

During the year, the Foreign Investment Boards recommended to the High Commissioner that 14 applications be disapproved. The primary reasons for these disapprovals are listed below:

- Lack of complete financial information.
- Local firms capable of providing service.
- No plans to open business office locally.
- State not prepared for cultural and financial impact.
- Activities should be reserved for local participation.
- Cultural restrictions on fishing on reefs.

Conditions for permits.

Most common conditions established by Boards as prerequisite of issuing permits are:

- commencement of business operations within a specified time period,
- establishment of office facilities in the state,
- employment and training of Micronesians,
- interest in leasing private land,
- formation of a local Trust Territory corporation,
- increasing the percentage of stock available for Micronesians,
- appointment of a local agent,
- submission of reports to Board describing activities.

Calendar 1978 Statistics.

Active foreign investors regularly submit annual reports to the Bureau of Resources detailing their activities during the year as required by Section 10, Title 33 of the Trust Territory Code.

Statistics for the Northern Marianas are not included.

The number of active investors by state is contained in Table 1.

Table 2, comparing private investment for the years 1973, 1974, 1975 and 1976 is included for reference purposes.

Table 3 shows estimated asset value of businesses for 1977 and 1978. Investment has not risen significantly in any state as most of the newer permits have been issued in the service area.

Air and sea carriers not falling under the Foreign Investment Act are excluded from this report.

While Table 3 is not complete, as several firms did not report, it is indicative of trends as most of the larger, economically significant investors have filed.

Northern Marianas.

On March 25, 1976, U.S. President Ford signed a Covenant leading towards creation of a Commonwealth of the Northern Marianas. On April 1, 1976, a separate administrative structure for the Northern Marianas was established, separating it from the other areas of the Trust Territory.

The Northern Marianas no longer designates U.S. citizen-owned businesses as "foreign".

Business permit applications for the Northern Marianas may be filed with the Economic Development Office, Northern Mariana Islands. Filing fee is \$500.

Foreign Investment Policy of Bureau of Resources.

Foreign Investment is welcome as it is recognized that many development enterprises can only be undertaken with the vast capital financing that is available to foreign firms.

There has been some fear in Micronesia that opening of investment opportunities may lead to exploitation of resources by foreign firms and could be detrimental to economic, social, and political development.

The Bureau feels that foreign investment should be allowed, but only when ample opportunity is given to Micronesian participation, ownership and management. To this end, the Bureau's policy is:

1. To welcome the United States, Japan, and any other nation to join our projects on an equal basis.
2. To take into full account the effect of the change in foreign investment policy on the rights of Micronesian people in whose resources and lands wealth lies.
3. To encourage maximum Micronesian participation in outside investment on terms which leave the control of lands, resources, and industries in the hands of the Micronesian people.
4. To encourage joint ventures in order for Micronesians to utilize capital, technology, and skills available outside in order to serve their best interests.
5. To continue to regard the analysis and recommendation of the Foreign Investment Boards which review foreign investment applications as paramount in the final decision on any investment.

Conclusion.

Micronesians have reached a level in their standards of living which can only be maintained through large inputs of capital, either through grants

from the United States government or from foreign investment. Maintenance of the present economic growth rate in Micronesia by other means, such as austerity measures, has not yet received much consideration.

Relaxation of restrictions on foreign investment and its active promotion will be necessary to attract specific types of investment to the private sector. Properly planned and carried out direct investment by foreign companies can be a major factor in stimulating development and rectifying inequalities in the rate, type and balance of growth caused by an inflated public sector.

At the present time, world economic conditions and uncertainties of the transition period in Micronesia have influenced business planners of companies who might be interested in investing to take on a "wait and see" attitude. Because of the current U.S. economic situation, U.S. investors do not presently have the disposition for investing here. They are also reluctant to invest in such a far away, little known area, where the return on investment might not justify the risk.

Table 1. Nonindigenous investment in the Trust Territory by location and business sector. Other firms have permits to do business but were not active as of December 30, 1978.

BUSINESS SECTOR	STATE								TOTAL 1978
	KOS.	MARS.	PALAU	PONAPE	TRUK	YAP	TT-WIDE *		
AGRICULTURE, MARINE, & MFG.	1	1	2	1	3	--	--	8	
BANKING, FINANCE, INS. & REAL ESTATE	--	1	2	2	1	1	--	7	
CONSTRUCTION AND MINING	1	1	2	1	--	--	--	5	
SERVICES	--	1	--	1	--	--	5	7	
TOURISM	--	1	2	1	1	--	--	5	
TRANS. & COMM.	--	1	1	1	1	--	2	6	
WHOLESALE/ RETAIL TRADE	--	1	--	2	1	--	4	8	
TOTAL	2	7	9	9	7	1	11	46	

* OPERATE IN MORE THAN ONE STATE.

While Japan would seem a logical source of investment capital, and while Japanese businessmen have shown interest in investing, they, too, are plagued by uncertainties. One of their fears is of possible expropriation or nationalization of their investment after the Trusteeship ends and the new governments take over.

Table 2. Estimated Asset Value of private foreign investment in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands by sector and state, December 1973, 1974, 1975, and 1976.

INDUSTRY	DECEMBER 1973* (in thousands)	DECEMBER 1974* (in thousands)	DECEMBER 1975* (in thousands)	DECEMBER (a) 1976 (in thousands)
AGRICULTURE & MARINE & MFG.	\$ 4,835	\$ 4,473	\$ 6,141	\$ 4,697
BANKING, FINANCE INSURANCE & REAL ESTATE	NA	\$37,934	\$31,816	\$ 146xx
CONSTRUCTION & MINING	\$ 1,667	\$ 2,424	\$ 3,525	\$ 1,639
SERVICES	\$ 876	\$ 567	\$ 520	\$ 357
TOURISM	\$17,704	\$20,938	\$21,110	\$ 4,005
TRANS. & COMM.	\$16,675	\$17,491	\$17,439	\$ 910
WHOLESALE/ RETAIL TRADE	\$ 5,853	\$12,927	\$16,409	\$ 3,589
TOTAL	\$47,610	\$96,754	\$96,960	\$15,343
STATE				
TT-WIDE	\$19,999	\$60,547	\$52,624	\$ 53
MARIANAS	\$18,564	\$26,708	\$32,870	\$ N/A
KOSRAE	-----	-----	-----	\$ 2
MARSHALLS	\$ 163	\$ 333	\$ 313	\$ 2,370
PALAU	\$ 4,556	\$ 4,469	\$ 6,770	\$ 7,523 (c)
PONAPE	\$ 1,134	\$ 1,511	\$ 1,188(b)	\$ 2,318
TRUK	\$ 3,194	\$ 3,185	\$ 3,194	\$ 2,667
YAP	-----	\$ 1	\$ 1	\$ 410
TOTAL	\$47,610	\$96,754	\$96,960	\$15,343

* Includes bank deposits; underreported, all companies did not file.

(b) includes Kosrae

(a) does not include Northern Marianas

(xx) does not include bank deposits

(c) One large company did not report

There are indications that the investment situation will become critical when the development impetus of the last few years stops. A slowdown in investment is already evident between 1977 and 1978. This may very well have repercussions in the economy, reflected in rising unemployment, reduced tax revenues, and the general lowering of standards of living for the Micronesian people unless other measures are taken. These measures might include intensive programs to attract investment, assurances by emerging governments to foreign investors of the stability of the area and genuine commitment to the role of foreign investment in the development of the private sector.

Table 3. Estimated Asset Value of private foreign investment in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands by sector and state, as of December 1977, 1978.

INDUSTRY	DECEMBER 1977 (in thousands)	DECEMBER 1978 (in thousands)
AGRICULTURE		
MARINE & MFG.	\$ 6,320	\$ 6,860
BANKING, FINANCE		
INSURANCE & REAL		
ESTATE	\$ 646	\$ 785
CONSTRUCTION &		
MINING	\$ 1,728	\$ 2,620
SERVICES	\$ 924	\$ 38
TOURISM	\$ 3,878	\$ 3,938
TRANS. &		
COMM.	\$ 898	\$ 1,000
WHOLESALE/RETAIL		
TRADE	\$ 3,679	\$ 3,489
TOTAL	\$18,073	\$18,730
STATE		
KOSRAE	\$ 1	\$ 124
MARSHALLS	\$ 2,843	\$ 2,836
PALAU	\$ 9,349	\$ 9,529
PONAPE	\$ 2,225	\$ 2,181
TRUK	\$ 3,243	\$ 3,657
YAP	\$ 412	\$ 403
TOTAL	\$18,073	\$18,730

NEW WAYS OF LIFE COST MONEY

by Dwight Heine

Subsistence economy, as practiced in Micronesia, involves harvesting the resources of the sea, planting food crops, raising pigs and chickens and other kinds of livestock and engaging in the exchange of goods and services with the people in the community to which one belongs. With the introduction of *money economy*, this former way of life and whatever advantages it ever had are being swept away with the onrushing waves of modern times.

No one in his or her right mind wishes solely to be a recipient, he or she wants also to be a giver. Someone had said that, "The role of a giver is a role of God, the role of a receiver is a role of man." That is why it is good for a man of means or wealth to sometimes accept a glass of cool water or a humble gift from a less fortunate one, because by so accepting, his action recognizes the fact that both he and the poor man were created from dust and also that God had breathed on him and the impoverished one and given them their souls. In this respect they are equal. What is more important in a man than his body and soul? Without these he is *non-existent!* But this is not an article on theology, far from it, but one on that seemingly imprecise science call "*economics*". The vagueness it imparts removes hesitation from almost anyone and causes many to join in the debate as different economists suggest different solutions to the same problem.

Money and its uses in modern terms as a medium of exchange started in Micronesia a little over one-hundred years ago. In terms of history and in comparison to those who had invented it as a "medium of exchange and a measure of value" it is only yesterday. Because of this comparatively recent introduction of money as a "tool" of economic activities, not many Micronesians are adept at its use. Every Micronesian is good at spending it, but only a few are good at earning, saving, investing and multiplying it through business activities. Because no one will die of hunger if there are no coins jingling in his pockets — from the time money was introduced until now—motivation for earning it is not on a par with those who will die without it. We say *earning* because almost everyone wants to have it — legally or otherwise.

In the Marshalls, spending of money when it was first introduced was in the following ways . . . and they are listed in their order of importance:

1. Donations to our churches in the forms of tithes and/or putting coins in the collection plates.
2. Gifts to our Chiefs.

No ordinary persons accumulated money in great amounts in the past nor did they have the desire to have much. Whatever money people earned from selling their copra, or from stevedoring and engaging in other kinds of paying jobs they gave to the "Alaps" (head of an extended family) so that he will have ample money to donate to our churches and gifts to cement ties with our traditional leaders. When Germany colonized the Marshalls in 1885 its government made the people pay taxes by demanding that the chiefs give so many tons of copra, who in turn divided up the amount required among their alaps according to the productivity of the lands under their jurisdiction. This system continued during the Japanese Administration. When the people were converted to Christianity and were required to wear clothes then buying clothes became a must. At first clothes were given away free by the missionaries, but vanity entered the picture and our ladies wanted to have something different and prettier than the ladies next door. Married men and bachelors alike worked hard to earn money to buy dress materials and laces for their wives, sweethearts and other females in their families. The missionaries' wives taught the Marshallese women sewing so an alap ordered everyone under his care to work hard in order to earn money so that he could buy a sewing machine for all the ladies in his clan. Buying a sewing machine those days was as expensive to them as buying a car today to their descendants. Tools for digging and cutting were very popular so the families (extended) again worked "hard" to buy adzes, machetes, spades and axes to augment what they stole from the whaling ships. But purchasing tools was not practiced to a great extent, stealing was more profitable. Our ancient code was that stealing from those who are not our friends and relatives was commendable, but from one's own kith and kin was both a sin and a crime. The Ten Commandments interfered with this unique form of economic activity. "Thou shalt not steal", period.

The Japanese were the ones who introduced saving money in banks. They also encouraged the Micronesians to practice thrift. Many did. When older people talk about the Japanese administration of this area, this is one of best things they say about it.

In the Marshalls, it was the U.S. Navy Administration that introduced "Head Tax". The devastation of this area during the war was so complete that the Navy Military Government had to start everything from scratch. They could not continue with the "copra tax" that the Germans started and was continued under the Japanese regime. There was a war going on and fighting ships were not made for hauling

copra. When the war was over every GI wanted to go home and only a handful of Americans stayed to carry on the functions of the Military Government which was then renamed, "Civil Administration." Ships to the outlying islands were few and far in between. Re-establishing the copra tax system was not possible as most of the able bodied men were at either Kwajalein or Majuro and a copra tax would have been a heavy burden on those few men who stayed behind to take care of women and children and the old people. A more important, dependable source of money was in the employment of Micronesian people and not in the copra industry, the price of which fluctuated from time to time.

Much has been mentioned, both orally and in books, about the ineptness of America's administration of this area. Criticisms have been directed at both the Americans and the Micronesians serving in the Trust Territory Government. While some of the claims are true and incontestable, it is better to put the picture in focus so that the ugliness can be seen more clearly and be described more accurately. Micronesians who receive substantial remuneration for their services are mainly those at the district centers or at the Trust Territory Headquarters in Saipan. Those working in Saipan from other areas found that owning a car is a necessity since the hospital, churches, stores and other places they need to visit from time to time are mostly not within walking distances. It is expensive to purchase a car and owning one starts a person on an endless road of spending money on gas, maintenance and for a great number of people, insurance as well. These are newly acquired expenses, something unknown to perhaps all Micronesians only a few years ago. Some of the younger children think "*inflation*" is a Micronesian word since they often hear their elders using it as there is no equivalent to express it in any of the Micronesian languages. What are described here are the newest links in the long chain of events in the economic activities of these islands since their discovery and their peoples made known to the western nations. At that period in history, Spaniards and Germans with some Americans, Australians, Scandinavians and a sprinkling of other nationalities influenced our cultures by small doses only. Japan came in 1914 and Japanized this area by leaps and bounds, especially in the field of economic development. There are not as many Americans today as there were Japanese in Micronesia during their time. But for the same length of time America has been in Micronesia, it has been able to influence or change Micronesia far more than the previous Administrations. Yes, the younger generation, which we sometimes refer

to as the "American generation", have adopted a great many of the Americans' habits, manners, attitudes and aspirations. Their parents adopted fewer of their former rulers' ways during their times of administration of these islands.

Appearing below is a brief summary of how their elders think and talk about their children:

"(1) Some preach; (2) some work hard and spend their money wisely, others work, play and drink hard; (3) some do not earn money at all; (4) some are bureaucrats and technocrats; (5) most like to grow their hair and their beards long; (6) some like to sue people in courts and organize demonstrations . . . ; (7) some write petitions, obtain many signatures and go to Washington and the United Nations Headquarters in New York; (8) → oh, but they outnumber us by such a big margin; (9) they are lovely kids; (10) they have been "missionized"; 'navified'; 'armyfied'; 'interiorized'; 'peacecorified'; 'legalized'; and 'statusied'."

The present generation's sources of learning are many and varied. We mentioned some of the sources from which a great many of the stimuli that affect their physical, mental, emotional and spiritual growth emanated. There is a new Micronesia for them to be explored and their elders assistance is far from enough for they, too, are puzzled by what they see, hear and experience. Let us go back in history to examine some of the events that brought about changes which altered the economic way of life in Micronesia, and in so doing, may have provided some of the answers to the riddle.

Marshallese historians tell us that their ancestors came from the west and the first atoll on which they landed was Namu. It was there that they put up a huge basalt rock to commemorate the event. (Basalt rocks are not part of the Marshalls geological formation). They call the rock "Liwatoonmour." They said it represents the "Mother of All Clans." Unfortunately the rock is not there anymore. Dr. Rife, an American medical missionary with a group of his faithful followers, hauled it with a rope and tackle onto the schooner, "Morning Star" and sailed away with it. Mid-way between Namu and Kosrae they dropped it in the ocean. Dr. Rife was disturbed, because at a certain time each year, Marshallese will bring flower leis to the stone that represent the "Mother of All Clans". Idol worship! The writer was a little confused when he saw in Christian America and other metropolitan countries flowers at the bases of statues and monuments honoring a hero or heroes of their country long gone.

It is said that from Namu the Marshallese dispersed and went to the other atolls and islands in the

archipelago. It was also at Namu that their clans originated. A person's clan is a social class determinant and more often than not an economic plus. It was on Kwajalein and Majuro Atolls that the American Armed Forces landed and subsequently the Administration added new "clans" to those already in existence, but they did it in reverse, they created economic determinants, which in many cases became social pluses. They labelled these new "clans" "*Micronesians Title and Pay Plan.*" And each was known by alphabetical order, "A", "B", and "C". "A" made less than "B" and "B" less than "C". Within each of these grades there were several steps. Lower steps made less than the higher ones. Like the clans of ancient creation, skills and some kinds of knowledge are associated with these As, Bs and Cs, but unlike the days gone by, education is open to all regardless of sex, creed or family background, so upward mobility is possible. In ancient times and to a great extent even today, a clan that is skillful in navigation will never share its knowledge with outsiders. There should not be any wonder that all Micronesians wants to get an education, they want to climb up the ladder to new levels of social and economic well-being which spells security. Subsistence economy is based on land ownership. Lands are getting scarcer each year because of the increase in the birth rate over the death rate and for the taking over of much of Micronesian lands for purposes other than the type of agriculture with which they are acquainted.* Although at the beginning of our story we mentioned that "nobody will die without money," many people suffered from extreme hunger during the last war and for sometime after it. Today, many children show physical signs of nutritional deficiencies in their diets. These are the children who live in the so called "District Centers," centers of governments, business and commerce, schools and the other institutions associated with wealth, power and control. There are also some people in these centers

* When this article was being prepared the following appeared in the news media ("*Micronesian Lands Returned to the People*) Saipan, July 25 (MNS). Trust Territory High Commissioner Adrian P. Winkel signed eight quitclaims deeds on Saipan yesterday, July 25, returning over ninety-nine (99) percent of all public lands in the Trust Territory to the people of Micronesia. Of the eight deeds, three are for Airai, Koror, and Angaur in Palau District and the others are for the Marshalls, Kosrae, Ponape, Truk and Yap Upon signing of the deeds, High Commissioner Winkel said, "This is an historic occasion for the people of Micronesia for it marks the return to the people of property which has been held as public land by the previous administrations of Spanish, German, and Japanese governments, and the present United States Administration. The signing of these deeds is a milestone in our efforts to return the lands, an achievement from which present, as well as future, generations of Micronesians will benefit."

who, although the lands they own are not much, but they are well-off because they are merchants, T.T. government employees, Army employees and a few others with some kinds of specialized skills. In most cases these are people who have had some kinds of formal education. There seems to be a tug-of-war between a group of "status seekers" versus those who are "status-quo-maintainers". Today, *money* is the rope they pull. The "money economy" battle is on.

There are Micronesians in every group of islands in Micronesia who have never been to any schools where English was taught, but their fluency in this language is much better than many Micronesian High School graduates. The table of knowledge (not strictly formal education) is set before every Micronesian with many and varied foods for thought and contemplation, which reminds the writer of the kinds of parties in Micronesia where different kinds of foods are laid out on long tables with samples of dishes, the recipes of which were acquired from Europe, Asia, America, different parts of the Pacific regions, including Micronesia itself. Visitors who are new to this area ask questions about Micronesian foods and Micronesians ask questions about dishes that are not familiar to them. "Is this taro?" "No, it is breadfruit." "By golly, it tastes somewhat like bread!" "What are these?" "These here are buns and those are biscuits" Quizzical look. "Tiny breads." "Oh, and they taste like breadfruit." Learning is going on all the time. Sometime later on someone will ask, "How much a party like this cost?" "Oh, everybody chips in so it is not so expensive," or, "but so-and-so is a big businessman, he can afford it" or, "the Distad has allowances to take care of this sort of function."

In times past, feasting was simpler with foods and drinks obtained from the same island, village, or the atoll on which the feast was going to be held. The foods to be consumed had all the necessary ingredients that kept the body healthy and strong. Every child who can talk can name all the different dishes that were prepared, such as roasted pigs, chickens, fish, taro, yam, breadfruit, etc. Coconuts for drinking were good enough. *Labor* was the price paid for them. Today, drinks are served before the meal (with many different names) during the meal and after the meal, either coffee or tea, and some others. All these are imported from far away places, and much money was spent for buying them and in some cases for their preparation as well. But how can a Micronesian back out from performing his social obligations when others have invited him repeatedly to their parties? For every act of kindness and generosity ones receives, he returns the same at a future time. "Reciprocity" is one word

that summarizes that long sentence, "The role of a giver is a role of God, the role of a receiver is a role of man." "Why doesn't he use native foods?" we may ask. The answer is, he is working away from his own home island where he has no lands to farm and everything he and his family consume are all purchased, including those that are produced or grown locally. When the now defunct Congress of Micronesia was created a little over ten years ago, it did not take long for the lawmakers to find out that it was expensive to run in an election and continued to be expensive while remaining in office. It is still expensive after it has split into three entities (perhaps more so).

So far we have been talking about those things that people felt they must spent money on even though there are no laws against refraining from doing so. Today, Micronesian people must pay money for the following:

1. Paying taxes – income tax, sales tax and a few others
2. Paying fines – it hurt more to some than incarceration
3. Alimony – this is a very new one and a great danger to the Micronesian's way of life
4. Lawyers fees – expensive but there are no ways around it as the dealings are in non-Micronesian ways
5. Suits – an action or process in a court for the recovery of a right or claim
6. Electric bill
7. Telephone bill
8. T.V. bill
9. Tissue papers if living in houses with modern conveniences
10. Shoes – one is liable to step on sharp objects – nails, broken bottles et cetera as well as burn ones feet on hot asphalt roads and parking areas for cars

The following is an excerpt from a paper entitled "Cultural Preservation and Development in Micronesia", presented by the writer in Port Moresby, Papua New Guinea, during the second session of the Advisory Committee for the Study of Oceanic Cultures, which was held from June 27 to July 1, 1977: "The traders introduced commerce and a new way of earning a living, by working for others for wages. Money became the medium of exchange and a measure of value. Missionaries introduced new religion, taught many useful things which were needed at that point in history, and helped Micronesians to attain competence in their dealings in a new sphere of

influence, which was *not of their making or choosing*, but *one which they could neither avoid nor ignore.*" A life is more complicated today than that period in Micronesia's history. The "onrushing waves of modern times" relentlessly hitting Micronesia with ever greater frequency. The people need help more than ever before and it is the fervent hope of this writer that the kind of help he is talking about will never abruptly cease.

The canoe in the Saipan airport

*The canoe sits
and I know many worked hard
to shape her
build her
guide her.
sail her*

*And later others
to convince her
and them
that she should sit*

*sheltered from the stars by
wood cut
sliced
angled to make a roof
protected from the rains*

*secured from the winds by
roped and mounts*

*And I know it means
she will be remembered
along with the men who built her
by the grandchildren*

*But my heart cries
"It isn't time"
While my mind says
"It's too late"*

Air Micronesia

*The roaring, sky-filling, ear-filling growl
calls me
from where I sit watching waves
catch crabs;
from where I work oblivious to day.
It calls me even unheard,
the knowledge of its being
beckoning,
drawing me to watch it
leave the sky... swiftly caress my
island... and then depart
to call others,
like the typhoon and sunset blended.*

*It holds my freedom to come and go.
It carries my ties to other islands.
It takes arms that I want holding me.
It returns those taken
changed
to be known again.*

*My head is lifted to watch it curve
filling my sky of memories.*

by Kit Porter

by Kit Porter

Responsibilities and Activities of the Justice Improvement Commission

by Carolyn Webb & Bryan Vila

IMPROVING JUSTICE IN MICRONESIA

Since beginning operations in the fall of 1977, the Trust Territory's Justice Improvement Commission has funded and implemented dozen of projects aimed at improving the quality and effectiveness of the criminal justice system in Micronesia by administering federal grants from the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA). These grants are made available under two pieces of federal legislation, the Crime Control and Safe Streets Act and the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act.

The Justice Improvement Commission (JIC) operates under the guidance of a supervisory board which is made up of members from each of the three political entities and from a variety of backgrounds so as to provide ample representation for all sectors of the community and government.

Perhaps the best way to understand how the Justice Improvement Commission functions is to follow federal grant funds as they come from Washington to JIC and then to the local justice improvement programs.

Each year JIC, with guidance from the supervisory board, prepares a Criminal Justice Plan. After being approved by local government leaders, this plan is sent to Washington, D.C. for LEAA approval. Once it receives approval, JIC is allocated a fixed portion of money from funds available to all the states and the territories.

But how does the money get from JIC to a local agency attempting to improve some facet of the criminal justice system? After reading the Criminal

Justice Plan to determine which program area their specific problem fits into, the local organization writes an application for subgrant funds and submits it to JIC. Copies of the plan are available at local public safety offices, State or District Attorney's Offices and legislatures. After administrative review for technical correctness, the subgrant application is presented by staff members to the supervisory board. The supervisory board then discusses the merits and appropriateness of the subgrant application and makes the final decision to fund it or not. If the application is approved for funding, JIC staff contact the applicant and assist them in implementing the program.

In addition to helping local organizations finance and implement justice improvement projects, JIC directly administers several projects having TT-wide impact. The majority of these projects involve training programs for members of the criminal justice system. JIC staff also devote considerable amounts of time to providing direct technical assistance to local agencies. Although this is rather unusual by stateside standards, it has proved to be a very inexpensive and effective way of improving the operation of the criminal justice system. One of our staff members is involved full-time in operating "Outward Bound" types of projects, another is involved in designing and implementing training and educational programs, the Law Enforcement Specialist has filled in as Acting Chief of Police on Kosrae at the request of the Governor, and the Legal Specialist is embarking on a program of assistance with development of new judiciary systems in the emerging governmental entities of Micronesia.

The following chart provides a summary of JIC sponsored programs and projects throughout the Trust Territory in 1978 and 1979:

	Kosrae	Palau	Ponape	Marshalls	Truk	Yap
Expatriate Executive Captain		x	x			x
Police Radio-Communications	x	x	x	x	x	x
Police Training Representation	x	x	x	x	x	x
Police-Jail Watercraft		x				x
CLEO Pre-Law Representation	x	x	x	x	x	x
Internship Participation	x	x	x	x	x	x
Train Assistants Training	x	x	x	x	x	x
Training Series Representation	x	x	x	x	x	x
JIC Training Fund Participation	x	x			x	x
Jail Remodeling		x		x	x	
Shelter Care or Correctional	x	x			x	
Youth Recreation	x	x		x	x	
Outer Island Youth Recreation		x	x		x	
PAL or Community Relations	x	x				x
Misc. Police Equipment	x			x		

POLICE MANAGEMENT AND LAW ENFORCEMENT TRAINING PROGRAMS

These programs provided for a demonstration two-year project which funded expatriate Executive Captains, to be used as trainers, in Palau, Ponape, Yap and Truk. Law Enforcement training, both in structured sessions and on-the-job experience, has been an ongoing feature of this program throughout Micronesia.

The major projects to date are: Police Management Program, Law Enforcement Training Project, Marshalls Public Safety Consolidation, and the Truk Department of Public Safety-Honolulu Police Academy Training.

JIC Law Enforcement Specialist Bryan Vila was assigned as Acting Chief of Police in Kosrae during April and May of 1979. Here he is shown demonstrating non-lethal defense techniques to Kosrae Officers (L-R) Hillman Sigrah, Horace Salik, Aruo Welly and Yosiaru Nena.



POLICE EQUIPMENT PROGRAM

This program's major priority was to provide a reliable police communications system for all of the Districts/States of Micronesia. Additionally, several small equipment subgrants were made to Kosrae (basic equipment) and Palau (police boat).



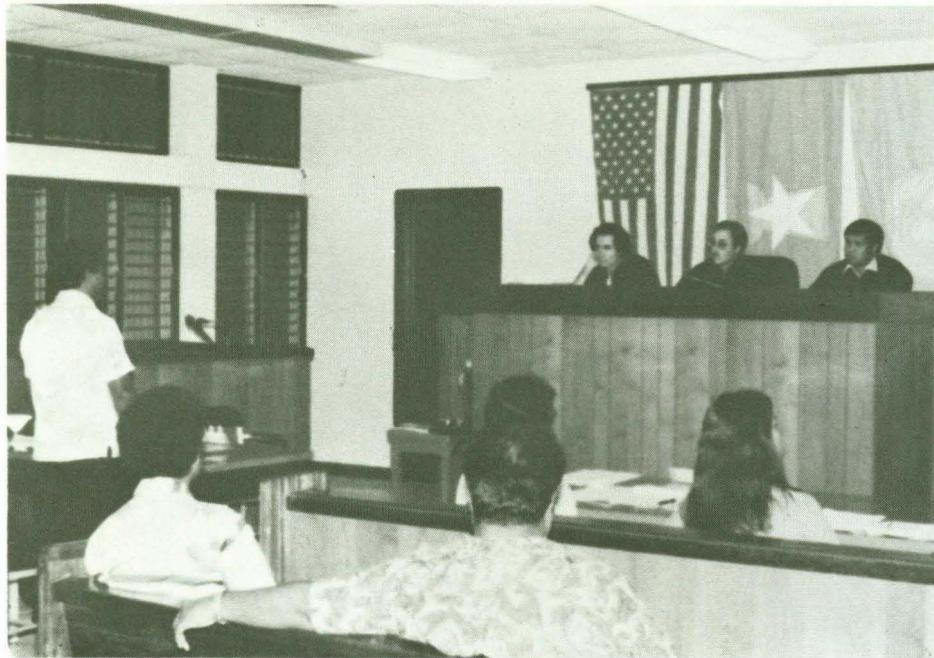
Base station radio equipment such as this will be in place in all six jurisdictions by the end of 1979. Part of the program provided for a maintenance package to ensure uninterrupted service.

Reliable mobile communications for both road and water patrol vehicles will become a reality by early 1979.



LEGAL TRAINING PROGRAM PROSECUTOR-DEFENDER ASSISTANCE JUDICIAL ASSISTANCE

During 1978 and 1979, these three programs provided financial support and technical assistance for training Micronesian Trial Court Assistants and the development of courses for pre-law school students. They also provided an improved law library and office equipment for the Palau District Attorney's Office.



Mock court trials provided a capstone for participants in the legal training sessions. Here Micronesian CLEO course graduates test their abilities before Judges Rob Keogh (Micronesian Legal Services), Honorable Herbert Soll (Associate Justice CNMI) and Ramon Villagomez (private attorney).

JUSTICE SYSTEM INTERSHIP PROGRAM

Each summer the Justice Improvement Commission sponsors a limited internship program by which selected Micronesian college and university students are returned from (usually) mainland U.S. schools for placement with participating criminal/juvenile justice agencies. The students often receive college credit for this experience from their home schools.

Student Interns 1978 and 1979

Temmy Shmull, San Jose State University, Calif. Palau YSB and JIC Ponape (78 & 79)

Canney Palsis, University of Guam. Kosrae Dept. Public Safety (79)

Witten Philippo, College of Idaho. Marshalls Public Defender (78)

Maggie Chong, Seattle University. JIC HQ Saipan (78)
Bertha Chong, Seattle University. JIC HQ Saipan (78)
Hayes Ngiratregd, University of Guam. Palau Dept. Public Safety (78)

Lester Ruda, Central State University, Oklahoma. Truk Dept. Public Safety (78 & 79)

Cyprian Manmaw, Lewis & Clark Law School, Oregon. Yap Public Defender (78)

William Billimon, Clatsop Community College, Oregon.
Truk Public Safety (79)

Mathias Syne, University of Guam. Ponape District Attorney Office (79)

Camirilo Akapito, California State University, Chico. Truk Public Defender (79)

Isoda Nakashima, Eastern Oregon State University. Truk Youth Service Bureau (79)

Lucas Ada, San Carlos University Law School, Philippines. Ponape Public Defender (79)

John Chugen, Kauai Community College, Hawaii. Yap Dept. Public Safety (79)

***Tarios Ludwig**, Southern Oregon State University. JIC Ponape Office (79)

*Funded by 1978 Justice Training Series Project.

JUSTICE TRAINING SERIES JIC TRAINING FUND

The "Justice Training Series" project, administered cooperatively by the Community College of Micronesia and the Justice Improvement Commission, enabled several short-term intensive training sessions to be sponsored at the College for criminal and juvenile justice practitioners. The JIC Training Fund gave selected participants the opportunity to attend worthwhile training sessions.

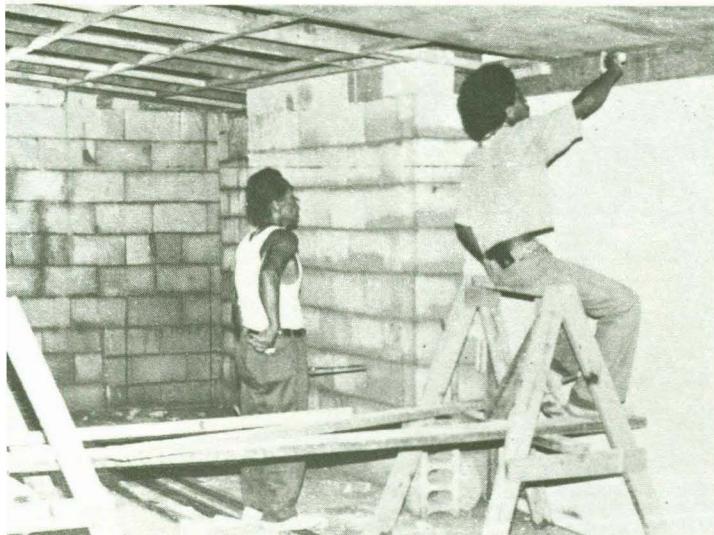
Funds from the JJC Training Fund were used to allow L. Rosemary Skebong (Palau D.A. Trial Assistant) and Aliksa Aliksa (Kosrae Public Defender Rehabilitation Counselor) to attend the month-long CLEO course held on Saipan during the summer of 1979. Principal Instructor, Professor Ed. Bronson of California State University at Chico, looks on in the background.



INSTITUTION-BASED CORRECTIONS PROGRAMS

This program is dedicated to upgrading jail facilities and correctional programs, with special emphasis on the separation of women and juveniles from adult male offenders. It also served to improve the potential for effective treatment of sentenced prisoners. Funds from this program were used to remodel the jails on Majuro, Palau and Truk. They also provided a prisoner fishing project for Yap and a Correctional Coordinator for Truk.

Remodeling jail facilities to provide separate quarters for women and juveniles has been a high priority throughout Micronesia.



COMMUNITY-BASED CORRECTIONS PROGRAMS

This program provides funds for the development of projects which allow offenders and potential offenders to be treated outside of a standard jail setting. To date, such projects have been implemented in Kosrae (Rehabilitation Counselor), Northern Marianas (prior to separation from the Trust Territory, a Skill Development Project was funded) and Palau (Shelter-Care Facility).

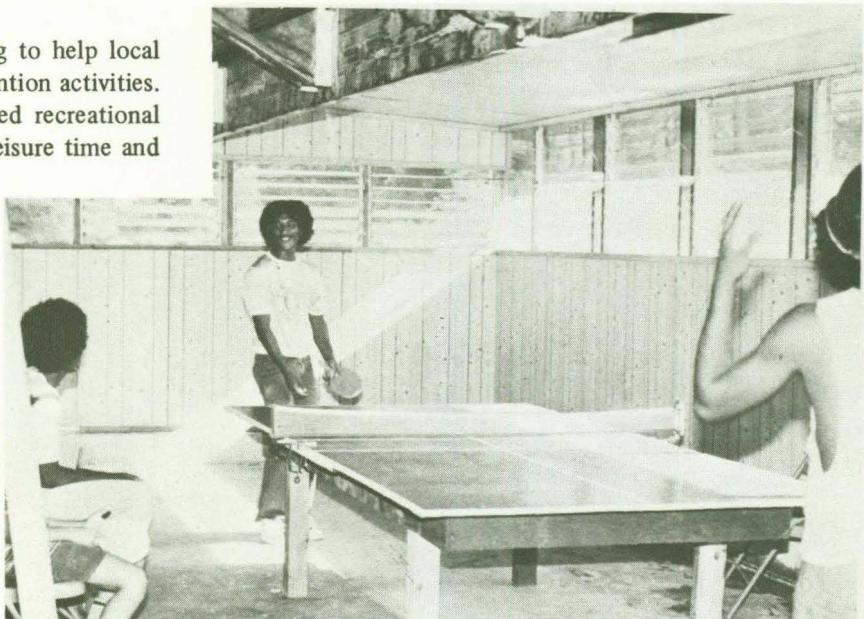
Structured programming for offenders, particularly youth, in 24-hour supervised settings, such as shelter care homes, is felt to have better long-range results than incarceration or unsupervised release to the community.



YOUTH ACTIVITY—DELINQUENCY PREVENTION PROGRAM

This program has provided funding to help local communities develop delinquency prevention activities. Most of these projects have emphasized recreational activities for young people to occupy leisure time and promote a spirit of cooperation.

A variety of indoor and outdoor activities are conducted by participating JIC Youth Service Bureaus and outer island municipalities. Project funds usually provide for facility preparation and sports equipment.



YOUTH DIVERSION PROGRAM

Diverting young people from the official criminal justice system is a high priority of the Justice Improvement Commission. To date, Outward Bound projects for both young men and women — some of them troubled, some of them not — have been funded in Ponape (Aramas Kapw), Truk (Kaeo Manwa) and Palau.

Mastering the "fidget ladder" during the 23-day wilderness survival course can be most frustrating. Activities such as this prepare the participants for their two night "solo" in the jungle.

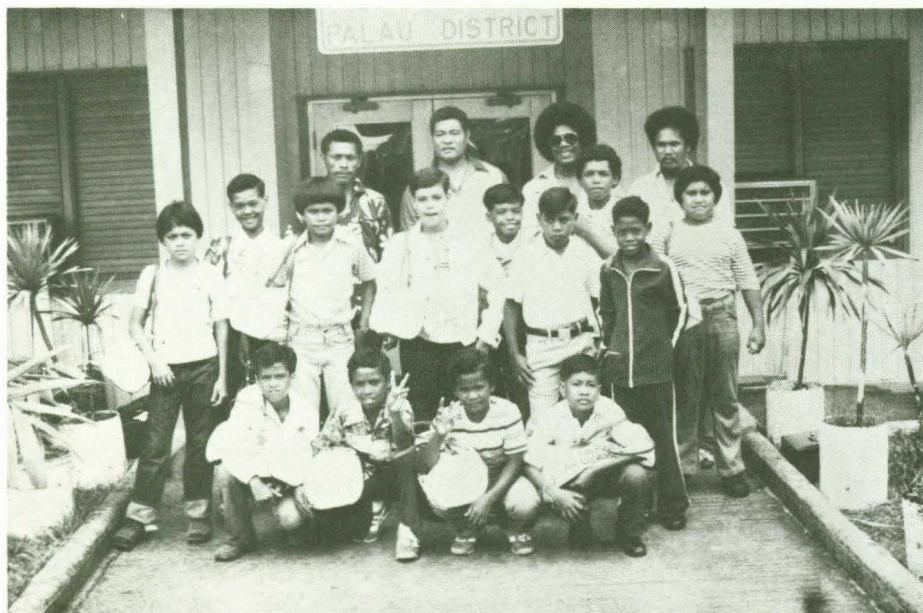


A group of Ponape "Aramas Kapw" young men and their leaders on their mountain climbing expedition trip.



CRIMINAL JUSTICE COMMUNITY RELATIONS AND RESEARCH PROGRAMS

Thus far the participating agencies in Micronesia have chosen to direct their attention to the youth population in efforts to improve relations between criminal justice agencies and the public, believing this will fill a needed activity void, and at the same time bring parents and adult relatives into the program. To date, these programs have funded Police Activity Leagues in Yap and Palau, a Police Community Education Program in Kosrae, and research to define delinquency in terms of Micronesia's cultures.



The Palau PAL boys and their leaders embarking for the Pacific Little League Playoff Tournament at Guam. Although they did not win to take on Taiwan for the Far East Championship, public interest was very high. There's always next year....



Clinics sponsored by the touring "Sports Ambassadors" became part of the project activity.

THE ECONOMICS OF HANDICRAFT IN MICRONESIA

The following article is excerpted from a report of a United Nations handicraft expert who spent three months in Micronesia studying the handicraft industry and conducted workshops in Palau and Ponape to introduce new crafts and to demonstrate techniques to local handicraft producers. He concludes that the value of handicraft to Micronesia is about \$1 million per year making its development highly significant to the economy of Micronesia.

by Michael L. Yoffee



Isao Mersai, a Palauan, who resides on Moen, Truk, presents to High Commissioner Adrian Winkle a handicraft he bought from Truk as a gift from their Co-ops. Mersai was escorted to the HiCom's office by Mrs. Rita Ulechong.

The Economy and Employment

Almost all rural areas or outer islands of Micronesia have a *subsistence economy* based on agriculture, fisheries, and handicrafts, usually under \$100 per capita per annum.

As an anomaly to subsistence living, a significant portion of Micronesians (over 50%) employed by the government/TTPI in the public sector receive an income commensurate with a modern economy. Also, the *private sector* e.g. hotels, restaurants, shops, has a high worker per capita income although somewhat lower than government jobs. In addition, there are a variety of U.S. Federally funded programs of social, educational and recreational value employing both local and expatriate personnel. The income received is in addition to the regular government (TTPI) appropriation. These funded programs, such as HUD, CETA, Head Start, Aged People, etc., are not inconsiderable to the Micronesian economy.

The official minimum wage is said to be U.S. \$0.80 per hour for those employed in government jobs. The Government/public sector employs 50-60% of the work force, earning 75-80% of the gross income. However, a significant segment of the population remains outside the public salaried economy, particularly in remote areas and the outer islands surrounding each District Center. The cash income level for remote areas may be as low as \$100 per annum per capita. Even though there are high public sector incomes and many federal programs, it is difficult to observe the impact of any positive material benefit to the rural areas. Most income seems to be spent on imported goods; (clothing, processed foods and beverages, and home furnishings).

Therefore, it is at the lowest socio-economic level where handicraft market development can play a leading role in providing income and increasing the standard of living. Furthermore, handicraft in Micronesia also plays a significant role in contributing to the export economy.

In summary, the economy appears almost totally dependent on federal appropriations. However, there is currently an air of economic uncertainty as to what will happen after "independence" in 1981 for the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. It appears unclear to Micronesians as to the extent of cutbacks of federal programs and the consequent effect on income levels and job opportunities. It seems evident, that the local governments may not sustain their high salary levels; and the professional personnel funded by the TTPI and other U.S. federal programs, would be reduced. As a consequence, new income opportunities would also diminish. Future income from locally raised

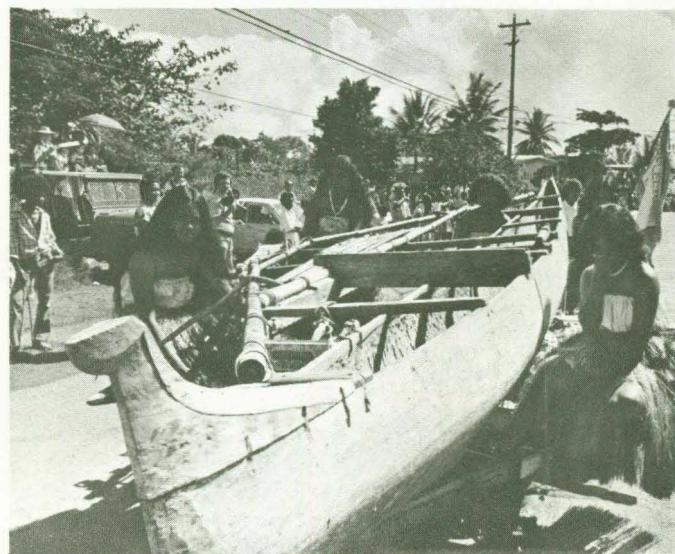
revenues and a more restricted budget will not close the eventual gap in expenditures. Therefore, Micronesia must now proceed expeditiously with implementing an economic development plan, which will provide employment opportunities, increase exports, and provide import substitution.

To some degree a proposed UNDP handicraft and small enterprise project will attempt to assist Micronesia in meeting its development goals.

Education

The population growth problem even with no more than 120,000 people in the entire region is becoming a greater concern. The total islands-land mass is half the size of the State of Rhode Island. The vast majority of the population are under 20 years of age; some districts have possibly a 3.5% population growth. The number of students entering the economy with secondary, college, technical school and post graduate levels of education is increasingly in excess of public/private sector job opportunities available. Most students are provided with a middle class U.S.A. oriented education. Fewer are equipped with skills in business administration, agriculture, engineering, electrical-construction/carpentry trades, bookkeeping/accounting — i.e. the skills required to manage and develop a nation's economy. As graduates flood out of schools each year, only a small proportion can find employment in public services. The remainder unemployed become dependent on the extended "family clan". Most youth are not registered unemployed, that is, they are not actively seeking

A Palau outrigger canoe on parade during the Palau Annual Fair.



employment. The few high urban wage earners most often support the greater numbers of unemployed relatives.

Some underemployed take up part-time fishing, marginal agriculture, odd jobs in construction, and assist occasionally the tourist sector enterprises. Others enlist in federal welfare programs. The socio-economic situation seems relatively stable at present, although crime and alcoholism is on the increase. Some immigration takes place to other islands, such as Guam/Saipan, or to the U.S.A. The Micronesian family has a praiseworthy "welfare system" based on a traditional village society where everyone is accommodated, so that there are no destitutes.

Economic Growth

However, if the economy suffers a cutback in public jobs and income, the present cash income system providing the family welfare will be put under increasing stress. At the present time, to a more or less extent, all the districts of Micronesia are the beneficiary of a gratuitous U.S. Federal food distribution program. It is, therefore, not surprising that local agricultural development schemes and related enterprises fostering self-sufficiency have a slow growth situation.

The future problem may not be the U.S. Federally-financed aid programs *per se*, but that they may be reduced suddenly before adequate development is undertaken. Then Micronesia's economy could undergo some profound readjustments. Hopefully, handicrafts and small industries may assume a more important role in the economy before such cutbacks occur.

Agriculture

A cash crop surplus is almost non-existent of local agricultural food production. Local marine resource enterprises, such as fisheries, and farmer cooperatives provide some produce for urban markets. Only copra, some trocus shell, a small amount of pepper, and citrus could be called cash crops.

Tourism

Although the tourist trade is promising, it can hardly take up the immediate economic slack from a government cutback with the few hotels and services available. However, upgrading and implementation of tourist facilities are required to stimulate a sluggish economy.

A concerted long range effort in the tourist sector is needed in order to have an impact on employment



Earrings, necklaces, key chains, and bracelets made out of black and red coral, and sea shells on display during the Palau Annual Community Fair.

opportunities, both for agriculture, the handicrafts industry and related commercial, cultural and recreational activities (scuba and fishing sports).

The Handicraft Market in Micronesia

The current market for handicrafts is almost entirely dependent on invisible export (visitors' purchases) within the district centers. More crafts could easily be sold. Production, however, is usually erratic and unreliable. One reason seems to be that local purchasing agencies and cooperatives purchase crafts on an inconsistent basis since they have little working capital to hold stock for producers. Often the craft producers establish their own prices regardless of the realities of the market place, resulting in slow payment, or default. More discouraging, craft producers are sometimes misdirected to produce inferior copies of foreign handicrafts (e.g. Philippine items) and are seldom guided as to which viable items to make. They have the advantage to produce items for the "captive" local tourist market, but the crafts-export potential is often stifled. Yet, even with all the difficulties currently associated with production, the *market demand for Micronesian handicrafts is indeed phenomenal*, – and continues to grow. However, the *main growth market area is for quality ethnographic and creative folkloristic handicrafts*. All energies and available resources should be directed to developing this market.



Palau Civic Center, although modern architecture, is patterned after a Bai building. The art work by a Palauan artist portrays a famous breadfruit legend, Meduu Riptal.

Current Market Situation For Handicraft Sales

During this assignment, in discussion with various officials, marketing cooperatives, craftshop managers and buyers, handicraft sales were found to be substantially greater than first reported. The Office of Planning & Statistics, TTPI, Saipan, published the figure of \$250,000 U.S. for Micronesian handicraft exports in the Statistic Bulletin of 1977. However, the Official Statistics only covered registered export by customs from the various districts. Also, the Statistical Bulletin registered visitors and tourists to Micronesia in 1977 at 22,500. The "guesstimate" of the TTPI Statistic's Office is that *average craft purchase per visitor* was about \$25.00 U.S. Included in this \$25.00 figure are Guam/Saipan gift shop buyers, and expatriate personnel who are known to make considerable purchases. These purchases are both registered as export — and as much is purchased directly from the producers — not listed as craftshop sales.

Moreover, there are transit passengers stopping over by ship at the various district ports and airports of Majuro, Kwajalein, Truk, Yap and Ponape, and Kosrae. Even in 1977, the transient purchases are estimated conservatively to be some \$50,000 U.S. per annum.

Therefore, the total (1977) export plus the invisible export, may be "guesstimated" as at least \$850,000 for Micronesia, as follows:

For the year of 1977:

1. Registered Exports (Bulletin of Statistics, TTPI, June 1978 Vol. 1)	\$250,000
2. Tourism/visitor purchases 22,500 x \$25.00 (estimate)	\$550,000
3. Transient visitors (estimated)	\$ 50,000
Total export of handicrafts from Micronesia ..	

Bringing the above-mentioned figures up to date by calculating a 10% growth rate of handicrafts prices the total income *in 1979* should be approaching *\$1,000,000 per annum*. It is significant that handicrafts production is almost *100% added value* to Micronesia. (*Added value* means the gross cash income remaining in the country after all the import bills are paid out). The adjusted export statistics for 1977 appear more realistic, when compared to actual handicrafts sales, shown in the following selected table:

1977 (Vol. 1, Page 20, Table 24)

Number of Tourist visitors: 22,500 for 1977 (average 3-6 days \$30.00 per diem)

COPRA EXPORT: 4,500,000: added value (44%) or \$2,000,000

TUNA EXPORT : 3,500,000: added value (24%) or 850,000

TOURISM : 2,000,000: added value (30%) or 600,000

(invisible export)

***HANDICRAFTS: 250,000: added value (99%) or 250,000**

****HANDICRAFTS: .600,000: added value (99%) or 600,000**

(invisible export)

* Registered export through customs declarations

** Based on all other non-registered purchases including export to Guam/Saipan, expatriate purchases, merchant ship transients etc., at an average of \$25.00 per unit.

The above statistics and guestimates were provided by the Office of Planning & Statistics, TTPI, Saipan.

Therefore, it can be seen from the above, that handicrafts actually play a much more significant role in the economic welfare of Micronesia than at first perceived. Indeed, with further development inputs in design, production, and marketing, the sales turnover of \$1,000,000 U.S. for 1979 could increase several times that amount during the next decade.

Not only do handicrafts distribute income over a wide segment of the lowest socio-economic group, but also, it is a vital complement to the tourism, agriculture and cultural facilities (e.g. museums). Without indigenous handicrafts as part of the culture Micronesia would remain just another sun, ocean and hotel location, as many other resorts in the world are. Therefore, handicraft promotion linked to tourism provides Micronesia with an essential, cultural image to attract tourists. There is a steadily increasing demand from tourists for locally made artifacts, both as souvenirs and as fashion or home furnishing items.

The Value of Handicrafts

Furthermore, the additional \$25-\$50 a tourist would spend on handicrafts is almost 100% added value with "ZERO COST" in local materials for the producing country. When handicraft value is weighed against added value of hotels and imported food & beverages, the relative importance of crafts becomes evident. It is conservatively estimated that for every \$10.00 unit spent to support a tourist, at least \$7.00 in imports must be paid out, leaving \$3.00 added value to Micronesia.

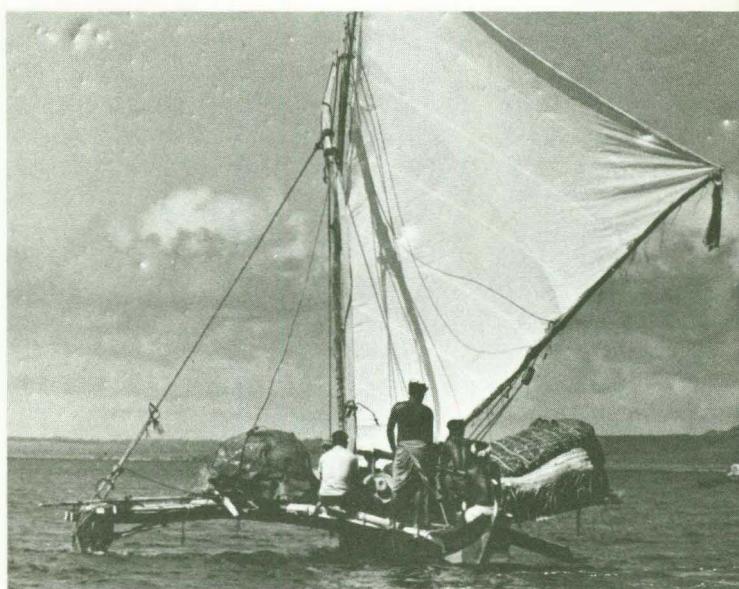
Outrigger canoe used by the people of the outer islands of Yap requires special craftsmanship to construct. It sails gracefully across many miles of open seas.

Financing Handicraft Development

Working capital for local wholesale/shop purchase of handicrafts from the producers has always been insufficient. Most handicraft cooperatives and/or societies start with a low cash allocation of \$2,000-\$10,000. The mark-up by the vendor craft society is from 1/2%-20% which rarely covers overhead expenses. The "reimbursable craft-fund" is quickly obligated for stock on hand purchases. Consequently, a local crafts purchasing society must rely on "consignment" of goods by the producers. Furthermore, when handicrafts are sold on consignment, the quality and salability is reduced. Accumulation of capital is difficult if not impossible under these circumstances. From TTPI records in Saipan, there is a long history dating from the early 1950's of financial failures of cooperatives and handicraft agencies. When the grants cease, the purchasing agency collapses.

Because of this situation, importers often purchase directly from the craftsmen. However, this has some disadvantages:

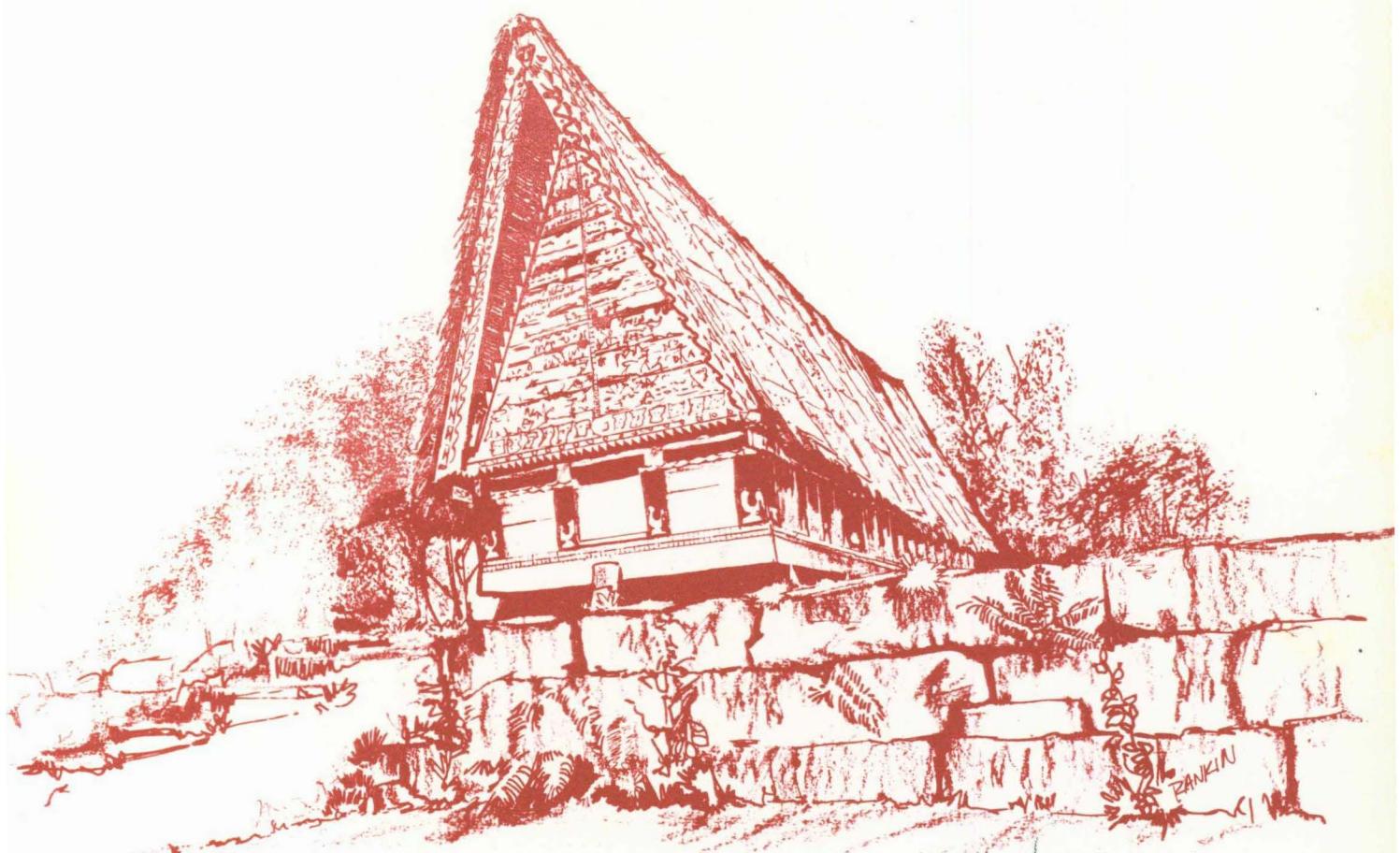
There are few handicraft products on hand (in stock) at any one time. Some export orders are delayed or lost because producers are out of stock. Only in the Marshalls (Majuro) is there a well-managed warehouse stock of handicrafts for handling export orders, and allowing purchases on a steady basis from producers. It is not surprising that the Marshalls may have the largest per capita sales of handicrafts in Micronesia. With additional capital the purchases/sales could increase several times more the current estimated \$300,000 per annum sales.



Recommended Improvements to the Handicraft Industry

In addition to increasing financial inputs for craft purchases, it is essential to provide concomitant assistance in management training, product development, improving selection and quality control, export promotion, and improving the collection system for crafts from the outer islands.

Bai, a Palauan traditional meeting house, required many skills and delicate craftsmanship to construct.



Impressions of Fiji and American Samoa: A Perspective of Micronesian Educators

by Toyoko Ruluked & Sandy Adachi

RULUKED: Fiji! I wasn't expecting it. I thought it would be pretty much like us, like Palau and Micronesia. But it was completely out of my scope. I mean, I visited Washington, D.C., last year and it checked with what I expected. But Fiji was a big surprise. It's much larger than I thought and the population is huge—somebody told us half a million people. And the level of economic development is much more advanced than what I thought.

I guess I'm more familiar with the U.S., you know, Guam and Hawaii and the mainland. I don't know much about the South Pacific—the places that were under different administrations.

ADACHI: The international airport is at Nadi, so when we flew to Suva, the capital of Fiji, we didn't have to go through customs. It was a half hour flight across the big island of Viti Levu. Just that one island has over 4000 square miles. It reminded me of the big island of Hawaii, a lot of dark red earth and dark green cover.

There are lots of small shops and stores and banks in Suva, like downtown Honolulu, but no big shopping centers like Ala Moana. The tallest building is about five stories but most were about two stories high. And the roads are pretty nice. They drive on the left side of the road, you know, and the steering wheel is on the right side of the cars. It takes a little getting used to. Suva has lots of cars but not too many outside the city. The biggest road is a four-lane highway.

RULUKED: The people were very friendly. You know there are the Fijians, but half the population are Indians and there are Europeans and Chinese, too. The Indians own most of the small shops. Their salesmen are very business-like and aggressive. Most of the Indians were brought to Fiji in the 19th century for work in the sugarcane fields. The Fijians are more like Micronesians—easy going and very open. They treat you like you're a special friend, you know, invite you into their homes without even knowing you. Things like that. Very hospitable.

Their clothing looked so different from ours. Different for us, I mean. The Fijian men and women wear skirts, like a lava-lava. It's called a *sulu*. Even the policemen wear them. In Suva the Indian women wear the *saree*, the wrap-around gown, you know. And the men wrap their head in that cloth—a turban? The Indian ladies seemed so careful about their manners, so reserved in public. But the Fijians were more carefree and outgoing.

ADACHI: The vegetation in Suva, the plants, reminded me of Hawaii. Outside the city, the land looked more like Babedaob. There seemed to be a lot of locally grown food. I guess they can grow everything there. There's so much land. At the City Market in Suva, they sell all kinds of seafood—sea urchins, sea cucumbers, clams and fish—the same kind as Palau. And the fruit and vegetables are the same as we have: tapioca, taro, sweet potatoes, breadfruit, papaya and pineapples.

They raise their own beef and pork, too. And dairy products. They don't have to import much of their food.

RULUKED: We were mostly interested in their education system and their English language programs. Their schooling is modeled on the British system. Fiji was a colony of England, so they adopted the British system, but there are a lot of differences, too. There are six elementary classes—or standards—and after that the students graduate to Forms 1-4. The forms are like junior and senior high school. None of the schools use the nine months of study, three months vacation schedule. Their school year begins in January. The kids go to school for seven weeks, approximately, and then there's a week or two break and then the next session begins. They go to school all year, but have a long 'holiday' during December, for Christmas and New Year's.

ADACHI: The biggest differences to me were the number of students and the discipline in the schools. Also the two different communities. Some government schools are for the Fijians and some are for the Indians, and some of the schools are mixed. Then there are the private schools — called 'committee' schools. They're run by the missions and community groups like the Europeans, Chinese and Indians.

RULUKED: We didn't see a class smaller than 30 or 40 students. One elementary school had 900 students — in just six grades. I was a little shocked by the student-teacher ratio. It's so high. In the classes I visited the teachers handled the large classes very strictly. One second grade teacher we observed had 50 students and no teacher aide. There was no question that she was the authority there and she was young, younger than I am. I guess you really have to be strict to handle a class that big.

ADACHI: The students all wear school uniforms. They all raise their hands to be called on, but nobody yells out. The classes are really quiet. The kids stand while they answer questions and sit down as soon as they finish. They follow instructions exactly as the teacher gives them. There's no fooling around. The students' work is very neat, too. They are taught to write with a pen and they use little inexpensive writing pads. I've never seen such a disciplined class before.

I asked the teacher if most schools were strict like that. She said they are because there are so many children who want to go to school and so much competition to enter the Forms and the university that only the best can make it. Grades are very important. There's

pressure to excel. And the teachers and principals are closely supervised and evaluated, too. Teaching jobs are hard to get so the teachers don't want to lose their positions. And their salary level is low compared to Micronesian pay scales.

Another thing that surprised me were the separate schools for the Fijian and Indian students. It's not like it's planned segregation in the school system, you know. The government schools don't try to keep the Fijian and Indian students separate. The schools are segregated because the Fijian and Indian people don't live together. They have separate communities, the Indians are mostly in the cities and suburban areas and the Fijians mostly in the rural areas. So the schools serve different communities.

RULUKED: They told us that everyone can get an education in Fiji, from the primary grades to the University. The University of the South Pacific is just outside Suva. But after class six, education isn't free in Fiji. I'm not positive about this, but I think the students pay a fee to go to Forms one through four. The fee differs with each school. And, of course, the university has fees and costs.

ADACHI: The teachers told me the biggest problem they have in education is money — a lack of money for school buildings and for new teachers for the thousands of students entering the system every year. The school buildings we visited were very old, but very clean. The equipment was old, too, but they take care of it and get a lot of use out of the old stuff. The desks were the old style that we used when I was a child—you know, the wide, wooden type with three students sitting together at one desk. I hadn't seen those desks in years.

RULUKED: The teachers didn't have much A-V equipment. I didn't see any projectors or tape recorders in the classes we visited. And the teachers made most of their own charts and display boards and things. One teacher told us the buildings aren't renovated and they can't buy new equipment because the government has only enough money to meet teachers' salaries.

ADACHI: The English curriculum in their elementary schools is the same as ours, exactly, and that's one of the reasons we wanted to study it and compare. The Tate Oral Syllabus and the South Pacific Commission Reading Series were developed in Fiji at the University of the South Pacific. We've been using it in Palau since the 1960's. We also have a lot of supplementary materials like Distar and the Hawaii English Program,

but our basic elementary English curriculum is the Tate/South Pacific Commission series and we wanted to see how they implement and use it.

RULUKED: The English teachers we observed were really well trained in the curriculum. One English lesson we saw — it was a second grade lesson — was a good example of the Tate syllabus. First she gave the oral lesson. There wasn't a lot of repetitive drill. She demonstrated the pattern—I think it was a verb tense pattern—only a few times and the students were able to reproduce it. She used a lot of sight cues and board words to make the students use the pattern. She drew the pattern from them and they had to use it in different ways. Obviously the teacher was thoroughly trained in oral-aural techniques. The training center for the Tate Syllabus is right there at the University, of course.

After that she divided the class into three groups-ability grouping. Using board instructions she had the groups do reading and writing lessons that were based on the same vocabulary and structures introduced in the oral lesson. She worked with the slowest group mainly. It was a complete and coordinated second language lesson. And a good model of techniques. The English class was a two hour block and then the kids went to their vernacular classes in Fijian or Indian-Hindi, I think it's called.

Tate is a good system and it's relevant and useful for Micronesia, but teachers really need to understand how to use the syllabus. It takes a lot of training, but it pays off in the end.

ADACHI: We really enjoyed meeting the teachers there and talking about education and comparing our needs and goals and systems. They didn't know much about Micronesia or where Palau is and we didn't know too much about Fiji at first. But they were just as curious about us as we were about them. I think we all learned a lot.

RULUKED: American Samoa looked more like what I expected. The two main islands are a little smaller than Palau. Maybe about as big as Saipan and Tinian. The population is about 30,000 and most of them live around Pago Pago.

ADACHI: Pago Pago's a little smaller than Agana but it's fairly developed, lots of small shops, good roads, docks and piers. A two-lane highway goes halfway around the island. There's a Van Camp tuna cannery in Pago Pago. Even if you miss seeing it, you can still smell it! I saw a lot of imported food, much more than

in Fiji. They have betel nut trees there but nobody chews. They drink *kava*. The people were really nice to us. They're really big people, the Samoans, a lot bigger than Micronesians. We only saw a few Americans there.

RULUKED: The education facilities in American Samoa are very different from Fiji. The school buildings are new and there was a lot of equipment to support the teachers. The buildings are built in the Samoan style, you know, oval-like, and there are two classrooms to a building at the schools we visited. And the schools had cement walls and wood shingle roofs and the Hawaii English Program classrooms we visited—we wanted to compare their use with ours—had wall-to-wall carpets.

ADACHI: Their teachers didn't have the same problems as the ones in Fiji. The student-teacher ratio is small, the classroom is more relaxed and the control is a little looser. Not so strict discipline. When their equipment breaks down, they can get more so they didn't seem to worry about that. They use TV a lot, too, for English and other subjects.

RULUKED: We're using the same HEP materials as Samoa and the three of us—Saipan, Samoa and Palau—are coordinating with the CLASP program on the revision of some of the HEP materials—to make them a bit more relevant and inexpensive for our use.

ADACHI: The thing that impressed me about the educational system in Fiji was that it was large and yet worked smoothly. The number of students per teacher, an average of 30 to 40 but sometimes 50, yet teachers manage in the classroom smoothly, no complaints and no problems. This is true with the students, also. Most of the time, there are three ability group levels in one classroom. Even with the large numbers, the teachers still seem to have enough time for all the students. For this reason one would wish that all schools could be like the schools in Fiji. It would be really great!

RULUKED: My impression about Fiji's education system is that it's geared toward creating self-sufficient Fijians, aware of their identity and proud of being Fijian in spite of the foreign influences and all. As to American Samoa, I remember one of the education staff members there mentioning that their education system is being accused of educating Samoans for export, to move out of their home island. In addition to that I read an article in one of their papers reporting that statistically there are more Samoans in the U.S. than there are in American Samoa. Whether that's true or not, the fact remains that there are quite a few Samoans in Hawaii and California.

MICROCHILD

In the emerging island nations
Where multi-national footprints
Have crisscrossed the souls
Of the indigenes and the children
In addition to their cultural heritages.
Drowning in a sea of exploitation;
The fruits of the future
Become transplanted in its native soils
As if through the artificial insemination.
The native cultures have been marred
With importations and assimilation
Of foreign enigmas.
Within this dissonant milieu
Microchildren are nurtured
With greater hope for tomorrow.
Alas! the abundance of the land and sea
Becomes second to imported luxury
And inferiority complex walk in
And effeminate the future heroes
And further mutilates the sacred ground
Of cultural and traditional destiny
Where our forefathers consecrated
And affixed and confirmed as a guiding star
To the Micronations.
But the tide of time has been altered
And the children of the island nations
With matured guidance of their elders
And the world around them
Will be able to reach maturity
And will be soundly proud of being islanders
And members of mankind
With even greater hope
Of achieving peace and harmony
For the sake of brotherhood
Of man and his environment.
Old folks only see visions
Of the world that would've been
Youth dreams dreams of things to come.
Because a child is a father of a man.

This Island

I know this island
I watch her raped by wind
Her fruit spread to rot
Washed by the sea's water

She will regain her past
Slightly altered
To produce again
Become herself again

I know this island.
I watch her raped by man
Her mountains altered

Man will not allow her past
But will deflower
Till she is a worn whore
Her self lost and unwanted

Kit Porter

To a diver, traveler and singer

We've seen the world
of yellow and blue stripe fish
reaching coral and closing clams
tracks softly etched in the sand
silence enclosing
And we know each other

We've shared the world
of places unexplored
feelings unexplained
friends found and lost
love persisting

We've felt the world
of thoughts finding words
of words finding thoughts
of songs speaking
when speech cannot
And we know no-one

Val N. Sengebau

Kit Porter

Strength

The wind circles my house
pushing the trees
till they clatter on the roof

It makes the house seem stronger
and I become aware
of the protection it offers

Logically I know
the house is the same
with or without the wind

But with the wind
I feel the strength

Kit Porter

Shared

We shared the wind
As we stood not touching
It circled and joined us
Combining each separate space to one

We shared the waves
salt eyes stinging
bodies buoyant
gliding smoothly

The rain drummed patterns to our ears
And outlined our bodies
beneath clinging cotton shirts

Our moon shadows joined
on midnight walks

Kit Porter



Contrast in mode of transportation. Outboard motorboats have become popular throughout Micronesia, but outrigger canoes are still around. In the picture, a future Micronesian leader is enjoying paddling his canoe, and at the background an older Micronesian has just brought a visitor in his outboard motorboat.