

**THE IMPACT OF THE COMPACT MIGRATION  
FOR THE FEDERATED STATES OF MICRONESIA  
AND THE REPUBLIC OF THE MARSHALL ISLANDS**

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# **The IMPACT of the COMPACT MIGRATION for the FEDERATED STATES OF MICRONESIA and the REPUBLIC OF THE MARSHALL ISLANDS**

## **A Summary of Interviews with Key Representatives from the Compact Freely Associated States**

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*ABSTRACT. Little research has been conducted to assess the impact of the Compacts of Free Association between the United States and the Federated States of Micronesia(FSM) and the Republic of the Marshall Islands(RMI), particularly from the point of view of various Micronesian leaders during this early stage of Compact implementation. This study focuses specifically on what effect if any the agreement regarding immigration has had on local and regional life, problem solving, and planning. A sample of 43 Micronesian leaders were interviewed. The results indicate that overall, Micronesian leaders saw both positive and negative effects of the migration generated by the Compact. While the free immigration policy has created new income earning opportunities for individuals who were struggling in their local economies, it has also left visible voids in once vital communities, and contributed to the dwindling numbers of individuals from Micronesia completing college and post-graduate training. Follow-up suggestions include: strengthening local data collecting strategies, organizing orientation for those individuals choosing to migrate, and carrying out future studies to better understand what is occurring in the FSM and the RMI as a result of the many aspects of the Compact.*

It is not uncommon for planners and policy makers to find themselves deep within the implementation stage of a plan confronted with additional sets of unanticipated circumstances. Sovereign nationhood in Micronesia as a political status is a relatively new phenomenon. Control of one's destiny is complex particularly when countries are newly formed, culturally and linguistically diverse, small, regionally interdependent, and have collectively shared a long history of outside domination and administration. A seemingly simple change in policy can often have far reaching consequences that are difficult to assess, monitor and control, especially when resources are limited.

In 1986, at the prescribed time for the dissolution of the U.S. Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, the Federated States of Micronesia (FSM) and the Republic of the Marshall Islands (RMI) entered into Compacts of Free Association with the United States. Contained in their respective compacts were specific provisions which allowed for the unrestricted movement of FSM and RMI citizens between their countries and the United States and all U.S. territories. As a result, citizens

from the FSM and RMI began migrating in increasing and sometimes significant numbers to various U.S. destinations, especially to Guam, Hawaii, and the Commonwealth of the Northern Marianas (Rubinstein & Levin, 1993). Prior to the finalization of the Compacts, a number of local leaders attempted to assess what impact a free immigration policy might have in Micronesia (Dobich et al, 1992). Various leaders raised issues and concerns, but when the Compacts were adopted, it appears that the leaders most involved in the negotiations felt that the benefits of such a policy far outweighed the potentially negative impacts that had been raised or projected at the time of the signings. The policy change of allowing free immigration of FSM citizens and RMI citizens to the U.S. and U.S. territories is one of the terms of the compacts that was viewed by many as an important safety valve mechanism that would help out the local economies in the event that the local economic development faltered for a time (Levin, 1993).

However, no real consideration was made in terms of aid to help the new sovereign nations assess on an ongoing basis what real positive and negative effects the compact migration would have once the Compacts were in place. The treaties or compacts between the FSM, the RMI, and the United States address a multitude of issues, all of which within the implementation stage would benefit from documentation, study and reflection and at times re-negotiation and refinement. The effort to collect and evaluate data on an ongoing basis requires resources and comprehensive, coordinated approaches. Predictably different Micronesian leaders hold differing concerns and points of view regarding what actual impact the free immigration policy is having and will ultimately have on their culture, country and region (Smith & Coulter, 1992). Signs exist already in the Marshall Islands, Yap, Chuuk, Pohnpei and Kosrae that validate or discount the earlier concerns about what local changes and benefits would be brought about with this policy adoption. This study attempts to collect insights and data important to the Compact monitoring and implementation and planning process, and to help clarify what effect the migration created by the Compact is currently having in these communities as perceived by a cross-section of FSM and RMI leaders.

### **EFFORTS TO CONDUCT FIELD INTERVIEWS IN MICRONESIA TO ASSESS WHAT IMPACT THE COMPACT MIGRATION IS HAVING IN MICRONESIA**

Now more than six years into the treaty period, the pattern, prevalence, magnitude, as well as the different kinds of impact that the "compact migration" is having in Micronesia and the U.S. and its territories is under investigation by only a handful of researchers and planners (C.I.E.I.P., 1992)). To date the vast majority of resources and efforts to study the impact of the compact migration are being concentrated on studying the effects that are occurring at the places of emigrant destination, especially, Guam (Levin, 1993).

Much less is known and being investigated about the impact the compact migration is having on the places of emigrant origin. Migration may influence significantly many aspects of life for a particular population, including triggering numerous consequences for the local culture, economy, ecology, and region. Resources to carry out ongoing impact research regarding various aspects of the Compact period in the FSM and the RMI was not included as part of the two agreements the respective Micronesian countries made with the U.S. Importantly, documentation and efforts to assess a particular impact over time needs to be an ongoing endeavor. Without accurate data and without opportunities to reflect on how things are progressing, local leaders, planners and policy makers are bound on a course where they are left merely to react to unplanned for and potentially harmful consequences that perhaps could still be averted, prevented, or at the least, tempered. The purpose of this present investigation is to document some of the current understanding and perceptions held by various Micronesian leaders about how the compact migration is effecting each of the four states within the FSM and the various communities of the Republic of the Marshall Islands.

The two Compact Freely Associated States (CFASs) are relatively young nations and the exact status of the coordinated efforts to both collect and synthesize information regarding the impact of the Compact migration on the communities of these two nations during their implementation was unclear. Evidence of mounting attention, concern, and dialogue about the effects of the Compact migration did exist and attempts to document this lay in various summit reports, hearing records, and in editorials raising various concerns printed in the popular press and journals of the region. But prior to this investigation, an effort to examine specifically the impact of the Compact migration from the view point of a cross-section of Marshallese, Kosraean, Pohnpeian, Yapese, and Chuukese leaders utilizing field interviews during this stage of the Compact implementation had not been undertaken.

## METHOD

### *Sample*

The study sample consists of 43 Micronesian leaders (8 Yapese, 10 Chuukese, 6 Pohnpeian, 10 Kosraeans, 10 Marshallese). Approximately 91% of the sample was male, with the remaining 9% female. The leaders interviewed included: 1 Governor, 2 Lt. Governors, 1 Assistant to the Governor, 4 Directors of Planning, 3 statisticians, 1 planning consultant, 1 Director of Public Affairs, 1 Secretary of Health, 1 Director of Health, 1 Deputy Director of Health, 1 Assistant Director of Health, 1 Administrative Officer for Health, 1 Secretary of Education, 1 Director of Education, 5 Deputies or Chiefs of Education, 2 community college administrators, 1 curriculum writer for Education, 1 student scholarship coordinator, 1 Undersecretary of Labor, 1 Chief of Labor, 1 Budget Director, 2 Labor and Manpower officers, 1 Deputy for Research and Development, 1 Chief Justice, 1

women's association president, 1 community museum director, and 5 immigration officials. All but two (2) of the leaders interviewed were long term residents of their entities (more than 10 years).

Participants and representatives for each entity were identified and selected in the same manner. Regional orientation to the broader Needs Assessment Study, which is one part of the Compact Impact Education and Information Program (C.I.E.I.P.) funded by a Federal Technical Assistance Grant, G-61, from the Department of Interior, Office of Territorial and International Affairs administered by the Guam Bureau of Planning, was achieved at the Governor's Summit on Guam in 1992. Contact with the respective governments about this specific portion of the Needs Assessment Study, the compact migration impact study, was initiated by mail to each of the respective governments. The chief administrative officers for the respective entities, (Presidents and Governors), were invited to participate and also to designate or recommend 8-10 local leaders whose perceptions, insights, and concerns would be important to gather and document. Given the nature of the study, in most instances, the respective Planning Offices and Directors were designated as the primary points of contact and coordination for all data gathering. The sample size was directly effected by various government activities and agency schedules, the high cost of travel within the region, and the moderate fiscal resources identified for this field study.

### *Instrument*

Each key informant was interviewed utilizing the same set of questions. A majority of the questions for the structured interviews were open-ended and asked informants to share their knowledge concerning the pattern and prevalence of compact migration, and their perceptions of how and in what areas the impact of the compact migration was being felt locally. A few of the questions required forced-choice answers on the part of respondents and for the most part pertained to the frequency with which they thought their citizens immigrating to Guam experienced a particular situation. Lastly, each informant was asked to identify problems and make recommendations that they felt were pertinent to the impact of the compact migration.

### *Procedure*

In 1993, well into the sixth year of the compact agreements, in cooperation and coordination with the various involved governmental agencies and representatives, a group of field interviews involving a cross-section of selected Micronesian leaders from the FSM and the RMI were conducted. Interviewees were asked to share their understanding and impressions about the compact migration and to identify those negative or positive impacts they were observing. Additionally, participants responded to questions regarding what recommendations and changes they would like to see initiated in an effort to minimize the problems and negative by-products associated with the compact migration.

Interviews were conducted over a two month period by two outside investigators who have work experience and a basic familiarity with the major communities of the two involved countries. Each interview which was generally held at the work site of each key informant took approximately 50 minutes to complete, and was conducted in English. To begin the interview, each informant was given a brief overview and background to the study and encouraged to ask questions. A copy of the structured interview questions was then handed to the respondent to review. Whenever logistically possible, the interview questions were made available to the interviewee for review prior to the date of the scheduled interview. Pre-review of the instrument was accomplished in approximately a little less than one-half of all the interviews conducted. When the key informant signaled the investigators that they were comfortable with the questions and the format, the investigators would then begin the interview process. In more than half the interviews two investigators were used. One investigator would assume the primary role of interviewer, and the other one would assume the primary responsibility for documenting the responses of the key informants. Prior to conducting the interviews, the two investigators devised a response sheet on which to uniformly record the replies. In those instances where only one investigator was available to conduct an interview, an audio-tape recording of the interview was taken whenever feasible.

## RESULTS

### KOSRAE

#### Regarding the Pattern & Prevalence of Compact Migration

The Kosraean informants presented a range of perceptions when responding to the question regarding their understanding about the pattern of Kosraean migration. (In each of the following three areas of Compact Migration Impact, the responses of Kosraean informants have been paraphrased. There are a number of instances where there are similarities among the responses of Kosraean informants and informants for other states and the RMI.)

- |          |  |
|----------|--|
| K01, K02 | <i>Mostly young who haven't finished school.</i>   |
| K02      | <i>Individuals usually go because they know someone who has already gone there.</i>  |
| K03      | <i>It's a real cross-section of people that are leaving.</i>   |
| K04      | <i>It used to be mainly students and now it is really workers who don't have jobs. There is kind of a cycle where many come back after a time and then some of them end up leaving Kosrae again.</i> |
| K06, K09 | <i>It used to be mostly only male, but now quite a number of parents are allowing their daughters to leave, also.</i>  |
| K08      | <i>Mostly male, high school graduates are leaving.</i>   |
| K09, K03 | <i>I feel that is now almost anyone who can't find a job here and can afford the airfare. Now, I think all age groups are going.</i>   |
| K05      | <i>Many are young and are real curious about the world out there. They are seeking new things and new kinds of enjoyment.</i>  |

- K07 *Maybe less than 20-30 Kosraeans have left for an extended period of time.*  
K10 *I'm not really sure.*  
K08 *Guam is popular because of the opportunities for work, the airfare is more affordable, and it is also fairly close by.*  
K04 *For Kosraeans, Guam and Hawaii are popular destinations.*  
K06, K09 *I noticed that a number of our MOC graduates kind of use Guam as a stepping stone. When they have no assurances of jobs back here at home, they often go to Guam and find a job with the hope of going on to the mainland to continue their studies.*  
K03 *I think a few leave to escape family obligations.*  
K07 *Now more and more seem to be wanting to go to Hawaii, Guam, the Marshalls, and Nauru.*  
K09 *It's across age groups and I see that there is a pattern where the male leaves first, finds a job and then his family follows. It is mainly to Hawaii and Guam, seldom to Nauru and the Marshalls.*

There were shared perceptions among Kosraean informants about the following:

- ALL *The Kosraeans who have left represent a cross-section of municipalities.*  
ALL *The vast majority of the Kosraeans who are leaving are leaving with all full intentions of returning to Kosrae one day.*  
97% *Most leave to seek job opportunities that don't exist locally.*  
87% *Many state that they are leaving for educational opportunities.*  
20% *There are a few who are just visiting and are more like tourists.*

Actual documented figures of the numbers of Kosraeans leaving was not raised by any of the informants. But in general, those interviewed did not seem to feel that an alarming number of Kosraeans were migrating. Two respondents indicated that while they did not have a handle on the actual numbers who were migrating, they assumed that the local Immigration Office would have accurate figures.

### **Areas Perceived to be Effected in Kosrae**

#### **FAMILY & COMMUNITY LIFE**

- *Not all that much change can be detected.*
- *We are family for each other so even if a few are far away, we all feel a real loss.*
- *There is a weakening of our traditional ways.*
- *Individuals who do come back are often more independent than when they left and they do experience an adjustment struggle.*
- *Our family life, closeness, and unity continue. It's just that now our families are a bit more extended. But wherever we go, I'm so proud that we continue to care for and look out after each other.*
- *Certain families reflect a significant loss of young, able-bodied workers.*
- *Work that was traditionally carried out by certain segments of the population, are being taken over in some cases by individuals whose role was not to traditionally do it.*

#### **CULTURE, LANGUAGE, CUSTOMS & PRACTICES**

- *One can see among the young people the adopting of very western customs of dress, hair cuts, and make-up.*
- *I fear that those Kosraeans who are away will lose some of the fluency with our language.*

- *Some who leave are finding that they are learning to appreciate our culture more now.*
- *In some ways this migration has been bad in that we can see a shift in values and value systems. Now white collar jobs are looked up at and agricultural jobs are looked down upon.*
- *This cash economy is not all good for our people.*

#### HEALTH SERVICES

- *One thing that we didn't anticipate is the cost of shipping home Kosraeans who have died while away. It can become very expensive for all concerned.*

#### EDUCATIONAL SERVICES

- *Now our drop-out rates are much higher than before.*
- *Some of our teachers have left for higher paying jobs.*
- *Some of our teachers have left teaching to join the military or to teach in other places.*
- *Before, with the I-90 requirements and Pell grant support, there were definitely many more students completing their studies.*
- *Some of our graduates from teacher training programs are washing dishes somewhere making more money than if they would come home, teach, and serve the community as teachers.*

#### LOCAL ECONOMY & DEVELOPMENT

- *Fewer citizens are getting higher education and training now.*
- *I wish that we had a well developed economic plan so that we could attract Kosraeans back here, now.*
- *The migration does help relieve our state's employment problems.*
- *I wish that there were some way to attract people back to continue our local system of farming and agriculture.*
- *Some Kosraeans have left for jobs in other places and crazily enough, we end up turning around and to import outside Pilipino workers to work here in Kosrae.*
- *I think that it is good that Kosraeans learn about the hotel and restaurant business in places like Guam and are able to bring those skills and experiences back home to build local businesses.*
- *I feel as if we don't do something about what is happening with our workers abroad, that in a few years, our people will only know how to work as waiters and house maids.*

#### LOCAL SOCIO-POLITICAL STRUCTURE

- *Some who have returned who have been exposed to more western ways have problems with our traditional system of authority.*
- *I worry for the future. So many of our college students are leaving their studies to wash dishes. Although I don't feel that you necessarily have to have a college education to be a good leader, I do think that it helps if our future leaders are well trained to know about a lot of different things.*
- *Some of the young capable people who have left would have had to wait a very long time to assume a leadership position here in Kosrae. But in their new place, there are certain barriers that are no longer there for them.*
- *Adequate preparation for the future entails more than having a job or money. Kosrae needs many other things that I'm not sure we'll get out of the current migration/immigration conditions.*

## LEGAL SYSTEM

- *One unanticipated thing that the migration has done is made it much much more difficult and complex for us to collect child support monies. Quite a number of individuals are eluding the authorities and their obligations right now.*

## OTHERS:

- *(None identified at time of interviews.)*

## Identified Areas of Concern by Kosraean Informants

### AREA 1.0 LOCAL ECONOMIC SITUATION & DEVELOPMENT

- Issue 1.1 Job opportunities for some in Kosrae are very limited. Most Kosraeans love Kosrae and wouldn't leave if they could adequately provide for their families here at home.
- Issue 1.2 The value and status associated with different kinds of traditional work in Kosrae, i.e., agriculture and fishing is being displaced by more western attitudes about white collar jobs.
- Issue 1.3 Increasingly fewer young people who travel outside of Kosrae are being trained to assume only unskilled and semi-skilled jobs and almost never outside of the construction, hospitality, and retail industries.
- Issue 1.4 Kosraeans pursuing college and post-graduate education and degrees has drastically declined since the implementation of the Compact.
- Issue 1.5 Minimum wage in Kosrae is \$1.59 which is very low in comparison to the minimum wage in Guam, the CNMI, and the mainland U.S.
- Issue 1.6 Kosraeans are not being trained for the future needs of Kosrae. There will be very few qualified Kosraeans to take over the existing jobs that will be vacated in the not so distant future by the people who are currently in those positions.

### AREA 2.0 LOCAL CONTROL OF NEGATIVE IMPACTS OF MIGRATION

- Issue 2.1 The data regarding the actual numbers of Kosraeans who are leaving, their place of destination, their purpose for leaving, and their projected length of time away is currently not collected in any systematic or uniform way.
- Issue 2.2 While many Kosraeans are in need of information and orientation which would make their adjustment and transition to the conditions, practices and culture of their place of migration progress more smoothly, there currently is no local organized effort to address this need. A few families and individuals take it upon themselves to provide others with important orientation.
- Issue 2.3 Efforts to regulate or screen Kosraeans who are thinking about migrating is currently perceived as a somewhat negative strategy because a majority of the people feel that individual choice and freedoms should be left alone. A movement for State or National control of immigration are not presently well understood or supported.
- Issue 2.4 The FSM is our nation but, we are also a discreet entity. Sometime when the problem solving is addressed at the national level, the specific needs and concerns of Kosrae State are watered down or do not get addressed.

AREA 3.0 REGIONAL RELATIONSHIPS AND REGIONAL CONTROL OF NEGATIVE IMPACTS OF MIGRATION

- Issue 3.1 The efforts of the Government of Guam to develop the Micronesian Meeting Place is a very good idea. The more that feelings of isolation for those migrating to Guam can be addressed, the better it will be.
- Issue 3.2 Guam is viewed by many Kosraeans as a land of opportunity.
- Issue 3.3 Traditionally, many Kosraeans have been hosted by families in Guam while they were students there. Our association with local people of Guam has been for the most part a good and close one. Unfortunately, the press, local economic pressures, and overcrowded conditions in Guam are allowing negative feelings and impressions of fellow Micronesians from the FSM and the RMI to surface and exist. We are all Micronesians and believe in regional cooperation and collaboration. We are sorry for the negative impressions that people in Guam and the CNMI might have towards the influx of our people, but we at home mainly experience the loss of our loved ones. We wish they could all find good wage earning, employment, and training opportunities at home. But while they are away, we believe that they do and can make more of a contribution to their new surroundings than they are currently being allowed to do. When we work together to uncover the facts and dispel myths and stereotypes about people who are different from ourselves, this will create for us all much needed new opportunities to unite and develop the region in improved ways.
- Issue 3.4 Some of what is being experienced by the actions of a very small minority of Kosraeans and FSM citizens on Guam is being blown out of proportion. It is true that some individuals are experiencing many different things and are appearing to act irresponsibly, but for the most part, what they are really going through is an exaggerated period of adjustment. At home in Kosrae, we have our Sunday observances, liquor is not so available throughout the week. After work, the family is involved in family activities. But individuals who are away on Guam are missing a lot of the social network, support, and community involvement.
- Issue 3.5 Some Kosraeans struggle outside of Kosrae with prejudice and discrimination. Some are also sometimes cheated when they are unfamiliar with their rights in terms of housing, education, employment benefits, etc.
- Issue 3.6 Our own Liaison Office in Guam needs to be re-directed and possibly re-staffed. At present, except for certain national dignitaries, it does very little to assist Kosraeans who are in need of assistance in Guam. Even though some feel that this is not the role of that office, it seems that it would better serve Kosrae if it were re-organized to do so.
- Issue 3.7 The regional collaborative problem solving that is taking place in the area of public safety, law enforcement, and corrections is a definite step in the right direction.
- Issue 3.8 Kosraeans who work do contribute to the work force, the local economy, and the tax base of the places where they migrate to, but usually these facts don't find their way into newspaper articles, reports, or public discussions. Too many negative things are highlighted.

AREA 4.0 FEEDBACK REGARDING THE PRE-COMPACT IMPLEMENTATION PROJECTIONS

- Issue 4.1 The numbers of Kosraeans abroad who are able to send home significant amounts of money, or remittances, are few and are dwindling.
- Issue 4.2 The anticipated "brain drain" is at the present time only occurring in a handful of cases.

AREA 5.0 LOCAL CONCERN REGARDING THE COMPACT NEGOTIATIONS

- Issue 5.1 The negotiations were rushed and the consequences of the various terms not well understood by a majority of our citizens.

POHNPEI

**Regarding the Pattern & Prevalence of Compact Migration**

The number of Pohnpeian informants was less than the numbers in other places because many of the government leaders scheduled to be interviewed were either engaged in legislative hearings, fiscal planning meetings, workshop training, or were off-island. Nevertheless, the perceptions of Pohnpeian informants varied when responding to the question regarding their understanding about the pattern of Pohnpeian migration. (In each of the following three areas of Compact Migration Impact, the responses of Pohnpeian informants have been paraphrased. There are a number of instances where there are similarities among the responses of Pohnpeian informants and informants for other states and the RMI.)

- P01 *A cross-section of people are leaving to seek employment. Most of them are unskilled. Most go by themselves at first, then when they find security they bring their families over. Those who get scholarships go for education, but if they find a job that pays more than what they would get in Pohnpei, they will quit school.*
- P02 *Both men and women are going. Most find jobs in construction, dish washing, yard work, or other low paying jobs. Few go from Kolonia. Most go from the outer islands. Altogether, insignificant numbers are leaving.*
- P03, P05 *Mostly lesser skilled people are going. If one member is already there, it becomes easier for the family to move. Some say they go to Guam to live because of their kids. They want them to receive a good education.*
- P04 *I think most people are leaving to find employment, especially the young. Both skilled and unskilled are leaving. There have been two waves of skilled people leaving: The heavy equipment operators were offered higher pay on Guam so they were the first to leave. Then the carpenters, masons, and other construction workers left for Guam too. We don't have statistics of the numbers of people leaving, but I think that more males are leaving, about 5:1. Some are leaving for education, but after they go they quit to go to work. Most people leaving are from the villages, not from Kolonia. Many people are choosing to go to Guam because it is closer and the airfare is cheaper.*

P06 *Before it used to be more men than women, but now Pohnpeian women want to travel. So now it is both adult men and women. Most leave to find jobs. There are no definite figures, around thousands have left. Some are leaving from the outer islands after they've been in Kolonia for awhile. Before the compact there were more opportunities for education but there aren't as many now.*

There were shared perceptions among Pohnpeian informants about the following:

ALL *Few of the Pohnpeians who have left represent Kolonia. Most are from the villages and outer islands of Pohnpei.*  
ALL *Most leave to look for employment opportunities.*  
67% *Most of the Pohnpeians who have left are unskilled.*  
50% *More men than women have left.*

Actual documented figures of the numbers of Pohnpeians leaving were not offered by any of the informants. In general, those interviewed did not seem to feel that an alarming number of Pohnpeians were migrating. The shared perception among the informants was that the number of people from other places moving to Pohnpei was greater than the Pohnpeians leaving Pohnpei.

### **Areas Perceived to be Effected in Pohnpei**

#### **FAMILY & COMMUNITY LIFE**

- *I know the story of one family from my village. The father of the family left for Guam, found a house in Guam, then the whole family left. They left their land and house abandoned. No one takes care of the land here in Pohnpei, there's no breadfruit, no taro, and so on. Someday when they return, they will find nothing.*
- *I see that compact migration is destroying the family in some cases. Some people just leave the family, mostly the kids, here in Pohnpei while they go to Guam.*
- *The woman's role is slowly changing in Pohnpei, when husbands are not used to the wives working there is sometimes abuse. Sometimes there is also sexual harassment in the job.*
- *People who have been away have problems adjusting when they return.*

#### **CULTURE, LANGUAGE, CUSTOMS & PRACTICES**

- *New habits and dress come in waves. They happen then they die out.*
- *I'm concerned about our language. We have a new vocabulary, words that are borrowed from English and mixed with Pohnpeian. There are many foreign words. Our young people many times do not even know how to say something in Pohnpeian or use the correct Pohnpeian terms. There are many terms that only the old people know and they are dying without us learning from them.*
- *We see girls in short pants now when we didn't used to before.*
- *Our teenagers don't seem like Pohnpeian. Their mentality is different. They don't listen to their parents. They are influenced more by video and television.*

#### **HEALTH SERVICES**

- *There are more people to serve because there are a lot of people moving to Pohnpei. There are 17 medical staff to meet the needs of between 32,000 and 34,000 people living in Pohnpei.*
- *On several occasions when someone here from Chuuk has died, the Health Department has had to pay the costs to ship the body home.*

- *I don't know exact figures, but I do know that there is a drain on services.*

#### EDUCATIONAL SERVICES

- *The schools have not been effected much by migration.*
- *There are more students in the schools who are children of government workers from other states in the FSM.*
- *A few teachers left for Saipan two or three years ago, but nothing significant that effects education services.*
- *Teachers of quality are very hard to find here. Students who go away to college, quit school and stay there to work. They're not returning to Pohnpei as teachers.*
- *The school system is still the same: there's still a shortage of teachers, books, etc.*

#### LOCAL ECONOMY & DEVELOPMENT

- *There's a small number of college graduates who have come back.*
- *There are many workers from foreign countries working in Pohnpei because the local expertise is missing.*
- *Family members living on Guam are struggling economically and can't afford to send money home. Only very few send money.*
- *Family members in Pohnpei send food and sometimes money to relatives on Guam.*
- *There's a shortage of housing in Pohnpei because of all the outside workers living in Pohnpei.*
- *When graduates return to Pohnpei they see how little the jobs pay and they go to other places where they get paid more.*
- *I hope that people who go to other places and become skilled will eventually come back to Pohnpei to work.*
- *There's a shortage of skilled workers especially in the construction area.*
- *I don't think there is a brain drain. I see skills being transferred from outside workers to local people.*

#### LOCAL SOCIO-POLITICAL STRUCTURE

- *Many of the students who are leaving to get educated are not completing school. They're more concerned with making money. I'm concerned that this young generation will be in trouble and I'm worried about the government in the future. Many will be untrained or very few even return.*

#### LEGAL SYSTEM

- *(None reported at the time of the interviews)*

#### OTHERS:

- *(None reported at the time of the interviews)*

### Identified Areas of Concern by Pohnpeian Informants

#### AREA 1.0 LOCAL ECONOMIC SITUATION & DEVELOPMENT

- Issue 1.1 Job opportunities for some in Pohnpei are very limited and require skilled workers. Many of our skilled workers have been recruited to work for companies on Guam. We hope that someday they will return to Pohnpei.

- Issue 1.2 There are many workers from other places, mostly from the Philippines, who are brought in to do the jobs for which we don't have local skilled workers. Overall, about 70% of the work force is from the outside. We have a law that states that our outside workers are to supplement the work force, but in reality they are the work force. Many have commitments and send money home to their families. I think this is a big drain on the economy.
- Issue 1.3 We don't notice the emigration of Pohnpeians to other places as much as we feel the impact of people moving from other places to Pohnpei. The reasons vary. This is the capital of the FSM and many of the people moving are moving here for government jobs from the other states. It seems like many are coming particularly from Chuuk and Kosrae. It seems like there is more of a housing problem now than before, even with hotels.
- Issue 1.4 Pohnpeians pursuing college and post-graduate education and degrees has drastically declined since the implementation of the Compact. Those who do pursue their studies, are completing and graduating in fewer numbers.
- Issue 1.5 Pohnpeians are not being trained for the future needs of Pohnpei. There will be very few qualified Pohnpei to take over the existing jobs that will be vacated in the near future by the people who are currently in those positions.
- Issue 1.6 The number of teachers who still do not have their A.A. degrees is significant. If the law were to be enforced, we would potentially be losing between 10-15% of our teachers. This is a significant number of teachers for Pohnpei, particularly when it is hard to find good qualified teachers.
- Issue 1.7 There are a substantial number of Guam-based businesses in Pohnpei but yet little investment is going on. It would help our economy if they invested in Pohnpei and also made it possible to create new jobs so some of our people would not have to leave.

## AREA 2.0 LOCAL CONTROL OF NEGATIVE IMPACTS OF MIGRATION

- Issue 2.1 The data regarding the actual numbers of Pohnpeians who are leaving, their place of destination, their purpose for leaving, and their projected length of time away is currently not collected in any systematic or uniform way.
- Issue 2.2 While many Pohnpeians are in need of information and orientation which would make their adjustment and transition to the conditions, practices and culture of their place of migration progress more smoothly, there currently is no local organized effort to address this need. Currently the Labor and Manpower Office seems to be the only office attempting to provide orientation; yet it is mainly to a special group: those people in the trades who are going to Guam or the CNMI to work.
- Issue 2.3 Efforts to regulate or screen Pohnpeians who are thinking about migrating is perceived as a possible approach to monitor who is leaving, but may also be controversial and viewed as limiting individual choice. Some sort of mechanism needs to be put in place that will help us with our planning for growth and resources.
- Issue 2.4 Sometimes when we at the state level, share our concerns and problems with the FSM national government, our concerns don't get addressed.

AREA 3.0 REGIONAL RELATIONSHIPS AND REGIONAL CONTROL OF NEGATIVE IMPACTS OF MIGRATION

- Issue 3.1 The Micronesian Meeting Place is a good thing. It is also a good idea for each of the communities to organize their own associations so that they can better assist the people moving to Guam from their place.
- Issue 3.2 It would help to receive a resource collection of sample materials including brochures, booklets, and forms that anyone living on Guam is expected to be familiar with, such as procedures for getting a driver's license, school forms, medical forms, etc. We would use these materials in our orientations, especially in the labor division.
- Issue 3.3 The idea proposed by the Government of Guam and other states of having exchanges among students, teachers, principals, and other groups is good and would definitely help in understanding each other's culture much better. We are sorry that there are problems in Guam caused by our fellow Pohnpeians and Micronesians as they adjust to living in a new place. It is unfortunate that we as Micronesians all get lumped together in one group for the actions of a small percentage. We are ready to continue working with Guam, our states and the RMI in trying to improve the situation.
- Issue 3.4 Sometimes companies from Guam will come to Pohnpei to recruit workers. Some of them keep our Labor Office informed and work with them on their recruitment activities, whereas others do not. Those that do not, come to Pohnpei stating on their immigration forms that they are merely visiting, but then go on to conduct their recruitment activities. Our own local labor force of skilled workers is limited, and it would help us to know who is leaving and for what so that we may plan our own efforts. Also, we are concerned that our workers be given their rights. We have had many incidents of people being recruited to work on Guam, then not get paid or receive the benefits to which they are entitled.
- Issue 3.5 There have been occasions when a Pohnpeian will get into problems with the law while living on Guam. In these instances, we would like to know who is in jail and for what; there may be something we can do to help the situation as fellow Pohnpeians. Also, it might also help to have more representation of the FSM and the RMI countries on the Guam police force to help with communication and cross-cultural understanding.
- Issue 3.6 Some Pohnpeians struggle outside of Pohnpei with prejudice and discrimination. Some are also sometimes cheated when they are unfamiliar with their rights in terms of housing, education, employment benefits, etc.
- Issue 3.7 Our own Liaison Office in Guam needs to be re-directed and possibly re-staffed. At present, except for certain national dignitaries, it does very little to assist Pohnpeians who are in need of assistance in Guam. Even though some feel that this is not the role of that office, it seems that it would better serve Pohnpei if it were re-organized to do so. It would help to have a representative from each of the states on staff.
- Issue 3.8 The regional collaborative problem solving that is taking place in the area of public safety, law enforcement, and corrections is a definite step in the right direction.
- Issue 3.9 Pohnpeians who work do contribute to the work force, the local economy, and the tax base of the places where they migrate to, but usually these facts don't find their way into newspaper articles, reports, or public discussions. Too many negative things are highlighted.
- Issue 3.10 This study is a positive effort to build the relationship between ourselves and Guam. Our concern is why the impact of other groups has not been studied as

well as the impact of people from the FSM and the RMI, such as people from the Philippines, Asia, and the U.S.

**AREA 4.0      FEEDBACK REGARDING THE PRE-COMPACT IMPLEMENTATION PROJECTIONS**

- Issue 4.1      The numbers of Pohnpeians abroad who are able to send home significant amounts of money, or remittances, are few. Most struggle to meet their economic obligations living on Guam.
- Issue 4.2      The anticipated "brain drain" is at the present time only occurring in a handful of cases. There are cases where our educated people get better paying jobs elsewhere.
- Issue 4.3      The number of unskilled workers leaving was not anticipated before the compact implementation. More of the educated, middle class people were expected to leave and that has not happened so far in great numbers.

**AREA 5.0      LOCAL CONCERN REGARDING THE COMPACT NEGOTIATIONS**

- Issue 5.1      Very few of us really understood what would happen with the implementation of the Compact. Very few of us really understood the terms of the Compact at all.

**CHUUK**

**Regarding the Pattern & Prevalence of Compact Migration**

The Chuukese informants presented very similar perceptions when responding to the question regarding their understanding about the pattern of Chuukese migration. (In each of the following three areas of Compact Migration Impact, the responses of Chuukese informants have been paraphrased. There are a number of instances where there are similarities among the responses of Chuukese informants and informants for other states and the RMI.)

- CH01            *Most who are leaving can't find jobs here. They are being forced to leave because of the economy here. People leaving are of both sexes, in the median age group from early 20's to 30's and mostly from the lagoon, the area surrounded by the reef.*
- CH02, CH09    *Most go to look for jobs. They are motivated by stories they hear from other people and from television and videos. It is easier to go to Guam when they have relatives who have a house there. The people going are from all areas of Chuuk and are mostly those capable of working. A lot of students are going to Guam too.*
- CH03            *More than 50% leave to find jobs. Some for educational opportunities for their children. Some leave to join relatives already there. Some do it because the father or families make them go. They are both men and women of employable age, up to their 30's. Some go without talking to anybody. In the first wave of compact migration, it was the people who could afford to go who were leaving, now in the second wave, it's people who have relatives already on Guam.*

- CH04 *Chuuk is overcrowded. The land is small, not enough for everyone. People are leaving go to look for land. Not the most educated are going.*
- CH05 *Most are leaving for educational opportunity. They don't like what they have here. They're being "pushed out" by the lack of opportunity here. Mostly boys are going, of all ages.*
- CH06 *Chuuk is so boring. People want something modern. They want to get away from not having any satisfaction. Many are leaving to make a living. Some go to look for excitement. Some go to feel important and get recognition. At first the bad ones were being sent away. Now people are trying to enjoy more their own lives. In Chuuk they are part of a household, they don't feel like individual persons, they're not recognized for themselves. They're seeking a different kind of freedom when they leave. They want to become "somebody" without the clan or extended family, especially when they are of lower class.*
- CH07 *Families are going to look for employment. Most people would return to Chuuk if there were jobs.*
- CH08 *People leaving for economic reasons. Many people going to Guam are unskilled labor. Both males and females are moving.*
- CH09 *A cross-section of people are leaving. It started out with young people, mostly young men. Once they have a house in Guam then they send for relatives, including their female relatives. People believe that potential leaders for Micronesia receive a better education in Guam than they do in Chuuk.*
- CH10 *Chuukese are a more curious people than other Micronesian groups. They go to Guam for the excitement and decide to exercise their choice, their freedom to stay there.*

There were shared perceptions among Chuukese informants about the following:

- ALL *Most are unskilled and take jobs in construction, janitorial, restaurants, and other low paying jobs.*
- 90% *Those that are leaving go to look for jobs because there are no jobs in Chuuk.*
- 80% *People leaving choose Guam because it is closer and cheaper than going to Hawaii or the mainland.*
- 50% *Most people leaving are from the lagoon surrounding areas.*
- 30% *Those that are educated and leaving Chuuk go to Pohnpei to work.*
- 30% *When many go away to get educated, they stay there to find jobs because the pay is better.*

Only one informant, the Immigration Office director, was able to offer any documented figures. According to immigration records for the month of April, 1993, about 1,293 Chuukese citizens left for either Guam, the CNMI, or the U. S. mainland. The reasons for the departures or whether there were plans to return to Chuuk were not known. Several informants indicated that Chuuk State has not yet begun to keep formal records of migration as a collective effort. One respondent stated that there are procedures for keeping records and records are currently available but they are not accurate nor maintained. The general perception by all of the informants was that many Chuukese citizens are leaving Chuuk.

## Areas Perceived to be Effectuated in Chuuk

### FAMILY & COMMUNITY LIFE

- *In some families, the family heads are migrating to find jobs and this is creating disruptions in the family. There is no pre-planning or thinking about what will happen to the family with their leaders gone.*
- *Chuukese families are extended and very close. We really like to stay together in families but because people want to go out and find jobs, they are forced to leave the family and go.*
- *Family ties are very strong. Families are being separated.*
- *There is a tendency in the western world to be a nuclear family. Our extended families are being influenced by this.*

### CULTURE, LANGUAGE, CUSTOMS & PRACTICES

- *There is an increasing number of young people that are really slightly "off" to what expected in Chuuk. I'm not really sure whether it is due to the compact migration.*
- *Chuukese culture is changing anyway. Young people wear clothes that are more western. It is unacceptable for girls to wear pants or skirts above the knees but that is changing.*
- *We see videos and television and we become interested in things that we see. We have stoves, ice boxes, power, television, and other modern things.*
- *Our people are more aware of sanitation when they come back from Guam. This is good.*
- *The role of women is changing.*
- *Our young people are less respectful.*
- *Immigration is changing life. It seems like people are becoming more confident and have a higher self esteem. Even poor ones can go to Guam to visit. Relatives are there so they have a place to stay.*
- *People get to travel a lot. They dress different. There's a generation gap between the young people and the older people. Some people hate the change.*
- *People are losing the culture. They have the idea that they can do as they please anywhere they go. We're not teaching them to give respect to other cultures when they are in another country.*

### HEALTH SERVICES

- *They are getting services in Guam that they cannot get here. We're the ones getting the bill.*
- *We are issuing birth certificates and medical records to more people who are asking for them before they go to other places. This is creating more work and more expenses for us.*
- *We have had some nurses who have left to follow their families to Guam.*
- *I know this case where a man had a son in Oregon who became ill and had to be in the hospital. The hospital bill was \$67,000. He could not pay.*

### EDUCATIONAL SERVICES

- *A few good teachers left to go to Guam or the CNMI for better pay or because of local politics.*

### LOCAL ECONOMY & DEVELOPMENT

- *Those living in Guam are beneficial to their families. They lessen the burden here in Chuuk.*
- *Immigration to Guam in some ways helps people to send some money home.*
- *Some who graduate from Guam or mainland, stay there because they can't find high paying jobs in Chuuk.*
- *It's not really a brain drain, some who have skills tend to find jobs here.*
- *Those people who come back to Chuuk after completing their studies cannot find jobs here that accommodate their skills and training. They go to look for greener pastures.*

- *There would be more problems if the the migration pattern wasn't going the way it is. There isn't enough employment for everyone.*
- *We need people in many skill areas. One disadvantage of the immigration is the skilled worker drain. Those people who are skilled go for better pay.*
- *There are more Pilipinos working here than before. I don't think that they're taking jobs that belong to locals. They're mostly accountants and in the technical areas. They're more experienced than Chuukese.*
- *I believe that there are some economic benefits but the bad outweighs the good.*
- *I think that it is more common for people to send goods and products home rather than money.*
- *Fewer people are going to Guam for education.*
- *I don't know about the effects of migration on the economy.*
- *We need to create more jobs here so some of our people can stay.*
- *Money is being taken out by outsiders who are here working.*

#### LOCAL SOCIO-POLITICAL STRUCTURE

- *(None reported at the time of the interviews)*

#### LEGAL SYSTEM

- *(None reported at the time of the interviews)*

#### OTHERS:

- *(None reported at the time of the interviews)*

### Identified Areas of Concern by Chuukese Informants

#### AREA 1.0 LOCAL ECONOMIC SITUATION & DEVELOPMENT

- Issue 1.1 Job opportunities are very limited in Chuuk for everyone. Most Chuukese love their families and communities and wouldn't leave if they could adequately provide for their families here in Chuuk. But we are overpopulated and it is becoming more difficult to live off our land and the sea because of this. Many of our people are being forced out of Chuuk because of the economic times in which we find ourselves. Most of them would return to Chuuk if there were jobs, if the economy were better, and if there was enough land for everyone.
- Issue 1.2 Few young people who travel outside of Chuuk are receiving training that will prepare them to return to Chuuk and take many of the government jobs or other jobs that require schooling.
- Issue 1.3 Chuukese pursuing college and post-graduate education and degrees has drastically declined since the implementation of the Compact. Many of those who do pursue college educations are dropping out in greater numbers to get jobs.
- Issue 1.4 Chuukese find a standard of living on Guam that they hope to get in Chuuk someday.
- Issue 1.5 Chuukese are not being trained for the future needs of Chuuk. There will be very few qualified Chuukese to take over the existing jobs that will be vacated in the not so distant future by the people who are currently in those positions.

AREA 2.0 LOCAL CONTROL OF NEGATIVE IMPACTS OF MIGRATION

- Issue 2.1 The data regarding the actual numbers of Chuukese who are leaving, their place of destination, their purpose for leaving, and their projected length of time away is currently not collected in any systematic or uniform way.
- Issue 2.2 While many Chuukese are in need of information and orientation which would make their adjustment and transition to the conditions, practices and culture of their place of migration progress more smoothly, there currently is no local organized effort to address this need. A few families and individuals take it upon themselves to provide others with important orientation. The Chuukese leaving need to be reminded of our values while in a foreign country. We need to respect the people and the place wherever we are. Also we need to remind them that they are representatives of Chuuk and must always try to represent us well. We also need to include such information in the orientation such as grooming, etiquette, and how to fill out forms etc.
- Issue 2.3 Efforts to regulate or screen Chuukese who are thinking about migrating is currently perceived as a somewhat negative strategy because a majority of the people feel that individual choice and freedoms should be left alone. A movement for State or National control of immigration are not presently well understood or supported. We tried to propose such a strategy awhile back but it was not accepted. This does not change the fact that we need to determine a way of monitoring who goes.
- Issue 2.4 Many of our people are facing problems when they go to other places such as Guam or the CNMI. Our government needs to step in more to work with the governments of these countries to make sure that our people have their rights protected.
- Issue 2.5 Sometimes it is very frustrating to share our concerns with the FSM national government, especially the problems we face with the Compact implementation, because our concerns either get watered down or do not get addressed.

AREA 3.0 REGIONAL RELATIONSHIPS AND REGIONAL CONTROL OF NEGATIVE IMPACTS OF MIGRATION

- Issue 3.1 It is a very good idea to have each island group form its own association with the help of the Micronesian Meeting Place in Guam.
- Issue 3.2 Everything about the U.S. is viewed by many Chuukese as being good and Guam is viewed as being the U.S.
- Issue 3.3 We are sorry that our people have to leave Chuuk to build a life in other places. We wish we had enough jobs for everyone so they wouldn't have to leave. We know that some of them are having problems adjusting to life in other places, mainly Guam and Saipan, and that problems arise. We see that we are all one people in Micronesia and we respect the efforts of the Chamorros to claim their indigenous rights. We feel badly that our people on Guam are presented in negative ways by the press and by people who study us and write reports and books about us that are inaccurate and misleading. Unfortunately, the local people living on Guam who hear and read this inaccurate information about us develop negative feelings and attitudes towards us. We wish that they would understand that our people are just looking for survival. We are sad that they have to leave Chuuk, but we wish a better life for them. But while they are away, we believe that they do and can make more of a contribution to their new surroundings than they are currently being allowed to do. When we work together to uncover the facts and dispel myths and stereotypes about people

- who are different from ourselves, this will create for us all much needed new opportunities to unite and develop the region in improved ways.
- Issue 3.4 Some Chuukese struggle outside of Chuuk with prejudice and discrimination. Some are also sometimes cheated when they are unfamiliar with their rights in terms of housing, education, employment benefits, etc.
- Issue 3.5 Our own Liaison Office in Guam needs to be re-directed and possibly re-staffed. At present, except for certain national dignitaries, it does very little to assist Chuukese who are in need of assistance in Guam. Even though some feel that this is not the role of that office, it seems that it would better serve Chuuk if it were re-organized to do so.
- Issue 3.6 The regional collaborative problem solving that is taking place in the area of public safety, law enforcement, and corrections is a definite step in the right direction.
- Issue 3.7 Chuukese who work do contribute to the work force, the local economy, and the tax base of the places where they migrate to, but usually these facts don't find their way into newspaper articles, reports, or public discussions. Too many negative things are highlighted.
- Issue 3.7 This study is a positive effort to built the relationship between ourselves and Guam. Our concern is why the impact of other groups has not been studied as well as the impact of people from the FSM and the RMI, such as people from the Philippines, Asia, and the U.S., and even the military.

AREA 4.0 FEEDBACK REGARDING THE PRE-COMPACT IMPLEMENTATION PROJECTIONS

- Issue 4.1 The numbers of Chuukese abroad who are able to send home significant amounts of money, or remittances, are very few. Relatives on Guam are struggling to survive financially.
- Issue 4.2 The anticipated "brain drain" is at the present time only occurring in a handful of cases. The concern lies with the students who are sent away to school and do not return when they have completed their studies.

AREA 5.0 LOCAL CONCERN REGARDING THE COMPACT NEGOTIATIONS

- Issue 5.1 Some of the impact of the Compact was definitely not well understood. It has taken years for some of our own leaders to become more aware of the needs and how we could have planned better.
- Issue 5.2 Studies done before the Compact implementation would have been more helpful to planning for the future.
- Issue 5.3 If we had the chance to renegotiate the terms of the Compact, it would be good to study the opportunity to form ties with the Japanese.
- Issue 5.4 It seems that we're concentrating more on maintenance of the infrastructure rather than on development.

YAP**Regarding the Pattern & Prevalence of Compact Migration**

The Yapese informants presented similar perceptions when responding to the question regarding their understanding about the pattern of Yapese migration. It seemed that informants from the neighboring islands responded to the questions with more regard to what they perceived occurring in the neighboring islands, and the Yap Proper informants responded more with respect to the villages of Yap Proper. (In each of the following three areas of Compact Migration Impact, the responses of Yapese informants have been paraphrased. There are a number of instances where there are similarities among the responses of Yapese informants and informants for other states or the RMI.)

- Y01 *Most who are leaving are men and they're going away to study. Culturally it still is not safe for females to travel. Culturally girls have to have a secure place to stay. Although there is a small group of females from Ulithi studying in Guam under the care of the liaison officer on Guam. Parents are reluctant to send their children to school on Guam because they drop out of school instead and go to work. The types of jobs they get are low paying. It seems like the students who go to Hawaii are more successful in school than the ones who go to Guam.*
- Y02 *It varies. There were three major recruitment efforts conducted by companies from Guam a couple of years ago. About 30-40 young people were recruited in one. The second was a recruitment of about 15-20 young people to work at the Grand Palace Hotel in various hotel jobs. The third was a recruitment of carpenters and heavy equipment operators to build a golf course. Young people are also going away to study. I would say that overall about 85-90% are leaving to look for jobs, they're mainly male and between 18-40 years of age. They're leaving from all over Yap and most have completed high school. I have no idea how many people have left nor how many even live on Guam. For several years we've been unable to collect information on the people leaving.*
- Y03 *People leaving are going for various reasons. One is to find higher paying jobs, another is for excitement and change, the third is to get a new start, fourth is for personal reasons, five is to get more freedom, and six is to visit family members. I don't know how many people have left, but I think plenty of people have left. My guess is that about 50 people have left this past year. People have left from all parts of Yap, even from Rumung. It's mostly men of working age and most go without their families. They're mostly going to Guam and Saipan.*
- Y04, Y08 *Most people are leaving to look for employment. The numbers are increasing more each year. It's more than 100 people each year who are leaving from all over Yap. They're mostly men who go first, in their 20's, 30's, or 40's. They're finding jobs on Guam and taking their families with them. I think that when people leave they're planning to come back. They're mainly going to Guam and Saipan. Sometimes they go to Pohnpei but it's to work for the national government. They pick Guam because it's close and there's economy, special fare on Friday nights which costs \$180 one way.*
- Y05 *People are leaving to look for jobs and it's easier to go back and forth for schooling. There are no definite numbers, but since the compact there have been quite a few who have left. It's mostly males in their 20's and 30's. They go at*

- Y06 *first with the idea of finishing school. They're from all over Yap and they pick Guam because it's closer.*  
*They're leaving with the idea of going to school but then they quit and go to work. They are not able to keep up with school because it is so expensive, so they go to work. It seemed like right after the compact it was mostly males who were going, but now it's families who are going. I think they're going from only the more populated places in Yap including Ulithi, Woleai and Satawal. Some go to the States and quit school to find jobs.*
- Y07 *One of the reasons people are leaving is employment. Another is the freedom given under the compact, they want to see new places. The majority want to go to different places. In the beginning it was mostly unmarried males, but recently more families are going. Females are going on their own too. Most are from the southern end of the island. More students are going to Hawaii or to the mainland. The numbers of people leaving have levelled off.*

There were shared perceptions among Yapese informants about the following:

- ALL *Many people are going to Guam because it is cheaper and closer to go there.*  
88% *Most of the people going are males.*  
75% *Most go to look for employment.*  
63% *The people going are from all over Yap.*  
25% *People leave at first to go study but then quit and go to work.*

Actual documented figures of the numbers of Yapese leaving were not known by any of the informants. In general, those interviewed seemed to feel that there were Yapese citizens migrating but not in alarming numbers. One informant stated that records are supposed to be kept but for some reason it has been difficult to keep track of people leaving over the past several years.

### **Areas Perceived to be Effected in Yap**

#### **FAMILY & COMMUNITY LIFE**

- *Many of the small islands are undermanned. There are only so many men on the island, and even if only five or ten leave the island it effects the population. Some of the islands only have older people and women. The average population of some of the small islands is about 100 total. Community life is even effected when the teachers come to Colonia for summer training.*
- *For example, in the villages in my area there are about 15 young guys. If they all go, as many of them tend to want to do, the community simply can't do much without them in building the community. It will mostly be the kids and the older people who are left. That is what will happen if the number of people leaving continues to increase.*
- *People who leave and then return, tend to have problems adjusting to being back. But they do come back smarter and know how to deal more with money.*
- *In some situations the husbands are the ones to leave. There's a problem there because then who provides for the family?*
- *Village life has changed very little.*
- *The community suffers with people leaving, especially when it's mostly the men leaving. There's a lack of manpower.*
- *In the outer islands I can't think of anything major that has been effected. It's a little bit but not too much. I do see that in the outer islands there aren't enough men so the women are now doing such things in the community as stevedoring and construction work because there aren't enough men. But in general I don't think there has been a significant change.*

### CULTURE, LANGUAGE, CUSTOMS & PRACTICES

- *An acceleration of change has occurred because of the compact.*
- *One way that change has happened is that English skills have improved.*
- *Life hasn't changed much.*
- *Change is happening anyway with western influences like television and videos. Our young people are changing.*
- *People who have left and come back are bringing things from the outside, western ways and western habits and it's changing the local customs.*

### HEALTH SERVICES

- *There are many outside workers in Yap that require medical services. This is having an impact on health services. There isn't enough staff to handle all the requests and work.*
- *Recently there have been more cases of running out of medical supplies. This did not used to happen before. Now we have the garment factory workers of about 2,000 and also the workers from the fishing vessels.*
- *Illnesses that are not common here are showing up more often now, such as cholera. The EPA has to monitor the bay water. These changes are attributed to people coming from other places. There's a step up on surveillance of illnesses. Nothing has been reported on AIDS yet.*
- *There is somewhat of a brain drain in terms of health services. There have been situations where nurses are sent to Guam to get their B.S. degrees, then write to tell us they quit and that they'll be staying on Guam to work.*

### EDUCATIONAL SERVICES

- *There has been a loss of federal grants due to the compact. Also there has been a loss of teachers to other sectors or places because we can't raise salaries. So they go to other jobs or to Saipan to work for higher pay. We have more people at the high school from other places such as the U.S. and the Philippines.*
- *I'm not aware of education losing teachers.*

### LOCAL ECONOMY & DEVELOPMENT

- *There is definitely a brain drain. The students that are very bright are dropping out and getting caught up in new changes. They find jobs and don't necessarily return to Yap.*
- *There are some who do finish their education but they don't return to the islands. I know of one guy who received his doctorate and married an American. He hasn't come back to Yap. There's another who is a doctor from the outer islands and he probably won't be back either. We need to provide incentives to those people who do complete their studies. And those who went on their own, that's even more terrible because they think they found paradise over there.*
- *The brain drain is not real for Yap. Maybe one or two young educated guys haven't come back but we don't have that many people going out.*
- *Part of the deal with one of the companies recruiting was that the workers be taken to the bank on pay day to deposit most of their paychecks except for about \$40 or \$50. Then at Christmas they would send goods or some money to their families in Yap.*
- *It's a good learning opportunity for those leaving. Someday they'll return and share their skills.*
- *There's a drain of manpower and semi-skilled people.*
- *Some people who leave send money home, but more they send goods since food is cheaper on Guam. Also, some families on Yap send money and food to relatives on Guam because they are struggling to survive. They have more expenses.*

- *There are many workers from other places such as Taiwan, Malaysia, China, the Philippines and the U.S. I think they have jobs that local people can do. In some situations a local person get trained working alongside a contract worker.*
- *With people leaving there are fewer producers. What's coming back is not enough compared to what's going out.*
- *I want to believe that people who leave will come back.*
- *I think there is more of a manpower loss that exists. People who get degrees come back. The guys who are skilled in construction find that they can get paid better on Guam so they go.*
- *I don't envision that people will be leaving for economic reasons.*

#### LOCAL SOCIO-POLITICAL STRUCTURE

- *I wish we could improve the situation here and make it more attractive and improve jobs so that people would have jobs and they wouldn't have to go to other places.*

#### LEGAL SYSTEM

- *I hate to say this but it seems that with the compact migration, many of our criminally inclined people have left the island. The island is more peaceful than before. I also think that these same people who may have had problems in Yap felt lost here, and now have had the opportunity to go out and develop themselves and are doing better in other places.*

#### OTHERS:

- *(None reported at the time of the interviews)*

### Identified Areas of Concern by Yapese Informants

#### AREA 1.0 LOCAL ECONOMIC SITUATION & DEVELOPMENT

- Issue 1.1 Job opportunities for college graduates in Yap are very limited and low paying. More college graduates would come home if there were more jobs that paid well or were at least comparable to other places.
- Issue 1.2 Young people who go away to school on scholarships are not completing their education as often as in the past. They are quitting to go to work and often not returning to Yap to provide the skills that are needed.
- Issue 1.3 Many people are concerned that many students on scholarship are quitting school to work instead of completing their education and returning to Yap. We are working to identify the areas in which we need skills and expertise to develop locally so that we can offer a limited number of scholarships to students committed to completing their studies and returning to Yap to serve the community.
- Issue 1.4 If the number of people migrating from Yap continues to increase it could mean potential problems for many of the villages and outer island communities in terms of resources.

#### AREA 2.0 LOCAL CONTROL OF NEGATIVE IMPACTS OF MIGRATION

- Issue 2.1 The data regarding the actual numbers of Yapese who are leaving, their place of destination, their purpose for leaving, and their projected length of time away is currently not collected in any systematic or uniform way.

- Issue 2.2 While many Yapese are in need of information and orientation which would make their adjustment and transition to the conditions, practices and culture of their place of migration progress more smoothly, there currently is no local organized effort to address this need. The scholarship office in Education is the only program that tries to provide any sort of orientation, but it's primarily for students going away to school.
- Issue 2.3 Efforts to regulate or screen Yapese who are thinking about migrating is perceived as a possible approach to help our planning efforts but on an informal level, such as having people fill out a form on the airplane when leaving and when arriving on Yap.
- Issue 2.4 Sometimes when the problem solving is addressed at the national level, the specific needs and concerns of Yap State are watered down or do not get addressed.

AREA 3.0 REGIONAL RELATIONSHIPS AND REGIONAL CONTROL OF NEGATIVE IMPACTS OF MIGRATION

- Issue 3.1 It is a good idea to conduct this kind of study. We commend the government of Guam for initiating it and attempting to improve the regional relationships. We also recognize that Guam needs our help in assessing the situation and we're very much ready to work together.
- Issue 3.2 Many of us from Yap who went to school on Guam lived with Guamanian families while we were there. We had good relations and many of us continue to have them. We are sorry that the press has exaggerated the circumstances in which many of the people from the FSM and the Marshall Islands find themselves, away from home and living in living in a new place. We understand that there are a few people who have created problems on Guam and we're sorry that this has created bad feelings towards us Micronesians as a group. We see it as the responsibility of us all as Micronesians to work through in trying to resolve the problems.
- Issue 3.3 Traditionally we have different ways of solving problems among our families and communities. What I see happening on Guam right now is that people tend to solve their problems by taking them to court, a western approach. I think it might help our people and our fellow Micronesians to resolve problems more peacefully if a mediation/reconciliation group were to be organized in the different communities of Guam instead of referring everything to court. This might also help the communities understand differences among the different groups of Micronesia.
- Issue 3.4 It seems like some of the Yapese who go to Guam to live like the experience of going someplace different and being able to come back and tell others about it. Often they will say how great it is to live there. But I know, because I have seen, that the conditions in which many of them live are not great. Sometimes the housing is worse than the housing in Madrid.
- Issue 3.5 Our Liaison Office in Guam has the potential to do a lot in assisting our families living on Guam and keeping us informed here on Yap of the needs. They do a good job in taking care of patients as a patient referral service, but other than that it isn't clear what their role is with regard to the states.

AREA 4.0 FEEDBACK REGARDING THE PRE-COMPACT IMPLEMENTATION PROJECTIONS

- Issue 4.1 The numbers of Yapese abroad who are able to send home significant amounts of money, or remittances, are very few.
- Issue 4.2 The anticipated "brain drain" is at the present time only occurring in a handful of cases.
- Issue 4.3 The compact implementation is not going the way we thought it would. We assumed we were going to be well off socially and economically, but these days we are going in the opposite direction. We need to work hard to improve our financial situation fast, otherwise we are going to be in deeper trouble. .

AREA 5.0 LOCAL CONCERN REGARDING THE COMPACT NEGOTIATIONS

- Issue 5.1 About 80-85% of the population didn't have any idea what we were getting into after the negotiations. We needed more time to decide whether the terms were appropriate. The negotiations were rushed at not well understood by our citizens. Some of the impact of the Compact was definitely not well understood.
- Issue 5.2 More planning before the Compact implementation should have been done. This way we have no studies or statistics to point to anticipate how we will be effected. Many things were not well thought out before the Compact implementation such as cost of living increases, realistic funding levels, the role of the private sector in helping to sustain the economy, and so on.

REPUBLIC OF THE MARSHALL ISLANDS (RMI)

**Regarding the Pattern & Prevalence of Compact Migration**

The Marshallese informants presented very similar perceptions when responding to the question regarding their understanding about the pattern of Marshallese migration. (In each of the following three areas of Compact Migration Impact, the responses of Marshallese informants have been paraphrased. There are a number of instances where there are similarities among the responses of Marshallese informants and informants for other states or the RMI.)

- M01 *I think the major reason that people are leaving is to pursue education or training. I don't think there is significant movement right now. I think that at first it was mostly people from the younger generation who were leaving to study, then the majority would drop out to get jobs in restaurants, security, construction, and don't come back. They usually go to the mainland. The reason they go to the mainland more often is because there are already established Marshallese communities there.*
- M02, M09 *Most leave to attend school, both high school and college, but more so college. Some come back and some don't. About 50% finish school, about 50% quit to go to work. Another reason people leave is to go get medical attention. The third reason is to look for jobs. But I think there are very few who go to look for jobs. It's both males and females who leave. Usually because it is for education that they are leaving, most of them complete high school and are about 18 or 19 years old. Usually they come from the outer islands, live in Majuro for*

- awhile than they move on. Not many from Majuro are going. There isn't much movement to Guam. They're going to Hawaii, Oregon, California, more to the U.S. Most are going to California. The reason they go to Hawaii is because it is closer than Guam. The reason they go to the mainland is because Marshallese communities are already formed. In those cases when they drop out of school, they get very low skilled jobs. I think that migration for employment is increasing.*
- M03 *Twice as many men as women are leaving to pursue educational opportunities. I think that about half of them drop out. When they drop out they decide to stay and find jobs. The kind of jobs they usually get are in manufacturing, factory work. Many are living on welfare. They go on welfare because they're unskilled or have language problems. Many who go to Oregon or California, it's easier to become migrant workers or they stay to live on welfare. Also there are times when older people go to visit their families and they like it there so they stay. There aren't that many who are going to Guam.*
- M04 *Only a handful are leaving to go find a job. Most are going to go to school. Many of them quit school, find a good job, then they stay there for a long time. They usually go to Hawaii or Guam and work in the tourism business, hotels, restaurants. They get paid more there than they do here. About two years ago a lot of kids went there for jobs, they were recruited by a hotel on Guam. It was both males and females. Five or six of them returned out of about 20 or 30. Males and females go in about the same numbers but males return in greater numbers. Many of the females will marry and stay there. In most cases the families do not follow. I don't know exact numbers. It's hard to keep track of people leaving. The only time we know for sure that people are leaving is when we see them at the airport.*
- M05 *Most people are leaving for training and education. There are situations where older people go to live with their children and relatives in other places. They go there to visit first, they like it and don't come back. It's becoming more now that people are going to look for work because there aren't enough jobs here. I think that about 60% of the people leaving are less than 21 years of age. The more mature people who are leaving are more serious about someday coming back. Most come from the outer islands, they try living in Majuro than they go off. The attitude among the people leaving is that there is a good life, a better life in the U.S. People tend to go to Hawaii or the mainland rather than to Guam. They choose the mainland because there are already a number of established Marshallese communities there.*
- M06 *Most people leaving go to find jobs. Many of them are youngsters. Some are mature people. Many are unskilled. There aren't enough jobs in the Marshalls to meet their needs. The numbers of people leaving are increasing. The minimum wage in other places is more attractive than here in the Marshalls. Another reason people are leaving is for school. The third is to find a better paying jobs. And the fourth is to be with family. 90% of the people leaving are males. They mostly go to Hawaii and the mainland. Very few go to Guam. Guam is not traditionally attractive, it's just another island of Micronesia. Hawaii is the U.S. and much close to the Marshalls.*
- M07 *Most go to pursue education and training. Others to find a job. Others go for excitement and change. It used to be more men than women leaving, now it's about 55% male and 45% female. I don't know exact numbers. Most do not complete their education. They quit to get menial jobs that are low paying. If they don't make it, they usually come back. Most people are going to Hawaii and the U.S. rather than Guam. They're not moving to other places in Micronesia.*
- M08. M10 *Both men and women are going, mainly to study or receive training. Most quit school and get jobs. Some go to Palau to study and some to Guam. Most go east*

*instead of west. Really it isn't many people leaving the Marshalls. Maybe to go study it's about 10-15 students. I can only think of one person that I know who moved to Guam within the past five years. We're not really feeling the impact of compact migration.*

There were shared perceptions among Marshallese informants about the following:

- ALL *People leaving the Marshalls are going east to Hawaii and the U.S. mainland rather than west to Guam.*
- ALL *Most find jobs in construction, restaurants, factories, and other low paying jobs, that pay better than in the Marshalls.*
- 90% *Most people leaving are going for education and training.*
- 90% *Those that are leaving go to look for jobs because there are no jobs in the Marshalls.*
- 50% *Most people leaving are from the outer islands who come to Majuro and live for awhile before moving on.*
- 20% *A substantial number of people living on the mainland live on welfare.*

None of the Marshallese informants could offer actual figures of the number of Marshallese leaving. Informants generally seemed to feel that there weren't significant numbers of people leaving the islands due to the Compact migration. Most did say that they felt the numbers of people leaving would probably be increasing over the next several years due to economic and subsistence difficulties. The general perception was that there are only so many jobs in Majuro and as it becomes more difficult to subsist in the outer islands, more people are making their way to Majuro and beyond.

### **Areas Perceived to be Effected in the Marshalls**

#### **FAMILY & COMMUNITY LIFE**

- *It's becoming harder to support the family in the outer islands, so what some families are doing is sending the children to live with relatives in Majuro and other places.*

#### **CULTURE, LANGUAGE, CUSTOMS & PRACTICES**

- *More people are using money to enhance relationships. I've noticed that people are losing the sharing aspect of our culture. It used to be that people would go fishing and share the fish with family, now they're interested in selling it.*
- *People are being more influenced by videos and television.*
- *We've tried to encourage people to watch television to learn English, but it seems that it's effecting the culture: the way people dress, especially the young people, and there's also a mixing of Marshallese and English.*
- *There are many changes in the country. Majuro is becoming more urbanized and westernized.*
- *Our young people who have been away are bringing in many changes. They're different. They're not as respectful, they're bringing in new styles.*

- *The older people are still traditional Marshallese, very cooperative, concerned with the community and family, whereas the younger people influenced by western culture are becoming more individualistic.*
- *The language is changing, there's more emphasis on English in the schools. We're taking Marshallese for granted. If we neglect it, it will start to go away.*
- *There's a different concept of time.*
- *The role of women is changing and there is resentment by men.*

#### HEALTH SERVICES

- *I haven't seen many significant changes.*
- *It seems like health problems that can be organized according to those that exist in developed versus underdeveloped countries are showing up more often here. Malnutrition is one of them.*
- *We need more doctors and nurses. More health planning needs to be done to train other people to take some of these jobs as technicians and medical people.*

#### EDUCATIONAL SERVICES

- *Not many teachers have left to look for jobs in other places.*
- *There still isn't enough local revenue for education. Our funding has decreased over the year. We still have problems with a lack of books and educational programs like vocational education and special education.*
- *The money that we are offering students on scholarships is not enough, so students are quitting to go to work and support themselves.*
- *Those people that go away to school to become teachers go elsewhere, like Saipan, to find jobs because they get paid more there than they would here.*

#### LOCAL ECONOMY & DEVELOPMENT

- *The cost of living increases are happening anyway.*
- *I still see that there is more of an emphasis on development of the infrastructure rather than capitalizing on our human resources. Maybe if we concentrated more on our people, trained them and created jobs for them they wouldn't have to leave.*
- *Our needs are not getting served because many of the people who are going off to study are not completing their studies to return to provide the skills that are needed here. Instead many contract workers from the U.S. and the Philippines are hired to do the jobs. The unemployment rate among our people is high.*
- *There is somewhat of a brain drain. There are people getting the skills that we need but they're staying in other places to work for more money.*
- *Some send money home but not that much.*
- *There is no brain drain at the moment. But the labor force needs good trained people.*
- *We need people in many skill areas to take the jobs that are held by contract workers.*
- *The unemployment rate is low. I don't see too many people without jobs.*
- *We need better paying jobs in construction and hotel industry.*
- *I know of people living on Guam who are able to send lots of money home to their families over time.*
- *Not enough is done to develop our own people. More efforts should be made to do local training and to only send a limited number of people away for special training in areas that have been identified as needs. More efforts should be done to improve our own college.*
- *I don't see that people send money home. Life is too expensive in other places and people struggle to survive.*
- *I don't see that training of local people by contract workers is really happening.*
- *People are getting trained working alongside contract workers.*

## LOCAL SOCIO-POLITICAL STRUCTURE

- *I'm concerned that will be more foreigners than Marshallese in key positions in government and business.*
- *I think that we have many capable people who are skilled especially in the trades, but yet workers from the outside get hired and paid more than our own people. We need to give our own people more support and help them create their own businesses so that we can develop our country.*

## Identified Areas of Concern by Marshallese Informants

### AREA 1.0 LOCAL ECONOMIC SITUATION & DEVELOPMENT

- Issue 1.1 Job opportunities for some in the Marshalls are very limited. Most would probably not leave and stay away if they could adequately provide for their families here at home.
- Issue 1.2 Marshallese society is a matrilineal society. The woman's clan are the designated custodians of the land. Because of the influence of cash economy this aspect of the culture is changing. Families are engaging more often in leasing their parcels of land to others, sometimes outsiders, for a fixed amount of money over extended periods of time, up to 50 years. This is creating a problem in the families' economic base as well as family relations and culture. When the land is leased for a fixed price and extended period of time, the younger generation is not benefitting from the transaction. They are being left with essentially nothing secure for their future. Usually the elder family member who negotiated the deal spends the money in his own lifetime leaving nothing for the young ones. Another side to this problem is that the leased land is usually leased for business purposes, like a hotel or store, which means that it continues to generate money throughout the years surpassing what was paid for the lease.
- Issue 1.3 Fewer young people who travel outside of the Marshalls are being well trained to assume more than unskilled and semi-skilled jobs outside of the areas of the construction, hospitality, and retail industries.
- Issue 1.4 Marshallese pursuing college and post-graduate education and degrees has declined since the implementation of the Compact.
- Issue 1.5 There is a good number of skilled local workers in the trades but they are not getting the jobs being taken by foreign workers. We need to give them the support they need and help them organize and start their own businesses so that they can help build the Marshall islands.
- Issue 1.6 Marshallese are not being trained for the future needs of the Marshalls. There will be very few qualified Marshallese to take over the existing jobs that will be vacated in the not so distant future by the people who are currently in those positions.
- Issue 1.7 It is becoming more difficult to subsist in the outer islands. Many of the people from the outer islands are moving to Majuro to try to survive and this is having an impact on life.
- Issue 1.8 There are policies and programs to have local people trained by outside contract workers, but as to whether the local expertise is actually being developed is not really known.
- Issue 1.9 There is more of a concentration on development of the infrastructure than there is on capitalizing on human resources. We need to develop our own people, create opportunities, strengthen our own college so people can get trained here,

and only send a limited number of students away to school to study in identified special areas so that they may return to serve the Marshalls.

- Issue 1.10 An inordinate number of Marshallese go to the U.S. and sometimes to Guam or the CNMI and live on welfare. They think that this is the good life. We worry for the future of our islands because this is not an indication of our people's self sufficiency.

#### AREA 2.0 LOCAL CONTROL OF NEGATIVE IMPACTS OF MIGRATION

- Issue 2.1 The data regarding the actual numbers of Marshallese who are leaving, their place of destination, their purpose for leaving, and their projected length of time away is currently not collected in any systematic or uniform way.
- Issue 2.2 While many Marshallese are in need of information and orientation which would make their adjustment and transition to the conditions, practices and culture of their place of migration progress more smoothly, there currently is no local organized effort to address this need. A few families and individuals take it upon themselves to provide others with important orientation. Radio programs are seen as an effective way to orient people as well as the local library which could be used a resource place for materials and videos.

#### AREA 3.0 REGIONAL RELATIONSHIPS AND REGIONAL CONTROL OF NEGATIVE IMPACTS OF MIGRATION

- Issue 3.1 The U.S. is viewed by many Marshallese as a land of opportunity and a good life. Other islands of Micronesia, including Guam, are viewed as being just like the Marshalls and would probably be no different living there.
- Issue 3.2 The general perception is that there are not many Marshallese living or going to Guam, but there is nevertheless a need for ongoing dialog and continued work with the other entities in the region.
- Issue 3.3 Although the perception is that there are not many Marshallese living on Guam, outside of a few students, it would still be beneficial to have a representative from the Marshalls at the Liaison Office, as we do in Hawaii, and parts of the U. S. mainland.
- Issue 3.4 We are somewhat aware of the problems being faced by our fellow Micronesians on Guam and think that an appropriate strategy for the Government of Guam to consider in helping to meet the need is to follow the Australian model of creating urban migrant centers in various languages and communities to provide services and orientation to life on Guam.

#### AREA 4.0 FEEDBACK REGARDING THE PRE-COMPACT IMPLEMENTATION PROJECTIONS

- Issue 4.1 The numbers of Marshallese abroad who are able to send home significant amounts of money, or remittances, are few. Life in Hawaii and the mainland is expensive.
- Issue 4.2 There has been a loss of many federal programs, and for some that we have, the monies are not sufficient, primarily because they are based on amounts projected in the 70's. They haven't been adjusted to meet the increasing needs.
- Issue 4.3 The amount of debt that we are incurring is enormous. There is definitely a mismatch of actual spending vs. the planned activities.

Issue 4.4 There have been some definite improvements due to the Compact. Conditions in housing have improved and our telecommunications is the best system.

AREA 5.0 LOCAL CONCERN REGARDING THE COMPACT NEGOTIATIONS

Issue 5.1 There are still many people who do not understand the terms of the Compact.

**DISCUSSION**

The findings of this investigation lent evidence to the idea that the Compact migration is having an effect on the Republic of the Marshall Islands and the four states of the Federated States of Micronesia. The effects were perceived by the FSM and RMI leaders who participated in this field study as being both positive and negative. The open immigration policy was viewed by nearly all the informants as a good opportunity for those who could not find work at home or were curious about learning about other parts of the world to do so abroad with relative ease. Many local leaders also mentioned that this was a help to the local situation because currently there were just not enough jobs for everyone at home nor ample resources to adequately provide for all the families that are in need.

Perceived drawbacks to the Compact migration included: the loss of loved ones and community members who needed to leave for better wages and opportunities; the situation identified in both Chuuk and Yap where in certain communities there are now visibly absent males in their 20's, 30's and 40's; the changing of some traditional roles, community practices and traditional work particularly in those communities where significant numbers of young adults have migrated. All five sets of informants raised concerns about the tremendous decline in FSM and RMI citizens who were enrolled and who were completing four year undergraduate and post-graduate programs. Many worried about the long term impact of not ensuring that future leaders and workers are being well educated and prepared to assume the various key decision-making positions that will become vacant when those currently in position step down and pass along to the younger generation the responsibilities for leading their communities and societies. A number of the informants discussed their concerns about the many challenges western values, customs and the cash economy poses to community continuity and traditional values. The bombardment of outside goods, images of cash economy lifestyles coupled with the draw of higher wages for less skilled and stressful work has lured some citizens away from carrying out various kinds of locally needed work they have experience and training doing, e.g., teaching, nursing, etc. The assignment of lower status to traditionally respected and revered work is also occurring as a result of exposure to different outside cultures and values. A number of the leaders involved in capacities as social