

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

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**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.)

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|----------|--|
| 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.