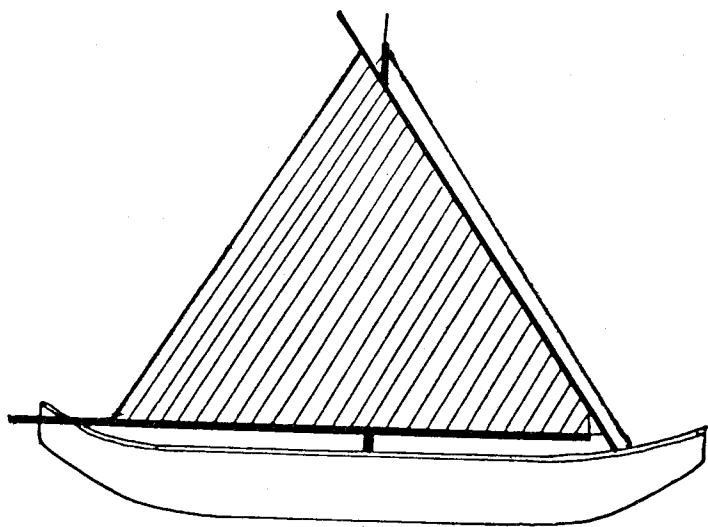


Island Voyagers In New Quests:  
An Assessment Of  
Degree Completion Among  
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Micronesian  
Area  
Research  
Center

UNIVERSITY OF GUAM

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by the research team:

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MICRONESIAN AREA RESEARCH CENTER  
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## PREFACE

This study on Micronesian college dropouts is the first empirical one of its kind ever done. It began through the intellectual impetus provided by Father Francis X. Hezel, S.J. of the Micronesian Seminar at Truk. Several years ago he initiated and directed a study, which subsequently was published (PACIFIC STUDIES, Vol. 2, No. 2), about the dramatic increase in the consumption and availability of education in Truk. As the same could be said for other Micronesian states, Hezel's study received attention throughout the islands. Lynn Ilon of the Truk Education Department, contacted me regarding the possibility of developing a study of college dropouts in Micronesia as a follow-up to Hezel's work. At the time I was president of the college at Ponape and felt such an effort would be useful and worthwhile. Mrs. Ilon completed a proposal which was submitted for funding.

Several months later the study was funded by the National Institute of Education in Washington with considerable assistance from Janice Johnson at the Interior Department. However, the situation in Micronesia had shifted as Mrs. Ilon left the islands to accompany her husband on a Micronesian Liaison Office assignment in Washington, and I had left Ponape to become the director of the Micronesian Area Research Center (MARC) at the University of Guam. My successor in Ponape, Fredrick W. Young, Jr., felt as I did, that the project should be implemented. Through his good offices the Community College of Micronesia Board of Regents approved of the idea of transferring the project administration to MARC. The Graduate Dean at the University of Guam, Roy T. Tsuda, was also very supportive. Thus, after the appropriate paperwork clearances in Washington, the study's management was relocated from Ponape to Guam.

During the fall of 1979 considerable reworking and redesign of Ilon's initial proposal was undertaken. A faculty research team was engaged which included Randy L. Workman, Principal Investigator, James Craig, James Nagle, and Edward Robbins, Research Associates. Much of the project's continuing management functions were performed by Christine O'Meara, Research Assistant. Working closely with Dr. Workman, she was instrumental in the smooth implementation of the design.

The team agreed that Ponape and Kosrae would be the most convenient sampling areas and consultants were engaged in both places, in Ponape Heinrick Stevens and Sidney Skilling in Kosrae.

After the questionnaire was designed, portions of it were translated from English to both Ponapean and Kosraean and then back-translated into English by different translators. This operation helped to insure the clearest possible comprehension of aspects of the instrument by the informants in the sample. We are grateful to the translators: Canston Lonno, Atalia Nena, Kanston Palsis, Jack Sigrah, Wyler Talley, Merilyn Waguk, from Kosrae; Serebiano Barnabas, Yalmer Helgenberger, Peter Joel, Dion Neth, from Ponape.

Administering the questionnaire in the field under the direction of the researchers required a number of interviewers without whom the data could not have been gathered: Swaiper Eliam, Maskie Jim, Koisimy Rudolph, Base Jack, Jefferson Peter, Meriam Prens, Farren Henry, Trihne Anson, Aklihno Shed, Bensner Etse, Rosendo Alex, Welmina Santos, Simon Awi, and Saped Santos in Ponape; Nena Kilafwasru, Kamsky Salik, John William, Hedges Esahu, Emius Nena, Teresita Talley, Almira Livaie, Adyna Shrew, Ranson Tilfas, and Junius Palik in Kosrae.

When data had been gathered it was aptly and tediously coded by Fichieko Phillip, Ichieko Phillip and Katrina Craig. Throughout the entire project the regular MARC staff members, especially Rosita Tosco and John Sablan, were a present and solid help. Jillette Leon-Guerrero Guest typed the report for final publication.

Of course the study itself could never have been attempted had it not been for all of the Micronesians who participated as informants. The encouragement and support of the island political leadership has been always a present help. All of us hope that the results of the study will be of material assistance in the formulation of educational policy in the new governments.

DIRK ANTHONY BALLENDORF  
Director, MARC  
University of Guam  
February 1981

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## INTRODUCTION

The purpose of the present study was to examine the situation of postsecondary education in Micronesia and why some students complete their college degrees while others "drop out". This is not a simple question and its importance may not be that obvious. The question contains two specific phenomena that are quite complex. First, people who have not completed a college degree at any given time include more than those who, strictly speaking, dropped out, never to finish their education. When asked, many indicate the completion of their degree has just been postponed. Some have transferred to another college and many "stop out", a term used to describe those who take time out from college studies only to return later (Cope and Hannah, 1975).

A second complexity for this study is that Micronesian students do not attend educational institutions indigenously evolved within their own cultures. The advent of Western education is very new to Micronesia, growing since the post war years and gaining momentum during the early 1960's under the Kennedy administration. There are colleges located within Micronesia and a majority of the students interviewed for this study attended colleges within the Pacific region. Yet, we are looking at a cross-cultural event. It is cross-cultural in that it consists of students from a number of nontechnological, island societies who have entered educational settings created for the purpose of an industrialized world. Due to these complexities, perhaps our concern over Micronesian dropouts should not imply a crisis situation. In fact, the results of the present research suggest the situation is very complex and that speculations about what the problems are must be made very cautiously.

It is unfortunate that the word "dropout" brings forth negative meanings and the thought that something is wrong. To a student's family and community this negativity is usually expressed in terms of money spent and lost benefits. The colleges fear criticism of failure and complain of wasted teacher effort. For a student it is often felt as a lost opportunity or as a personal shortcoming for not having finished a chosen goal. These negative meanings may be misleading for a clear understanding of what is happening, and why we should care. The research reported here makes a less disparaging assumption in order to explore in

greater depth the complexity of relationships between Micronesia, Micronesian college students, and the colleges they attend which affect degree completion. The importance of this approach is less the direct need to decrease the college dropout rate of Micronesians and more the indirect need to enhance the course of change and development occurring in Micronesia. The basis for this statement is illustrated best through an overview of the environment within which this research problem takes place. The following chapter presents such a phenomenological overview in greater detail and gives insight to the ultimate issue toward which this study aspires. The Micronesian students and ex-students interviewed openly expressed this need themselves as a lack of understanding about what college education is supposed to do for them and what they are supposed to do, and be, in order to fit in. The limitations of the present research did not permit this need to be directly addressed, but as an exploratory study into the events surrounding completers and non-completers of college degrees, it provides an initial step toward understanding the interlocking nature of Micronesia and modern Western society.

The actual results of the present study are much less definitive in character, yet their contribution as baseline explorations of empirical relationships must not be obviated. The methodological techniques used to collect and analyze the information upon which conclusions are based, and their limitations, are discussed in Appendix A. Chapter two consists of a description of the study population and an assessment of the situation in regard to Micronesian college completers and non-completers from Ponape and Kosrae. The remaining chapters present more detailed explorations of potential factors in the analysis of why some Micronesian college students do not complete degree programs.

It is hoped this is only the beginning of an effort to understand the interlocking nature of Micronesia and the modern world. In these terms the results of the study may possess both material value to the emerging nations of Micronesia and theoretical value to educators concerned with the effects of postsecondary educational processes on minority students and communities. The limited resources of Micronesia must be used wisely, and the knowledge generated by research must be relevant to the decisions which confront us.

## CHAPTER 1

### A PHENOMENOLOGICAL LOOK AT EDUCATION AND KNOWLEDGE IN MICRONESIA

When the United States became the trustee for Micronesia after World War II, one of the articles in the agreement stipulated that the administering power would do all it could to promote the social development of the people. This mandate meant that, essentially, there would be American models of social institutions introduced and this process began immediately, albeit slowly. As the years of the trusteeship passed, the Americans learned more and more about the meaning of social development in the context of Micronesia and about some of the inherent differences between the islands and mainland interpretations. This learning process is still underway.

In the late 1960's and early 1970's, a massive scholarship program was instituted by the United States for the purpose of making higher education available to a large segment of the younger Micronesian population. The beneficiaries of this program are very much in evidence today. More than any other segment of the population, they embody the confusion which attends the process of distinction between American and Micronesian notions of social development.

Of the great numbers who attended colleges and universities, Hezel's (1978) data and the present research suggest that about 40 percent failed to complete their degree programs. The reasons for this dropout rate, which is comparable to that of the U.S., can be partially determined by empirical analysis, and the report here does attempt this. But other analyses of a softer, subtler, and social nature are also needed and this is also being attempted, for without this side, we would be losing a vital distinction towards an understanding of the process under study.

Those of us who live in Micronesia tend to place emphasis on the size of the area and the distances involved in travel throughout the region. We delight in the expressions of wonderment on visitors' faces when we point out to them that when Majuro, in the Marshall Islands, calls on someone at the University of Guam for help it is roughly analogous to a call from a small school district in Long Island, New York,

asking a professor from the University of Wyoming to drop in for a few days. Yet, although the vast distances of open sea have been an important factor in the development of Micronesian cultures and societies, it is the land, or rather the lack of it, that has been the strongest shaping force. It is the concept and reality of limited land that has provided the fundamental impetus for the development and adaptation of the basic social institutions of Micronesia.

The organizational principles of a culture or society are given their form by the adaptive necessities of particular environmental settings and in Micronesia that means small discrete patches of land and meager resources. The available evidence seems to indicate that, given the limited amount of land available and a relatively high pre-contact population, before the arrival of Western technology, virtually all potentially productive land in Micronesia was either directly or indirectly involved in subsistence functions. This combination of limited land, long stretches of open seas between islands, and crowded communities has combined to form societies and cultures with strongly defined and enforced customs, mores, values, and belief systems. Members are quite clear as to their place in the scheme of things and complex lineages among persons and groups define, both implicitly and explicitly, the relationships between them. Colletta's (1980) description of the Ponapean way of life is illustrative:

*...Ponapeans view their world relationally and holistically. Their approach to the world involves a more encompassing multi-directive associational mental style. First-cause explanation is a marked feature of their logical makeup. There is little extensive secondary analysis....*  
*...there is little separation of the subjective being from the objective world....*  
*...there is little stress on a universal moral order for judging all behavior, only specific events, encounters, and relationships (situations) isolated in time and space with meager connective or generalizable value. Reality is for the moment, the situation and not for all men at all times in all places.*  
*...there is little individualized image of self among the Ponapeans...personal identity is rooted in the communal social order (p.11).*

When the Micronesians of today leave their islands for higher education abroad they also leave behind this sense of place and belonging and enter a social context that not only fails to give definition, but also encourages the expression of one's own needs and desires, one's individuality. With the old constraints on behavior removed, with no social structure to define morality, appropriate behaviors, or social and personal relationships, the Micronesian abroad faces a crisis. In the social context of the islands control was clear, enforced, and external; in the new context control is unclear, sporadic, and expected to be much more internal than external. The result, not infrequently, is a sense of lost security and realization that a strange, if not confusing world must be confronted: a world that does not simply recognize a person for who he or she is, but rather judges a person by what he/she is and what he/she does. In as much as Ponape and Kosrae possess one of the most tight-knit socio-political organizational structures in Micronesia, the problem is particularly acute for their students abroad. It is more than culture shock, for that implies the impact of the new; the reaction is drawn from the loss of the familiar. The schools, the colleges and universities have taken them in as a family might, but because the Western traditional concept of *'in loco parentis'* is *passee*, the schools have taken responsibility only for students' education. With no source of external control, and no developed internal mechanisms of control, the Micronesian student abroad may fall into patterns of behavior that preclude academic success.

Much of Micronesia today is in reality a created society. It is an arbitrary structure serving a vision developed mainly in alien places, rather than an evolutionary structure, serving the emerging needs of an indigenous population. Part of this process of attempting to create a new society has involved switching models from one culture to another, from the traditional to the modern. This switch or change should more accurately be termed a superimposition, as the old has not been replaced; rather the attempt has been to make it irrelevant. To fully understand the sorts of pressures and stresses placed on Micronesian young men and women caught up in this process, it is necessary to look closely at some of the differences between the old and the new. The most appropriate vehicle, for this study, would be the institution of education, most

particularly the disjunctions between the old and the new. The attempt will not, however, be made to locate and classify sets of behavior in order to illustrate a cultural pattern. This leads only to an abstract definition or description of behavior. Rather the attempt will be made to make inferences from behaviors that will cast light on underlying structures and principles that define the lives of people in Micronesia.

The anthropologist Solon Kimball (1974) points out that:

*...ordinarily the educational system reflects the social ordering found in social class and other institutions. It also expresses the cultural values and practices characteristic of these diverse and divergent social groupings. In this sense, education exhibits a marked congruency with other aspects of social life and culture. This affirms the interconnections between institutions and behavior (asserting neither determinancy or causality).*

*Formal education differs from other institutions in its crucial responsibility to transmit, consciously, designated segments of the heritage in order to reflect and perpetuate the existing system (p. 203).*

But in Micronesia, the educational system represents a culture and a social structure that is radically different from that of the clients. This disjuncture between institution and person is bound to have ill effects on the participants. It is not the purpose of this study to develop a complete sociological analysis of the phenomenon. Perhaps exploration of one facet will be illustrative.

At the very heart of the educational process is the sociology of knowledge. How knowledge, per se, is viewed, valued, and regulated is central. To examine the traditional Micronesian concept of knowledge may make clear some of the difficulties experienced by Micronesian students. This model of knowledge can also be used to explicate some of the real differences between the old and new educational systems.

In Micronesia, knowledge is private, not public property. People possessing certain knowledge hold it carefully and do not share it openly or arbitrarily. Every person has a particular role to play in the society and the knowledge necessary for him or her to play that role is carefully ascribed. The possessors of knowledge are consulted, as a matter of course, by others when the need arises; thus, the lasher of house rafters or the master outrigger builder is sought when needed.

Other members of society will not attempt to copy him but will rather defer to his expertise; nor will he broadcast himself or offer free vocational advice.

When the time comes for the possessor to pass on his or her knowledge, a complicated process for the careful selection of a successor is undertaken. The heir is selected by consensus decision and according to clan and family status as well as ability. This process may take many years to complete. Even after the selection is made and the apprenticeship begins, the master will not tell all he or she knows. There is always an area for discovery, development, innovation, and creativity on the part of the new expert, and the new expert will not exercise full authority until the old master dies. In this way the knowledge is handed down, as well as developed, adapted and modified, from one generation to the next. Historical knowledge is treated similarly. Only certain people know the charts, songs and stories of the emergence of the clan structures and power blocks. Of course, there will be different versions in these matters and arguments arise, sometimes even leading to violence, but all know whose prerogative it is to debate. In many ways this construct of knowledge is antithetical to the Western view and students attempting to make the crossover find few referents. The concept of knowledge is thus one of power and status to be guarded carefully rather than distributed freely. Knowledge however, is not the only way in which the evolutionary and the created differ.

This view of knowledge, coupled with the traditional learning style of identification, prolonged observation, imitation, and cooperative participation has given rise to a particular orientation towards education. Communication, as an educative process, takes place along hierarchical lines from superordinate to subordinate. The search for knowledge is viewed as the pursuit of a definitive answer or explanation from a higher authority rather than secondary analyses or critical dialogue. In traditional Micronesia there was no such thing as a school in the Western sense. All members of the community participated in all aspects of community life: social, religious, and economic. Each person participated when they were ready, and readiness was intrinsically determined by each individual according to the overlays of societal role boundaries. In traditional Micronesia there was no separation between education and life,



and in this there was commonality with traditional cultures in general. The idea of Western schools changed all this. Education, the transfer of skills and knowledge, took place in a certain place, at specific times, and took no cognizance whatsoever of social structure. Life took place at other times elsewhere.

There are other basic differences between the old and new, the evolutionary and the created. For example, competitiveness and motivation take different forms in traditional Micronesia. The individual is taught to give way to the group. People do not compare themselves to others for this would lead to bitterness and resentment or even violence and this would be intolerable given the limited living space. Besides, there are always greater or lesser people in the community without the necessity of competitive definition. Motivation in Micronesia, unlike Western form, is born not of a desire to succeed, but rather of a desire not to fail. This implies a passive and deferring learning style where risks are not taken lest one fail. In the classroom this is reflected in the non-questioning, non-responsive behavior exhibited by Micronesian students.

Beginning in 1972, a massive Trust Territory post-secondary education program got underway, one facet of which provided funds for Micronesians to go to the mainland and elsewhere to attend colleges and universities. These funds were transferred into what became known as "T.T. Scholarships". In typical fashion, the program was developed by non-Micronesians with little understanding of the potential socio-cultural problems that might result. Although initially, and sporadically thereafter, some academic achievement standards, such as high school transcripts, were applied as selection criteria, no standardized tests were used, or have been developed for use in this program. What most often transpired was that funds were simply awarded to those who made application to the program administrators at the Trust Territory Headquarters in Saipan with "family status" often the only functional criterion. Once the students left the Trust Territory, there was little or no attempt at accountability. Scholarships would be renewed year after year in spite of failing grades, or switching both college and courses of study.

For their part, the colleges that received the students offered

little real help, despite their good intentions. Counselors did not understand the Micronesian culture well, and in only one known instance did one visit the islands. Despite the knowledge that the Micronesian students as a group required more counseling time than any other foreign student group, few colleges and universities have the necessary resources to send their counseling staff on fact-finding tours. Many of the receiving schools were small, often religion-affiliated, places which valued, and were glad to get, the scholarship money provided by the Trust Territory. An average of \$4,000 per Micronesian student per year was available and many of these schools had, and still have, large numbers of Micronesians which certainly helps an otherwise falling academic economy in many instances.

Although no complete data is available, many of the Trust Territory scholarship recipients returned to their islands without degrees. Many returned to the remote islands to tell stories of their college adventure, and herein lies an interesting and important phenomenon of traditional Micronesia. Status accrues to these returnees whether or not they earned a degree and whether or not they did well at the school. In traditional Micronesia, relatively high status has always been awarded those who leave and return with interesting experiences and stories to tell. This fact would constitute one of the prime traditional definitions of education: to go away and come back. It has its roots in the days of European exploitation when ship captains impressed islanders as seamen. This practice continued through the nineteenth century whaling days when many Micronesians were taken aboard ships for distant voyages. Today, for many Micronesians, there is no real difference between a young man who ships aboard a freighter for a two year voyage to distant lands and returns and the young man who goes off to a small college in Weeping Water, Nebraska, for two years and returns. Both have been "educated", both have interesting stories to tell, both are worthy of respect.

Clearly this lack of congruency among society, culture, and educational process troubles Micronesian students. Throughout the course of numerous personal interviews with Micronesian students and former students, the predominant expression was one of puzzlement and confusion. There is a lack of understanding about what this education

is supposed to do for them and what they are supposed to do, and be, in order to fit in. As David Nevin (1976) states in his study of Micronesia:

*When you tour Micronesia to look at education, you see the dilemma laid out in full. It becomes ever more clear that while people see education as the avenue to the new success, their understanding of the interlocking nature of modern western society is so slight that they remain blind to the plain fact that their own society contains so little that is capable of supporting the new ways. Surely it is the cruelest irony that it is education itself that exacerbates their blind hopes, as year by year it trains their children away from the old culture and toward an ambiguous academic form that is supposed to be consistent -- in some unknown way -- with the modern world and with its advantages (p.148).*

The ultimate community concern that led to the study reported here was this desire that educational development in Micronesia become consistent with the modern world. The first step toward some kind of consistency that is not "exacerbating" is to obtain assessments of the situation in order to accurately and specifically define problem areas. One aspect of the situation is the difference between the new and the old which frames the sort of pressures placed on Micronesian students caught up in the educational process. It is a vital distinction for placing the findings of subsequent chapters in perspective, and it is important if educational innovations are to be effective. Perhaps a final and capping irony is that the "new" education has been sold so well that when innovative attempts have been made to draw from traditional forms to restructure education, these attempts have been rejected as "not real education."

## CHAPTER 2

### COLLEGE ATTENDANCE AND DEGREE COMPLETION: AN ASSESSMENT OF THE SITUATION

Given the social environment of the research problem described in the opening section, the aim of this study was to collect information from a sample of Micronesians, investigate the situation in regard to college attendance, and to explore the reasons for students returning without completing a degree. The explosion in college attendance by Micronesians over the last decade reported by Hezel (1978) is continuing. The Micronesian News Service (1980) recently stated that more than 2,051 students were receiving aid from the Trust Territories Student Assistance Office to attend colleges, and this does not include those students attending regional colleges at their own expense. There is very little factual information available for educators and policy makers to assess what is happening with these students. How "successful" is this education effort and why do some finish while others do not? A few studies of Micronesian college students have been conducted but they barely scratch the surface of what needs to be known. Larson (1979) and Morikawa (1975) interviewed small samples of Micronesian students in the United States about their college experiences. The present research hoped to scratch a bit deeper in order to advance our knowledge of the situation one step further.

The findings of the study reported here were based on information collected through an interviewer-administered questionnaire with additional information obtained from high school and college transcripts, and a number of descriptive reference books on colleges and universities. A more detailed presentation and discussion of the research methodology is given in Appendix A. The islands of Ponape and Kosrae were selected for the research effort in order to concentrate the collection of data from a sizeable number of subjects. Furthermore, Hezel (1978) and Larson (1979) focused their studies on the situation among Trukese college students, and thus, this study partly expands available information to include two additional island districts. The target population consisted of Ponapean and Kosraean high school graduates between 1965 and 1978 who formed the base from which college attendees emerged. A list of names was randomly drawn from graduates of the Pacific Islands Central School in Ponape and

from Kosrae High School between the years 1968 and 1975. To ensure that an adequate proportion of informants had attended college, the list was supplemented with names of Ponapean and Kosraean students who received financial aid from the Trust Territories Student Assistance Office located on Saipan. Trained interviewers from each island self-selected names for contact. A total of 152 completed questionnaires, 90 from Ponape and 62 from Kosrae, were obtained.

Because of the supplementation with names from the Student Assistance Office and the self-selection of contacts by interviewers, the resultant study sample was not a true random sample. This restricts any justification to generalize the findings beyond the study sample. In addition, there are social and cultural differences among the island districts of Micronesia. However, an overview of the sample and comparison with the independent findings of Hezel (1978) suggest that the sample strongly reflects the situation of Micronesian college students.

#### The Study Sample and Setting

The social and educational characteristics of the study sample are presented in Table 2-1. A majority of the sample were male (79%). This proportion closely matches that of the target population of high school graduates who are the base from which attendees emerge. Hezel (1978) reported data that showed the proportion of males among Trukese high school graduates to be about 69 percent and among Trukese attending or graduated from college to be about 75 percent. The present study's sample had graduated from high school at least two years prior to the survey with about half (45%) graduating after 1972. The year of 1972 is a meaningful date since it was at that time that federal financial aid became available and the college explosion in Micronesia began. The proportion of the sample population who attended college (80%) is inflated from a reasonable estimate for the general population due to the sampling technique. However, Hezel reported that over 60 percent of Trukese high school graduates attended college in 1975 and 1976. In general, the study sample matches reported data on the situation in Truk and appears to reflect expected characteristics of our target population. The observation that Ponapeans and Kosraeans tend to start college immediately after high school graduation (84%) supports an assumption

that a large proportion of the sample who attended college had the minimum opportunity to at least complete a two-year college degree program.

TABLE 2-1. SOCIAL AND EDUCATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE TOTAL SAMPLE.

<u>Island Sampled*</u>	(N=152)	<u>Gender</u>	(N=147)
Ponape	60	Male	79
Kosrae	40	Female	21
	<u>100%</u>		<u>100%</u>
<u>Current Age</u>	(N=138)	<u>High School Graduation</u>	(N=147)
21 to 26 years	36	1965 to 1968	14
27 to 30 years	33	1969 to 1972	41
31 to 39 years	31	1973 to 1978	45
	<u>100%</u>		<u>100%</u>
<u>Attended College</u>	(N=152)	<u>Time between High School and College</u>	(N=119)
NO	20	1 year or less	84
YES	80	Over 1 year	16
	<u>100%</u>		<u>100%</u>

\*The number of cases (N) will vary from the total due to incomplete or missing data.

The subsistence and employment characteristics of the study sample are shown in Table 2-2. The vast majority of the sample was employed (85%) with only 15 percent not in the labor force. Seventy percent of the sample engaged in some type of horticultural, fishing or handicraft subsistence activity. One does not earn, or need for that matter, a substantial salaried income in order to provide for basic needs within these island economies. About half of the study sample earned between \$101 and \$200 bi-monthly, or \$2400 to \$4800 a year and few (18%) earned incomes from their subsistence labor. The economic situation in Micronesia is such that college graduates, nongraduates and those who do not go to college can achieve relatively comparable standards of living that are respectable.

TABLE 2-2. SUBSISTENCE AND EMPLOYMENT CHARACTERISTICS OF THE TOTAL SAMPLE.

Frequency of Subsistence Activity*	(N=151)	"Is Income Earned From Subsistence Activity?"	(N=150)
Rarely	30	Yes	18
Often	70	No	82
	<u>100%</u>		<u>100%</u>
Employment for a Salaried Income	(N=148)	Bi-monthly Income**	(N=146)
Employed	85	\$100 or less	32
Looking for Work	7	\$101 to \$200	49
Not Looking	8	\$201 or more	19
	<u>100%</u>		<u>100%</u>

\*Informants were asked "How often do you do subsistence work activity such as growing/gathering food, fishing, or handicrafts?" Often combines the responses "Everyday" and "1 or 2 times a month" while Rarely combines the responses "A few times a year" and "never".

\*\*The distribution by income was not restricted to those employed for salaried income since the source was not specified.

This economic picture in Kosrae and Ponape is similar to the situation in Truk. Hezel found that most Trukese college students in the last decade have returned and found employment. His point was that demographic and economic conditions have not yet shifted to create pressures toward a speculated "brain drain" or job crunch for college students. As Hezel (1978) states:

*...like the early high school graduates who were fortunate enough to be able to return to both family and a job on their home island, these college degree holders have found both a cultural home and employment upon their return from abroad (p.179).*

The economies of Ponape and Kosrae have also been able to absorb their college attendees into their labor forces to date, at least among this sample population.