

## THE EMIGRANTS

### Introduction

The Republic of Palau's Compact of Free Association, from now on referred to as "the Compact", implemented in October, 1994, grants its citizens free access to the United States and its territories. This created new opportunities for Palauans, who hitherto had been allowed into the United States for schooling but not for employment. It also opened a new and unique chapter in Pacific Islander migration. Here we will look at some of the characteristics of the migrants, and compare them with the Palauans who remain in Palau.

The first significant emigration from the Republic of Palau began in the years before the implementation of the Compact with the United States of America in 1994, as hundreds of Palau citizens left for Guam and Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands. The numbers decreased dramatically years after the implementation of the Compact, to Guam and the CNMI. After the Compact implementation, new opportunities in the labor market and education became available in the US Mainland, and also back in Palau. These migrants probably moved with the new flow of opportunities, and left Guam and CNMI. This is not surprising because of Palau's low population growth and a lot of work opportunities that came with the influx of the Compact funds.

The migrants moved either to the US Mainland, Hawaii or Palau. Those who left had the freedom to return home and back due to the removal of immigration barriers by the Compact. At the same time, 1994 was the beginning of the reduction of the large US subsidies to which Palau had become accustomed to since the 1960s.

Unfortunately, although the 1995 Census tried to collect simultaneous data on Palauan emigrants, much of the collected data was ambiguous. In order to compare the collected 1995 data with outside sources, we used two sources: the 1997 Census of Micronesians on Guam and the 1998 Survey of Micronesian Migrants to the CNMI. We compare these data with the 1990 Censuses of Palau, Guam and CNMI. These data shed light not only the differences between the immigrants and the Palauans who remain in Palau, but also the differences between the migrants to Guam and CNMI.

The 1997 Census showed that 560 persons born in the Republic of Palau had migrated to Guam, and the 1998 Survey showed 1,063 Palau-born persons having migrated to the CNMI. The number of persons born in Palau who migrated to Guam decreased by 1,233 in 1990 (1990 Guam Census), to 560 in 1997 (1997 Census of Micronesians, Guam). The number of Palau-born migrants to CNMI decreased by 1,407 in 1990 (1990 CNMI Census) to 1,063 in 1998 (Survey of Micronesian Migrants, CNMI).

The numbers do not show the exact number of Palauans living in Guam and the CNMI, as those who were born in Guam and CNMI to Palauan migrants were not included. This is because we want to show only the migration trend from Palau to Guam and the CNMI.

### Demography

The earliest Palau migrants to Guam and CNMI were predominantly young people, mostly males, in search of jobs. Many of the original households were inherently unstable, composed of several young men in their twenties or thirties working at low-paying jobs and pooling their income to cover rent and other expenses. In the absence of a viable authority structure and generational depth, such "peer-group households," as Rubinstein terms them, were continually "dissolving and reforming, with new arrivals coming in, others moving out" (Rubinstein 1993:260). These households inevitably follow the immigration model found so often around the world, as two generation and later multi-generation households have been forming. What is somewhat surprising is the rapidity of the change. Where other migrant communities in other places take a generation or two to form nuclear families, even with many loosely related kin and friends, the process has been slowed down considerably in the Palauan case. Rubinstein noted (1993:260-1) that in recent years household members are being selected according to kinship principles seen in the home populations, with grandparents and other older people being added, giving the household important generational depth. The Palau case was in fact in complete contrast to this.

Table 14.1 shows the difference in ages among residents in the Republic of Palau and among the migrants before and after the Compact implementation. The median age — the point where half the population is older and half younger — was 23.6 years for Palau residents and about 24 years for migrants in 1990. In the post-Compact period, the median age for the Palauan migrants went up to 37.6 years for Guam and 32.1 years for the CNMI. This indicates that the second and third generation migrants are giving birth to children outside of Palau, and very little Palau-born young migrants are emigrating to Guam or the CNMI.

Table 14.1. Population distribution by Age, 1990/95 Palauans & Palau-born in Guam & CNMI: 1997/98

Age	1990				1995				1997		1998	
	Total	Palau	Guam	CNMI	Total	Palau	Guam	CNMI	Total	Palau	Guam	CNMI
Total	14,961	12,321	1,233	1,407	14,099	12,476	560	1,063				
0 to 4	1,472	1,391	23	58	1,553	1,514	9	30				
5 to 9	1,432	1,355	28	49	1,402	1,335	17	50				
10 to 14	1,574	1,411	48	115	1,369	1,291	8	70				
15 to 19	1,597	1,342	107	148	1,177	1,073	21	83				
20 to 24	1,330	934	178	218	1,101	935	61	105				
25 to 29	1,353	1,002	150	201	1,114	917	66	131				
30 to 34	1,238	920	133	185	1,187	963	73	151				
35 to 39	1,114	848	145	121	1,100	918	49	133				
40 to 44	826	623	103	100	961	782	60	119				
45 to 49	641	499	86	56	768	633	56	79				
50 to 54	535	408	75	52	543	456	37	50				
55 to 59	436	348	59	29	454	401	27	26				
60 to 64	436	358	54	24	375	321	31	23				
65 to 69	347	312	22	13	339	307	28	4				
70 to 74	277	241	12	24	282	263	13	6				
75 + yrs	353	329	10	14	374	367	4	3				
Median	23.3	23.6	24.2	23.6	29.9	25.5	37.6	32.1				

Source: 1990 and 1995 Palau Censuses, 1997 Guam and 1998 CNMI Surveys of Micronesians

Less than 1 in every 10 Guam migrants was less than 20 years old, compared to more than 2 in 10 of the CNMI migrants, and more than 4 in 10 of those residing in the Republic of Palau. On the other hand, the bulk of the migrants to both Guam and the CNMI were between 20 and 49 years, not surprising since these are ages when migration is easiest.

A look at the older end of the population distribution tells a similar story, with elderly migrants (60 and older) representing more than 3 percent of the CNMI population, compared to 14 percent on Guam. This age group comprises about 10 percent of the total population of the Republic of Palau.

In the early years of the migration, the distribution of the ages by sex probably differed considerably, but by the time of the surveys and the census, the distributions were about the same, and about the same as for the total population (Tables

14.2 and 14.3).

Table 14.2. Age distribution for males, 1990/95 Palauans & Palau-born in Guam & CNMI: 1997/98

Age	1990				Total	1995	1997	1998
	Total	Palau	Guam	CNMI		Palau	Guam	CNMI
Total	7,531	6,339	526	666	7,188	6,405	257	526
0 to 4	745	703	15	27	809	788	4	17
5 to 9	742	695	15	32	712	686	6	20
10 to 14	829	746	22	61	723	677	6	40
15 to 19	834	722	42	70	640	583	10	47
20 to 24	688	500	81	107	601	519	30	52
25 to 29	709	553	62	94	558	470	33	55
30 to 34	624	490	49	85	628	523	35	70
35 to 39	560	455	60	45	594	490	25	79
40 to 44	424	335	42	47	506	421	23	62
45 to 49	311	249	35	27	399	335	27	37
50 to 54	254	201	29	24	254	221	12	21
55 to 59	209	164	34	11	204	181	11	12
60 to 64	194	156	23	15	171	146	16	9
65 to 69	155	139	10	6	139	125	12	2
70 to 74	124	112	3	9	119	110	6	3
75 + yrs	129	119	4	6	131	130	1	-
Median	22.6	22.6	22.5	22.6	25.4	24.5	35.9	32.3

Source: 1990 and 1995 Palau Censuses, 1997 Guam and 1998 CNMI Surveys of Micronesians

Table 14.3. Age distribution for Females, 1990/95 Palauans & Palau-born in Guam & CNMI: 1997/98

Age	1990				Total	1995	1997	1998
	Total	Palau	Guam	CNMI		Palau	Guam	CNMI
Total	7,430	5,982	707	741	6,911	6,071	303	537
0 to 4	727	688	8	31	744	726	5	13
5 to 9	690	660	13	17	690	649	11	30
10 to 14	745	665	26	54	646	614	2	30
15 to 19	763	620	65	78	537	490	11	36
20 to 24	642	434	97	111	500	416	31	53
25 to 29	644	449	88	107	556	447	33	76
30 to 34	614	430	84	100	559	440	38	81
35 to 39	554	393	85	76	506	428	24	54
40 to 44	402	288	61	53	455	361	37	57
45 to 49	330	250	51	29	369	298	29	42
50 to 54	281	207	46	28	289	235	25	29
55 to 59	227	184	25	18	250	220	16	14
60 to 64	242	202	31	9	204	175	15	14
65 to 69	192	173	12	7	200	182	16	2
70 to 74	153	129	9	15	163	153	7	3
75 + yrs	224	210	6	8	243	237	3	3
Median	24.1	23.6	25.9	24.5	28.0	26.6	39.3	31.9

Source: 1990 and 1995 Palau Censuses, 1997 Guam and 1998 CNMI Surveys of Micronesians

The median age for males in Palau was about a year younger than for the females; the median ages for males and

females were about the same in the CNMI, and males were more than 3 years younger than females on Guam, which could reflect a selective migration of both sexes to Guam.

Probably the most striking measure of the contrast between migrants to Guam and the CNMI is in the dependency ratio — that is, the number of dependent children and elderly for every 100 workers. While Guam's dependency ratio was 16 dependents for every 100 workers, the ratio was 18 in the CNMI. Guam's dependency ratio went up by 3 from the 1990 Census, but CNMI's went down by six. The dependency ratio has almost evened out, compared to 1990 when Guam's dependency ratio was 13 and CNMI 24 for every 100 workers.

The 1995 Census showed about 106 males for every 100 females in the Republic of Palau. The overall ratio for migrants to Guam was 85, showing about more than 3 for every 4 females. In the CNMI however, the overall ratio almost evened out, with 98 males per 100 females. The higher percentage of women in both Guam and the CNMI might be attributed in part to higher paying jobs made accessible by the implementation of the Compact, and a better chance for women to move up the "corporate ladder" in Guam and the CNMI.

Table 14.4. Males per 100 Females by Age Group, 1990/95 Palauans & Palau-born in Guam & CNMI: 1997/98

Age	1990				Total	1995				1997		1998	
	Total	Palau	Guam	CNMI		Palau	Guam	CNMI	Palau	Guam	CNMI		
Total	4,459	1,606	1,329	1,522	4,566	1,591	1,491	1,484					
0 to 4	377	102	188	87	320	109	80	131					
5 to 9	408	105	115	188	228	106	55	67					
10 to 14	310	112	85	113	543	110	300	133					
15 to 19	271	116	65	90	341	119	91	131					
20 to 24	295	115	84	96	320	125	97	98					
25 to 29	281	123	70	88	277	105	100	72					
30 to 34	257	114	58	85	297	119	92	86					
35 to 39	246	116	71	59	364	114	104	146					
40 to 44	274	116	69	89	288	117	62	109					
45 to 49	262	100	69	93	293	112	93	88					
50 to 54	246	97	63	86	214	94	48	72					
55 to 59	286	89	136	61	237	82	69	86					
60 to 64	318	77	74	167	254	83	107	64					
65 to 69	249	80	83	86	244	69	75	100					
70 to 74	180	87	33	60	258	72	86	100					
75 + yrs	199	57	67	75	88	55	33	-					

Source: 1990 and 1995 Palau Censuses, 1997 Guam and 1998 CNMI Surveys of Micronesians

For Guam, the decline of males appear at almost every age group, peaking at 55 males per 100 females for the age group 5 to 9 years and, 48 for ages 40 to 44 and 33 for ages 75 years and over. The same is true for CNMI with 67 males per 100 females for the age group 5 to 9 years and, 64 for the 60 to 64 year age group. With new and better job opportunities available for women in Guam and the CNMI, this migration trend is not surprising.

Marital status of migrants is also an important way of looking at the migration trend. Usually, it is easier for unmarried persons to migrate, but after the implementation of the Compact, the migration was, in effect, coming to a standstill, with migrants moving out of Guam and the CNMI. This is surprising indeed, since it was expected to be the other way around. The marital status for males and females in Guam went up to 67 percent and 64 percent respectively from the 1990 Census count, while CNMI went up by 58 and 53 percent respectively for males and females. Palau went up by 54 and 55 percent respectively, showing little change from the 1990 Census. This shows that a certain percentage who migrated to Guam and the CNMI before the Compact implementation are married now and having children, and are not moving back. But the single migrants are moving back out of Guam and the CNMI, as they are not yet settled down, thus migration is easiest.

Marital Status	Total	1990			Total	1995	1997	1998
		Palau	Guam	CNMI				
Males, 15+ yrs	5,215	4,195	474	546	4,944	4,254	241	449
Never married	2,293	1,841	194	258	1,946	1,700	74	172
Now married	2,611	2,089	255	267	2,700	2,279	162	259
Separated	110	99	2	9	82	74	1	7
Widowed	81	71	5	5	86	79	1	6
Divorced	120	95	18	7	130	122	3	5
Females, 15+ yrs	5,268	3,969	660	639	4,831	4,082	285	464
Never married	1,678	1,202	212	264	1,293	1,069	62	162
Now married	2,724	2,104	335	285	2,689	2,263	181	245
Separated	134	99	15	20	122	93	3	26
Widowed	526	430	43	53	530	482	27	21
Divorced	206	134	55	17	197	175	12	10

Source: 1990 and 1995 Palau Censuses, 1997 Guam and 1998 CNMI Surveys of Micronesians

By age 49, most women have completed their families. The data on children ever born in the census showed that the average woman in the Republic of Palau in 1995 aged 45 to 49 have had 3.8 children. This was also the value for the migrant females of this age group in the CNMI; however, women of this age group residing in Guam had fewer children, only 2.8, on average. Similarly, at ages 40 to 44 years, the average for Guam of 2.2 was between 1.5 and 1 child less than for Palau and for migrants to the CNMI. This was also true for all age groups, as Guam migrants consistently had fewer children than those in the Republic of Palau and the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands.

Age of Woman	Total	1990			Total	1995	1997	1998
		Palau	Guam	CNMI				
Total	1.8	1.8	2.0	2.1	1.7	2.0	1.5	2.0
15 to 19	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	-	0.1
20 to 24	0.7	0.8	0.6	0.8	0.6	0.8	0.2	0.6
25 to 29	1.4	1.6	1.4	1.6	1.1	1.5	0.9	1.4
30 to 34	2.1	2.2	2.2	2.6	1.8	2.3	1.5	2.1
35 to 39	3.0	3.3	2.7	3.4	2.4	2.8	2.1	2.9
40 to 44	3.7	3.8	3.8	4.3	3.0	3.7	2.2	3.1
45 to 49	4.4	4.6	4.3	4.4	3.5	3.8	2.8	3.8

Source: 1990 and 1995 Palau Censuses, 1997 Guam and 1998 CNMI Surveys of Micronesians

While the average female migrant to Guam aged 20 to 24 years had about 0.2 children, the average migrant to the CNMI had 0.6 children, while Palau had 0.8 children for women of this age group. The average for women 25 to 29 years in Palau and CNMI had about 1.5 children per woman compared to only 0.9 on Guam. Once again, fewer women with children are migrating out of Palau, proving once again that the migration trend is now reversing.

### Social Characteristics

About 8 percent of the Republic of Palau population stated English as their first language. Here, we must use first reported language for comparability with the migrants to Guam and the CNMI. About 24 percent of Guam migrants spoke English at home, and about 14 percent of CNMI migrants stated English as their first language.

Language	Total	1990			Total	1995	1997	1998
		Palau	Guam	CNMI		Palau	Guam	CNMI
Total	13,489	10,930	1,210	1,349	12,546	10,962	551	1,033
Speak English	252	74	145	33	1,184	907	130	147
Palauan	12,725	10,718	937	1,070	10,893	9,723	401	769
Other language	512	138	128	246	469	332	20	117
Chamorro	240	1	76	163	51	-	1	50
Carolinian	18	-	5	13	306	294	-	12
Chuukese	22	-	4	18	47	-	12	35
Kosraean	3	1	1	1	2	-	1	1
Marshallese	11	9	-	2	2	-	1	1
Pohnpeian	5	-	3	2	12	-	3	9
Yapese	4	1	2	1	8	-	-	8
Other Pacific	87	62	6	19	7	5	2	-
Asian	93	47	24	22	32	31	-	1
Other Language	29	17	7	5	2	2	-	-

Source: 1990 and 1995 Palau Censuses, 1997 Guam and 1998 CNMI Surveys of Micronesians

At home, Palauans tend to speak their own language with about 89 percent for Palau, 73 percent for Guam and 74 percent for the CNMI. Those who stated languages other than English and Palauan were about 3 percent for Palau, 4 percent for Guam, and 11 percent for the CNMI. Chamorro was the dominant language for this group. These are migrants who have been living in Guam and CNMI prior to the Compact implementation, and are probably married to persons of Chamorro descent.

For education, the percentage of high school graduates 25 years and over for Guam and Palau are almost the same. But for the CNMI, high school graduates are about 25 percent higher for both Guam and Palau. The percentage of those who have had some college education or are currently attending college is a little bit higher for Guam, with about 29 percent. These are probably students who are enrolled either at the University of Guam or the Guam Community College.

Educational Attainment	Total	1990			Total	1995	1997	1998
		Palau	Guam	CNMI		Palau	Guam	CNMI
Total, (25+ yrs)	7,556	5,888	849	819	7,497	6,328	444	725
None	170	131	31	8	273	268	1	4
Elem: 1 to 4	698	633	31	34	442	419	8	15
Elem: 5 & 6	962	834	65	63	613	560	29	24
Elem: 7	101	79	12	10	118	108	5	5
Elem: 8	470	393	38	39	393	363	10	20
HS: 1	511	422	48	41	482	427	23	32
HS: 2	207	145	34	28	233	199	19	15
HS: 3	200	164	22	14	234	204	9	21
HS: 4	164	112	22	30	278	245	17	16
HS graduate	2,003	1,384	279	340	1,983	1,464	122	397
Some college	815	555	178	82	1,018	811	129	78
AA/AS occup	394	349	19	26	443	391	17	35
AA/AS academic	263	217	10	36	348	318	12	18
Bachelor's degree	493	392	48	53	536	466	34	36
Grad/prof degree	105	78	12	15	103	85	9	9

Source: 1990 and 1995 Palau Censuses, 1997 Guam and 1998 CNMI Surveys of Micronesians

For the data shown here, we see that almost 1 in every 4 of the 1995 Palau resident population 25 years and over were

high school graduates, and about the same proportion also for the Guam migrants were high school graduates too. For the CNMI, more than half of the migrants were high school graduates.

About 1 in 8 of the Palauans in Palau have had some college or are currently attending college, and for the migrants to Guam, about 1 in 3 have had some college, while the CNMI has about 1 in 9 migrants who have had some college. The high percentage of migrants who have some college in Guam, again, is definitely due to the University of Guam and the Guam Community College.

For those who have graduated with Bachelor's degrees or higher, we see that a large proportion of these have migrated to Guam, with about 10 percent compared to 9 percent for Palau and 6 percent for the CNMI. In percentage of college graduates is a measure of the "Brain Drain", we see that there exist a drainage of highly educated persons in Palau, small percentage as it maybe, but growing.

The higher level of educational attainment are also seen in the percentages of those with 8 years of schooling or above. While about 79 percent of the Republic of Palau's adult population had 8 or more years of schooling, this was true for more than 90 percent of the adult migrants in Guam, and more than 93 percent of those in the CNMI.

For males, about 24 percent of Palau resident males 25 years and over were high school graduates compared to 29 percent of those on Guam, and 59 percent of the male migrants in the CNMI. And for the college graduates, 21 percent of Palau residents were college graduates compared to about 18 percent for Guam and 10 percent for the CNMI migrants.

Table 14.9 Educational Attainment of Males age 25 & over, 1990/95 Palauans & Palau-born in Guam & CNMI: 1997/98

Educational Attainment	Total	1990			Total	1995	1997	1998
		Palau	Guam	CNMI				
Total, (25+ yrs)	3,693	2,973	351	369	3,703	3,152	201	350
None	69	60	8	1	81	78	1	2
Elem: 1 to 4	205	182	11	12	126	123	-	3
Elem: 5 & 6	452	401	19	32	269	251	13	5
Elem: 7	59	49	6	4	63	60	1	2
Elem: 8	240	212	11	17	212	198	4	10
HS: 1	236	212	12	12	226	205	6	15
HS: 2	98	77	10	11	133	117	6	10
HS: 3	104	89	10	5	115	99	5	11
HS: 4	82	62	9	11	158	143	6	9
HS graduate	1,005	707	128	170	1,026	761	59	206
Some college	457	338	80	39	552	447	64	41
AA/AS occup	252	226	10	16	266	237	9	20
AA/AS academic	123	109	5	9	162	152	7	3
Bachelor's degree	243	198	25	20	249	226	14	9
Grad/prof degree	68	51	7	10	65	55	6	4

Source: 1990 and 1995 Palau Censuses, 1997 Guam and 1998 CNMI Surveys of Micronesians

For the females, we see that fewer females 25 years and over had graduated from high school compared to males of the same age group. For the Palau female residents, 22.1 percent had graduated compared to 25.9 percent for Guam and 50.9 percent for the CNMI female migrants. About the same percentage level of high school graduates for males and

females migrated to Guam and the CNMI. These percentages show an outward pull from Guam as compared to the 1990 Census count, with female Guam migrants registering 30.3 percent, or about 5 percent more than the 1997 survey.

Table 14.10 Educational Attainment of Females age 25 & over, 1990/95 Palauans & Palau-born in Guam & CNMI: 1997/98

Educational Attainment	Total	1990			Total	1995	1997	1998
		Palau	Guam	CNMI		Palau	Guam	CNMI
Total, (25+ yrs)	3,863	2,915	498	450	3,794	3,176	243	375
None	101	71	23	7	192	190	-	2
Elem: 1 to 4	493	451	20	22	316	296	8	12
Elem: 5 & 6	510	433	46	31	344	309	16	19
Elem: 7	42	30	6	6	55	48	4	3
Elem: 8	230	181	27	22	181	165	6	10
HS: 1	275	210	36	29	256	222	17	17
HS: 2	109	68	24	17	100	82	13	5
HS: 3	96	75	12	9	119	105	4	10
HS: 4	82	50	13	19	120	102	11	7
HS graduate	998	677	151	170	957	703	63	191
Some college	358	217	98	43	466	364	65	37
AA/AS occup	142	123	9	10	177	154	8	15
AA/AS academic	140	108	5	27	186	166	5	15
Bachelor's degree	250	194	23	33	287	240	20	27
Grad/prof degree	37	27	5	5	38	30	3	5

Source: 1990 and 1995 Palau Censuses, 1997 Guam and 1998 CNMI Surveys of Micronesians

The data for college graduates show lowered levels of educational attainment for females, as compared to the data for male educational attainment, except for the CNMI, where 16.5 percent of the female migrants had higher education as compared to males with 10.3 percent.

These data shows that the outflow of migrants to Guam and the CNMI can be called a "brain drain" in the usual sense of that term. They also confirm that those Palauans with the best degrees, and thus the brightest prospects for employment, will emigrate for better employment opportunities and pay. Those who have left home are most frequently those who would be enrolling in school or would enter the labor pool where pay is substantially better than those in Palau.

### Economic activity

We now look at the labor force status of the Palau migrants and compare them to the Palau residents, as well as the pre-Compact period.



About 59.3 percent of Palau's population 16 years and over in 1995 were in the labor force, compared to about 53.6 percent for Guam migrants and 69 percent for the CNMI. About 67.4 percent of the Palau resident males were in the labor force, compared to 68.5 percent for Guam and 77.1 percent for the CNMI migrants; for females, about 50.9 percent of the resident females were in the labor force, compared to 41.0 percent for Guam and 61.2 percent for the CNMI migrants.

Labor Force Participation	Total	1990			Total	1995	1997	1998
		Palau	Guam	CNMI		Palau	Guam	CNMI
Total, 16+ yrs	10,146	7,874	1,118	1,154	9,542	8,121	521	900
In labor force	5,624	4,161	648	815	5,715	4,815	279	621
Percent	55.4	52.8	58.0	70.6	59.9	59.3	53.6	69.0
Males, 16+ years	5,047	4,045	468	534	4,806	4,127	238	441
In labor force	3,249	2,503	339	407	3,284	2,781	163	340
Percent	64.4	61.9	72.4	76.2	68.3	67.4	68.5	77.1
Females, 16+ years	5,099	3,829	650	620	4,736	3,994	283	459
In labor force	2,375	1,658	309	408	2,431	2,034	116	281
Percent	46.6	43.3	47.5	65.8	51.3	50.9	41.0	61.2

Source: 1990 and 1995 Palau Censuses, 1997 Guam and 1998 CNMI Surveys of Micronesians

Even these data show changes from pre-Compact period. The data on labor force participation, while extremely susceptible to the whims of inflation/deflation and recession/expansion of the major powers like the United States and Japan, also can show real change. It is useful to note that the percentage of adult Palauans on Guam and CNMI who were employed decreased from 58.0 and 70.6 percent respectively from 1990 to 53.6 and 69.0 percent respectively, while Palau increased from 52.8 percent in 1990 to 59.3 percent. The decrease in percentage changes for Guam and CNMI are about the same increase in percentage for Palau.

These data also shows that a lot of migrants returned back to Palau after the implementation of the Compact, except for Palau male migrants 16 years and over in the CNMI. Male migrants to the CNMI increased from 76.2 percent in 1990 to about 77.1 percent, or a 1.1 percent increase. This is probably due to the garment factories in the CNMI, and also males tend to migrate easier than females.

Occupation	1990				1995				1997				1998			
	Total	Palau	Guam	CNMI	Total	Palau	Guam	CNMI	Total	Palau	Guam	CNMI	Total	Palau	Guam	CNMI
Total, (16+ yrs)	6,969	5,599	602	768	5,159	4,330	268	561								
Managers and Profess	1,549	1,346	78	125	1,496	1,362	46	88								
Tech, sales, admin	1,650	1,208	173	269	1,469	1,203	58	208								
Service	1,450	1,107	193	150	811	646	80	85								
Farm, fish	376	359	4	13	329	323	2	4								
Crafts	1,079	942	72	65	401	338	31	32								
Oper., fabr, labor	865	637	82	146	627	458	39	130								
Unknown (incl AF)	-	-	-	-	26	-	12	14								
Total Males, 16+ yrs	4,240	3,542	318	380	2,978	2,512	157	309								
Managers and Profess	864	775	40	49	743	684	28	31								
Tech, sales, admin	617	472	68	77	561	451	20	90								
Service	600	463	58	79	464	374	36	54								
Farm, fish	349	332	4	13	260	255	2	3								
Crafts	1,040	907	71	62	375	317	28	30								
Oper., fabr, labor	770	593	77	100	559	431	36	92								
Unknown (incl AF)	-	-	-	-	16	-	7	9								
Total Females, 16 + yrs	2,729	2,057	284	388	2,181	1,818	111	252								
Managers and Profess	685	571	38	76	753	678	18	57								
Tech, sales, admin	1,033	736	105	192	908	752	38	118								
Service	850	644	135	71	347	272	44	31								
Farm, fish	27	27	-	-	69	68	-	1								
Crafts	39	35	1	3	26	21	3	2								
Oper., fabr, labor	95	44	5	46	68	27	3	38								
Unknown (incl AF)	-	-	-	-	10	-	5	5								

Source: 1990 and 1995 Palau Censuses, 1997 Guam and 1998 CNMI Surveys of Micronesians

About 28 percent of the employed Palauan residents were in technical, sales and administrative support occupations, a second level of "white collar" workers. Only about 22 percent of the Guam workers were in these occupations, and 37 percent of these workers were in the CNMI.

On the other hand, about 30 percent, or 1 in every 3, Guam migrants were in service occupations, likely students with part-time jobs. About 15 percent of Palau resident workers were in service occupations, and about 15 percent in the CNMI.

The CNMI, with its garment industries, had the highest proportion of operators, fabricators and laborers, at 23.2 percent of the migrant workers. About 15 percent of Guam's migrant workers were in this category and about 11 percent for Palau resident workers. These workers are the traditional "blue collar" workers, and because of the lack of manufacturing and other industries in the Republic of Palau, few workers are in this category.

For the males, a smaller percentage of workers were in technical, sales and administrative occupations, as many of these are secretaries, nurse aides and teacher's aides, traditionally jobs for women, in Palauan perspective. A greater percentage were operators, fabricators and laborers. Almost 13 percent of male migrants in Guam fall under this latter category, and about 16 percent in the CNMI, showing construction workers as well as those in manufacturing.

Less than 1 in 5 of all the female Palau resident workers were technicians, in sale or worked as administrative support personnel. By contrast, more than 1 in 5 female migrant workers were in this category in the CNMI, and about 1 in 6 for the Guam migrants.

## Housing

The 1995 Palau census and the surveys in Guam and the CNMI provide information on housing conditions in their respective areas. Housing variables give information, not in themselves only for planning, but also serve as social indicators. By considering these items by themselves, and in combination with other variables, government agencies can assess changing housing conditions, energy consumption, water and sewer distribution and use, and so forth. The Palau census had 3,183 housing units compared to the 242 units in Guam and 391 units in the CNMI.

Housing	Total	1990			Total	1995	1997	1998
		Palau	Guam	CNMI		Palau	Guam	CNMI
<b>WALL MATERIALS:</b>								
Total	4,095	3,312	411	372	3,816	3,183	242	391
Poured concrete	291	136	119	36	414	230	114	70
Concrete blocks	1,124	743	200	181	1,067	829	83	155
Metal	1,619	1,495	49	75	998	906	11	81
Wood	1,042	924	38	80	1,138	1,024	31	83
Other	19	14	5	-	199	194	3	2
<b>ROOF MATERIALS:</b>								
Total	4,095	3,312	411	372	3,816	3,183	242	391
Concrete	784	348	288	148	717	387	190	140
Metal	3,191	2,874	102	215	2,733	2,460	30	243
Wood	65	43	13	9	94	84	4	6
Thatch	24	22	2	-	67	66	-	1
Other	31	25	6	-	205	186	18	1

Source: 1990 and 1995 Palau Censuses, 1997 Guam and 1998 CNMI Surveys of Micronesians

Almost 1 in every 15 housing units in Palau had concrete walls, and about 1 in every 4 units were constructed of concrete blocks. With the Guam migrant housing units, almost half of the units had poured concrete walls, and about 1 in 3 were constructed of concrete blocks. As for the CNMI, about 1 in every 5 housing units had poured concrete walls, and more than 1 in 3 units had concrete block walls. About the same percentage of housing units with metal walls were in Palau and the CNMI, but the percentage of housing units with metal walls in Guam was much less, with 5 percent as compared to Palau with 28 percent and the CNMI with 21 percent of the housing units with metal walls. Hence, the quality of the housing units on Guam were substantially better than those in the CNMI and Palau.

Similarly, more than 3 in every 4 housing units in Guam had poured concrete roofs, as compared to 3 in every 4 housing units with tin roof in Palau, and more than 2 in every 3 housing units with tin roof for the CNMI.

As noted earlier, the kind of housing development is essential in planning, and also in determining the social characteristics of the people living in them. As we can see, the living standards of the Palauan migrants in Guam and the CNMI, especially Guam, far exceeds the living standards of those in Palau. With more highly educated and professional Palauans migrating out of Palau to Guam and the CNMI, it is not surprising that their living standards be any less.

## Conclusion

The migration from Palau, which has been slowing considerably since 1990, show no signs of receding. In view of the

continued low fertility in the Republic of Palau, we can expect emigration either to maintain its present low level or to decrease more and more, as only students looking for better education will travel.

Over the first few years of the Compact period, the number of migrants to Guam and the CNMI has been dropping steadily. In all likelihood, these numbers will not increase in the near future, taking into account the Asian economy crisis, affecting the economies of Guam and the CNMI.

The data from the 1997 and 1998 surveys reveal some pronounced differences between the Republic of Palau's migrant communities on Guam and the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands, and of the resident population in Palau. The households in Guam and the CNMI were rapidly shrinking, showing less and less dependents-children, women and the elderly- and were evidently breaking up, as opposed to regular households. The drop in employment rate is expected as the number of migrants is decreasing, opting to return to Palau or not emigrating at all.

As we look at all the indicators as provided by the 1997 Survey of Micronesians in Guam and the 1998 CNMI Survey of Micronesians, we see that the tide of migration is reversing. Except for a large number of highly educated Palauans, as can be seen by their occupation and educational attainment, a large number of migrants have returned back to Palau.

This is a stark contrast to what was previously believed. After the implementation of the Compact of Free Association with the United States of America, a lot of people believed, especially some Guam bureaucrats, that a lot of Palauans would migrate to Guam and the CNMI, even the state of Hawaii. The survey done in Hawaii was not completed, so data was not available for this report. The surveys were done in order to study the impact of the migration, in the belief that the Compact implementation would create an all out migration into the US Insular Areas of Guam, CNMI and the state of Hawaii. The surveys clearly showed that there was an impact, but in reverse.

The data on the short period between the 1990 Census and the surveys on Guam and the CNMI a few years later are less significant for the numbers they report than for the trends they reveal. Not only are the extent and rate of the Republic of Palau's population outflow more precisely defined, but the changing patterns of household composition and other features of life in the migrants' destinations are taking clearer shape.