

Paths of Central Caroline Island Children during Migration and Times of Rapid Changeⁱ

Mary L. Spencer
University of Guam

Abstract

When the post World War II United Nations trusteeship of the US for the Micronesian Region was replaced in 1986 and 1992 by Compacts of Free Association between the US and the Federated States of Micronesia (FSM), the Republic of Palau (RP), and the Republic of the Marshall Islands (RMI); and in 1976 by commonwealth status with the Northern Mariana Islands (CNMI), citizens of these entities were free to reside and work in the United States. The ensuing migration process accelerated rapidly, leading to declining populations in some areas, as documented in the 2000 and 2010 FSM Census reports; and the rise of Micronesian newcomer clusters on Guam, CNMI, Hawaii, and in many continental US states. Today's Micronesian migration process involves families with children. This paper examines the probable paths and experiences of FSM children in their Central Caroline Island residences compared to life in 2 US locations (Hawaii and Guam), and globalizing back-flow impacts of migration. Focusing on Chuuk, 1 of the 4 FSM states, the author proposes that such an analysis benefits from comparison of child development and experience indicators from everyday life in the origin and destination locations. Promising avenues of future research on migration issues involving Micronesian children and their receiving community and school settings are suggested.

Keywords: children; migration; Micronesia

This article summarizes the course of modern Micronesian migration and then examines what is known of the lives of Micronesian children and their families following migration stimulated by the US Compacts of Free Association with former U.S. Trust Territory of Pacific Island entities. Issues raised in this examination lead to consideration of children's lives on their home island, documented in recent research on a Chuuk Lagoon island in FSM.

Summary of Modern Micronesian Migration

The close relationship of the United States and Micronesia since the end of World War II changed in form when the peoples of the region selected new political arrangements with the US. In 1986, the Federated States of Micronesia (FSM) and the Republic of the Marshall Islands (RMI) each formed a Compact with the US, giving them Freely Associated States (FAS) status as independent nations. In 1992, the Republic of Palau (RP) entered into a similar Compact of Free Association. The Compacts provided FSM, RMI, and RP citizens the right to free movement and the right to work and live in the United States. [Earlier, in 1976, the US signed a Covenant of Commonwealth with the Northern Marianas Islands (CNMI), making its people US citizens.] These agreements set the stage for new and intensified movements of the people of Micronesia to Guam, the nearby Territory of the US; the State of Hawaii; and to destinations on the US Mainland.

Micronesians have a long history of seafaring interisland movement for purposes of paying tribute, trading, conducting warfare, and exploring (e.g., Gladwin, 1970; Lewis, 1972). These trips were made by men prepared for navigation by lengthy and detailed courses of traditional study. Only rarely were women or children included. In more recent times,

Micronesian men have continued their seafaring and exploration traditions, and the pace of movement for longer duration between FSM's four states has quickened [see Gorenflo & Levin's (1995) interpretation of U.S. Bureau of the Census evidence, 1972; 1983]. This was especially true of the influx of outer-island people to the larger main islands for purposes of employment, education, and adventure. According to Gorenflo and Levin, travelers were predominantly males 15 to 34 years of age. As opportunities for higher education opened to small numbers of people of the region, women were also among the Micronesians who went to college on Guam, Hawaii, or the US Mainland (Larson, 1989, p. 62). Soon after the FSM and RMI Compacts were signed, ardent migration to various US shores began. On Guam, a major destination, it appeared to this researcher that most Micronesian newcomers in the late 1980s were young adult males.ⁱⁱ Within a few years, the bachelor households that had provided early migration stepping stones for other migrating members of their families and communities were supplemented with women and children, and the full range of ages became apparent.

The size of the post-Compact Micronesian migration population has steadily grown. Levin (1984, cited by Gorenflo & Levin, 1995) reported that "...in 1980, between 1,400 and 2,860 persons residing in the US had ties to the FSM, depending if these connections are based upon birth (the former figure) or language (the latter figure)." Excluding students, about 900 residents of the US in 1980 were from the FSM, consisting of roughly 100 from Chuuk State, 50 from Kosrae State, 200 from Pohnpei State, and 550 from Yap State (Hezel & Levin, 1990, p. 58). The 2000 U.S. Census (2001) showed that 22,355 Micronesians (alone or in any ethnic/racial combination) lived in the US, and also documented their general education status and economic characteristics.ⁱⁱⁱ Hezel and Samuel (2006) attempted to find and describe the clusters of Micronesian newcomers across the continental US and were able to broad brush these locations and the life styles of the communities. The Micronesian Seminar social media site, *Forum*, reveals a widespread and ever expanding pattern of residence across the US for the Micronesian diaspora. Marshall (2004) verified this expansion in his illuminating migration record of the people of Namoluk Atoll in the Mortlock region of Chuuk State, FSM. He examined life on Namoluk and in multiple migration destinations, beginning with his initial Namoluk residence in 1969, continuing through his interactive history with the Namoluk community up to 2004. Watts (2011) has studied Marshalllese students in Arkansas and Ratliffe (2010) has conducted research with Micronesian families in California.

The Guam Statistical Yearbook 2008 (Guam Bureau of Statistics and Plans, 2009) reported that Guam had 18,305 migrants from FSM, RP, RMI, combined (cited in Ngirairikl, 2011a). In 2010 the Bureau reported the number of people claiming indigenous ethnicity from FSM, RMI, and RP was 24,500 (Ngirairikl, 2011b). Temkar of the Pacific Islands Development Program at East-West Center recently estimated this number to be "almost 30,000" (Temkar, 2012). Guam's SY2009-2010 State of Education Report cited a "Pacific Islander" category (separate from Chamorro or CNMI) defined as containing Kosraean, Pohnpeian, Chuukese, Yapese, Marshallese, Palauan, and the three very small incident groups of Hawaiian, Samoan, and Fijian. With 5,963 children, this category represented 19% of Guam Department of Education's (GDOE) student population. In Guam schools located near established Micronesian communities, the proportion of Micronesian students may swell to over 50% of the student population.^{iv}

The governments of Guam, CNMI, Hawaii, and the U.S. Department of the Interior agree that the impact of migrating Micronesian citizens is substantial enough that the terms of the Compacts requiring federal reimbursement to these areas for public services have been triggered.

For example, in 2011, the US agreed to pay \$21.6 million to the Government of Guam for these service costs, and a conservative estimate of \$8 million of this is directly associated with education and health services for migrant Micronesian children on Guam (Ngirairiki, 2011a). However, the Government of Guam's claim for unpaid compact impact expenses is \$324.5 million for the last 7 years (*Pacific Daily News*, 2011a). *Hawaii Reporter* (December 2010) stated that the Government Accountability Office would divide \$30 million in federal funds during 2011 between Hawaii, Guam, and CNMI for the cost of services to Compact migrants, and that this constituted serious shortfalls relative to actual costs; e.g., Hawaii's actual costs for the year were estimated to be more than \$100 million. These funding disparities have fueled political debate and some negativity toward Micronesians at the community level. Political threats to withhold hospital care or to profile the ethnicity of migrant patients have occurred in both Hawaii and Guam (*Hawaii Reporter*, 2010; Thompson, 2011a, b).^v Recently, even the state of Arkansas has claimed that with its approximately 5,000 Micronesian migrants, it too is experiencing financial repercussions (*Hawaii Reporter*, 2010).

To understand the lives of children and families within the context of the Micronesian migration process, it is necessary to know more about their lives on home islands as well as details of their lives in migration destinations: their migration paths, size of their cultural clusters in the various destinations, individual and community histories, challenges, needs, movement dynamics, and the ways of life of migrating Micronesian families and communities, especially in the three main destinations of Guam, Hawaii, and the U.S. Mainland. In the sections below, I will summarize what is known of their paths following migration to Guam and Hawaii and place these summaries in contrast to recent evidence on the contemporary lives of children on an island in the Chuuk Lagoon. In the absence of research on the lives of Micronesian children in U.S. Mainland migration destinations, I will suggest future research directions.

Paths of Micronesian Children and their Families after Migration

Upon their post-Compact arrivals, the challenges presented to Micronesian families relocating to US insular and continental locations became apparent to themselves and to the receiving communities. In order to grasp and ameliorate these challenges on Guam, the U.S. Department of Interior provided "Compact Impact" program funding in 1992 for research on impacts and for the development of community-support programs to assist with the most urgent problems. Some of these research findings allow us a general glimpse of the Micronesian migration context of that time. In K. Smith's interview study on Guam (1994)^{vi} of 235 men and women from eight Micronesian areas, respondents identified education in public schools to be one of the most serious problems they faced, naming poor availability of accurate information prior to their move, language differences that deterred enrollment of their children, and ethnic discrimination directed at both parents and children during school interactions. Their responses also indicated limitations in their knowledge of Guam's education policies. Although nearly 25% reported having children of school age, 40.5% of these reported not having tried to enroll their children in school (p. 18). Also of that group, 16.7% indicated that they believed that the laws on Guam do not require children aged 7-16 to attend school; 24.9% reported they did not know that absenteeism would cause a child to be retained in the same grade the next year (p. 18); 38.3% reported that they did not bring records of their children's immunizations with them to Guam; and 23.7% explained that there were no legal guardians in their homes for some children living

with them, thus bringing the ability of these children to receive authorized medical care into question (p. 17).

Hawaii

Paul (2003) was one of the first scholars to document the nature of discomfort of migrating Micronesian children in their new US educational settings. Paul, who had married into Pohnpeian culture and worked as a volunteer teacher's assistant in 3rd and 5th grade classrooms in a Honolulu school, used this experience as the basis of her Master of Education thesis. She reported misconceptions of school administrators and teachers regarding the diversity of Micronesian geography, culture, and language; and their despair in not knowing how to help the students "catch up," or how to organize their students' learning and manage their classrooms in the absence of effective communication options or cultural knowledge. She described some of her observations:

I was a bit put off my first day in the class (3rd Grade) as a volunteer when Miss B. introduced me to the children. They were at four tables in groups of three or four, there were usually about a dozen children in her class daily. However, two boys were off in a corner alone at their desks. Miss B told me which table of children to assist but not to help the lone boys, as one was "bad" and the other was "really bad" and that they were lazy and just wanted me to do their work for them. This was declared in a loud, matter of fact voice for all to hear. As no one else seemed to notice the remarks, I assumed that it was the way she usually talked about them and they were used to it. Knowing what I do about the acute sensitivity towards public criticism which is humiliating for Micronesians, I was surprised none the less. (p. 78)

Regarding other observations in this multicultural classroom, Paul explained:

Among the Micronesian children, one stood out in particular. He was a terrible rascal, but very bright and he seemed to benefit greatly from the stern and consistent guidance of Miss B. One Micronesian boy left the program because of unexcused absences. He hated school but loved to draw. I would let him draw his math problems. He would draw a number of little animals, then they would have accidents, thus he would subtract. One of the tutors, upon seeing his drawings, snatched it away and crumpled his picture up telling him to get to work. I explained that he was drawing his math, not just doodling, but it was too late. The tutor wanted him to do math the way he would be expected to in class and on the assessment exams no doubt, but he lost his interest and did no more work that day. (p. 79)

One boy was in special education already and did no work whatsoever. He seemed exhausted and slept sitting up. One day one of the tutors called his name loudly, waking him up so that the whole class couldn't help but notice. The children laughed at him when he woke with a start. I later glanced at him, he was at one of the individual desks for "bad boys" and I saw big silent tears falling down his cheeks. He also left the program because of attendance problems and unwillingness to do any homework. Again the humiliation, though perhaps unintended, was intense by Micronesian standards. (pp. 79-80)

After a period of time in three classrooms, Paul came to believe that the sternness of Miss B may have ultimately been beneficial to Micronesian students in the class. She said that Micronesian girls seemed to fare much better, behaving in hard-working and obedient ways.

The children got along well once they settled down and I saw great improvement in their study habits over the six months that I participated in the Project. (p. 80)

Ross (2004), an outreach specialist for the federally funded Pacific Resources for Education and Learning (PREL) center, addressed Hawaii State educators' interests in working effectively with children from Micronesia in his brief article providing tips on teaching Micronesian students. Summarizing workshop ideas provided by the Multicultural Education for Teachers, Administrators, Learners, and Support Staff Program of the University of Hawaii, College of Education, he made suggestions to help educators communicate to Micronesian students the value of what they bring to class, the importance of stressing literacy skills as building blocks for other learning, sensitivity to cultural differences, understanding that they may be homesick, and recommending that Micronesian personnel be made available for counseling. PREL researchers have conducted other related research (cited by Kupferman, 2009). Heine (2002) provided advice to US educators on working with the second language issues of Micronesian students. Kupferman suggests that Kawakami's earlier (1995a; 1995b) studies on Kosraean student performance in Kosrae's American-style schools and her advice to parents and educators to harmonize their messages to students about the value of schooling indicate cultural contrasts between home and American-style schooling, even in schools on the home island.

Citing estimates of 10,000 to 20,000 Micronesian migrants in Hawai'i (Vorsino, 2007) with 3,337 in public schools during SY2006-2007 (Hawai'i Department of Education, 2007), Kupferman (2009) explored the role of schooling in the lives of three Kosraean migrant families in Hawai'i through a life history interview process. None of the three case study mothers had the opportunity to attend high school in Kosrae. One migrated first to Guam, where she met and married her Kosraean husband; followed by the move to Hawai'i a few years later. One other also lived on Guam for a period before moving to Honolulu, and both gained a little English proficiency by working at Guam hotels. The third mother moved directly from Kosrae to Honolulu. They found that fast food restaurants were one of their few employment possibilities due to their limited English. All three spoke Kosraean exclusively at home and had very limited English proficiency. Even in Hawai'i, they were able to attend the Kosraean-language church with their children, which they said is more important in their lives than school. They have goals

for their children to be fluent in both English and Kosraean. Two mothers expect to return to Kosrae when their children finish school, which for two of the children means completing college. These mothers explained that they want their children to have opportunities that they themselves did not have or were denied because of gender-based cultural expectations. Nevertheless, there were both explicit and implicit indications that they want their children to grow up as Kosraeans.

Kupferman agrees with other scholars (e.g., Hezel & Samuel, 2006) that Micronesian families perceive a link between school success and occupational success; but he believes there is no documentation that Micronesians hold “any intrinsic value for school in and of itself.” All three Kosraean mothers were eager to participate in their children’s lives at school. One attended all PTA meetings, but they were also unsure and uncomfortable about their knowledge of how to participate appropriately. Contrary to familiar explanations, these mothers reported that they did not migrate for a better education for their children. In fact, they do not consider school quality when they select a school in Honolulu for their children. As the mothers expected, the schools are primarily where their children are learning English speaking, reading, and writing skills. Although Kosraean literacy is given strong emphasis on the home island, in both school and church, their children will have access only to the more limited Kosraean literacy experience at the Honolulu church. This is just one identity and acculturation issue the children will face in their lives in Hawai’i, or if they return to Kosrae as two of the three mothers intend. According to Kupferman, all three of the mothers immerse their children in Kosraean culture and community opportunities in Honolulu by establishing home environments parallel to those of the home island and by frequent and active involvement in Honolulu Kosraean community affairs. Their expressed primacy of the Kosraean church spotlights a critical aspect of these migrant Kosraean children’s developmental paths.

In his research in a Honolulu high school, Talmy (2006) extended our understanding considerably of the experiences of Micronesian students attending Hawaii schools. In addition to the challenges presented by the high school curriculum and instructional features, he documented a social environment presented by teachers and classmates that requires attention. The policies, structure, and practices of the school’s English as a Second Language (ESL) Program were dominating factors in the students’ school experiences. For example, assignment to the ESL program was determined not by their level of English proficiency, but rather by the time they had been at the school. Students had ESL classes, ESL content classes, as well as “regular” classes in math and health (*sink or swim* style, with no English language accommodations). The Micronesian students constituted a significant proportion of the ESL group and most originated from the Marshall Islands or Chuuk.

Talmy reported that academic ESL print-literacy was a significant problem for all of the Micronesian students, no matter their origin island or whether they had attended private or public school prior to migration. Students varied in the recency of their move to Hawaii and their depth of experience with their home island culture and language. For some, living in Hawaii gave rise to ambivalence of identity with Micronesian versus “local” culture. Newcomers coped with confidence issues and missed their extended families in Micronesia. Talmy related the case study of a 14-year-old from Chuuk who, after 5 years in Hawaii, had strong English skills and college aspirations. However, he was failing in all of his classes and indicated that his priority was to join a gang. A group of four Marshallese girls sat quietly together, not interacting with other students and not making much academic progress. Other students entered the Hawaii high school after years of only intermittent elementary school attendance on their home island. They were

eventually “released” because the system deemed them unable to acquire the required number of credits for graduation by age 18. For some, release could be followed by job training or an opportunity to work toward their General Education Development (GED) high school equivalency certificate.

In the Honolulu school that Talmy observed, Micronesian students were observed to be stigmatized by both teachers and other ESL students (2009). Without the students’ knowledge, teachers engaged in “deficit-oriented discourse” about the students. Other students covertly discriminated against them, refusing to work with them and thus creating in-class segregation. More overt racist expressions about Micronesian students’ appearance, intelligence, hygiene, and behavior were observed from both teachers and students. Micronesian students were subjected to mockery and racist jokes. Some of this behavior by other ESL students was attributed to efforts to differentiate themselves from ESL status and to align themselves with the local Hawaii mainstream.

The research of Paul, PREL, Kupferman, and Talmy all documents an awareness by educators and educational researchers that enhanced crosscultural understanding and arrangements are needed in Hawai’i schools regarding newcomer families from Micronesia. However, the depths of the challenges being experienced by Micronesian children in Hawai’i may not be well understood by many of their teachers. Using the example of a young boy who was living in a car with his mother, Holt (2006), a Maui Island teacher specializing in diversity solutions for classroom teachers, has described the impacts of homelessness and poverty on some of the Micronesian migrant children in her school. At professional development events, Holt shares the beneficial results for children when teachers and schools reach out directly to Micronesian families to help them connect with conduits of vital subsistence resources, and to encourage them to add their cultural funds of knowledge to their children’s school lives.^{vii}

Guam

Although Guam is a major destination of migrating Micronesian families, very little research has been conducted on the everyday home, school, and community lives of migrant Micronesian children on Guam. Similar to other migration destinations, the character of today’s experiences on Guam may differ from those of the first families who came to Guam soon after the Compacts of Free Association went into effect. Communities from each major Micronesian culture have developed on Guam, gradually providing an increasing network of supportive community and institutional resources. GDOE administration documents the home languages of all children in public schools and thus provides educators with English language proficiency information. GDOE funded the development of oral language proficiency instruments in three Micronesian languages (Chuukese, Pohnpeian, and Palauan) that can be used to assist with the identification of students in these language groups who are English Language Learners with special needs (Thompson, L., 1997, pp. 20, 109-110). Unfortunately, most other documentation focuses on examples of severe frictions of Micronesian children with the Guam schools and community. Following are three examples of serious problems involving Micronesian children on Guam, a summary of observations in one Guam elementary school, and two examples of promising practices.

Substance Abuse

Perez (2008) conducted an in-depth interview study of substance use with a group of eight Micronesian girls, four Chamorro girls (one of whom is Chamorro-Filipino), and two Filipino girls; all being held in Guam's juvenile detention facility, Department of Youth Affairs (DYA). Citing findings of increasing substance use by Micronesian females in their home countries (Hezel, 1997), Perez explored the incidence and surrounding experiences of female Micronesian adolescents on Guam and the extent to which social change was involved. The girls revealed how their substance use had evolved from a host of problems on Guam (pp. 23-24), including difficulties in the family environment (e.g., parents' marital breakup and discord; parental remarriages that occasioned loss or distancing of a parent or the presence of a step-parent; family disruption due to frequent residential moves; distant relations with parents; child physical, emotional, or sexual abuse; perceptions of unfair treatment relative to siblings), and a constellation of school related problems (e.g., fighting, bullying, poor academic performance, or absenteeism).

When I was in elementary, I was alright until I went to this school. Seventh grade. I went crookish. I started getting into trouble. I started getting into fights. I started listening to other people getting into trouble. They tell me things, and then I'll believe that it's true. Like they say, 'You know that girl, she thinks she's tough and all,' and she says, 'You're not.' And I get mad and say 'Which one, which one!'

The girls identified why they began using alcohol, marijuana, and other substances; who provided these to them; and the motivating social dynamics of the substance abuse. They gave examples of the outcomes: fighting, unwanted sexual advances, petty crimes, relationship problems, the feelings they experienced, and the correctional consequences. Some spoke of cultural factors associated with their substance abuse, revealing contrasts brought about by migration. Two Chuukese girls said:

Worst thing that happened to me when I continued to use weed and alcohol was making myself look bad with my family... My relatives see me on the road going around getting drunk, getting stoned, [They were] saying, 'Oh my God, I can't believe our son's daughter grew up like that. Her life turned out like that.' That's so embarrassing for my family. They got mad at my mom. I don't know why my mom told them... They think the girls are not meant to be like that... and it's bad to show it in front of our brothers... just for them seeing us going out and drinking makes them look bad.

The females that use substances (in Chuuk), they lose respect. They'll kick them out of the house sometimes. They'll beat them up.

Perez remarked on the consistency of the girls' descriptions of stressors, precipitating factors, after-effects, and proposed solutions with Western themes. She suggested that such themes may not accommodate the possibility that "deviant behavior" may ease tensions they are experiencing in their migration destination. She notes that Hezel (1987) and Rubinstein (1995) have documented some of these issues well for Micronesian males, but only minimal research has been done with Micronesian females as traditional support systems have been altered in migration sites such as Guam.

School-Community Crisis

In the first half of SY2010-11, a combination of events involving Micronesian migrant students at one middle school on Guam conspired to create an island-wide educational and community crisis. Attempts to solve the multiple problems eventually involved system and community interactions that could have long-lasting benefits. However, another very serious outcome was the sentencing of eight students to detention at DYA. The problems came into public view in a televised Guam Legislature oversight hearing on bullying in the public schools. This fractious meeting led to several special sessions of the GDOE School Board in which even the Superintendent's position was placed in jeopardy. The situation that triggered this intense community attention involved a small group of students who had been expelled from one of Guam's middle schools. They continued to come to school on the school bus, but once at school, they retreated into a jungle area through holes torn in the school's back fence. From this sanctuary, they and other students yelled insults and threw rocks at students and school personnel in the school yard. In addition to making internal administrative re-arrangements and continuing work on the issues that had begun before public attention, the Superintendent joined a large meeting with the Chuukese community to discuss the situation. This was a positive and important opportunity in which inter-group connections were established, promises of specific improvements in Chuukese and school system relations were created, and plans for continuing collaboration were made. Importantly, it was mutually acknowledged that students of multiple heritages had been involved in bullying and the school ground events, and that Chuukese students have also been victims.

Sex Trafficking of Minors

Another widely publicized situation on Guam involved the sex trafficking of several Chuukese minor girls and young women by a Guam bar owner (Aguon, 2011; Matthews, 2011; E. Thompson, 2011d). The girls and women were recruited from their home islands in Chuuk. They testified in federal court that they were held hostage, called degrading names, and forced to perform sex acts to work off their debts to the bar owner. At least one girl was beaten and forced to have an abortion when she became pregnant. Another is raising her child from one of these customer unions. The girls flew to Guam on the promise of working at a restaurant. Instead, when the owner was dissatisfied with their work, they were reportedly not allowed to eat and were forced to clean the premises. They were allegedly told that they must pay off their debt to the bar owner for the passports, airline tickets, and money to their families in Chuuk that she had provided. The bar owner was convicted on all counts and sentenced to life in prison.

Guam Elementary Observations

In 2010 and 2011, the author conducted a series of classroom observations in Guam K-5 elementary schools that had a high proportion of Micronesian students. At one school, observations began with students in a pull-out ESL class and then resumed in their respective general education classrooms where they were observed for approximately 2 hours each. Although brief, the observations revealed the major challenges teachers face in providing effective instruction and receptive environments for these students, all of whom were Chuukese. Teachers are aided by an overall school environment that is pushing hard for respectful treatment and interpersonal harmony through professional development, posters, and school events (e.g., anti-bullying training; attentive and respectful treatment of Micronesian children and families in the school office). Nurturing and caring teaching of Micronesian students was observed in numerous contexts. Positive peer relations prevailed. However, gaps were observed in crosscultural knowledge of migrating families and school personnel. There were no instructional aides, no first language resources or support, ESL materials were scarce, and a plethora of training needs were evident (e.g., how to use GDOE curriculum standards and performance indicators, effective bi-literacy strategies for ESL and home classrooms, strategies for infusing higher order thinking skills, and generally how to plan and carry through a course of study for English Language Learning (ELL) students who lack prior or adequate schooling when they arrive). Students lacking regular prior schooling pose the most difficult of challenges for teachers and hinder the academic growth of migrating Micronesian students. The collection of children's observed school experiences were emotionally and socially affirming in most cases, offering academic growth opportunities, although they were not optimal in every case and several cultural contrasts emerged. Following is an excerpt from the author's field notes:

Ms. J, a primary teacher, stands and conducts a science demonstration for 20 restless students seated in two rows of chairs facing her and the chalk board. There is no aide to assist her with the ELL students or with classroom management while she conducts this demonstration. P and C, two small Chuukese girls, recent arrivals to the school from Chuuk, are seated directly below the teacher. Ms. J busily pours liquids into various containers, explaining the effects, and repeatedly stops to tell P and C to look up at her. Ms. J reaches down, cups P's chin in her hand and tilts it upward. A few minutes later teacher begins showing shapes and asking students to name them. Again she reaches down, cups P's chin in her hand and tilts it upward, then puts her hands on P's arms and pulls them away from her hair which P has been smoothing. Fifteen seconds later, Ms. J again draws P's chin upward. P raises her hand in an effort to contribute her answer to a question Ms. J has asked, but she is ignored for the second time. A few more minutes pass and Ms. J instructs students to move to their desks on the opposite side of the room, facing a second chalk board, but seated as before. Ms. J engages the class in unison English reading, but she is still concerned about P, who looks down, moves her hands and arms to touch her hair, trace circles

on her desk or stretch her arms across her desk. P and two other students with undeveloped English listening-speaking skills are seated directly in front of the teacher. Ms. J repeatedly singles P out, grasps her arms and hands to push them closer to P, and several more times places her cupped hand under P's chin and forces it upward. At this point, P's facial expression appears to the observer to be angry and upset.

The inappropriate physical handling of P by the teacher, singling her out, and embarrassing her in front of the other students, remind one of the descriptions offered by Paul (2003) of the cultural contrasts leading to Pohnpeian student humiliation and angst that she observed in a Honolulu classroom. Most significant is that the teacher apparently does not know that Chuukese culture develops child behavior in which the child lowers his/her head and eyes, refraining from making eye contact, out of respect for the higher status of adults, and follows the “seen but not heard” comportment expected by adults.

Summer Program

One of the most positive documented examples of Micronesian youth experiences on Guam was provided by a modest 2008 action grant from the American Association of University Women, designed by the Guam Branch: *Voicing our Pathways to Education* (Thompson, 2009; Thurber, 2009). Working with the local non-profit group, Island Girl Power, to recruit applicants, two University of Guam faculty members organized a series of free summer workshops in which a multi-ethnic group of pre-teen and teen girls “...explore(d) the barriers to their educational success, strategies for overcoming these hurdles, and receive(d) encouragement to attend college after graduation.” Of the 20 girls, there was a closely knit group of four Chuukese pre-teen girls who attended every day. They were given a journal, a thumb drive, and access to a computer and instructions for using it. They visited the University president, were mentored in the procedures for applying for college and financial support, and became comfortable experiencing campus activities. Through the use of a theatrical model,^{viii} the girls wrote journals that eventually became dramatic monologues, and three of the four Micronesian girls joined the larger group to perform the personal monologues for an audience that included their families. One of the Micronesian girls is known to be making progress three years later as she continues to spend time with her program “big sister.”

Micronesian Center for Empowerment

Through a collaborative arrangement involving the Guam Contractor Association's Trades Academy (GCATA) and the Center for Micronesian Empowerment (CME), organized by the Micronesian community on Guam, an important opportunity and model for employment training and life skills has been established (e.g., Pacific Daily News, 2011b). Although most Micronesian students are beyond high school age, some are not; and some have not completed high school. So far, CME has recruited primarily male applicants whom they feel are most likely to succeed. They then provide a three-month residential boot camp to equip the students with “assimilation and acculturation” skills. GCATA guarantees a job to all students who complete their training and become certified. In the face of the huge construction boom and skilled labor

shortage associated with the military buildup on Guam, this is both an important economic opportunity for adolescents, and one that the Micronesian community expects to further aid Micronesian home islands when some of the trainees go home.

In the foregoing studies and reports, we have seen issues of misunderstanding and maltreatment of Micronesian children in the educational settings and communities of their new homes in Hawai'i and Guam. Also central to some of the studies and media narratives was evidence of the children acting out, behaving in unlawful ways, and of outcomes that included expulsion and incarceration. We have seen promise in a Guam elementary school and two outstanding positive examples of opportunities for Micronesian youth on Guam. But still insufficient is an accounting of the relative frequency with which migrating Micronesian children receive educational and community-based interactions in their new destinations that accept and support their cultural-linguistic characteristics, and thus promote their development and well-being. More examples are needed of specific community and educational measures that are particularly effective in promoting the academic growth and personal adjustment of migrating Micronesian children, and more details on successful examples such as the one Guam summer workshop and the Guam CME vocational education and job placement.

On a deeper level, several important pieces of the puzzle are missing: (a) What are the socio-cultural-cognitive repertoires and practices of the migrating Micronesian children, based on their everyday life experiences in their places of origin, that they bring to their new homes? (b) What are the parallel repertoires and practices of everyday life they are living or will be expected to step into in their new destinations? What opportunities will they have and how will these be structured for bridging the origin and destination platforms? (c) Missing completely are studies of US Mainland settings where Micronesian children are living and being educated. (d) Ultimately, what are the cultural transformations that result for migrating Micronesian children, families, and communities after a period of living abroad?

Paths of Micronesian Children and their Families on their Home Islands: A Case Study

As Rogoff and colleagues have explained (e.g., Rogoff, Moore, Najafi, Dexter, Correa-Chavez, Solis, 2007), it is through participation in the powerful routine expectations of daily life that children develop fluency in multiple traditions. Indeed, these practices become so automatized that conscious recognition of their existence fades. The fact that these routines vary across cultures inspires the central inquiry of developmental crosscultural research (e.g., Whiting & Whiting, 1975). Li (2011) urges more research on cultural learning models, emphasizing that today “more and more children are raised in more than one culture. Fewer and fewer children are truly isolated from the rest of the world. These global trends require that we endeavor to understand learning models from many more cultures and the processes by which children develop their own beliefs about learning.”

It stands to reason that children who have migrated to a new context are cast into a changed process of developing beliefs about learning that are relevant to: (a) their family and community's culture of origin, (b) the accommodated culture of their family and community in their new location, and (c) the cultures of the long-term residents of the new location. If it were possible to contrast evidence on the everyday life repertoires and practices in the origin contexts of migrating Micronesian children with those that they are expected to learn and display in their destination settings, it might be possible to predict the nature of their adjustment challenges and how best they and the people in their new environments could cope with these challenges.

Coping strategies could include providing information for families and organizations in origin settings where planning for migration is occurring, as well as pre-service or in-service professional development for educators and related professionals in their destination settings. The challenge is to do this in ways that do not culminate in stereotyping and in ways that are as flexible as the dynamic, ever-mutating, and island-specific nature of home and destination repertoires and practices.

The thoroughly dynamic process of migration demands that, as we examine the lives of Micronesian children who have migrated, we simultaneously examine the lives of Micronesian children in their places of origin, and that we reckon with the rapid change that is occurring there, partly as the result of back flow impacts of migration. I will provide a glimpse of the situation in March 2010 on one Chuuk Lagoon island, Romonum,^{ix} that is experiencing considerable emigration as a result of FSM's Compact of Free Association. In interviews with 12 parents of school-aged children evenly distributed across grades 1 through 8, all seven educators of the Island's elementary school, and 11 community leaders and clan chiefs, Romonum adults explained the increasing pace of departure of their families and their fears regarding who in the future would assume the critical roles of teachers and island leaders since few if any who leave ever return. For many, the emotional sense of loss for daughters, sons, and grandchildren ran deep. The cost of travel between their typical destinations (Minnesota or Kansas City) was viewed as an insurmountable impediment to seeing them in the near future – or perhaps ever again.

The tempering element for some may be an increasingly fortified expectation of cash remittances^x from those who have left, combined with the pleasant routines of reciprocal gifting of traditional food delicacies from the Island. The incoming cash remittances reportedly ranged from \$600 to \$7,200 per year, divided across 1 to 3- or 4-month intervals. Because of the lack of postal service to Romonum, residents and migrated family members have established arrangements with intermediary companies (e.g., Fair Deal, Western Union, or local stores on Weno, the political and commercial center of Chuuk State) to relay the cash or exchange it for goods. Some have established bank accounts on Weno. Contemporary US style clothing of good quality for children and family members and perfume constitute other frequent gifts from family members abroad. In return, Romonum families send gifts of *kon* (loaves of pounded breadfruit sauced with coconut cream), and packages of dried fish, clams, and sea cucumbers from the Romonum reef. The cash remittances allow Romonum families to cope with increasing gasoline prices affecting their use of motor boats essential for fishing and resource trips to Weno. Remittances are also used to expand the various clans' inventories of concrete family homes in their compounds or to build meeting houses; improve access to medical care and supplies; augment food, especially rice, or other supplies such as mosquito coils and kerosene; and occasionally help support children who have gone to Weno or Tol for junior or senior high school. Thus, today's Romonum children are experiencing some elevation in their material standard of living as a result of the remittances provided by family members who have migrated. The researcher's impression is that this situation has given rise not only to the anguish of familial coping with the loss of loved ones, but of growing expectations and planning for a sustained role for some family members to become off-island extensions of the family.

Interviewees were asked about their expectations for the futures of Romonum children. Most voiced high expectations for the formal education and career success of at least some of their children – far beyond what would be available on Romonum alone and that require school attendance and academic performance not regularly demonstrated now. These increasingly stable

expectations for a permanent role abroad for some children - for them to obtain an advanced professional Western education and to become financially successful there in order to regularly remit substantial cash - reflect a somewhat different emphasis than studies of Micronesian migrants 30 years ago in which a simpler desire to work and obtain a better education for their children had been prominent (e.g., Hezel, 1976, cited by Gorenflo & Levin, 1995, p. 58). They are more consistent with 2007 findings (Walter, Salas, & Li, 2011) showing great and more specifically defined prominence of “jobs - salaries” and “education” in the responses of Chuukese migrants to Guam.

How do the everyday life routines and practices of Romonum children prepare them for life in a typical migration destination? In the researcher’s 2010 child studies on Romonum, evidence was collected of the Chuukese and English reading proficiencies of students in the 4th through 8th grades, and (through video observations) of the types of activities engaged in at home and at school by 12 children representing the full elementary school range.^{xi} Findings suggest that Romonum school life should prepare them well for participating in many but not all aspects of a US-style school system. They use US English language reading, math, and social studies textbooks. Their classes were well organized with daily lesson plans in each subject, generally based on grade appropriate assignments. Classes were orderly and student attention was monitored closely by teachers, as evidenced by the high proportion of on-task lesson behavior at all three age groups shown in Figure 1. Students demonstrated respect for their teachers and principal. In 7th and 8th grades, students demonstrated higher order thinking skills and reading comprehension competence in both Chuukese and English. Oral English proficiency was at its best at these higher grades, with most students still only marginally comfortable with extended spoken English interactions. Most students at this level spoke to the researcher with high motivation for the possibility of leaving Romonum to attend one of the junior and senior high schools on the island of Weno. Those adolescent students who do not have this opportunity will end their formal education after the 8th grade. In addition, it was found that approximately 35% of school aged children on Romonum are not enrolled in school; thus, if any of those students move to one of the US migration destinations, where school attendance is mandatory, they will need considerable catch-up assistance.

One of the principal variations between the school on Romonum and schools in US destinations is the way instructional language choices and the organization of language use are applied. Students migrating from Romonum are likely to find that, while their instruction on Romonum has conformed to research findings on effective educational strategies for English Language Learners [i.e., providing early reading instruction in the first language and later phasing in reading instruction in English (Cummins, 1976)], no home language support (in a Micronesian language) is provided in Guam, Hawaii, or continental US classrooms; and students will instead be submerged in English-only instructional contexts.

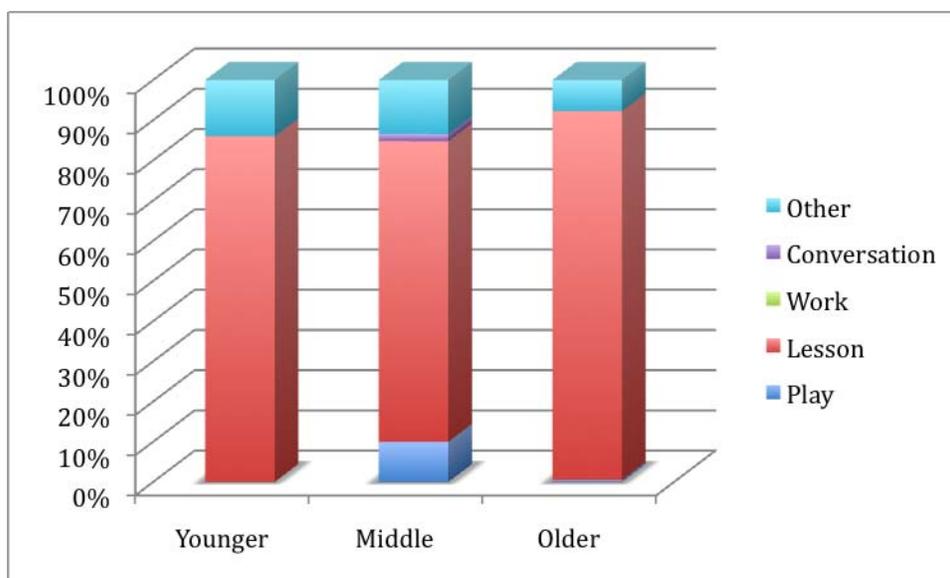


Figure 1. Percentage of engagement at school in five everyday life activity categories by Romonum children of three school age groups

Ethnographic documentation of their everyday life activities suggest that migrating Romonum children will find many technological and modernized contexts to be novel and that non-Chuukese social elements will contain new customs and expectations. They will find little knowledge or understanding of Chuuk-specific culture and custom within their educational contexts once they migrate. However, many of the behaviors they exhibit at home in their everyday *work, play, conversation, lessons, and other* (e.g., spacing out, hanging out, eating, or uncodable) activities – if understood by receiving educators - could be valued in their new settings. Most of the 12 observed children engaged in a considerable amount of work for their families and this increased as they became older (Figure 2). They were deeply respectful of adults. They displayed repertoires of songs and games and were very inventive in designing forms of play for themselves. They adhered closely to cultural principles of being seen but not heard in the company of adults. The premium placed on harmony and mutual respect at home and school will not prepare them for the discrimination, mockery, and provocation they are likely to experience in some receiving schools and communities such as those described in Hawaii by Paul (2003) and Talmy (2006; 2009). They may be surprised to find teachers repeatedly insisting that they raise their heads, look directly into the teacher’s eyes, and speak loudly, as the author observed in a Guam elementary classroom. They may be frustrated and embarrassed by the difficulty of decoding English text with no one to help make either the words or concepts comprehensible – an ever-present challenge in many of the observed classrooms. Such forces could prompt absenteeism, drop-out, emotional damage, resentment, and anti-social behavior. But on the positive side, they will be thrilled with the large, brightly decorated, air-conditioned Guam classrooms, and the generally nurturing and respectful treatment of teachers and other school personnel. Speculatively, they may find that these challenges increase with each grade level as they fall farther and farther behind their English proficient peers, and when adolescent group dynamics implode on their searches for identity and direction.^{xii}

Paths of Central Caroline Island Children

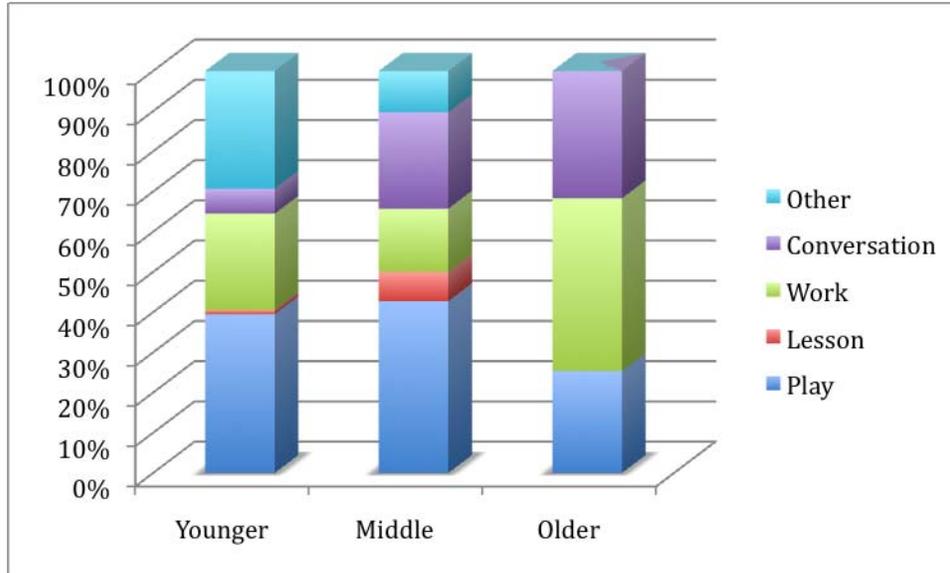


Figure 2. Percentage of engagement at home in five everyday life activity categories by Romonum children of three school age groups

To conclude, Romonum and other Micronesian children will carry extensive and valuable funds of knowledge with them to their migration destinations. Yet, there will indeed be new repertoires and practices there for which neither they nor their families can prepare. It will be the responsibility of the receiving stakeholders to help these children identify and learn their new repertoires and practices while continuing to optimize those established in their origin locales. To do this effectively, the receiving stakeholders will need to prepare themselves to provide positive and equitable educational and community settings and practices in support of migrating Micronesian children; and in compliance with US state, territorial, and federal law.

An Agenda for Future Research

Based on the foregoing review of research and discussion, several general interdisciplinary areas of needed research emerge:

1. Valid and reliable descriptions of everyday life activities, repertoires, and practices of Micronesian children; and of the learning models that they and their families use in their contexts of origin; of US majority children at more age ranges who are native to various migration destinations; and of Micronesian children in their US migration destinations. Attention to both genders and all migrating Micronesian cultures are necessary. This will provide more evidence for identifying contrast indicators and planning for effective orientation and adjustment.
2. School and classroom observation studies in key Micronesian migration destinations, focusing on issues such as language support, academic inclusion and growth, utilization of the children's funds of knowledge, family and community involvement, and plans for solving problems of high probability (e.g., instructional strategies for students with little previous

schooling, discrimination, absenteeism, incomprehensible instruction, classroom or school management issues, bullying, or drop out).

3. Studies of the most restrictive and negative forces impacting Micronesian children are needed to provide a better understanding of the antecedents, the processes and contributing factors, therapeutic strategies, the long-term outcomes, and the lessons learned for improving the lives of migrating children, families and communities at all stages (e.g., hunger and nutritional insufficiency; housing and sanitation resources; health and medical needs; transportation to school; correctional detention; substance use; and child abuse).
4. Studies of the effectiveness of professional development strategies for educating Micronesian students in destination locations relative to learning outcomes, enrollment continuation, and conditions for support of student emotional well being.
5. In the spirit of South Pacific educational research (e.g., Sanga and Thaman, 2009), education curricula and instructional strategies for Micronesian and other Pacific Island children in American affiliated FAS countries, Hawaii, Guam, and the US Mainland need to be examined; revised to accommodate Pacific cultures; and evaluated for student academic motivation, outcomes, and resilience.
6. Additional Micronesian migration studies are needed to continue the documentation of the size and direction of movements, including the circular movements often observed with Pacific populations (e.g., Perez, 2004; Quan Bautista, 2010), as well as origin-to-destination movements (e.g., Marshall, 2004); and the intended or unintended consequences.

Abbreviations

| | |
|-------|---|
| CME | Center of Micronesian Empowerment |
| CNMI | Commonwealth of the Northern Marianas Islands |
| DYA | Department of Youth Affairs |
| ESL | English as a Second Language |
| FAS | Freely Associated States (FSM; RMI; RP) |
| GCATA | Guam Contractor Association Trades Academy |
| GDOE | Guam Department of Education |
| GED | General Education Development (high school equivalency diploma) |
| FSM | Federated States of Micronesia |

| | |
|------|--|
| PREL | Pacific Resources for Education and Learning |
| RMI | Republic of the Marshall Islands |
| RP | Republic of Palau |

References

- Aguon, M. (2011). Several witnesses presented at Cha trial. *KUAM News*, February 10 (televised newscast). Retrieved on February 11, 2011: <http://www.kuam.com/story/14003118/2011/02/10/prosecution-presents-several-witnesses-at-cha-trial?clienttype=printable>
- Cummins, J. (1976). The influence of bilingualism on cognitive growth: Synthesis of research findings and explanatory hypothesis. *Working papers on bilingualism, No. 9*, 1-43. Toronto: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education.
- Fischer, Ann. (1956). *The role of the Trukese mother and its effect on child training* (Doctoral dissertation, Radcliff College). Retrieved from Harvard University (NG03RM, Microfilm, Lab No. 2497, Thesis Call No. Rad T. F529).
- Gladwin, T. (1970). *East is a big bird: Navigation and logic on Puluwat Atoll*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Gonzalez, N., Moll, L., & Amanti, C. (2005). *Funds of knowledge: Theorizing practices in households, communities, and classrooms*. New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group.
- Goodenough, R. G. (1970). Adoption on Romonum, Truk. In V. Carroll (Ed.), *Adoption in eastern Oceania, ASAO monograph No. 1*, (pp. 314-340). Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Goodenough, W. H. (1978). *Property, kin, and community on Truk, second edition*. Hamden, CN: Archon Books. (Originally published in 1951 as Yale University Publications in Anthropology, No. 46.)
- Goodenough, W. H. (2002). *Under heaven's brow: Pre-Christian religious traditions in Chuuk*. Philadelphia, PA: American Philosophical Society.
- Gorenflo, L. J. & Levin, M. J. (1995). Changing migration patterns in the Federated States of Micronesia. *ISLA Journal*, 3(1), 29-104.
- Grieco, E. M. (2003). *The remittance behavior of immigrant households: Micronesians in Hawaii and Guam*. New York: LFB Scholarly Publishing LLC.
- Guam Bureau of Statistics and Plans, Office of the Governor. (2009). *Guam statistical yearbook 2008*. Hagatña, Guam: author.
- Hawai'i Department of Education. (2007, March 30). *Micronesian count*. Honolulu, HI. Author.
- Hawaii Reporter (December, 2010). Government Accountability Office to audit Micronesians immigration impact on states. Retrieved on February 4, 2011: <http://www.hawaiireporter.com/government-accountability-office-to-audit-micronesias-immigration-impact-on-states-including-hawaii>
- Heine, H. C. (2002, October). *Culturally responsive schools for Micronesian immigrant students*. Honolulu: Pacific Regional Educational Laboratory.

- Hezel, F. X. (1976). The Micronesian dilemma: How to support expensive habits and still run the household. *Journal de la Societe des Oceanistes*, 50, 110-112.
- Hezel, F. X. (1987). The dilemmas of development: The effects of modernization on three areas of modern life. In S. Stratigos & P. Hughes (Eds.) *The Ethics of development: The Pacific in the 21st century* (pp. 60-74). Port Moresby: University of Papua New Guinea Press.
- Hezel, F. X. (1997). *Alcohol and drug use in the FSM*. Pohnpei, FSM: Micronesian Seminar.
- Hezel, F. X. & Levin, M. J. (1990). Micronesian emigration: Beyond the brain drain. In J. Connell (Ed.), *Migration and development in the South Pacific* (pp 42-60), *Pacific Research Monograph No. 24*. Canberra: Australian National University, National Centre for Development Studies.
- Hezel, F. X., & Samuel, E. (2006) Micronesians abroad. *Micronesian Counselor*, 64. Retrieved September 25, 2007, from <http://micsem.org/pubs/counselor/frames/microsabroadfr.htm>
- Holt, L. (2006, July). Professional development presentation. In J. DeLeon (Chair), Leadership Assessment Team Training: Enhancing local capacity for an inclusive assessment system. Center of Excellence for Developmental Disability Education, Research and Service, University of Guam, Mangilao, Guam.
- Kawakami, A. J. (1995a). *Culture and learning at home: A study in Kosrae State*. Honolulu: Pacific Region Educational Laboratory.
- Kawakami, A. J. (1995b). *A study of risk factors among high school students in Kosrae state*. Honolulu: Pacific Region Educational Laboratory.
- Kupferman, D. W. (2009). *Lutlut in a strange land: Kosraean immigrant perceptions of schooling in Hawai'i*. *Micronesian Educator*, Vol 13, 19-34.
- Larson, R. B. (1989). *Sojourning and personhood: College students return to Truk, Federated States of Micronesia* (Doctoral dissertation). Anthropology, University of Hawaii. (Proquest Order # 9018976)
- Lewis, D. (1972, 1973; paperback 1975, 1979; revised 1994). *We, the navigators: The ancient art of landfinding in the Pacific*. Honolulu: The University Press of Hawaii.
- Li, J. (2011). Cultural frames of children's learning beliefs. In L. A. Jensen (Ed.), *Bridging cultural and developmental approaches to psychology* (pp. 43-44). NY, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Marshall, M. (2004). *Namoluk, Beyond the Reef: The Transformation of a Micronesian Community*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Matthews, L. (2011). Violence alleged in trafficking case trial, *Pacific Daily News*, February 12, 2011, p. 5. Retrieved on February 12, 2011: <http://www.guampdn.com/article/20110212/NEWS01/102120311/Violence-alleged-in-trafficking-case-trial>
- Ngirairikl, O. (2011a). FAS migrants focus of Calvo, Mori meeting, *Pacific Daily News*, February 1, 2011. Retrieved on February 10, 2011: <http://www.guampdn.com/apps/pbcs.dll/article?AID=2011102010325>
- Ngirairikl, O. (2011b). Feds to study compact-impact aid. *Pacific Daily News*, February 8, p 3. Retrieved on February 8, 2011: <http://www.guampdn.com/article/20110208/NEWS01/102080306/Feds-to-study-compact-impact-aid>
- Pacific Daily News. (2011a). Editorial: Payment, GovGuam must make strong case for more compact-impact funds, *Pacific Daily News*, February 9, 2011, p. 18. Retrieved on February 9, 2011: <http://www.guampdn.com/article/20110209/OPINION01/102090323/1014/OPINION/Payment-GovGuam-must-make-strong-case-for-more-compact-impact-funds>

- Pacific Daily News. (2011b). GCA Trades Academy, February 17, (p. 3). Hagatña, Guam: Author.
- Paul, K. A. (2003). *Is there a problem here? The history of Micronesian immigration and its affect on the experience of Micronesian children in Hawaii's schools* (Masters thesis). Educational Foundations, University of Hawaii. Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Library.
- Perez, E. J. (2008). *Substance use among young Micronesian women in Guam* (Senior thesis). Psychology, University of Guam. Mangilao, Guam: College of Liberal Arts & Social Sciences, University of Guam.
- Perez, M. (2004). Insiders without, outsiders within: Chamorro ambiguity and diasporic identities on the US Mainland. In Lan-Hung Nora Chiang, John Lidstone, & Rebecca A. Stephenson (Eds.), *The challenges of globalization: Cultures in transition in the Pacific-Asia region*. Lanham, MD: University Press of American, Inc.
- Quan Bautista, L. (2010). *Steadfast movement around Micronesia: Satowan enlargements beyond migration*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, Division of Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.
- Ratliffe, K. T. (2010). Family obligations in Micronesian cultures: Implications for educators. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 23 (6), 671-690.
- Rogoff, B., Moore, L., Najafi, B. Dexter, A., Correa-Chavez, M., & Solis, J. (2007). Children's development of cultural repertoires through participation in everyday routines and practices. In Joan E. Grusec & Paul D. Hastings (Eds.), *Handbook of socialization: Theory and research*. New York: The Guilford Press, 2007.
- Ross, T. (October, 2004). Understanding Micronesian students in Hawai'i. *Pacific Educator*, 17.
- Rubinstein, D. (1995). Love and suffering: Adolescent socialization and suicide in Micronesia. *The Contemporary Pacific*, 7, 21-53.
- Sanga, K. & Thaman, K. H. (2009). *Rethinking education curricula in the Pacific: Challenges and prospects*. Wellington, NZ: *He Parekereke*, Institute for Research and Development in Maori and Pacific Education, Victoria University.
- Smith, K. D. (1994). *A survey of Micronesian immigrants to Guam: Predictors of coping and access to life essentials*. Mangilao, GU: Micronesian Language Institute, University of Guam.
- Smith, K. D., Smith, S. T., Aguilar, V., Coulter, P. M., Woo, G., & Spencer, M. (1997). Contemporary Micronesian communities on Guam: Acculturation, conflict and economic prospects. In Ken'ichi Sudo & Shuji Yoshida (Eds.), *Contemporary migration in Oceania: Diaspora and network. JCAS Symposium, Series 3*. Osaka, Japan: The Japan Center for Area Studies, National Museum of Ethnology.
- Spencer, M. L., Inoue, Y., & McField, G.P. (2007). Chapter 24, Achieving gender equity for Asian and Pacific Islander Americans. In Susan S. Klein (General Editor), *Handbook for Achieving Gender Equity through Education, Second Edition*. Mahwah, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Taylor & Francis Group.
- Talmy, S. (2006). Chapter 2, The other *other*: Micronesians in a Hawai'i high school. In Clara C. Park, Russell Endo, A. Lin Goodwin (Eds.), *Asian and Pacific American Education: Learning, Socialization, and Identity*, 19-49. Greenwich, CT: Information Age Publishing.
- Talmy, S. (2009). A very important lesson: Respect and the socialization of order(s) in high school ESL. *Linguistics and Education*, 20, 235-253.

- Temkar, A. (2012). Micronesians migrants seek better life on Guam. Pacific Islands Report, Pacific Islands Development Program/East-West Center. Copyright *Pacific Daily News* 2012. Retrieved 8/11/12. <http://archives.pireport.org/archive/2012/March/03-12-ft.htm>
- Thompson, E. (2011a). Report: Fire GMH Management, *Guam Pacific Daily News*, February 5, 2011, pp 1, 4. Retrieved on 2/5/11: <http://www.guampdn.com/article/20110205/NEWS01/102050327/Report-Fire-GMH-management>
- Thompson, E. (2011b). Poverty gap widens: Regional immigration problems highlighted, *Guam Pacific Daily News*, February 9, 2011, pp 1 and 4. Retrieved on 2/9/11: <http://www.guampdn.com/article/20110209/NEWS01/102090338/Report-Poverty-gap-widens-Regional-immigration-problems-highlighted>
- Thompson, E. (2011c). Profiling suggestion rejected, *Guam Pacific Daily News*, February 11, 2011, pp 9-10. Retrieved on 2/11/11: <http://www.guampdn.com/article/20110211/NEWS01/102110314/profiling-suggestion-rejected>
- Thompson, E. (2011d). Cha wants new trial or appeal, Trapp says. *Guam Pacific News*, February 21, 2011, pp 1, 4. Retrieved on 2/21/11: <http://www.guampdn.com/article/20110221/NEWS01/102210303/Cha-wants-new-trial-or-appeal-Trapp-says>
- Thompson, H. (2009) *Voicing our pathways to education*. AAUW, Final grant report, June 2009. Mangilao, Guam: American Association of University Women, Guam Branch.
- Thompson, L. (1997). *Foreign language assessment in grades k-8: An annotated bibliography of assessment instruments*. McHenry, Illinois: Center for Applied Linguistics and Delta Systems.
- Thurber, D. (2009). *Noh way: A modern interpretation of an ancient form* (Masters thesis). Mangilao, Guam: English, College of Liberal Arts & Social Sciences, University of Guam.
- Tudge, J. R. H. (2008). *The everyday lives of young children: Culture, class, and child rearing in diverse societies*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- U.S. Census Bureau (December 2001). The Native Hawaiian and other Pacific Islander population: 2000: Census 2000 brief. C2KBR/01-14, by Elizabeth M. Grieco. Washington, DC: Author.
- U.S. Census Bureau (2004a). Census 2000 Summary File. (SF 3)-Sample Data.) Washington, DC: Author.
- U.S. Census Bureau (2004b). Census 2000 Summary File. (SF 4, QT-P31-Sample Data.) Washington, DC: Author.
- Vorsino, M. (2007, November 12). Hawai'i nonprofit fighting rental bias. *Honolulu Advertiser*. Retrieved December 1, 2007: <http://www.honoluluadvertiser.com/apps/pbcs.dll/article?AID=/20071112/NEW23/711120352/1001/NEWS23>
- Walter, A., Salas, M. C., Li, N. (2011). Survival in a new home: Chuukese migration to Guam - toward educational and organizational change. *Micronesian Educator*, VI5, 17-30.
- Watts, D. J. (2011). *Factors affecting Marshallese student achievement in an elementary school: A case study* (doctoral dissertation). Educational Administration, University of Arkansas.
- Whiting, Beatrice B. & Whiting, John W. M. (1975). *Children of six cultures: A psycho-cultural analysis*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University.

Notes

ⁱ This paper was presented at the Agents of Globalization in the Asian-Pacific Context Workshop, 22nd Pacific Science Congress, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, June 14-18, 2011. Thanks are due to Dr. Rebecca Stephenson, Professor Emerita of Anthropology, University of Guam and Dr. Lan-Hung Nora Chiang, Professor Emerita of Geography, National Taiwan University, for their encouragement and for organizing and chairing the Workshop.

ⁱⁱ In 1983, following a research stay by the author and her husband on Puluwat Atoll, Chuuk State, FSM, a group of Puluwatese students came to live in the author's adjoining condominium. This experience and the lasting relationship that followed provided first-hand glimpses into the lives of the migrating extended family of these students.

ⁱⁱⁱ Educational attainment and economic status was documented by the U.S. Census for Micronesian residents of the US in 2000 and 1999, respectively (U.S. Census Bureau, 2004a; b). 77.2% attained high school graduation or higher (female=77.7%; male=76.8%), compared to 80.4% of all US residents. 13.2% held a Bachelor's degree or higher (female=12.8%; male=13.6%), compared to 24.4% of all US residents. The Census reported that 81.0% of US resident Micronesians "usually worked 35 or more hours per week" (female=74.3%; male=86.4%), compared to 79.0% of total US residents; and that the mean earnings of full-time year-round Micronesian workers in the US was \$33,114 (female=\$28,840; male=\$33,114), compared to the mean of \$42,707 for all US residents. (Discussed in Spencer, Inoue, and McField, 2007).

^{iv} FB Leon Guerrero Middle School is located in Yigo Village, in Northern Guam, where a large number of Micronesian families reside. In February 2011 the author tabulated frequencies for the languages identified for each FB Leon Guerrero student in the GDOE ESL database, with the following results referenced to the 1,233 total FB Leon Guerrero students in the database: Chamorro=87 (7%). All other Micronesian languages=305 (25%) [Carolinian = 3 (<1%); Chuukese=195 (16%); Kosraean=10 (1%); Marshallese=1 (<1%); Palauan=13 (1%); Pohnpeian=61 (5%); Yapese=22 (2%)]. All Filipino languages=296 (24%) [Tagalog=239 (19%); Visayan=11 (<1%); Ilocano=30 (2%); other Filipino languages=16 (1%)]. All other Asian languages=9 (1%) [Chinese=3 (<1%); Japanese=5 (<1%); Korean=1 (<1%)]. English=515 (42%). In 2012, Evangelista Iglesias, Principal of Finegayan Elementary School, reported to the Guam Research Alliance for the Academic Success of Migrant Learners of Guam that 56% of the student population in her school consisted of Micronesian migrant learners. At the same meeting, Beverly San Agustin, Principal of Upi Elementary, reported that 51% of the Upi student population consisted of Micronesian migrant learners.

^v Shortly after a Guam gubernatorial transition team recommended profiling patients, Governor Edward Calvo's Director of Communications declared that the Governor did not accept the idea: "This government is not going to racially profile" (Thompson, 2011c).

^{vi} For comprehensive results and analysis of this study with Micronesian migrants to Guam, long-term residents of Guam, Guam public agencies, and FSM, RMI, and RP traditional leadership, see Smith, Smith, Aguilar, Coulter, Woo, and Spencer (1997).

^{vii} The funds of knowledge concept has been studied and described by researchers Norma Gonzalez, Luis Moll, and Cathy Amanti (2005), primarily with Hispanic families and their children's teachers. They developed the effectiveness of teachers working closely in the tradition of ethnographic researchers with the families of migrating students. This allowed the teachers to learn about the families' rich funds of knowledge that relate to classic academic areas and content standards, and then infuse this information into classroom lessons and activities.

^{viii} One of the grant's co-coordinators, Diane Thurber, incorporated the journal-to-monologue construction process into her Master of Arts in English thesis on interpreting the ancient Japanese Noh theater form. She explains how a Chuukese girl's monologue became part of her modern Japanese Noh play in the thesis (Thurber, 2009).

^{ix} The author chose Romonum Island as a research site because it was one of the few Micronesian islands where previous research on children and families has been conducted in the past. Ann M. Fischer studied Romonum mothers and children in 1949 (Fischer, 1956) shortly after World War II hostilities in the Chuuk Lagoon ceased; following closely on the extensive 1947 interdisciplinary study that led to Ward Goodenough's classic book (1951; 1978), *Property, Kin, and Community on Truk*. Later work in the mid-1960's by Ward Goodenough was followed by publication of *Under Heaven's Brow*, his definitive work on Chuukese pre-Christian religious traditions, and also to Ruth Goodenough's study of adoption practices on Romonum (1970).

^x For a thorough discussion of the nature and sustainability of the remittance behavior of Micronesian migrants to Hawaii and Guam, see Elizabeth Grieco's book *The remittance behavior of immigrant households: Micronesians in Hawaii and Guam*, 2003. She presents a sociological approach to migrant remittances and provides statistical modeling.

^{xi} With some variations (e.g., video recordings instead of on-the-spot coding; 1 to 2 hours of observation in 2 settings instead of 20 hours in multiple settings), the observation coding system used by Tudge (2008) in his studies of the everyday lives of young children in Northern Europe, Brazil, and various other locations was applied to the video observations in Romonum. The author coded the first 30 seconds of every 6-minute interval of all observations for each of the 12 children observed, using the coding sheet, procedures, and operational definitions used by Tudge. Dr. Tudge provided the author with an updated observation protocol and instructions for this purpose that were more detailed than the protocol that appeared in his book. Tudge's focal activities are: Lessons, work, play, conversation, and other (e.g., sleeping, eating, bathing, and other uncodable activity). The author coded spacing-out and hanging-out as other.

^{xii} The author owes the deepest gratitude to the people of Romonum for opening their homes and school to her in March 2010 for observations and testing with their children. Thanks are equally due to parents, teachers, and community leaders for sharing their views during interviews and observations; especially to the Joseph family, who generously housed and cared for the author and her husband during their studies; and also to Misael Emmis who skillfully provided cultural and language research support. On Guam, the author is indebted to GDOE officials, and school administrators, teachers, and students for opening their school lives to her and allowing her to observe their work during busy and challenging days. Any errors or misperceptions are the author's alone. Many thanks are also due to Dr. Harley I. Manner, Professor Emeritus of Geography and Micronesian Studies, University of Guam, for sharing a multitude of logistical responsibilities and for conducting the majority of interviews with teachers and community leaders.