

# ***YOUTH IN MICRONESIA IN THE 1970's***

**THE IMPACT OF CHANGING  
FAMILY, EMPLOYMENT AND  
JUSTICE SYSTEMS**

**53051**

**RESEARCH DIRECTED BY AND REPORT WRITTEN BY MICHAEL KENNEY  
DECEMBER 31, 1976**

**REPORT**

**YOUTH DEVELOPMENT RESEARCH**

**TRUST TERRITORY OF THE PACIFIC ISLANDS**

**CONDUCTED UNDER**

**LAW ENFORCEMENT ASSISTANCE ADMINISTRATION**

**UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE**

**GRANT NUMBER 76-JS-09-0003**

**RESEARCH DIRECTED BY AND REPORT WRITTEN BY**

**MICHAEL KENNEY**

**DECEMBER 31, 1976**

## PREFACE

This research project was undertaken by the Community Development Division of the Department of Public Affairs pursuant to a grant from the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration of the United States Department of Justice under the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act of 1974. It was intended to provide a base of data for the planning and development of youth programs in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.

The project provided for 135 work-days for one full-time researcher. This report represents many more than 135 workdays; the actual number is not known because a large number of people volunteered countless hours of their time to the project and many other Departments of the Trust Territory government generously released personnel to provide assistance in this project. Records were not kept of this volunteered time.

While the conclusions presented are the sole responsibility of the author, the final research design was developed after weeks of consultation with other departments of the Trust Territory Government, the Judiciary branch of the Trust Territory and representatives of private agencies and organizations. In this sense, the report represents a government-wide and community-wide approach to data gathering for youth development programs.

Not only was the research design developed after consultation with members from many other departments of the Trust Territory government, but individual questionnaires and survey instruments were drafted after consultation with representatives of the various departments involved. All formal questionnaires for members of the justice system followed from an initial set of questions provided by Mr. Keith Andrews, Deputy Attorney General. All questionnaires were approved by him before being distributed and used. In the case of questionnaires administered to police chiefs, other police officers, District Attorneys, and District Prosecutors, the questionnaires were developed in conjunction with the Trust Territory Department of Public Safety, approved in advance by the Department, and forwarded to the respondents by the Attorney General. The questionnaires for District Court Judges and Probation Officers were developed after consultation with the Honorable Harold Burnett, Chief Justice of the High Court, Mr. Judah Johnny, Clerk of the High Court, and Rokuro Berdon, Deputy Clerk of the High Court. The questionnaires were forwarded by the Chief Justice of the District Court Judges and Probation Officers in advance of the field interviews. The questionnaires for Public Defenders was developed after extensive consultation with Mr. James Grizzard, then Public Defender for the Mariana Islands and Truk Districts.

Grateful acknowledgement for assistance kindly given is due and hereby made to all the people who cooperated in the development of this report. Appendix R lists most of those persons by name. Many of them gave generously of their weekends and evenings to make up for the author's time limitation for interviews. To those who are not listed by name, if you read this report and if you agree with it, please recognize your contribution. If you read it and disagree, you may blame the author for not understanding your positions. In either case, thank you. The author would like to extend special acknowledgement to Mr. Gerald Craddock, Deputy Chief of the Community Development Division for his insightful comments and firm support during the development of the research design and supporting assumptions and during the initial phase of research. Special acknowledgement is also in order to Mr. William Allen, Chief of the Division of Community Development for his specific comments and guidance in the development of this project and for his continued support and patience while the report was being developed over time. Mr. Strik Yoma, Director of Public Affairs Department and Mr. Carl Heine, Deputy Director of the Public

Affairs Department also provided valuable assistance and support. Mr. Gerald L. Heyl, Youth Services Administrator, replaced Mr. Craddock as Community Development Division officer in charge of this project and provided equally insightful and generous help to the author in the preparation of this report. The Community Development Division provided the assistance of three part-time co-workers for this study. Mr. Isaac Ngiraelulow, Program Analyst, Office of Aging, was detailed to accompany the author and work as a partner in the field research in Truk, Ponape, and Marshall Islands. The assistance of both men was invaluable and this report could not have been written without them.

Mr. Tony Phannensteil, Peace Corps Volunteer working with the Community Development Division, was also made available for work on this project. He spent many long hours poring over the records of the Trust Territory Department of Personnel log books and the log books of the Labor Division of the Department of Resources and Development. Tables II through V are a result of his efforts.

Both the Department of Personnel and the Labor Division were extremely helpful in working with Mr. Phannensteil and personnel from both offices were assigned to assist with the raw data gathering. Grateful thanks are extended for this assistance.

The Division of Public Safety assigned two staff members to assist in the research for this project. They were Mr. Cypriano Mugunbey, Public Service Intern, and Mr. Roman Torres, Juvenile and Detention Specialist. Both men provided valuable assistance. Mr. Torres also spent many hours gathering raw data and compiling them into tabular form. The author is indebted to the Division of Public Safety for this assistance.

In terms of number of hours of assistance, the Trust Territory Department of Education was the greatest single contributor to this project. The headquarters office made available staff members to field pre-test a student questionnaire form for the unpublished part of this project which is discussed below, provided the important contribution by Mr. Henry Falan used in Part II of this report, and many other staff members spent hours helping the author shape and refine the research design and products. Dr. Leonard Kaufer was one whose editorial assistance and critique was most valuable.

The District Department of Education in each district graciously agreed to allow the survey questionnaire for students to be administered to their students and made available hundreds of hours of staff time to help administer the questionnaire forms.

The Community Action Agency in Majuro provided coveted space aboard the seaplane flying to Jaluit, thus allowing the student survey to be administered there and interviews to take place on the island. Without this generosity, Jaluit High School would not have been included in the project.

There were many other people who provided extra hospitality and aid in each district as we made our field visits. To each of you -- and you know who you are -- a special note of thanks.

Finally, there was as a part of the research program a fourth major segment not included here. Since there were approximately two thousand participants, it is important that it be mentioned here that the fourth segment has been delayed but not abandoned. Community attitudinal survey forms regarding youth development needs were developed for both adults and youth. Valuable assistance in the development of these forms was generously provided by Dr. Christopher Ford at the University of Guam. Nearly 1,000 adults filled out the adult



form in 5 districts and about the same number of students in high schools, the Micronesian Occupational Center, the Trust Territory School of Nursing, the Community College of Micronesia and the University of Guam filled out the student forms. This latter survey was a major undertaking in that it took approximately three hours to administer the questionnaires to each group of students, often as small as 8 per group. Many faculty members at the involved schools provided a substantial amount of time to administer the survey.

Publication of the results awaits the availability of computer programming expertise, computer time, and staff time to organize and produce the report of those surveys.

The author believes that the conclusion is inescapable that all social program planning in the Trust Territory is, in a very real sense, youth planning, since considerably more than half of the population is composed of youth. Everything that is done in the Trust Territory affects them directly or indirectly and the youth (as is well known) are the future.

A final offering of thanks to the many people who worked for the future. The author hopes this report has not let you down.

Michael Kenney

## CONTENTS

Preface .....	ix
PART I Micronesia and Its Youth .....	1
PART II Employment Opportunities For Youth in Micronesia .....	17
PART III Juvenile Delinquency and the Justice System in Micronesia .....	55
APPENDICES .....	81
BIBLIOGRAPHY .....	174

## TABLES

TABLE I	Economic Activity Among Micronesian Youth .....	18
TABLE II	Reported TT-Wide Enrollment Fluctuation and Respective Graduates .....	19
TABLE III	Comparison of Estimated No. Government Jobs available to persons over 25 years old in all Districts .....	21
TABLE IV	Survey of Job Vacancies and How filled .....	25
TABLE V	Comparison of Job Opportunities in Ponape .....	26
TABLE VI	Micronesian Vocational Interest Survey - Male .....	27
TABLE VII	Micronesian Vocational Interest Survey - Female .....	29
TABLE VIII	Micronesian Vocational Interest Survey All Districts - First Choice .....	31
TABLE IX	Micronesian Vocational Interest Survey-Last Choice .....	32
TABLE X	No. of Selected Job Category Position Announcements .....	33
TABLE XI	Construction Trades Work Permits Issued by Job Title, Year, and District ...	35
TABLE XII	No. Work Permits Issued of Selected Job Categories .....	42
TABLE XIII	No. Tourist Related Jobs Work Permits Issued .....	44
TABLE XIV	Industrial Classification of Total Labor Force .....	48
TABLE XV	No. of Projected New Jobs .....	51
TABLE XVI	Job Vacancies at Van Camp Sea Food Company, Palau, Whom Filed by and How Recruited .....	53
TABLE XVII	Arrests for Violation of Sub Paragraphs (2) - (4) of 15TTC2 by District and Sex & As A% of Total Arrests of Juveniles .....	59
TABLE XVIII	Arrest Summary by Age, Sex and District --1972-1975 .....	60
TABLE XIX	Selected Age Distribution Data from Table 9 to T.T. Census of 1973 .....	61
TABLE XX	Marianas District - Arrests by Age, Sex, and Year for Selected Categories of Offenses - 1972-1975 .....	62

TABLE XXI	Marshalls District - Arrests by Age, Sex, and Year for Selected Categories of of Offenses - 1972-1975 .....	63
TABLE XXII	Palau District - Arrests by Age, Sex, and Year for Selected Categories of Offenses - 1972-1975 .....	64
TABLE XXIII	Ponape District - Arrests by Age, Sex, and Year for Selected Categories of Offenses - 1972-1975 .....	65
TABLE XXIV	Truk District - Arrests by Age, Sex, and Year for Selected Categories of Offenses - 1972-1975 .....	66
TABLE XXV	Yap District - Arrests by Age, Sex, and Year for Selected Categories of Offenses - 1972-1975 .....	67
EXHIBIT I	Labor Shortage Projection Saipan Only .....	47

"It is, therefore, injustice and cruelty to our offspring . . . to leave the salvation of this country to be worked out by them with accumulated difficulty and danger."

Samuel Adams, 1776

## PART I

### MICRONESIA AND ITS YOUTH, 1976

#### Introduction

This paper was prepared under a planning grant from United States Department of Justice to the Community Development Division of the Public Affairs Department of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands to provide data to the Youth Services Branch of the Community Development Division.

The 1973 Trust Territory census showed that half the population Micronesia was 16 years of age or under. Though definitions of "youth" vary from District to District, it is fair to say that in all TTPI Districts and in the Northern Mariana Islands traditional customs did not require full adult behavior of a person until the mid-twenties and sometimes even later. By traditional standards, 67% (74,372 out of 110,836) of the population are either children or youth -- that is, under 25 years old. If the term "youth" is more narrowly defined to exclude children and the definition is set at the ages 15-24, then 20% - or one out of every five Micronesian citizens -- fall into the category of "youth".

The population growth rate between 1967 and 1973 was approximately 3.6% per year and there is indication that this explosive population growth rate will continue.

In 1973 there were 22,142 T.T. citizens in the age group 15-24. In 1983 there will be more than 32,000 people in the same age group. This is an increase of 10,000 more youth in ten years. They will need to be in school, or have jobs, or have something else to do -- or else leave and search for something to do elsewhere.<sup>1</sup>

In Micronesia there is no clearly defined period called "youth". Youth is a foreign word and respondents to interviews for this report could not identify local counterpart words in Micronesian languages. It is clear however that in Micronesia there are different behavior expectations for adults and for people who have not yet achieved adult status in the eyes of the community. Adult behavior is expected sometime in the mid-twenties for most situations though early marriage can confer adult status and some youthful behavior may extend into the thirties. Generally for the purpose of this paper, the term "youth" is meant to describe that period beginning in the teenage years and lasting through the middle twenties. The tables showing statistics relating youth will be more precise. They will define youth as the group "15 - 24". This is because most demographic data are presented in five year age segments (e.g., 10 - 14, 15 - 19, etc.) and it is generally neither necessary nor convenient to extrapolate figures for intermediate ages (age 13, for example, the beginning of the teenage period). We direct project grants to justice system operating agencies to carry out improvements and guide the development of these projects.

<sup>1</sup> From the statistics cited above, the focus on youth is really a focus on a society dominated in numbers by youth. Richard Kanost, then Chief of the Training Division of the T.T. Department of Personnel wrote in the First Quarter 1973 edition of the Micronesian Reporter that if the current birth rate does not drop, there will be a million Micronesians within the lifetime of people now living. That is a lot of people to live on these small islands with their limited economic resource base, housing area, and food resources. If Mr. Kanost's prediction is sound, the long range planning implications are immediately obvious.

In this area with 50% of its population under 17 years old and with one of the highest birth rates in the world, at the end of 20-25 years about three-quarters of the active Micronesian adults will have been educated and prepared for life during those 20-25 years -- the generation immediately ahead of us. The future of Micronesia will be determined by how well the youth are brought up and provided for now and in the immediate future. The future of Micronesia will also be satisfying to its citizens insofar as the social structure can provide goods, services, and meaningful activities for all these new citizens.

A point which must be emphasized is that half of the "youth" of Micronesia are girls or young men. In Micronesia as in the United States, the term "youth" seems to have a male quality. People often hear the word and think only of boys and young men.<sup>2</sup>

How are we preparing youth now to manage their lives as adults? What kind of life can they expect to lead as adults? What kind of life do we want for them? What kind of life do they want for themselves? Who will decide what kind of life they actually face?

The original research design for this project envisioned a study almost entirely statistically oriented with a narrative section of only a few paragraphs. However, as it became apparent that the necessary statistical data did not exist or could not be collected, it also became apparent that there was a rich base of feeling and perception regarding youth and youth related problems available through interviews. Appendix R is a nearly complete list of the more than 300 people interviewed. As a result, this Part was developed as a report of the youth situation as seen by youth, by parents, political and social leaders, professionals, traditional leaders and ordinary citizens.

Four main themes emerged from the interviews. They are:

- 1) Clash of Cultures. A combination of forces including the impact of the money economy and foreign political dominance has led to the disintegration of previously well integrated societies.
- 2) Breakdown of Social Control. Social control mechanisms in the traditional setting were primarily family based. The current disintegration of the traditional family structure in Micronesia has led to the breakdown of social control, especially the methods of integrating youth into the society. The other more community-based institutions of modern society which provide social control in industrialized nations are in early formative stages and do not provide effective social control mechanisms in Micronesia.
- 3) Separation of youth and adults. The impact of foreign values and ways on Micronesian youth is so strong and pervasive that there is a great break between young people and adults now in Micronesia.
- 4) Lack of Structured Activities for Youth. In a well integrated society youth can see adult behavior as a model for youthful behavior and can picture themselves filling adult roles. They are in preparation for adulthood. The adults in such a society are able to offer advice and guidance to the young as they move through this transitional stage from childhood to adulthood. However, in modern Micronesia there are not enough formally structured and sanctioned activities led by adults to integrate the youth into meaningful life patterns.

<sup>2</sup> Most youth programs tend to be exclusively for males or heavily weighted toward males. Outward Bound, Youth Conservation Corps, and man sports and recreation programs fall into this category. It may be that it is a case of the "squeaking wheel getting the grease" and youth programs are set up to serve young men because the young men are the most visible -- it is they who are arrested most frequently, who drink in public and who get into fights. Moreover, there is a strong tradition in Micronesia of treating women as second class citizens which may also account for the relatively heavier emphasis on youth programs for boys.

During one of the field interviews for this study, a group of Yapese boys felt that the problems facing young men in Yap were much more severe than those facing young women in Yap because the traditional roles of women had not broken down to the extent that male roles had. They felt that if a girl dropped out of school she could easily fit into the traditional housewife/homemaker role and that girls are content to do so. Carmen Mutnguy, women's interest officer disagrees. She feels that the structured life of women of the past was rapidly becoming quite disorganized, just as for young men. In her view, they are starting to act like boys, that is to hang around in groups and gossip, to visit each other in search of friendship or excitement. They no longer like to cook, sew, and weave as in the past and there are no organized games or activities, traditional or modern, to keep them busy. They tend to share with boys a serious lack of confidence in themselves and they have less opportunity to socialize with their peers than males. They are shy in group situations and like boys are turning to alcohol and marijuana to bolster confidence and a feeling of well being. Similar reports were made in most other Districts. Truk was the only district where no significant emphasis on problems of young women was placed by respondents, except that in Truk, as in the rest of the Trust Territory, one of the main reasons for dropping out of school is pregnancy. Since there are very strong social and religious taboos against teaching the young of either sex about fertility and contraception, it is the young women who suffer the burden of the exuberance of youth. Even though it is usually common knowledge who fathered the child, it is the girl who is expelled from school or who has to drop out to take care of their children. The father bears no responsibility and suffers no consequence for his part in the birth of the child. If modern education is desirable for Micronesian youth, then many young women certainly face a serious handicap not faced by young men. Another often expressed problem facing young women in Micronesia is that they too are learning in school to value new ways of behaving and thinking. Many who want to go on for further education are prohibited by their parents from doing so. It is important to keep in mind, therefore, that the term "youth" applies both to young men and women and attempts at programmatic solutions cannot ignore the problems of young women without seriously discriminating against half of the population in need.

## 1) CLASH OF CULTURES

"Parents cannot see the influences that mold their children's situations:"

Kodaro Gallen, Community Action Agency  
Executive Director, Ponape. May 7, 1976

"Once we were close; once we were united"

Dr. Minoru Ueki, District Director of  
Health Services, Palau. April 15, 1976

Young people want to be good. They are eager to learn and grow. They are strong, energetic and healthy. They see themselves as good. They wish to be recognized. They leave their secluded homes in the villages or outer islands and are suddenly confronted with uncontrolled freedom. "Both parents and children do not understand the situation they are going into."<sup>3</sup> The wisdom and advice of the parents has almost no more bearing on what the young people are now confronted with. The parents cannot understand what their children are experiencing: "I wish there was some means of making parents aware of the real situations."

Traditional pre-20th century society in all Micronesian cultures was extremely intimate and highly personalized. Family and clan relationships were all pervasive. On small islands, most inhabitants were seen by each other every day. In larger islands the residents of one village would all probably have contact every day. Now, however, the strong magnetic appeal of the District Centers is drawing large numbers of people (especially the young and active adults) to where income producing jobs are available along with "urban" pleasures and entertainments, greater educational opportunities, more opportunities for "social" contact, and freedom from the all-embracing constraints of family and clan. This amalgamation of people from various islands and cultures is accompanied by a depersonalization of society which is, of course, characteristic of all urban life since the birth of cities.

It is not only the District Centers which feel the impact of urban development, though changes there are more dramatic. The villages near the District Center island and even the outer islands find their social fabric being torn also by the departure of the strong, active, healthy young adults who leave to go to school or in search of employment. There is an unbalanced population in these villages and islands and the work of the community often does not get done. Men's houses fall into decay and are not repaired. Village docks and causeways are allowed to crumble and there is nobody to repair them. Much copra is not harvested. The youth are physically separated from the elders and neither group is effectively able to explain to the other the ways of the past or the ways of the present.

The old structure is breaking, and the new structure is not complete; it is shifting, changing, and only partially available. A fundamental reality of the old system was that everybody knew what they were expected to do. Their roles were clear not only to themselves but also to the other members of the village or clan or inhabitants of the island. However, currently the traditional roles are either vanishing (e.g., canoe maker, navigator, etc.), or changing rapidly (chiefs, heads of clans, etc.), or are no longer acceptable to the youth (farming, fishing, making of houses, utensils, etc.).

Structure in a person's daily life in the industrial world is primarily provided by employment. As the old roles in Micronesia disappear or lose their acceptability, the expectation of wage employment replaces the casual traditional village work patterns. However, there are two major difficulties related to employment which face Micronesian Youth and have a structuring effect on

<sup>3</sup> This complete paragraph is a report of Mr. Gallen's perceptions. Many other respondents emphasized that youth are good with natural and justifiable desires to learn, experience, test and grow.

their lives. One is that the interrelated obligations and roles of community living associated with work in the village are unrelated to formal employment. Furthermore, the rhythms and patterns of village life do not correspond to the rhythms and patterns of commercial or government work.

The other major difficulty is that there are not enough jobs for all who have broken away from the past but have not been integrated into the present, much less the future. The 1973 census showed almost 6,500 school-age youth out of school and unemployed. Part II of this report gives a partial statistical indication of the employment difficulties facing youth. If it is true that increasingly in the Trust Territory, a person's ability to find an acceptable social role and to achieve his/her (or the family's) goals will be related to his/her place in the modern money economy, and if the money economy cannot provide enough socially acceptable and productive jobs with related roles and satisfactions, what will happen to Micronesia's youth?

Are there other social activities available in Micronesia, or being planned, which yield self-esteem and prepare each youth to take his/her place as a responsible and valued adult in the society? Another way of asking the question is: In a society where wage employment is increasingly vital, what is the definition of a valued human being if there are not enough jobs? Right now many Micronesian youth face a state of prolonged adolescence. Many cannot work in the modern economy/government and there are few organized youth activities sanctioned and led by adults which are integrated into adult society. Pedro Harris, Social Planner for the United Nations Development Planning program put it this way: "When you come out of school you don't know how to do anything in the village or in the modern world. They (the young) cannot survive in either society." There is no visible end to this situation.

Another basic cultural conflict is between customary methods of social control and the modern formal legal system which has been established in the urban areas of Micronesia. In the past, accountability for a person's actions was the responsibility of the family, clan, or lineage, and power to enforce codes of behavior also resided in the family, clan, or lineage group. This power was used and it was apparently quite effective in maintaining social control. Now there are two systems. The family/clan system still exists. It is strongest in the outer islands and weakest in the District Centers with lessening degrees of effectiveness the closer one gets to the District Centers. A second system has been overlaid on the first: the formal system of laws, police, courts, jails, and probation officers is strongest in the District Centers and it is in the District Centers where juvenile misbehavior is the most serious problem. There is a direct conflict between the government justice system which is based primarily on the accountability of the individual for his/her behavior and the intricate, highly organized system of family solutions to disputes. In the traditional systems there was no public confrontation. The object was to reach a settlement which was acceptable to all parties and seen as just by all parties. The modern system is based fundamentally on public confrontation and responds to abstract foreign concepts of justice which apply to large impersonal industrial societies, not small, intimate, communal societies.

Not only are the fundamental principles of the two systems clashing but the foreign system does not work. Families are severely inhibited by the presence of the alien system for working out their own settlements where they still are strong enough to do so. In the relatively cosmopolitan areas such as Majuro, Ebeye, Saipan, and to a lesser degree in the other District Centers, the family structures have been so weakened and there are so many people not connected with ruling families that a uniform control system is an absolute necessity. Even the employees of the modern system admit that it does not offer effective control -- but that the young know they will not be punished for delinquent or criminal acts. In this sense the presence of the alien system is itself one of the causes of juvenile delinquency. Serious social problems follow from the reality that the new social control system of laws, police, courts, jails, and probation does not work. This is the overwhelming conclusion of laymen interviewed and of the very people charged with administering the new justice



system: judges, public defenders, prosecutors, police, and probation officers.<sup>4</sup> Essentially, those youth who are not under the control of their families are likely not to be under the control of any organized social institution in the community, -- school, church, or the justice system.

Another area of clash as the modern world sweeps over the traditional island societies is the movement from complete economic and social self-sufficiency to almost total dependence. Isaac Doaldaob, member of the District Legislature in Palau sees the current decline in self-reliance as a sickness. Many others articulated concerns similar to that of Mr. Soaldaob. Haruo Remeliik, Deputy District Administrator in Palau, felt that loss of self-reliance was the central concern in analyzing youth problems as part of the context of the current apolitical situation. Joseph Muritok, Vice Speaker of the Truk Legislature felt that the United States funded program on aging was not needed. He sees this program as a "decrease of our culture in taking care of our old people. It looks bad for me as a son for you to come and take care of my father. It is a run down on me."

Rev. Billy Kuartei is President of the Board of Education in Palau and Vice-Principal of the protestant Emmaus High School as well as a former student at Emmaus. During his days as a student, the students produced all their own food either by farming or fishing. When USDA food was available the school stopped producing its own food. He later reports that when the USDA program was withdrawn, the school faced a major crisis as it had to spend scarce funds to buy food for the students since they no longer produced what they needed. Rev. Kuartei feels that the Trust Territory grant-in-aid program is another example of government programs undermining self-sufficiency. While the in-kind contribution (which is a local matching effort on the part of villagers for village public works or construction projects) appears to continue the tradition of self-sufficiency, in fact it has undermined that tradition since villagers now expect the government to provide the materials to rebuild village buildings or facilities destroyed in typhoons or just to build desired projects whereas in the past the villagers would have organized themselves and performed the tasks on their own initiative.

Again, the differences between the District Centers and the remote areas are striking. It is in the District Centers (where young people often have not felt need to work, where they are provided with food, electricity for cooking and the other necessities of life) that there is the greatest perceived "juvenile delinquency" problem. It is in these District Centers where modern conveniences are plentiful that parents feel the most loss of control over their children and feel most lost and bewildered by what is happening to them. It is in the District Centers where is a perceived need and expressed demand for recreational facilities for young people to fill up the many hours of empty time they experience in District Center living. It is in the villages where the youth who still remain there continue to be socially organized and part of the functioning community. They still fish, gather wood, and do the chores that are a necessary part of village life and give them a sense of belonging to and being a valued member of the community. A key question for youth program planners to ask if recreational facilities are provided out of limited budgets, is what relationship the youth recreational facilities or programs will have to the adult community -- or perhaps more importantly, what will be the relationship of adults to youth programs and facilities? Ironically, one of the criticisms of recreation programs is that they keep young people from family chores and responsibilities -- fishing, farming, household work.

## 2) BREAKDOWN OF SOCIAL CONTROL

"There is no juvenile delinquency problem  
in Yap. There is an adult delinquency problem."

Wally Kluver, former chairman of  
the Youth Commission in Yap.

<sup>4</sup> See appendixes xxx to xxx Part xxx for detailed report of professional justice personnel opinion in this regard.

This statement dramatically highlights the fact that youth problems do not exist as separate youth problems but rather within the context of adult society. It is the relationship between youth and adults which defines the situation of youth. In large measure it is the Micronesian adults who are role models who set many of the patterns of behavior which are followed by the youth.<sup>5</sup> The most pervasive criticisms of adults in setting undesirable standards of behavior for their children centered around the use of alcoholic beverages. Almost all respondents cited the abuse of alcohol by young people as the single most serious manifestation of the problems youth face. Most youthful misbehavior (including criminal or delinquent acts), most injuries due to fighting, most injuries from accidents, most youthful suicides, many expulsions from school, and many unplanned pregnancies among young girls are alcohol related.

At the time this study was started all districts except the Northern Mariana Islands had drinking permit laws on the books.<sup>6</sup> In order to legally purchase alcohol one had to have in his/her possession a valid license. This was an attempt to control juvenile drinking since no licenses were to be issued to anybody under the legal drinking age. However, during the course of the study the drinking permit law was repealed in Palau because it was unworkable. The drinking permit law is also unworkable in every other district and the prohibition on youthful drinking in the Mariana Islands is also ineffective. It is not the case that there is a highly organized set of juvenile gangs who have foreign agents purchasing alcoholic beverages abroad and smuggling them in at night over deserted beaches. The truth is that adults locally furnish the alcoholic beverages to their own youth. And, it is the adults who do not enforce the laws against juvenile drinking.<sup>7</sup>

But, it is not only a matter of provision of illegal alcoholic beverages by adults to youth or a matter of the refusal of the adult society to enforce the prohibition of use of alcoholic beverages by youth. An equally important problem mentioned by a large number of people interviewed is the fact that the adults set the pattern for drinking.<sup>8</sup>

It is adult behavior which legitimizes the drinking behavior of the youth. In the words of John Betewon of the legal services staff in Truk, "Kids are just like a mirror; they are reflecting back." The Assistant Public Defender Representative in another District shows the mirrored condition: "We have this crazy drinking permit law, it deprives people of their rights -- the pursuit of happiness -- to drink and make yourself free." It is the adults who have taught the young to drink until they collapse or the supply of alcohol runs out or the money runs out to buy more alcohol.<sup>9</sup> Adults teach the youth by their behavior that it is not only permissible but acceptable to fight while drunk. When adult behavior changes, youth behavior will change.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>5</sup> It is not only the Micronesian adults who are role models for Micronesian youth. Many respondents emphasized that the young people in Micronesia increasingly are using the behavior of aliens who are significant in their lives as patterns to follow -- American teachers, Peace Corps Volunteers, and others. Many Micronesian adults felt that the behavior patterns transferred by alien adults was a negative influence on their youth. They also indicated that young Micronesians who return from extended stay in the United States are looked up to as models of behavior and that these Micronesian carriers of American culture are also contributing to the swift erosion of Micronesian culture.

<sup>6</sup> Drinking by minors is also prohibited by law in the Northern Mariana Islands but there is no drinking permit law.

<sup>7</sup> This subject is treated more fully in Part II. Foreign lawyers and High Court Judges in the justice system were also criticized strongly in connection with the lack of enforcement of laws against juvenile drinking. The Public Defenders are seen as presenting the argument in court that drunkenness excuses criminal behavior and the High Court Judges are seen as validating this argument. The decisions of the court system are perceived by many Micronesians as a signal that the laws will not be enforced.

<sup>8</sup> It is not only a question of adults currently setting the drinking patterns. Also included in a number of responses by Micronesians interviewed is the idea that the need to exhibit bravery is a strong part of traditional culture associated with preparation of young males for the role of warriors in societies where inter-village or inter-island warfare was the dominant fact of life. Men's houses (or canoe houses as they are also described in English) were thus not only social living centers but fortresses where all the able bodied men in the village were available for instant defense along with their arms. Also, fearlessness was taught and reinforced by constant exhibition of bravery -- the anticipation of potentially deadly fighting. Since killing is now considered "bad", but bravery is still a recognized part of many Micronesian cultures, many young people get drunk in order to start a fight they consciously wish to initiate. The reason for getting drunk before fighting is that under modern (e.g., alien) rules, "normal" people do not fight. Only bad people fight unless they are out of control while intoxicated. Thus, there is a premium placed on being intoxicated. It is possible that competitive contact sports could be used as a substitute for this need to demonstrate bravery and its subordinate need to get drunk.

<sup>9</sup> Francis Mahoney wrote an extensive analysis of the use of alcohol in Micronesia. His study published in 1973 was entitled, "Social and Cultural Factors Relating to the Cause and Control of Alcohol Abuse Among Micronesian Youth". Since he covered the subject quite thoroughly, no detailed section on alcohol abuse is included here.

<sup>10</sup> Wife-beating is another kind of adult behavior passed on to youth by example of the burden Yapese women live under and participate in. She noted that even the mothers teach their daughters to think of themselves as "some kind of slave" who must accept the way she is treated by males.

These examples were often given during interviews as criticisms of adult behavior. Such criticism is quite ineffective and beside the point. The point is that the relation between youth and adults regarding drinking is only part of the fundamental issue: how do adults and youth relate to each other across the whole set of living relationships they are confronted with daily? One of the consequences of the adults not understanding the alien influences which are shaping their children into citizens of a new social system is that parents often instill strong negative self-images in their own children.

Often young people who have begun to learn new values and ways of living do not want to gather firewood, pound taro or breadfruit, cook, weave, fish, or do other traditional community or household chores. Parents in this situation are seen as branding their children as lazy, worthless, and a burden to their families (as early as age 13-14 according to some informants). Many youth do begin to feel worthless as a result of having been branded as such by the most significant adults in their lives. These strong negative self-images often go very deep in the child and stay with him or her a long time. Many young people act out these feelings of worthlessness by dropping out of school, drinking and fighting, breaking the law, or even committing suicide. The children also pick up messages of confusion from the parents who do not understand the current situation and vary in their attitudes from being extremely permissive to extremely repressive as they try to deal with the new circumstances of their children's changing behavior. Parents see youth as disrespectful when the youth refuse to obey traditions and counter parental commands with their new knowledge. A number of respondents felt that one of the reasons young people drink is to avoid the bad feelings being directed at them from their parents. Justin Manglona, Trust Territory Coordinator of Secondary Education, said that there is often a strong conflict between the parents who want to instruct their young in proper behavior and the "American" idea thrown back at the parents that one learns not from the wisdom of his/her elders but from making one's own mistakes, living with the consequences of those mistakes and learning from them.<sup>11</sup>

While many of the adults charged the youth with disrespect, many Micronesian adults charged their fellow adults with neglecting their children. Almost all of the police officers interviewed in all districts saw parental neglect as either the central problem in juvenile delinquency or as one of the major problems. A significant number of other professionals in the justice system also made the same observation. Others who are not part of the justice system also made the same charges. This points again to the conclusion that the problem at its deepest root is not a youth problem but a problem of the relationship between youth and adults. The forms of neglect were often specified: because both parents might be working in the district center, when the children come home from school they find no food prepared and roam around stealing fruits, coconuts, or whatever food is available. Other respondents noted that fathers are often out drinking in the evenings,<sup>12</sup> mothers may often be found at movies or playing bingo and children are left without adult guidance in the homes. Parents were seen as too busy making money and attending social functions to pass on to their children the traditional modes of acceptable conduct or an appreciation of their worth as valued members of the community.

However, other sensitive observers of the situation put the charges of parental neglect in the larger context of loss of control by the parents over their children. The loss of control was not seen as willful or voluntary. Rather, it was seen as flowing from the confusion parents feel at being faced by the relentless and pervasive imposition of a new system in which they are not able to participate.

<sup>11</sup>At a meeting of the aging program in Yap, one elderly Yapese man stated that his son was a good boy before he went to Guam. When the son came back he did not enjoy fishing, gathering firewood, or helping the family. Rather he stayed in Colonia and repeatedly got drunk. He refused to listen to his father, claiming that under the American system a person is free after age 18 and not accountable to his family any longer. He said his son threatened to take him to court to stop the father's attempts to exert authority. The Yapese man felt that the American idea of freedom may work in a big country like America but in a small island, like Yap, it doesn't work. Many adults in various districts told similar stories of their children having reached 18 and claimed immunity from parental control or family responsibilities because of freedom having been conferred upon them under the American system.

<sup>12</sup>Many young people made related comments. One 14 year old boy who was a graduate of the Outward Bound program in Ponape, and at the time of this research an enrollee in the Youth Conservation Corps program, had been arrested six times, recounted that he would ask his father for money to go to a movie and be told that the family had no money. Then later he would see his father drinking at a bar and get so angry that he would go steal to get the money he wanted. Similar stories were told repeatedly during the interviews.

Most parents in Micronesia do try to control their children, just like most parents in other parts of the world, but they are confronted with a structural situation which takes away their ability to control their own families.

Many adults complained that young people in school who have learned to read and write taunt their parents as being "ignorant". They make their claims for freedom by a mistaken interpretation that under the American system, youth are totally emancipated from family ties at age 18. Adults complain that young people look down on the older generation, that they do not want to listen because they feel superior. It is in this situation that the store of parental wisdom and advice has almost no bearing on what confronts parent and child alike. Young Micronesian wage earners find themselves in the uncomfortable position of being able to give commands. Going to school and having a government job seem automatically to command the respect of elders who in the past would have commanded respect by virtue of their age. The elders experience complementary discomfort and feel more and more of their authority slipping away.

Many respondents pointed out that some parents are in physical fear of their sons. Many instances of sons beating parents were cited. While some parents may be physically intimidated, others feel that they have no choice but to accept behavior of their children which is current and sanctioned by other adults, even though it contradicts their own ideas of what is correct. The current high level of youthful suicide is in part a form of punishment by children of their parents for refusal by the parents to allow the child his way (suicide is primarily a male phenomenon at this time.) Many people interviewed felt that the threat of suicide is an effective way for the young to gain control over their parents.<sup>13</sup>

Part of the general break between generations flows from the fact that the traditional family structure is in transition. It is common knowledge that the extended clan or kinship ties of the past are breaking down. The result is a nuclearization<sup>14</sup> of family living which significantly weakens adult control because in the extended family life-style responsibility for disciplining and guiding youth was shared by all the adults of the extended family. In the past if the biological parents were temporarily absent, aunts, uncles, older cousins, and grandparents were still present to enforce proper behavior. Now, children are much more easily isolated from adult supervision in the nuclear family units in the urban areas of Micronesia.

Another fact which has been cited by some respondents as a factor in the inability of parents to control their children is that the quality of medical care has risen dramatically, and there are many more surviving children in family. There may be as many as 10 or 12 children who are now dependent upon the relatively small wage earnings of a mother and father in a nuclear family and neither of the parents may have the time to provide adequate attention to so many individual off-spring, even if they did fully understand the forces affecting their young.

A third major factor cited repeatedly is that many of the youth who are from outer islands or outlying villages and municipalities in the District Center areas are sent to live with aged or distant relatives during the school year. Under these conditions it is almost impossible for the adults to exercise any control. Often relatives feel family obligations to take in their young relatives but do so without any enthusiasm. They are nominally responsible during their formative years in school. A striking number of respondents in various districts pointed out that often the young are sent to live with old grandparents or single aunties who are far more removed from modern trends and understanding than even their parents. These children are seen as being under no effective adult control at all.

<sup>13</sup> Father Francis Hezel, S.J. of Xavier High School in Truk has just written a paper entitled, "Micronesia's Hanging Spree", wherein he attempts to analyse what he considers to be an epidemic of youthful suicides. Many other persons in the Eastern Districts identified youthful suicide as a growing and significant problem. Rev. Jude Sampson in Majuro reported that he had ministered to the families of 9 young people who killed themselves. In his view many youth were being given responsibilities they could not handle and this was setting up intolerable burdens for them.

<sup>14</sup> A nuclear family pattern is one where only the mother, father, and immediate children live in one dwelling unit.

This pattern of shipping out young people to board with distant relatives also springs from an increasing number of broken families. The ready availability of divorce has meant that there are large numbers of young people who get sent as children (rather than high school age youth) to live with elderly relatives who are not in a position to offer them guidance as they grow in this changing society.<sup>15</sup>

### 3) SEPARATION OF YOUTH AND ADULTS

"The education system is educating us to hate ourselves, denounce our cultures. . . . Basically, the education system has got to be controlled by us."

Dr. Minoru Ueki, Palau

"Parents are absolutely lost from this education system."

Rev. Billy Kuartei, Chairman Board  
of Education in Palau

Though the two quotations above are both from Palau, the basic ideas were repeated across the whole of the Trust Territory.<sup>16</sup> Congressman elect Hans Wiliander of Truk is one of the many who sees the education system as the basic source of the break between parents and children. Dan Giddings, then Principal of Marianas High School, felt that though everything is inter-related, the school experience is the key to understanding the separation between youth and adults. This observation was based on two considerations. The first (which will be discussed below) is that the school is the main source for young people of the alien influences affecting them and their families; it is the primary vehicle of social change in Micronesia. The second consideration is that the young

people are at the school for many hours each day and in a purely mechanical sense it dominates their lives at the same time that it physically separates them from the influence of family and adult village or community life. Peter Fujita, District Prosecutor in Truk sees the educational system as the key factor in loss of parental control. Carmen Mutnguy, Women's Interest Officer, Girl Scout Coordinator and community leader in Yap put it in this way: "School is really teaching them (the children) to be no good." She sees that many of the young people come out of school arrogantly claiming their superiority over their parents and demanding jobs but unable really to hold a job because they are unable to read or do simple calculations. A High School staff member at PICS in Ponape wrote: "The parents are not aware what is happening at PICS -- what their children are being taught. It is a mystery to them what the American school system has in mind for the Micronesian student."<sup>17</sup>

There were two important ideas presented in this context: first, the educational system is imported and thus is alien. It is seen as the source of many of the problems cited above. It is seen as alienating the young from their parents and from participating in productive and useful activities in the villages. From this perspective, once the young people have exposure to the new ways, even if they do not graduate, they usually are reluctant to return to the repetitive routine of village life.

<sup>15</sup> Beja Lain, District Prosecutor in the Marshalls stated that repeat juvenile offenders came predominantly from broken families. He felt that a young person from a whole or "good" family may be brought to this court on a first offense but he or she will not be brought back because the families will discipline and control their child. The repeat offenders are from the broken families and the families where control has broken down. Other officials of the justice system made similar observations.

<sup>16</sup> The research design for this report did not include a systematic analysis of the educational system. That would be a task much too large for the scope of this project. This section is included as a report of community attitudes and is included because the attitudes were so pervasive and strongly stated as to be unavoidable.

<sup>17</sup> Correspondence to the author following the district field work.

"... they have been taken from their homes and placed in the alien environment of an American educational system in Kolonia. After one year of the new environment, they hesitate to go back home and if they do that they are often misfits no longer willing to do work on their farms. Even those who do finish four years at PICS have a strong possibility of not being able to find work or continue their education at graduation time. They too hesitate to go home, and very often they are unproductive when they do return home."<sup>18</sup> This kind of observation was made repeatedly in every district.

It is not only the educated or educators who make these comments. For example a group of villagers from Ngarchelong village in Palau felt that any high school experience -- public or private -- produced uncontrollable youth. Julio Akapito, then Executive Director of the Community Action Agency in Truk (now a member of the Congress of Micronesia) agrees with Pedro Harris that the young people who go to school lack the skills needed at home and are more and more disinterested in the traditional work of the village.

The second key idea is this: Not only are the Schoolsteaching alien subjects, ideas, and attitudes which are not appropriate for Micronesia but they are not providing the necessary skills for the actual current Micronesian situation. Isaac Figir of the Legal Services program in Yap stated that the educational system has failed to include a curriculum on how to live as a Yapese rather than to prepare for something you are not sure is going to be. That is, education is not specifically tailored to actual current and probable future island needs. What will a Yapese (Trukese, Marshallese, etc.) boy or girl need to know to live a good, comfortable, productive, or satisfying life in Yap (Truk, Majuro, etc.)

The traditional educational system provided exactly this kind of curriculum. The skills, knowledge, attitudes, and behavior expectations necessary to become a respected and functioning member of the village, clan, or island were passed on to the young by the best teachers available -- the older members of the village. Education was an integral part of daily living. The boys learned their tasks and roles from older boys and the men of the village just as the girls learned their tasks and roles from older girls and the women of the village and, of course, general knowledge would be passed on by elders of either sex. This educational system was highly effective in passing on the necessary skills and information because it was a part of the daily living, because it was integrated into the structure of the community, and it was continuous.

It is no longer possible to expect such an educational system to provide the skills and information needed for a young person in Micronesia. Participation in the world economy and community now requires different outlooks, attitudes, and skills. However, the question of what a young Micronesian needs to learn in school to lead a productive and satisfying life is still of great importance. Will they need to know American history or the ecology of the island and lagoon? Will they need to know how to type or should they learn how to provide the necessary protein sources for their community from the islands and lagoons? What is the balance needed in courses which will produce people who can type? repair electrical equipment? repair mechanical equipment? operate fishing fleets? Is education currently geared to the probable future of the area? Should it be?

No respondent interviewed in the research for this report answered that the schools were offering curricula which would prepare the youth for the realistic expectations of the near future. Rather, it was felt that the schools are imperfectly and incompletely teaching alien skills that are no longer in great demand in the job market. Prior to the adoption by the Trust Territory Department of Education in the early 1970s of the goal of providing secondary education for all who desire it, compulsory secondary education, all high school graduates in Micronesia had virtual assurance that they would find relatively well paying and highly prestigious government jobs upon graduation. This expectation became a part of the folk-lore of the society. Now, however, the high schools are turning out floods of students for whom there are not jobs precisely at the same time the

<sup>18</sup> Correspondence to the author following the district field work.

government is planning to eliminate many jobs (while promoting jobs in the private sector) in the face of transition from current territorial status to independence or some other form of self-government.<sup>19</sup> The Micronesian youth specifically reject the less desirable construction and service jobs or productive work such as agriculture and fishing. Page 34 of Part II of this report indicated the amount of such work being done by alien labor<sup>20</sup> - work that could be available to Micronesians under the proper conditions. It must be emphasized, however, that a number of educational administrators strongly pointed out during the interviews that vocational course offerings were often rejected by students. In other words, it is not a simple issue of schools not providing what is required by local living conditions. There is a more profound interaction of values and aspirations in operation which have been communicated by all the points of contact with alien influences, not just schools alone.

Another important point brought out many times during the interviews can be summed up by Father Hezel's comment that "The real educational neglect in Micronesia is of adults." Most Micronesian parents are mystified by psychology, sociology, philosophy, problems of democracy, physics, chemistry, English Literature, and so on. They cannot respond to their children who are learning these subjects.<sup>21</sup> In addition, Rev. Kuartei not only feels that parents are absolutely lost from this educational system but that the "parents are not involved in any way in the children's vocational decisions" nor in their decisions to leave for whatever distant school they may attend.

Congressman Isidoro Rudimch of Palau was one of many who volunteered the idea that parents should be educated along with their children to bridge the gap between them. Manny Borja and Don Giddings of Marianas High School were among the educators who agreed. Borja stated that since the government is changing the culture through the educational system it would be consistent for the government to try to get the parents to understand what is being taught and why and what is happening to their children. As he put it, "The young generation now, that's their culture -- what they learn in school." Gerald Craddock of the Headquarters Division of Community Development offered the opinion that the government owned broadcast stations have been greatly under utilized for adult education and that they still have great potential for bridging the information gap between youth and parents if used intensively by educated Micronesians sensitive to the areas of misunderstanding. The inclusion of this long discussion of the relation between the adults in charge of the educational system and the students and their parents is not presented here as a criticism of the educational system. As stated earlier, it is not one of the purposes of this report to analyze the educational system. It is presented as further evidence to support the theme that the fundamental issue concerning youth in Micronesia today is the relationships between youth and adults. It is also presented as reinforcement of the sub-theme that at the base of all proposed solutions to "youth problems" is a political reality. For centuries the islands have been under foreign domination for geopolitical reasons of the conquering or occupying nations. This alien occupation of four centuries domination has inhibited the evolution of a development process dominated by the inner perceptions, urges, and necessities of Micronesians and has meant that one socio-economic system (part of which is education) after another has followed the dictates of foreign cultures and foreign needs; however well intentioned the specific actions taken were.

Koichi Sana, Speaker of the Truk Legislature and many others argued eloquently for parent participation in the school system. However, though there were many people arguing in favor of such participation there was another argument that parent participation does not work. Parent Teacher Associations in Yap and Palau were seen as completely ineffective. In the view of one Palauan leader, the PTAs have only two purposes -- to raise money and allow teachers to defend themselves against parent criticism. One of the main criticisms in Yap was not of the idea of PTAs but of the approach. It was felt that the meetings were too large because people came from many villages and

<sup>19</sup> In 1962 in Micronesia there were two public high schools with 200 students and 4 private high schools with 177 students. In 1976 there were 17 public high schools with 6,276 students and 14 private high schools with 1,675 students.

<sup>20</sup> See pages 24 to 34 of Part II of this report for a discussion of youth attitudes toward categories of employment.

<sup>21</sup> Comment by Manny Borja, Counsellor at Marianas High School.

there was no opportunity for parents to participate in a two-way flow of communication. A suggestion was made that parents could be brought into contact with the school administration if the PTA meetings were held at the village level.

Of course, PTAs are voluntary associations of educators and parents sharing perceptions and making recommendations to one another. They are not charged with making the critical decisions that are basically philosophical and political; what shall be taught, why, how, and by whom. These decisions have to be made ultimately by those with the power to direct that their decisions be carried out -- the political leadership. However, the political leadership take into consideration the attitudes of the students themselves. Many observers felt that the high drop out rate<sup>22</sup> among high school youth is caused by the fact that the courses offered seem to have no relevance to many. Students believe they won't get jobs after graduating and often can see no point in continuing in an apparently useless exercise. Similar attitudes are thought to account for the rather high rate of expulsions also.<sup>23</sup>

Now that Micronesia is facing the vast uncertainties of a new future political status of some form of self-government, for the first time in four centuries, Micronesian political leaders alone will have the great opportunity and concomitant responsibility to address these issues and to make significant decisions which will determine the future development of the area and the people of these islands. The decision to allocate resources in one field affects the amount of resources available to all other fields and the actions taken in one area thus affect all others.

Government sponsored youth planning must take place with the realization that not only is no one field of planning preeminent or determinant but that prior to the development of any social planning there must be an expressed or at least implied consensus about what the future of society (or a segment of society) should be. "Should" is not in the realm of scientific measure. There are no external scientific validators -- "shouldness" comes from the desires, wishes, and values within a society. Elected leaders in a democratic society have to keep a delicate balance between the current desires of the people and the new visions which they can teach their people.

Attention in this discussion is placed on administrative planning actions following political leadership because it is the addition of power to the process of planning which makes planning effective just as planning without the power to implement the plans is useless. The adults are those with the formal charge to organize and manage the society. It is they who must take the responsibility to attempt to formulate an explicit statement of the public consensus of what society should look like. It is they who must attempt to organize the institutions of society to achieve those visions. In most cases there is an enormous leap of faith between proposed social objectives and the goals prescribed or validated by the legislature. There is no guarantee that achievement of the chosen objectives actually will lead to the stated goals. However, this leap of faith must be taken lest uncontrolled change sweeps across the society. This report is part of that leap of faith.

It is a question of who should make the decisions and how. One of the most critical issues is the relationship of school to parents and to the community at large.

<sup>22</sup> The term "drop-out" in Micronesia is often used to mean those students who are expelled from school. Very often it does not have the same meaning it has in the United States where a drop-out is one who voluntarily leaves school. In this report it is used in the latter sense only.

<sup>23</sup> See Henry Falan's report entitled "Secondary Schools Attrition Research" prepared for the Trust Territory Department of Education in 1976.



#### 4) LACK OF STRUCTURED ACTIVITIES FOR YOUTH.

"Being as it is we have nothing to keep our time occupied. There is no money to hire us no recreation to fill our time."

Young man in Yap

"There is no real set of programs or guidelines or priorities whereby the Youth Commission may say where we are going."

Yoichi K. Rengiil, Youth Commission Member, Public Affairs Officer, and Chairman of the Alcoholic Beverage Control Board in Palau.

At the time of the research for this paper there were Youth Commissions in Palau, Yap, and Truk. There was a Recreation Board in Truk and an Alcoholic Beverage Control Board in all districts except Marianas. Mr. Rengiil's statement above was part of a unanimous self-appraisal across Micronesia. Members of every board or commission made similar statements.

Many Micronesians who are not members of boards or commissions also articulated the fact that there are no District Government goals for a government response to the needs of the young. Luke Moon, Chairman of the Youth Commission in Yap said, "This Commission has been inactive ever since it was started." He is the fourth Chairman since 1973. He also stated that the Youth Commission had no goals, no priorities, no objectives, and no activities. When asked why there was a Youth Commission he answered: "That is what I sometimes wonder. Who proposed to the Yapese a Youth Commission? (The elected leaders.) Is it really needed here? Julio Akapito, CAA Director in Truk, member of the Youth Commission, CETA Board, and Recreation Board made exactly the same kind of analysis. There is no sense of mission for any of the boards and there are no goals, priorities, or objectives. Board members were not given initial orientation and training. They have had no prior experience with Youth Commissions or Recreation Boards to draw on and they have no professional youth workers with long experience in the field to advise them. Because they are community leaders they have taken on the responsibility to try to do something for the youth of their islands. But they find themselves in the situation where they do not know how to identify and analyze youth problems or modern social problems in general; they have no measures for weighing alternatives; they have no basis for setting priorities and they do not even have any basis for evaluating the activities of their own staffs.

Here is a situation where adults have been given and have accepted the responsibility of trying to bridge the gap between youth and the adult world but cannot do so for lack of resources and lack of experience with an alien form -- the Board or Commission.

Recreation activities have been the basic response of all the Youth Commissions. Specifically organized sports activities have been the main program of the youth commissions. In all areas where there have been organized sports activities, police as well as civilians reported a reduction in juvenile drinking, fighting, and other delinquent acts. What is also of great interest is the observation that the spectators who came to watch were of all ages. There was an integration of youth and adults around sports. But there are other important observations also. The programs were all temporary and apparently had no lasting effects. Although in small crowded Ebeye where most social problems are intensified by the close living, when the funds for the program ran out there was no outcry to

start them up again. There was no local effort to maintain the social contacts started by government funds. Also, since the teams were organized by island groupings, the losers want to fight to regain their stature.

There was another interesting criticism of recreation programs. A minority of people interviewed felt that there was too much in the way of organized recreation. Some felt that these programs took the youth away from their families and were contributing to the breakdown of family cohesion and social control. Others like Joshua Koshiba, Vice Speaker of the Palau Legislature were concerned that the programs were conducted without proper adult supervision and that the youth who were "targets" of the programs did not participate. From Ebeye to Palau there was the observation that the "troublemakers" who most needed assistance only came to dances or to sports activities to cause trouble among the well-behaved youth who were enjoying the activities. In Yap six leaders of youth organizations felt that the best thing to do would be to cease all formal activities connected with youth and recreation programs. They felt that the minimum amount of harm would come from doing nothing because 1981 termination of the Trusteeship Agreement was only four and one-half years away and that everything will change then. They felt that nothing should be started now which cannot be carried out under local resources after 1981, but they modified this by saying that the next best solution would be simply to fund youth centers in the District Centers. (Many other people both in Yap and other districts felt that recreational programs were more needed at the village level than in the District Centers.)<sup>24</sup> Once again, the problem of transition planning, economic base, and political decision-making was raised quite explicitly by people such as the six youth organization leaders in Yap and Tony DeBrum, the Public Affairs Officer in Majuro. In slightly less direct fashion the idea was presented by Sos Maras, Health Educator in Truk and Dr. Ymauo Akitekit. They said, "We have our own ways of handling our affairs."<sup>25</sup> The political issue raised by DeBrum and the others was this: as long as foreigners dominate and control our islands we will have these problems because they flow from an inability of local leadership to control our own affairs.

## 5) FUTURE?

"Something must be done now."

Senator Amata Kabua, Marshall Islands

What has to be done now in Senator Kabua's view is to make young men and women feel a part of society. In the long run there may be a million Micronesians on these islands and within a generation there may be 10,000 more youth than today. But right now something has to be done for those 6,500 out of school and unemployed youth and for the thousands in school who will face the problems of adult experience once they leave school.<sup>26</sup> The problem is to find how to give youth a stake in a system which is not really a system at all, but a moving, pulsating interaction of systems in flux.

<sup>24</sup>One of the most highly praised youth programs operating in the Trust Territory, the Outward Bound program in Ponape, is not connected in any way with a Youth Commission or Recreation Board. It is a program designed to take young persons with serious behavioral and adjustment problems and remold them through a program of confidence building in rugged isolation where physical exertion and group cooperation are absolutely necessary for existence. It appears to be quite successful in this purpose but has one primary weakness: after the short period of time of the program (a few weeks) there is no follow-up program to reinforce the new identity, self-perceptions, and behavior the young persons gain from the program. They were thrown back into the same life situations that created the problems in the first place and the new ideas planted are in danger of swiftly eroding away.

<sup>25</sup>Scouting is an interesting case in point. There are many boy and girl scout troops in the various districts and Micronesian scouting has received substantial support from the Aloha Boy Scout Council (Hawaii). But Scouting is an alien activity also. When the Scout leader in Palau had to withdraw from the program, the program died. Nobody stepped in to replace him. Girl Scout leaders in Yap, Ebeye, and Majuro all reported that the local Scout leaders did not know how to keep the program going after a burst of initial activity. New leaders had to be recruited constantly because within six months the other leaders had run out of new ideas -- they had used up the foreign ideas given to them as part of their initial training and orientation.

<sup>26</sup>This is also the attitude of the many people who dedicate long hours in an attempt to provide assistance to youth today. One example out of many is Modesto Soto, the only full time Scout leader in Micronesia. Mr. Soto leads the Scouting program in Ponape as a full-time volunteer. There are many others in churches and schools and the government who are also concerned about immediate assistance to youth in need.

This research study was based upon the assumption that some of the problems facing youth are severe enough and widespread enough and spring from structural causes fundamental enough that they can only be addressed by the Trust Territory government, the only agency with resources large enough to have a reasonable chance of making an effective impact on the problem. However, it now seems apparent that "youth programs" will be ineffective or only marginally effective unless they are related to and integrated with large social, economic, and political planning and actions. The time frame for possible solutions to current youth problems is probably about one generation. There are no easy or immediate solutions. But while new social structures are being developed and the search for long range solutions to the deepest and most difficult structural problems continues, immediate daily problems of people must get attention and help.

This research project was undertaken in the attempt to provide social planners in the Trust Territory with some basic data to use in both the development of long range programs to knit together the unravelling social fabric in Micronesia and in the development of short term activities which will help young people keep active in socially acceptable ways, alleviate current stresses, and provide new socially useful and approved learning experiences while root problems are being attacked. Specific recommendations were not a requirement of the project as the development of such recommendations is the role of the full-time professionals in the various youth serving agencies, including the Youth Service Branch. This paper will have served its purpose if its emphasis on the integration of planning for youth with general social program planning and the need to bridge the gap between adults and youth is accepted and adopted along with the understanding that the primary need is to organize the lives of Micronesian youth so that their activities are a structured part of a community in which youth participate with adults in preparation to become responsible and productive citizens.

## PART II

### EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES FOR YOUTH IN MICRONESIA

#### INTRODUCTION

The 1973 census indicates that there were approximately 6,500 Micronesians of school ages who are out of school and unemployed. This is approximately 54% of the people between the ages of 15 and 25. Table I prepared by the Community Development Division shows that 4,115 Micronesians between the ages of 15 and 24 identified themselves as unemployed and actively seeking work. This is 236 more young people than were identified as working for wages in the Trust Territory. The census indicates that for every young person employed there is another who is unable to find work but who wishes to find work. Section B of Table I shows that there were another 2,451 young people unemployed in the modern sense of word though they are shown as working at some traditional pursuits in the village economic life. Because people can still live in Micronesia without having a formal job, unemployment does not currently carry the same connotations as it does in the industrialized countries of the world. However, inasmuch as the Trust Territory is in a transitional state with the money economy rapidly replacing the subsistence economy, it is important to take a closer look at unemployment opportunities for youth in Micronesia.

Data supplied by the Trust Territory Department of Education (see Table II) show that for the four year period 1972-1975 there were 5,757 high school graduates in all high schools in Micronesia or an average of 1,152 per year.

Table II ("Reported T.T. Wide Enrollment Fluctuation and Respective Graduates" also shows that during the period 1967-1972 there were 14,229 students in the 8th grade but that only 7,555 continued on to the 9th grade. This is an attrition between these two grades of 6,674. The yearly average is 1,335 who drop out of school between the 8th and 9th grades. This is more than the number of students who graduate from high school each year.

Table II also indicates that there are about 1.5 students dropping out of high school each year for each student graduating. While we do not have precise data through 1976, it is probable that the rate has remained about constant. This indicates that there are about 2,880 students leaving school each year in the Trust Territory, either because of graduation or for other reasons. A few leave the Trust Territory. A few go to college. But most remain. What employment prospects face this group of nearly 3,000 young people each year?

As has been pointed out in an earlier part, young people today in Micronesia do not have clearly defined activities and social roles as they once did. The parents no longer know what to expect of their young who are trained in schools instead of in the village. The young do not have socially approved tasks and sets of expected behavior while in school or after they leave school.

One of the assumptions underlying the research for this part was the following: Increasingly in the Trust Territory as the impact of the industrial world continues and increases, a person's ability to find an acceptable social role and to achieve his/her (or the family's) goals will be related to his/her place in the money economy. In other words, people will have to have paying jobs or belong to a family in which one or more members have paying jobs.

The research undertaken for this chapter attempted to test two basic hypotheses flowing from the assumption that increasingly young Micronesians will need formal jobs in the money economy. The hypotheses were:

TABLE I

## ECONOMIC ACTIVITY AMONG MICRONESIAN YOUTH

Source: 1973 Population of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, Tables 17, 18 and 20

## A. Unemployed (actively seeking paying jobs)

	<u>15-19 yrs</u>	<u>20-24 yrs</u>	<u>Totals</u>
Male	923	1,094	2,017
Female	1,193	905	2,098
			<u>4,115</u>

## B. Working on Subsistence Village Economy (irregular with nominal cash earnings)

	<u>15 - 19 yrs</u>	<u>20 - 24 yrs</u>	<u>Total</u>
Male	560	893	1,453
Female	468	530	998
			<u>2,451</u>

## C. Working regularly for cash wages 1)

	<u>15 - 19 yrs</u>	<u>20 - 24 yrs</u>	<u>Total</u>
Male	427	2,068	2,495
Female	326	1,058	1,384
			<u>3,879</u> 2)

## D. Not Economically Active (students, housewives, disabled, prisoners, etc.)

	<u>15 - 19 yrs</u>	<u>20 - 24 yrs</u>	<u>Total</u>
Male	4,714	856	5,570
Female	4,391	2,133	6,524
			<u>12,094</u>

1) 31 persons were enlisted in the U.S. armed forces during the census.

2) 28% of total Trust Territory wage earners

TABLE II  
REPORTED T.T. WIDE ENROLLMENT FLUCTUATION  
AND RESPECTIVE GRADUATES

	8th Graders During Base School Year					9th Graders the following School Year					Graduate by Sex, Public and Private Schools, and School Year					
Base School Year	MALE		FEMALE		TOTAL	MALE		FEMALE		TOTAL	MALE		FEMALE		TOTAL	School Year Ending June:
	Public	Private	Public	Private		Public	Private	Public	Private		Public	Private	Public	Private		
1967-68	1201	189	662	239	2291						459	150	206	104	919	1971
1968-69	1163	149	795	221	2328	764	280	400	232	1676	534	134	278	87	1033	1972
1969-70	1292	611	992	566	3461	753	261	470	224	1708	511	129	315	112	1067	1973
1970-71	1469	185	1177	248	3079	843	286	572	231	1932	590	136	383	91	1200	1974
1971-72	1517	136	1218	199	3070	972	312	706	249	2239					1538*	1975
																* Reported Figure at the time of the writing of the report; not broken down into Sex, and type of School.
Sub Total	6642	1270	4844	1473		3332	1139	2148	936		2094	549	1182	394		
Total by Sex, Public & Private	7912		6317			4471		3084			2643		1576			
Grand Total	14229					7555					5757					

1. Under current economic conditions there are not enough meaningful jobs to absorb the youth who need employment;
2. Under current and planned economic conditions, there will not be enough meaningful jobs to absorb youth entering the job market for the next five years.

Both hypotheses had as corollaries the assumptions that the hypotheses would be true whether or not the youth were trained in good work habits, had work attitudes which would allow them to hold jobs, had the necessary skills to do various available jobs, and were not discriminated against in finding work. Most observers interviewed felt that many young people do not have proper work attitudes, have not been trained in proper work habits, and generally do not have the skills necessary to do available work.

It proved impossible to either completely validate or invalidate either assumption due to lack of necessary data. No department of the Trust Territory government makes estimates of expected future demand for employment and there are not complete statistics kept on actual numbers of persons employed by age, sex, and district.

While it was not possible to develop a definitive test for the hypotheses, enough data are available to provide an acceptable description of the dimensions of the problem. The fact that there is not a data base sufficient which legislative and policy decisions is a primary finding of this research. While it is not possible to compare the total number of jobs available from 1972-1975 with numbers of students leaving school for all reasons and thus estimate employment needs for youth, Table I does clearly indicate that there is a deficit in each district between government job openings at pay level 16 or below and the number of students leaving school for all reasons.<sup>1</sup> Even though the deficit between government jobs below pay level 16 and estimated need for jobs among youth is an artificial figure based upon the arbitrary decision to divide in half the average number of students leaving school each year for all reasons, the estimate does give a conservative basis for estimating the number of new jobs needed each year in the private sector or government sector or a combination of both to provide for youth employment needs.<sup>2</sup> The estimate is probably low because it does not show the large pool of unemployed out of school youth who left school and did not get work before 1972 but who are still under 25 years of age. Nor is there any way to break down the estimated need for work between males vs. females.

Table III indicates that in each District the number of government jobs available to young people is not able to handle the estimated need.

---

<sup>1</sup> A more refined methodology would be to compare the number of jobs open and potentially available to persons under 25 with (1) the numbers of students leaving school for all reasons; (2) plus the number of unemployed youth from past years wanting or needing work; (3) less the number of students graduating and leaving the Trust Territory for travel, employment, or further schooling; (4) plus the number of people under twenty-five returning from travel, employment, or post-secondary schooling. Unfortunately, no data are kept on travelers and only partially complete data are available on students leaving or returning to the Trust Territory. It would also be useful for youth programs planning to have a survey which would indicate the number of young people who actually leave school per year per district (or smaller geographic sub-division) and who do not seek formal employment.

<sup>2</sup> Figures on the number of students graduating each year from high school and estimates of the numbers of students leaving school for all reasons are based on data prepared by the Trust Territory Department of Education in an unpublished study entitled, "Secondary Schools Attrition Research" by Henry Falan. The report was prepared in 1976. Figures for graduation from high school are from all high schools in the Trust Territory, both public and private. Estimates of numbers of students leaving school voluntarily, being expelled, or being "pushed out" for lack of space in the next grade are extrapolated from the numbers of students in the eighth grade class five years before a high school class graduation. Thus, the estimated attrition rate for the whole TT (including the Northern Mariana Islands which were a District during the time of both this study and the Falan report) - was found by totaling the number of high school graduates from 1972-1975 and subtracting this number from the number of 8th grade students from 1968-1972 who would have graduated from high school from 1972-1975 had they stayed in school. This figure was then divided by 4 to get the average estimated number of early school leavers per year from 1972-1975. Appendix A shows the breakdown of figures by district and for the Trust Territory as a whole.

Figures for the Mariana Islands are included only for 1975. The District Department of Personnel did not keep figures for earlier years.

\* Note - Approximately 2 Boys graduate from from H.S. for each girl- underestimated of need.

TABLE III  
COMPARISON OF ESTIMATED NO. GOV'T. JOBS AVAILABLE TO PERSONS OVER 25 YRS. OLD  
IN ALL DISTRICTS 1972 - 1975 WITH STUDENTS LEAVING SCHOOLS FOR ALL REASONS

	GOV'T JOBS PL/16 OR BELOW	STUDENTS GRA- DUATING FROM HIGH SCHOOL	EST. AV # LEAVING SCH. EARLY	EST. TOTAL LEAVING SCH. ALL REASONS	*2 - * ESTIMATE NEED	ESTIMATE DEFICIT X GOV'T JOBS AND SCH. LEAVERS	CUMULATIVE DEFICIT
1972							
MARIANAS	1570	189	178	367	184		
MARSHALLS	62	232	409	641	321	[259]	[259]
PALAU	31	205	196	401	201	[270]	[270]
PONAPE	52	158	493	651	322	[271]	[271]
TRUK	69	189	447	636	318	[249]	[249]
YAP	23	60	78	138	69	[46]	[46]
1973							
MARIANAS	2540	117	178	355	178	?	
MARSHALLS	83	210	409	619	310	[227]	[486]
PALAU	65	212	196	408	204	[139]	[409]
PONAPE	97	166	493	659	330	[233]	[504]
TRUK	101	186	447	633	317	[216]	[465]
YAP	37	116	78	194	97	[60]	[106]
1974							
MARIANAS	2490	249	178	427	214	?	
MARSHALLS	68	243	409	652	326	[258]	[667]
PALAU	79	209	196	405	203	[124]	[533]
PONAPE	89	178	493	671	336	[297]	[751]
TRUK	185	248	447	695	348	[163]	[628]
YAP	48	73	78	151	76	[28]	[88]
1975							
MARIANAS	159	281	178	459	230	[71]	?
MARSHALLS	62	219	409	628	314	[252]	[785]
PALAU	47	310	196	506	253	[206]	[739]
PONAPE	50	312	493	805	403	[353]	[1104]
TRUK	69	318	447	765	382	[314]	[942]
YAP	24	98	78	176	88	[64]	[152]

0 HQ announcements only  
No Data from Dist. Personnel



## RESULTS OF RESEARCH RELATING TO EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES:

### Section I. Definitions.

- A. "Youth" are defined as persons between the age attained upon leaving the eighth grade and twenty-five (25) years old.
- B. "Employment". Employment is defined as full-time work (40 hours a week) for a monetary salary at a formal job.<sup>3</sup>
- C. "Need" for employment was operationally defined as half the number of students leaving school from the 8th through 12th grades each year for all reasons (e.g., graduation, leaving voluntarily, being expelled, or being excluded for lack of space.<sup>4</sup>
- D. "Availability of jobs" for persons 25 and under in the government sector was defined as jobs at current pay level 16 and below. The Trust Territory Headquarters Personnel Department estimated that persons under 25 years of age would not have the experience or education to qualify for jobs over pay level 16.

### Section II. Comparison of numbers of Youth Leaving School with number of Jobs Available for Young People.

There are no statistics available in the Trust Territory concerning the number of job openings each year in the private sector of the economy or in the government agencies which do not use the services of the Trust Territory Department of Personnel for hiring and recruitment. Examples of government agencies not using the services of the Personnel Department are: The Congress of Micronesia, The Judiciary, Peace Corps, the United Nations Planning Office, The Office of Transition Planning and Studies of the Northern Marianas, the Office of Micronesian Status Negotiations, the U.S. Weather Bureau, the United States Postal Service, District Legislature, and Municipal governments. There are also two quasi-governmental agencies employing Micronesians in most districts. They are the Community Action Agencies and Legal Services program. There is no central statistical data base which includes hiring and employment statistics for these agencies.

The only reliable source of data of employment opportunities is the Trust Territory Department of Personnel which maintains logs of Trust Territory government positions announced by year and districts.<sup>5</sup> Therefore, the comparison of numbers of available jobs for young people and the numbers of youth leaving school in this section is leaving out a significant number of available jobs. In one district, Ponape, youth workers were assembled for a conference. One of the training tasks assigned by the Conference Coordinator was to do a survey of private employment opportunities in the Ponape District Center during the years 1972-75. This is the only district for which there are partial employment data for the private sector.<sup>6</sup> The data are partial because they do not include other islands (notably Kosrae) in the district and because most private employers do not keep records of job openings so that many employers had to estimate from memory. The private employment

<sup>3</sup> One of the reasons that it was impossible to accurately describe the situation facing youth regarding employment is that there is no way to know how many people are self-employed, either in traditional pursuits such as farming and fishing or in more modern activities such as carpentry, mechanics, etc. Another reason it was impossible to test the hypothesis was that there are no records kept on part-time employment. There is no standard index or operational definition of "self-employment opportunity" and there are no data available on part-time employment.

<sup>4</sup> This is an arbitrary definition as there is no standard definition available and there appear to be no attitudinal studies indicating youthful perceptions of their own needs for employment. Such studies would not necessarily indicate actual behavior. This definition is in part conservative and at least in one sense probably underestimates the need. There are about two male high school graduates for every female graduate. Also, more boys than girls enter school so more boys than girls drop out. Thus, if it is assumed that Micronesia will follow the developed nations patterns of wage-earners being predominantly male, this definition underestimates the need for employment for youth by about 50%.

data from Ponape include responses only from the major businesses primarily employing people who are not relatives of the immediate families of the owners. The very small businesses and stores which are operated by families were not included in the list of businesses interviewed. Therefore, the private employment data from Ponape do not represent all private employment opportunities but only the more "formal" job opportunities in the private sector. Also, one employer reported that all four jobs are advertised each year though the employees have remained the same during the four years studied. This means that of the 129 jobs opportunities identified from 1972-1975, twelve of them were "phantom" opportunities since the incumbents remained in the jobs.

In order to attempt to put the Ponape private employment data into perspective, an estimate was made using 1974 figures from the Trust Territory Social Security Administration<sup>7</sup> of the probable number of private jobs open during 1974 and the number of those which would have been filled by people under twenty-five years of age. The possibility of large error was inherent in the method used to make the estimate because it was assumed for the purposes of the estimate that the turnover rate and the number of new job opportunities was the same for the private sector as for the government sector. The number of jobs announced by the Trust Territory Department of Personnel both at Headquarters and the district was taken as a percentage of all government jobs shown for Ponape in the Social Security Administration table. This percentage was applied to the total number of private jobs in Ponape from the same table. The resulting figure was an estimated 143 private job openings for 1974 alone. The survey indicated 129 jobs for the four-year period 1972-1975 and only 46 in 1974. From the survey conducted in Ponape it was determined that about 41% of the reported job openings in 1974 went to Micronesians under 25 years old. This would mean that if all factors in the private sector were the same as in the government sector, about 59 jobs would have been available to Micronesians under 25 in Ponape in 1974, if the estimate based upon Social Security data was accurate. However, the reported figure was 17. The discrepancy<sup>8</sup> is too great and casts doubt on the estimate.<sup>9</sup> Once again, a primary finding is that there is not enough data available in the Trust Territory upon which to base youth employment planning.

Column seven is an indication that the problem of youth employment is cumulative. Each year the pool of unemployed youth grows. Although the difficulties of interpreting the private employment data gathered in Ponape have been discussed above, Tables II and III may be of interest, as rough indicators of the problem in one District.

<sup>5</sup> In April 1976 the Trust Territory Personnel Department published a report entitled "Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands Wage Survey of Private Companies in the districts of Yap, Truk, Ponape, Palau, Marshalls, and Marianas." It is a useful indicator of types of jobs available in businesses with more than five (5) employees and is especially useful as a determinant of wages actually paid by job description in those businesses surveyed. However, it probably under-reports the actual number of persons employed by private businesses in the Trust Territory with more than five employees - the author personally knows of three construction companies and an export/import business in the Mariana Islands all of which employ more than five employees which were not included in the survey. The report was not intended to provide information on number of job openings, age and sex of employees, or nationality of employees. Nor was it designed to identify employees of private non-profit corporations such as the Community Action Agencies, Head Start programs, and Legal Service programs. Thus, it cannot provide information necessary to validate or invalidate the hypotheses of this report.

<sup>6</sup> The numbers of jobs announced by each District Department of Personnel were supplied by the staffs of the District Personnel Departments on forms provided by this research project. Some districts were given two sets of forms because the original forms had been misplaced after having been filled out by the District Personnel staffs. A second set of forms was provided to those districts for which the original set of forms had been replaced. Later some of the missing forms were located. It was found that the number reported by two districts the second time varied from the numbers first reported. Thus there is a question about the reliability of some of the District data.

<sup>7</sup> "Age and Employment Data for the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, Saipan, April 1975." Table III.

<sup>8</sup> Since the Social Security Administration uses as its base all employers reporting wages under the social security program, the estimate based on those figures over-estimates formal job openings because wages of some small businesses employing only family members would be included. If an "opening" in such a situation should occur, these would not be available jobs for the average high school graduate or early school-leaver since another member of the family would be expected to step into the job.

<sup>9</sup> It is interesting to note that of the 17 jobs that were reported as being filled by people under 25 in 1974 in Ponape, 16 were for waitresses. This presents a bleak employment opportunity picture for young men leaving school in the private sector in Ponape.

Table IV is a compilation by year and job title of all private employment opportunities reported by 11 major employers on the island of Ponape. It also gives a rough estimate of the demand for jobs since each employer was asked to list how many applications there were for each opening. Column 7, "No. of Applicants" must be read cautiously since these figures were estimates in some cases. However, the Table does show a brisk demand in some cases.<sup>10</sup>

Table IV is also interesting because it shows rather accurately the types of job openings in the private sector. Most are non-professional, a point to keep in mind when reading Section I of this Part of the report.

Table V shows the combined estimated deficit of employment opportunities for young people in Ponape in both private and government sectors. The total cumulative deficit for the four years studies is 1,064 youth who are estimated to need jobs but for whom jobs were not available. Since, for reasons mentioned above, this is a conservative estimate, it is possible that the actual number was even higher. The question is: What happens to these people? What do they do with their time? Do they become productive members of village economies? Do they leave and search for work? Do they hang around town and become a burden.<sup>11</sup>

### SECTION III. COMPARISON OF YOUTH ATTITUDES TOWARD DESIRABILITY OF CERTAIN JOBS WITH THE ACTUAL AVAILABILITY OF JOBS DESIRED OR REJECTED.

In 1971 and 1972 a research project commissioned by the Trust Territory Department of Vocational Rehabilitation was carried out in all Districts of the Trust Territory. The report of the research project was entitled: "FINAL REPORT -- Planning for Vocational Rehabilitation Service." It was prepared by Lou Huntley and Roberta Cummings with a grant from the Rehabilitation Services Administration, Social and Rehabilitation Services of the United States Department of Health Education and Welfare.

One of the many parts of the Vocational Rehabilitation study was to attempt to determine attitudes of high school and junior high school students toward future employment after graduation. This portion of the study is of great interest because nearly all high school students in the Trust Territory were contacted. In other words, the data were from the universe of all Micronesian High School students rather than just a sample.

Two different methods were employed to determine student attitudes toward future employment. One was open ended. The students were asked to list the kinds of jobs they would like to have upon graduation. The other was a structured survey instrument listing 15 job categories thought to be available in the Trust Territory and the students were asked to choose the job they would most like to have, the job they would choose as second choice, and the job they would least like to have.<sup>12</sup> Both techniques produced results which

<sup>10</sup> Compilation of number of government jobs announced by year and by District by both Headquarters and District Personnel offices is shown in Appendix B.

<sup>11</sup> A study conducted by five high school students in Truk High School as a class project in 1975 had as its primary objective to test that commonly held notion that high school "drop outs" (e.g., expelled students or students who voluntarily left before graduation) "... are a group of frustrated and bored misfits who loiter around in the District Center raising hell and making life miserable for decent folks." The study traced what happened to 109 dropouts and found that most of the Truk drop-outs did not remain in the District Center, that most were employed either traditionally or in the money economy and that a significant number returned to school. The author concluded that there was no valid base for the often expressed prejudice that high school drop-outs are trouble makers.

<sup>12</sup> Portions of the following analysis will be based upon the results of this structured survey instrument. However, it should be noted that there are serious weaknesses in the survey form itself. For example, at least two of the "categories" combine two very different jobs as if they were the same kind of job. Those categories as shown on the survey instrument (see Appendix C) are: (a) Construction worker -- Stevedore on the Boat Dock and (b) Truck Driver -- heavy equipment operator.

**TABLE IV.**  
**SURVEY OF JOB VACANCIES AND HOW FILLED**  
**1972-1973**  
**IN PONAPE (ELEVEN EMPLOYERS)**

YEAR	Job vacancies		Hired to fill these Vacancies			No. of Applicants	How were these employees found? *		
	No.	Title of Job	Under 25	Over 25	Alien		Word of Mouth	Employment Service	If Other how?
1975	1	Director			1	30		1	
	1	Clerk	1			10		1	Friends
	1	Manager		1		1		1	Radio
	3	Laborer		3		3		3	Radio
	1	Janitor		1		1		1	Radio
	1	Agent (Insurance)		1		1	1		
	8	Cook/Teacher/Coordinator (Headstart combination)	1	7			8		
	4	Watchman		4		6	4		
	1	General Manager			1	1		1	
	1	Asst. General Manager			1	1		1	
	2	Secretary			2	2		2	
	3	Teacher	3			1	1	3	
	1	Bartender	1			1	1		
	9	Waitresses	8	1		6 (10)	4		
	4	Waiters	4			(10)	4		
1974	5	Maid		5		(30)	5		
	1	Driver		3		14	3		
	1	Maintenance		1		1	1		
	18		18	28	5	82 (50)	31	17	
	5	Housemaid		5		24	1	4	Radio/Bulletin
	1	Laundry Woman			1	1	1		
	2	Cook	1	1		13	1	1	
	2	Watchman		2		2		2	
	19	Waitress	16	3		173	3	16	Radio/Bulletin
	1	Waiter		6		19		6	Radio/Bulletin
	2	Yardman		2		4		2	Radio/Bulletin
	1	Driver		1		4		1	Radio/Bulletin
	1	Manager		1		1		1	
	3	Laborer		3		3		3	Radio
	1	Architect			1	1		1	
	1	Accountant			1	1		1	
	1	Heavy Equipment Mechanic			1	1		1	
	1	Carpenter		1		5	1		
1973	17		17	25	4	253	7	39	
	1	Legal Counselor			1	(4)			BCS
	1	Journal Clerk				(6)			"
	2	Waitress		2		2	2		
	1	Maid		1		1	1		
	1	Manager		1		1		1	Radio
	3	Laborer		3		3		3	Radio
	1	Operator		1		2	1		
	1	Mechanic	1			3	1		
	1	Janitor		1		1	1		
	1	Driver		1		5	1		
	11		1	11	1	18 (10)	7	4	
	1	Administrative Officer			1	8			BCS
	1	Cook			1	1	1		
	1	Manager		1		1		1	Radio
	3	Laborer		3		3		3	Radio
1972	1	Clerk		1		1	1		
	2	Laborer	1	1		2	2		
	2	Heavy Equipment Operator	2			2	2	2	
	3	Truck Driver	3			3	3	3	
	4	Carpenters, Mason		4		4	4	4	
	2	Mechanics		1	1	5	2	2	
	6		6	11	3	31	15	15	
	127		42	75	13	384 (60)	50	75	
4 Year Totals			42	75	13	384 (60)	50	75	

TOTALS 484  
 (Estimated) (\*Many learned of vacancies more than one way).

TALBE V

COMPARISON OF JOB OPPORTUNITIES IN PONAPE 1972 - 1975

with NUMBER OF STUDENTS LEAVING SCHOOL FOR ALL REASONS

YEAR	# STUDENTS GRADUATING	AV.# ESTI- MATED LEAV- ING SCHOOL EARLY	ESTIMATED TOTAL AVAILABLE FOR WORK	÷2= ESTI- MATE NEED- ING WORK	# GOV'T JOBS PL-16 OR BELOW	# PRIVATE JOBS FILLED BY MICRONE- SIAN UNDER 25	TOTAL # JOBS AVAIL. TO UNDER 25	DEFICIT
1972	158	493	651	326	52	6	58	(268)
1973	166	493	659	330	97	1	98	(232)
1974	198	493	671	336	89	17	106	(230)
1975	312	493	805	402	50	18	68	(334)
TOTALS	-----							(1064)

showed a completely unrealistic set of expectations by high school students and junior high school students.

Table VI and Table VII are reproductions of the results of the open-ended questionnaire where the students themselves initiated the job titles. Table V shows the attitudes of male students and Table VI shows the attitudes expressed of female students. Tables VI and VII show that the great majority of students preferred "white collar" jobs. The jobs they selected as highest preference were either professional jobs such as doctor, nurse, and teacher, or clerical. Tables VI and VII also show that low-prestige jobs such as heavy equipment operator, hotel worker, waitress, cook and construction workers were not desired.

These attitudes are critical in planning both youth programs and educational curricula since there are relatively very few of the highly desired jobs and relatively many more of the jobs held in low esteem.

The fantasy nature of the response is clear when one looks at the three highest jobs in terms of expressed preference by Micronesian students, both male and female. 1,479 males and 1,501 female students chose teacher as the most desirable occupation. This means that 2,980 students expressed a desire to be teachers. It is highly unlikely that for any group of students in school there will be 2,980 teaching jobs open in the Trust Territory. 1,056 boys and 287 girls selected doctor as a highly desirable job. It is also highly unlikely that there will be 1,343 doctor positions available for the students in this survey. 1,177 girls said they wanted to be secretaries and 431 boys said they wanted to be office workers. It is also unlikely that 1,608 secretary/office worker jobs will be available to the students in this survey. If the expectations have continued into the present it means that each generation of students will continue to have the same unrealistic expectations about the kinds of work they may find when they graduate from high school.

Before continuing it may be interesting to note that many jobs which would have high prestige in Western societies did not get many positive responses.

Examples are:

- only 9 males selected "judge" as a desirable occupation;
- only 22 males selected "dentistry"
- only 18 males selected "accountant-bookkeeper";
- only 12 males selected "architect";
- only 29 females selected "congresswoman";
- only 6 females selected "scientist-biology", etc.

The probable reason for this is that most Micronesian students do not have a clear indication of the types of employment possibilities which exist in the world. Evidence for this statement was found by the author when he attempted to recreate the structured job preference study by using photo copies of the Vocational Rehabilitation survey form. A few hundred survey forms were given in each District, though during the current research project only samples were taken -- there was no attempt to contact all high school and junior high students. In fact, most of the Photo-copied survey forms were given during this research project only to juniors and seniors in high school on the assumption that they would have had more time to mature and to provide more realistic answers. The results of the repeat of the structured vocational preference form have not yet been correlated using the computer. However, as a preliminary observation subject to further validation after computer analysis, the author noted upon visual inspection of many of the forms that some students would put farmer as first choice, then doctor as second choice, and another occupation similar to farmer as last choice. The implication of such responses is that if one fails at being a farmer, then he or she will try out being a doctor. The author also interviewed some of the students filling out the survey form to determine how well they understood the categories. From

TABLE VI

ALL DISTRICTS

MALE = 3685

## MICRONESIAN VOCATIONAL INTEREST SURVEY

## JOBS INITIATED BY STUDENTS

JOB TITLES	Rank order		0% 5%	10%	15%	20%	25%	30%	35%	40%	45%	50%	55%	60%	65%
	No.	%													
Teacher	1479	40.14													
Doctor	1056	28.66													
Mechanic	817	22.17													
Lawyer	441	11.97													
Carpenter	438	11.89													
Ship Captain	436	11.83													
Office Worker	431	11.70													
Engineer	430	11.67													
Businessman	362	9.82													
Armed Services	339	9.20													
Farmer	323	8.77													
Pilot (airplane)	267	7.25													
Congressman	233	6.32													
Sailor	232	6.30													
Nurse	211	5.73													
Policeman/ Detective	199	5.40													
College Student	192	5.21													
Electrician	91	2.47													
Missionary	80	2.17													
Fisherman	77	2.09													
Heavy Equipment Operator	61	1.66													
Ministry	61	1.66													
Help my people	59	1.60													
Management (hotel) (business)	50	1.36													
Construction	47	1.28													
Singer, playing in band	37	1.00													
Under 1% by number															
Storekeeper	32														
Dentistry	22														
Help my parents	21														
Millionaire	19														
Accountant-bookkeeper	18														
Plumber	18														
Help my island	16														
Cook	15														
Taxi/Bus Driver	14														
Scientist	13														
Architect	12														
Supervisor	11														
Administrator, Dis.Admin	11														
Judge	9														
Salesman	7														
Draftsman	7														
Contractor	6														
Postmaster	6														
Movie Star	6														
Stay with parents	6														
Hotel Worker	6														
Surveyor	6														
Sales Clerk	5														
Sanitarian	5														
Artist	5														
Inspector	5														

Titles under 5 not reported.

TABLE VII

ALL DISTRICTS

## MICRONESIAN VOCATIONAL INTEREST SURVEY

## JOB TITLES INITIATED BY STUDENTS

Female = 2584

JOB TITLES VOLUNTEERED	Rank Order		0% - 65%												
	Total No.	%	5%	10%	15%	20%	25%	30%	35%	40%	45%	50%	55%	60%	65%
Nurse	1581	61.18													
Teacher	1504	58.09													
Secretary	1177	45.55													
Stewardess	296	11.46													
Doctor	287	11.11													
College Student	243	9.40													
Housewife	215	8.32													
Business Woman	135	5.22													
Lawyer	127	4.91													
Missionary	94	3.64													
Storekeeper	63	2.44													
Accountant-book-keeper	53	2.05													
Help my people	47	1.82													
Dentistry	36	1.39													
Help my parents	35	1.35													
Airplane pilot	35	1.35													
Policewoman/ Detective	30	1.16													
Farmer	29	1.12													
Ministry	28	1.08													

Order 18  
by number

Singer, play in band	25
Congresswoman	20
Movie Star	18
Millionaire	16
Help my island	14
Engineer	13
Sales Clerk	13
Cook	12
Hotel Worker	10
Carpenter	10
Stay with my parents	10
Sales Lady	9
Librarian	9
Mechanic	8
Waitress	7
Scientist-biology, etc	6
Radio announcer	6
Model	6
Home economist	5

Titles under 5 not reported.



interviews and from the confused answers on many forms the author concludes that many high school students in the Trust Territory (and probably most) do not have a clear picture of what various job titles mean. Another way of putting it is that they do not have very clear expectations of what will happen to them when they leave school.

It should be emphasized that the jobs selected as preferred by the students filling out the Vocational Rehabilitation survey form showed rational selection. They chose the jobs that they probably have most familiarity with and they chose the jobs which paid the highest salaries, offered the highest prestige, and the most comfortable working conditions.

Tables VIII and IX show the results of the structured occupational preference survey form in the Vocational Rehabilitation study. Table VIII shows first choices of jobs for males and females and Table IX shows last choices.

The tables are consistent in that the last choices in Table IX get very few responses as first choices in Table VIII.

What is striking about these two tables is that the Micronesian students surveyed do not want to do the hard work of the society and what is more important, they do not want to do the kinds of jobs which are available. They emphatically do not want to be farmers, handicraft workers, hotel workers, truck drivers, heavy equipment operators, construction workers, stevedores, or salespersons.

Tables VIII and IX reinforce Tables VI and VII which show that the Micronesian students surveyed primarily wish to be professionals, white collar workers, or office workers. Tables X through XIII offer a comparison of actual availability of various jobs with expressed student preference.

Table X shows the total number of jobs announced by the Trust Territory government Headquarters Personnel Department and District Personnel Departments for the following positions: teacher, secretary/clerk, construction trades, nurses, and doctors. Of the high preference jobs as expressed by the students, the most abundant were secretary/clerical positions. There were 500 announced during the the four year period of the Table. If there were an equal number of private secretary/clerk, jobs open there would still be a great deficit (approximately 600) compared to the students in 1971-1972 who would have been leaving school during the period covered by Table VIII and who expressed a preference for secretary/clerical work.

The difference between student expectations and reality is even more striking in the case of doctors. 1,343 students expressed a preference for the job of doctor but there were only a total of 18 doctor positions advertised in the Trust Territory during the four years covered by Table VIII.<sup>14</sup> Similarly, 2,980 students expressed a preference for being teachers, but the Trust Territory government announced only 230 teacher positions during 1972-1975.<sup>15</sup>

Appendix D is a complete listing of all work permits by year, District, and Occupational Title issued for alien laborers in the Trust Territory for the six years 1970-1975.<sup>16</sup> This list was compiled from the log books at the Trust Territory Headquarters Labor Division. It provides a reasonably accurate picture of the need for skills not available among the Micronesian Labor force.<sup>17</sup>

---

<sup>14</sup> One of the difficulties with the survey form is that it does not measure the intensity of the desire to have such a position. It is highly likely that the students who selected job preferences did so without great determination to actually get the job.

<sup>15</sup> Table X shows the availability of private teacher positions insofar as work permits were issued to aliens to be teachers in private institutions. The total number of such teacher work permits for 1970-75 for the whole Trust Territory was 36.

<sup>16</sup> It includes work permits issued by District Labor Division offices. Since jobs held by aliens must be advertised as vacant each year and since aliens must obtain new work permits each year, it over-estimates the number of possible jobs available. There is no way under current data systems to determine which permits are the first issue and which are reissues for the same employee.

<sup>17</sup> All aliens working in the Trust Territory, not working for the Trust Territory Government or the U.S. Government must have alien labor permits.

TABLE VIII  
MICRONESIAN VOCATIONAL INTEREST SURVEY

ALL DISTRICTS

Job Preference - First Choice

	Male		Female	
Farmer - Home Worker	169	4.59%	51	1.97%
Handicraft Worker	21	.57%	23	.89%
Self Employed	83	2.25%	34	1.32%
Mechanic	635	17.23	16	.63%
Office Worker	483	13.11%	856	33.13%
Hotel Worker	25	.68%	46	1.78%
Nurse or Health Aid	133	3.61	802	31.04%
Legislator or Lawyer	529	14.36	127	4.91%
Doctor or Dentist	484	13.13%	179	6.93%
School Teacher	571	15.50%	428	16.56%
Salesman	34	.92%	11	.43%
Carpenter or Boat Builder	120	3.26%	3	.12%
Construction Worker - Stevedore on the Boat Dock	34	.92%	1	.04%
Engineer	356	9.66%	4	.15%
Truck Driver - Heavy Equipment	42	1.14%	1	.04%

TABLE IX  
MICRONESIAN VOCATIONAL INTEREST SURVEY

ALL DISTRICTS

Job Preference - Last Choice

	Male		Female	
Farmer - Home Worker	565	15.33%	459	17.76%
Handicraft Worker	689	18.70%	168	6.50%
Self Employed	127	3.45%	83	3.21%
Mechanic	88	2.39%	211	8.17%
Office Worker	123	3.34%	67	2.59%
Hotel Worker	573	15.55%	332	12.85%
Nurse or Health Aid	110	2.99%	88	3.41%
Legislator or Lawyer	75	2.04%	35	1.35%
Doctor or Dentist	99	2.69%	38	1.47%
School Teacher	115	3.12%	126	4.88%
Salesman	264	7.16%	101	3.91%
Carpenter or Boat Builder	86	2.33%	123	4.76%
Construction Worker - Stevedore on the Boat Dock	290	7.87%	306	11.84%
Engineer	101	2.74%	94	3.64%
Truck Driver - Heavy Equipment Operator	379	10.26%	353	13.66%

(NOTE - SOME POSITIONS SUCH AS TEACHERS ARE CONTINUOUSLY OPEN & RECRUITMENT IS DONE WITHOUT SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENTS)

TABLE X

NO. OF SELECTED JOB CATEGORY POSITION ANNOUNCEMENTS BY THE TRUST TERRITORY  
DEPARTMENT OF PERSONNEL AT BOTH HQTRS. & DISTRICT LEVEL  
BY DISTRICT AND BY YEAR FROM 1972 - 1975

1972	TEACHER			SECRETARY - CLERICAL Ø			CONSTRUCTION TRADES			NURSES			DOCTORS		
	HQ	DIST.	TOTAL	HQ	DIST.	TOTAL	HQ	DIST.	TOTAL	HQ	DIST.	TOTAL	HQ	DIST.	TOTALS
MARIANAS	-0-	N.D.*	-0-	76	N.D.	76	0	N.D.	0	0	N.D.	0	0	N.D.	0
MARSHALLS	2	9	11	0	15	15	0	45	45	0	0	0	1	0	1
PALAU	2	8	10	0	5	5	0	0	0	0	2	2	1	0	1
PONAPE	0	10	10	1	28	29	0	2	2	0	2	2	2	0	2
TRUK	0	5	5	1	4	5	0	3	3	0	2	2	2	0	2
YAP	0	11	11	0	15	15	0	7	7	0	5	5	1	0	1
YEARLY TOTALS	4	93	47	78	67	145	0	57	57	1	10	1	7	0	7
1973															
MARIANAS	0	ND	0	90	ND	90	0	ND	0	0	ND	0	0	ND	0
MARSHALLS	9	0	1	0	1	1	1	28	29	3	1	4	0	0	0
PALAU	3	5	8	0	4	4	0	0	0	2	1	3	0	0	0
PONAPE	1	17	18	0	29	29	0	0	0	1	2	3	0	0	0
TRUK	0	7	7	0	12	12	0	2	2	1	1	2	0	0	0
YAP	0	12	12	0	3	3	0	5	5	0	5	5	0	0	0
YEARLY TOTALS	13	41	54	91	48	139	1	25	36	7	10	17	0	0	0
1974															
MARIANAS	3	ND	3	65	ND	65	0	0	0	4	ND	4	0	0	0
MARSHALLS	3	2	5	0	8	8	0	22	22	2	2	4	1	0	1
PALAU	7	10	17	0	7	7	0	21	21	3	1	4	2	0	2
PONAPE	3	13	16	0	30	30	0	25	25	3	12	15	2	0	2
TRUK	1	13	14	0	17	17	0	15	15	0	3	2	2	0	2
YAP	0	18	18	0	15	15	0	12	12	1	8	9	2	0	2
YEARLY TOTALS	17	56	73	65	77	142	0	92	92	13	25	38	9	0	9
1975															
MARIANAS	2	7	9	7	16	23	1	5	6	4	6	10	0	0	0
MARSHALLS	3	10	13	0	15	15	0	18	18	1	1	2	0	0	0
PALAU	3	7	10	0	3	3	1	27	28	3	0	3	0	0	0
PONAPE	3	1	4	0	15	15	0	6	6	3	3	6	0	0	0
TRUK	2	10	12	0	5	5	0	6	6	5	2	7	1	0	1
YAP	2	6	8	0	13	13	0	1	1	1	6	7	1	0	1
YEARLY TOTALS	15	41	56	7	67	74	2	63	65	17	18	35	2	0	2
FOUR YEAR TOTALS			230			500			250			101			18

\* = NO DATA AVAILABLE

Ø = ONLY SECRETARY OR CLERICAL JOBS RELATING TO GENERAL OFFICE WORK.  
NOT INCLUDING ACCOUNTING OR OTHER SPECIALIZED CLERICAL POSITIONS.

It also shows that many jobs are filled by aliens which could be filled rather easily by Micronesians. There were 101 waitress entry permits issued during the study period. Interviews and survey data gathered by the author for this report indicate that there is a strong prejudice against the occupation of waitress among many Micronesians. However, the previously cited Ponape private employment statistics showed that in 1974 there were 173 applicants for 19 waitress positions in Ponape. While the waiter/waitress occupation is deceptive in that it requires a higher skill level than is immediately apparent, it is not a technical occupation which demands training outside of Micronesia or training which cannot easily be provided locally.<sup>18</sup>

Appendix D also indicates that work permits may have been issued for jobs for which the required skills presumably already exist in Micronesia: bus driver, M-boat operator, sales clerk, etc.

From Appendix D three tables were developed for further comparison between Micronesian student attitudes toward employment and the actual availability of employment. Table XI shows construction trades work permits issued by job title, year and District and it shows other occupations which may be construction (e.g. journeyman) or which are closely related to the construction trades. A total of 2,058 construction trades work permits were issued from 1970-1975 for the whole Territory. 14 other construction related work permits were issued. Of this total 1,279 were issued for the Mariana Islands alone. The Marshall Islands figure is 250. For Palau the figure is 272. While many of the specific occupational categories within the construction trades are probably not familiar to Micronesian high school and junior high school students, it is clear that their attitudes as expressed in the Vocational Rehabilitation survey indicate that they reject this category of work. It is also clear that this category of work has been substantial in the past.

For fiscal years 1976-1977 a total of \$36.6 million has been appropriated for capital improvement construction projects for all districts of the Trust Territory. Approximately half of this amount is expected to go for wages and half for the cost of materials, according to the Program and Budget officer of the Trust Territory. There is no projected number of jobs to be created by this appropriation, nor is there any projection of types of jobs (job skills) or citizenship of workers who will fill the jobs.

For fiscal years 1978 - 1980 there is currently budgeted (but not appropriated) another \$82 M for construction projects. This is a total of \$119,300,000 appropriated or budgeted for five years. This money will most likely have a significant impact on the economy. Many new jobs may be created, mostly in the construction trades. There does not appear to be any coordinated government planning to prepare young Micronesians to take those jobs. Thus, it is highly likely that the new jobs will be filled largely by aliens imported to do the work rejected by Micronesians as is currently the case.

Table XII contains work permits issued by year, District, and selected job categories. The categories were selected either because they were the high preferences expressed by Micronesian students in the Vocational Rehabilitation study (e.g., teacher, doctor) or because they are occupations similar to the high preferences (dentist), or in the case of gas attendants and boat operators they were the kinds of jobs Micronesians could be expected to do without the importation of alien workers. Finally a few of the low choices were included (e.g., farmer, sales clerk).

From Table XII it can be seen that the private sector does not provide enough teacher and doctor jobs when combined with government teacher and doctor jobs to satisfy the expressed desires of

<sup>18</sup> One Micronesian restaurant owner who employs a large number of foreign waitresses told one of the researchers for this project that he employs aliens because they are more dependable employees. Similar attitudes were expressed by a number of Micronesians who employ construction workers. Work habits and attitudes appear to be one of the factors involved in the importation of alien labor rather than just the availability of skills.

TABLE XI

CONSTRUCTION TRADES WORK PERMITS ISSUED  
BY JOB TITLE, YEAR, & DISTRICT

DISTRICT MARIANAS

JOB TITLE	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	TOTAL
Ashpaltic Concrete Finisher	0	0	0	4	4	0	0
Blaster	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Carpenter	87	36	70	104	92	173	562
Cement Cermic Finisher	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Concrete Worker	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Construction Foreman	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
Construction Supervisor	0	0	0	0	0	4	4
Driller	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Electrician	14	5	10	10	17	55	111
Electrical Mechanic	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
Furniture Installer Fixer	1	2	0	0	2	0	5
General Construction	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Heavy Equip. Operator	15	2	5	15	27	35	99
Iron Worker	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Laborer	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lath Mechine Man	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mason	13	7	57	31	62	88	258
Painter	10	8	5	0	17	36	76
Paving Specialist	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Pipe Fitter	4	0	0	5	3	0	12
Pipe Layer	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Plasterer	0	1	0	2	0	3	6
Plumber	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Rigger	2	0	0	0	0	0	2
Sandblaster	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sheet Metal Worker	3	1	0	6	7	0	17
Steelman	5	4	26	9	18	11	73
Tile Maker	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Welder	2	0	10	7	3	11	33
Wood Lathe Operator	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Totals	158	66	183	189	248	421	1,265
<u>Probable Const.</u>							
Furniture Repair Spec.	1	2	0	0	2	0	5
Journeyman	8	0	0	0	0	0	8
Telephone Cable Splicer	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Telephone Technician	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Well Digger	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	9	2	0	0	2	1	14
(1) & (2) Totals	167	66	183	189	252	422	1,270

CONSTRUCTION TRADES WORK PERMITS ISSUED  
BY JOB TITLE, YEAR, & DISTRICT

DISTRICT MARSHALL

	JOB TITLE	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	TOTAL
(1)	Ashpatic Concrete Finisher	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Blaster	1	0	1	0	0	0	2
	Carpenter	3	0	20	5	2	12	42
	Cement Cermic Finisher	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
	Concrete Worker	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Construction Foreman	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
	Construction Supervisor	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
	Driller	1	1	0	0	0	0	2
	Electrician	3	2	9	3	2	8	27
	Electrical Mechanic	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Furniture fixer	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	General Construction	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Heavy Equipment Operator	23	25	36	1	0	8	93
	Iron Worker	0	0	3	0	0	0	3
	Laborer	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Lath Machine Operator	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Mason	1	4	23	1	3	3	35
	Painter	1	1	0	0	0	2	4
	Paving Specialist	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Pipe Fitter	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Pipe Layer	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
	Plasterer	0	0	8	2	2	0	12
	Plumber	6	3	3	1	2	3	18
	Rigger	0	0	0	0	2	0	2
	Sand Blaster	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Sheet Metal Worker	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Steel Man	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Tile Maker	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Welder	1	2	0	0	2	0	5
	Totals	41	38	104	13	15	39	250
<u>Probable Construction</u>								
(2)	Furniture Repair Spt.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Journey Man	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Telephone Cable Splicer	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Telephone Technician	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Well Digger	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Totals	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	(1) & (2) Totals	41	38	104	13	15	39	250

CONSTRUCTION TRADES WORK PERMITS ISSUED  
BY JOB TITLE, YEAR, & DISTRICT

DISTRICT PALAU

JOB TITLE	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	TOTAL
Asphaltic Concrete Finisher	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Blaster	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Carpenter	13	12	15	13	3	25	81
Cement Ceramic Finisher	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Concrete Worker	0	0	0	0	10	2	12
Construction Foreman	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Construction Supervisor	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Driller	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Electrician	3	0	7	1	3	6	20
Electrical Mechanic	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Furniture Dressmaker	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
General Construction	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Heavy Equipment Operator	0	6	7	0	4	5	22
Iron Worker	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Laborer	7	0	0	0	0	0	7
Lath Machine Man	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Mason	3	1	23	6	3	22	58
Painter	1	2	4	0	2	4	13
Paving Spet.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Pipe Fitter	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Pipe Layer	0	10	2	0	0	0	12
Plasterer	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
Plumber	2	0	5	1	2	6	16
Rigger	0	0	0	0	4	2	6
Sand Blaster	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sheet Metal	0	0	0	0	2	2	4
Tile Maker	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Welder	0	0	6	0	1	10	17
Wood Lathe Operator	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Totals	29	31	69	22	34	87	272

Probable Const,

Furniture Repair Sp.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Journey Man	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Telephone Cable Sp.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Telephone Technician	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Well Digger	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
(1) & (2) Totals	29	31	69	22	34	87	272



CONSTRUCTION TRADES WORK PERMITS ISSUED  
BY JOB TITLE, YEAR, & DISTRICT

DISTRICT PONAPE

JOB TITLE	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	TOTAL
Asphaltic Concrete Finisher	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Blaster	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Carpenter	0	0	8	39	11	8	66
Cement Cermic Finisher	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Concrete worker	0	0	0	0	3	0	3
Construction Foreman	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Construction Supervisor	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Driller	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Electrician	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Electrical Mechanic	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Furniture Installer	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
General Construction	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Heavy Equipment Operator	0	0	11	2	1	2	16
Iron Worker	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Laborer	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Lath Machine	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mason	0	0	0	18	0	0	18
Painter	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Paving Specialist	0	0	0	5	0	0	5
Pipe Fitter	0	0	0	1	2	0	3
Pipe Layer	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Plasterer	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Plumber	1	0	0	0	0	9	10
Rigger	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sand Blaster	0	0	0	1	0	1	2
Sheet Metal	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Steel Man	0	0	0	4	0	2	6
Tile Maker	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Welder	0	0	4	9	0	5	18
Wood Lathe Operator	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Totals	2	0	23	79	17	28	149

Proable Const.

Furniture Repair Spt.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Journey Man	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Telephone Cable Sp	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Telephone Technician	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Well Digger	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Totals	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
(1) & (2) Totals	2	0	23	79	17	28	149

CONSTRUCTION TRADES WORK PERMITS ISSUED  
BY JOB TITLE, YEAR, & DISTRICT

DISTRICT TRUK

	JOB TITLE	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	TOTAL
(1)	Asphaltic Finisher	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Blaster	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Carpenter	3	0	0	1	1	3	8
	Cement Finisher	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Concrete Worker	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Construction Foreman	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Construction Supervisor	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
	Driller	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Electrician	3	0	0	0	2	3	8
	Electrical Mechanic	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Furniture Installer	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	General Constructor	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Heavy Equipment Operator	1	0	3	0	0	3	7
	Iron Worker	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Laborer	1	0	1	0	0	0	2
	Lath Machine Man	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Mason	0	0	0	0	1	3	4
	Painter	1	0	0	0	1	0	2
	Paving Specialist	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Pipe Fitter	0	0	0	2	0	0	2
	Pipe Layer	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Plaster	0	0	0	0	2	0	2
	Plumber	1	0	0	8	1	1	11
	Rigger	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Sand Blaster	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Sheet Metal	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Steel Man	0	0	0	0	1	1	2
	Tile Maker	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Welder	1	0	0	0	0	1	2
	Wood Lathe Operator	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	<b>Total</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>51</b>
(2)	<u>Probable Construction</u>							
	Furniture Repair Spt.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Journey Man	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Telephone Cable Sp.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Telephone Technician	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Well Digger	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	<b>Total</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>
	<b>(1) &amp; (2) Totals</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>51</b>

CONSTRUCTION TRADES WORK PERMITS ISSUED  
BY JOB TITLE, YEAR, & DISTRICT

DISTRICT YAP

(1)	JOB TITLE	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	TOTAL
	Asphatic Concrete Finisher	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Blaster	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Carpenter	0	2	7	4	0	5	18
	Cement Cermic Finisher	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Concrete Worker	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Construction Foreman	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Construction Supervisor	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
	Driller	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Electrician	0	0	2	5	0	1	8
	Electrical Mechanic	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Furniture Installer	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	General Construction	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Heavy Equipment Operator	0	0	11	0	0	0	11
	Iron Worker	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Laborer	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
	Lath Machine Man	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Mason	0	0	0	3	0	1	4
	Painter	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Paving Specialist	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Pipe Fitter	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
	Pipe Layer	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Plasterer	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
	Plumber	0	0	0	2	0	0	2
	Rigger	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Sand Blaster	0	0	0	0	0	3	3
	Sheet Metal Worker	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
	Steel Man	0	0	0	0	1	2	3
	Tile Maker	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Welder	0	3	4	1	0	9	17
	Totals	1	5	24	17	1	23	71

(2)

<u>Probable Const</u>								
	Furniture Repair Spt.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Journey Man	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Telephone Cable Splicer	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Telephone Technician	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Well Digger	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Total	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	(1) & (2) Totals	1	5	24	17	1	23	71

the students surveyed. Table X shows that the fishing occupation is not readily acceptable to Micronesians and many fishermen have to be imported.<sup>19</sup>

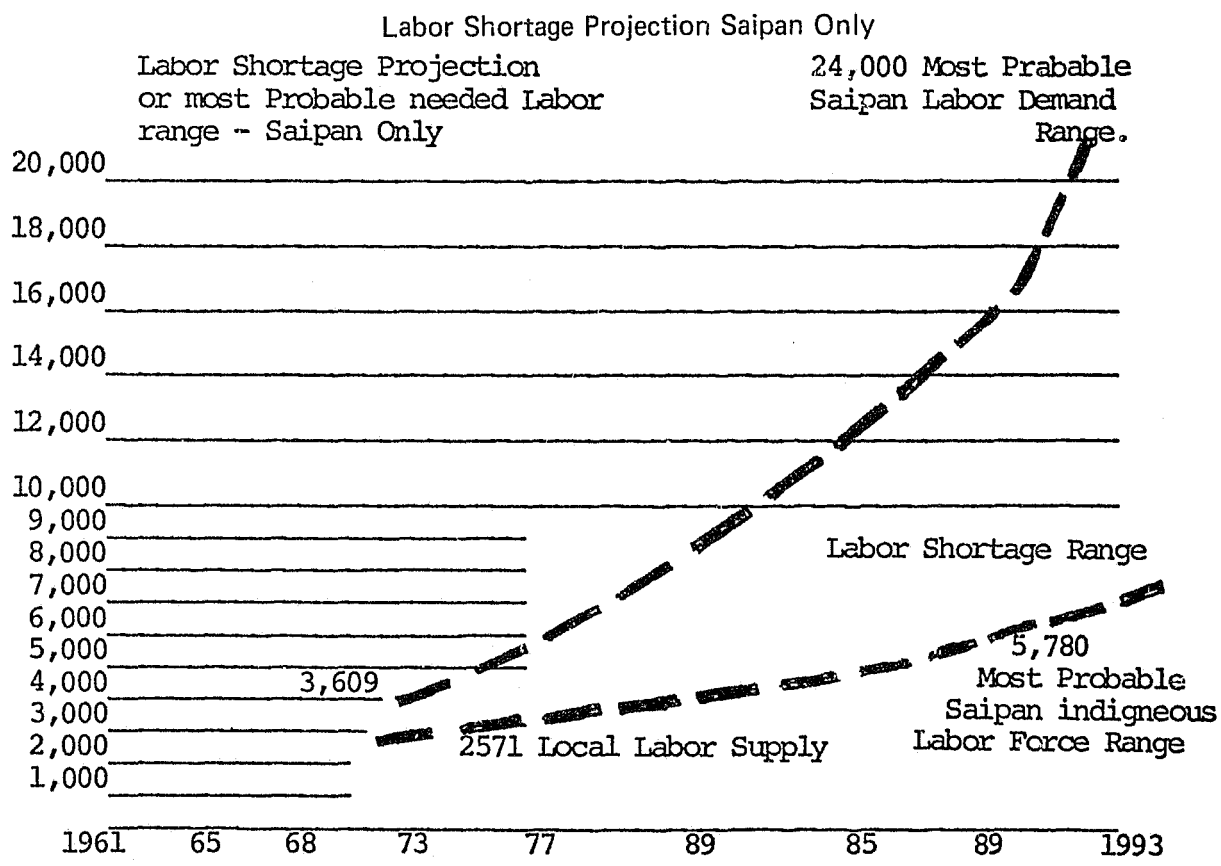
Table XIII shows the number of work permits issued to aliens for tourist<sup>20</sup> related jobs by job title, year and District. This general category was given very low preference by the students in the Vocational Rehabilitation Survey. However, it is an interesting category since one of the highest political priorities in Micronesia is the development of a tourist industry to bring in foreign exchange.

#### Section IV. PROJECTED LABOR NEEDS IN SAIPAN AND THE MARSHALL ISLANDS

##### A. Saipan.

The District Planner for the Marianas Islands projected in 1974 a probable gap between labor demand and the indigenous (e.g. Saipanese born residents of Saipan) labor force as a shortage of about 18,200 workers between 1974 and 1993.<sup>21</sup> Exhibit I is a graphic presentation of the projected labor shortage on Saipan.<sup>22</sup>

EXHIBIT I



<sup>19</sup> This conclusion was reinforced by interviews with fishing boat owners or operators providing fish to the Van Camp processing plant in Palau

<sup>20</sup> Maids are included though they may be for domestic service rather than hotel maids.

<sup>21</sup> Preliminary Report on the Labor Situation in Saipan, Mariana Islands - A Detailed Study of the Characteristics of the Present Labor Market with Generalized Projection of Its 20 year Growth. Marianas District Office, May 14, 1974, page 13.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid

TABLE XII

NUMBER WORK PERMITS ISSUED OF SELECTED JOB CATEGORIES  
BY JOB TITLE, DISTRICT, AND YEAR

DISTRICT MARIANAS

JOB TITLE	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	TOTAL
Agriculture Spec.	1	0	2	3	5	13	24
Bus Driver	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Dentist	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Doctor	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Farmer	10	2	0	4	18	71	105
Fisherman	0	15	0	0	0	28	43
Gas Attendant	0	0	0	0	2	0	2
M Boat Operator	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Office Worker	5	0	0	6	12	7	30
Sales Clerk	6	0	0	0	0	0	6
Teacher	2	5	1	0	0	11	19
Totals	24	22	3	14	37	130	230

DISTRICT MARSHALLS

JOB TITLE	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	TOTAL
Agriculture Spec.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bus Driver	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Dentist	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Doctor	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Farmer	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Fisherman	0	4	2	4	3	0	13
Gas Attendant	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
M Boat Operator	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Office Worker	0	0	0	0	1	1	2
Sales Clerk	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Teacher	0	0	0	2	3	4	9
Totals	0	4	2	7	7	5	25

DISTRICT PALAU

JOB TITLE	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	TOTAL
Agriculture Spec.	2	0	2	0	0	0	4
Bus Driver	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Dentist	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Doctor	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Farmer	0	0	0	0	8	0	8
Fisherman	110	17	18	64	3	165	377
Gas Attendant	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
M Boat Operator	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Office Worker	2	0	0	2	3	0	7
Sales Clerk	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Teacher	0	0	0	1	5	5	11
Totals	114	17	21	67	20	170	413

NUMBER WORK PERMITS ISSUED OF SELECTED JOB CATEGORIES  
BY JOB TITLE, DISTRICT, AND YEAR

DISTRICT PONAPE

JOB TITLE	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	TOTAL
Agriculture Spec.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bus Driver	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Dentist	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Doctor	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Farmer	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Fisherman	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Gas Attendant	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
M Boat Operator	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Office Worker	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Teacher	2	0	0	2	0	0	4
Totals	2	0	0	2	0	0	4

DISTRICT TRUK

JOB TITLE	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	TOTAL
Agriculture Spec.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bus Driver	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Dentist	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Doctor	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Farmer	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Fisherman	1	0	77	0	0	3	81
Gas Attendant	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
M Boat Operator	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Office Worker	2	0	0	0	0	0	2
Teacher	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Totals	3	0	77	0	0	3	83

DISTRICT YAP

JOB TITLE	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	TOTAL
Agriculture Spec.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bus Driver	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Dentist	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Doctor	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Farmer	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Fisherman	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Gas Attendant	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
M Boat Operator	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Office Worker	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Teacher	1	2	0	0	0	0	3
Totals	1	2	0	0	0	0	3

TABLE XIII

NUMBER TOURIST RELATED JOBS WORK PERMITS ISSUED  
BY JOB TITLE, YEAR AND DISTRICT

DISTRICT MARIANAS

JOB TITLE	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	TOTAL
Bar Manager	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bar Tender	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cashier	1	0	0	1	0	9	11
Cook	8	6	2	8	27	31	82
Dining Room Hostess	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Dining Room Supervisor	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Entertainers	0	0	17	15	38	50	120
Hotel Manager	3	0	0	0	0	0	3
Hotel Receptionist	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Itinerary Spec.	2	0	0	0	0	0	2
Maid	3	5	3	30	42	28	111
Musician	0	0	0	5	0	0	5
Restaurant Manager	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Switchboard Operator	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tour Director	0	0	0	0	0	3	3
Travel Agent	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Waiter	2	0	2	0	7	13	24
Waitress	0	6	1	16	57	31	91
Totals	20	17	25	75	151	165	453

DISTRICT MARSHALLS

JOB TITLE	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	TOTAL
Bar Manager	1	0	0	0	0	8	9
Bar Tender	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cashier	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cook	1	3	1	0	0	1	6
Dining Room Hostess	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Dining Room Supervisor	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Entertainers	0	0	0	5	0	1	6
Hotel Manager	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Hotel Receptionist	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Itinerary Spec.	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Maid	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Musician	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Restaurant Manager	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Switchboard Operator	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tour Director	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Travel Agent	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Waiter	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Waitress	4	0	0	0	0	0	4
Totals	7	3	2	5	0	10	27

NUMBER TOURIST RELATED JOBS WORK PERMITS ISSUED  
BY JOB TITLE, YEAR AND DISTRICT

DISTRICT PALAU

JOB TITLE	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	TOTAL
Bar Manager	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bar Tender	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cashier	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cook	0	1	0	0	0	1	2
Dining Room Hostess	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Dining Room Super- visor	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Entertainers	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
Hotel Manager	0	0	2	0	0	0	2
Hotel Receptionist	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Itinerary Spec.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Maid	0	1	0	2	0	0	3
Musician	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Restaurant Manager	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Switchboard Operator	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tour Director	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Travel Agent	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Waiter	0	0	0	0	2	0	2
Waitress	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Totals	0	2	2	2	2	3	11

DISTRICT PONAPE

JOB TITLE	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	TOTAL
Bar Manager	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bar Tender	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cashier	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cook	0	1	1	0	1	0	3
Dining Room Hostess	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Dining Room Super- visor	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Entertainers	0	0	0	0	10	0	10
Hotel Manager	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Hotel Receptionist	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Itinerary Spec.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Maid	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Musician	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Restaurant Manager	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Switchboard Operator	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tour Director	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Travel Agent	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Waiter	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Waitress	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Totals	0	1	2	0	11	0	14



NUMBER TOURIST RELATED JOBS WORK PERMITS ISSUED  
BY JOB TITLE, YEAR AND DISTRICT

DISTRICT TRUK

JOB TITLE	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	TOTAL
Bar Manager	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bar Tender	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cashier	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cook	0	0	0	1	0	1	2
Dining Room Hostess	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Dining Room Super- visor	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Entertainers	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Hotel Manager	5	0	0	0	0	0	5
Hotel Receptionist	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Itinerary Spec.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Maid	2	0	0	0	0	0	2
Musician	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Restaurant Manager	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Switchboard Operator	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tour Director	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Travel Agent	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Waiter	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Waitress	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Totals	8	0	0	1	0	1	10

DISTRICT YAP

JOB TITLE	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	TOTAL
Bar Manager	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bar Tender	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cashier	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cook	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Dining Room Hostess	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Dining Room Super- visor	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Entertainers	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Hotel Manager	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Hotel Receptionist	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Itinerary Spec.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Maid	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Musician	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Restaurant Manage	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Switchboard Operator	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tour Director	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Travel Agent	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Waiter	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Waitress	0	6	0	0	0	0	6
Totals	0	6	1	0	0	0	7

This large projected labor shortage flows from the primary assumption that "Saipan's labor demand will most likely become a function of the development of the tourist industry ...<sup>23</sup> It is estimated that for each job created in the tourist industry there will 3.5 secondary jobs created. While there may be some voluntary unemployment or under-employment, the apparent situation in Saipan currently and for twenty years into the future is full employment for all Saipanese wishing to work and a massive infusion of foreign workers to fill the projected labor shortage. This projection contains very serious implications for planning future government sponsored social programs of all types (including youth programs) since it indicates that the Saipanese may become a minority on their own island.

Other data from the Marianas Labor Projection study reinforce the earlier conclusion of the majority of available jobs are in the fields which are held in low esteem by Micronesian students. Table XIV represents an "Industrial Classification of Total Labor Force."<sup>24</sup>

<sup>23</sup>ibid. page 11

<sup>24</sup>ibid. page 4

TABLE XIV

## INDUSTRIAL CLASSIFICATION OF TOTAL LABOR FORCE

Job Class	Total Employed Private & Government	% of Total Force Private & Government	Total Micro. Private & Government	% of Total Mic. Private & Government	Total Alien Private & Government	% of Total Alien Private & Government
Construction	895	24.8	391	15.2	504	53.7
Transportation Communication & Public Utilities	350	9.7	295	11.5	55	5.9
Agriculture	65	1.8	57	2.2	8	0.9
Professional & Related Service	844	23.4	650	25.3	194	20.7
Finance, Insur- ance, & Real Estate	164	4.5	27	3.0	17	1.8
Personal Service	264	7.3	232	9.0	31	3.3
Public Administration	132	3.7	110	4.3	22	2.3
Manufacturing	41	1.1	38	1.5	3	0.3
Wholesale and Retail	350	9.9	263	10.2	65	6.9
Entertainment & Recreation Service	40	1.1	37	1.4	3	0.3
Business & Repair Service	457	12.7	421	16.4	36	3.8
Total	3,609		2,571	71%	938	29%

Table XIV shows that the highest employment category is "construction." The second highest is "professional and related services." The unusually high number of workers in the professional category is due to the presence in Saipan of the government of the Trust Territory. When the government is moved to the projected new capital of Ponape, the total percentage of the labor force in construction may be much higher.<sup>25</sup> 53.7% of all construction workers in Saipan at the time of the study were aliens. However, it is worth noting that in private construction companies the percentage of alien workers was 73.1%<sup>26</sup> Only 10.1% of construction workers employed by the government were aliens.<sup>27</sup>

If the labor demand projections are correct, Saipanese youth will be relatively free to pursue education and training for the higher prestige jobs since there will be a shortage of workers in most categories of employment. Under these conditions it might be possible for the government of the Northern Mariana Islands to set priorities on required skills and aggressively recruit applicants for advanced study and training to fill the required positions.

## B. Marshall Islands

Projections made in 1976 by the District Planner for the Marshall Islands show a picture quite different from that of the Mariana Islands. In the Marshalls the projected number of new jobs which will be created between June 1967 and 1981 is 1,038. However, it is also a projected loss of 400 government jobs during the same time period as the transition is made from current Territorial status to a future political status of self-government or independence. Thus, the net demand for new jobs over the next four years is projected to be 638. This is an average of 160 a year.

Appendix A shows that in the Marshall Islands during the four year period 1972 to 1975 there were an average of 226 students graduating from high school each year and an estimated 409 students leaving school before graduation from high school. This means that there were an estimated 635 students leaving school each year in the Marshalls for all reasons. If this figure is divided in half on the assumption that half of the students leaving school do not wish to work, there remains an estimated 318 students needing work each year. This represents an estimated net deficit of 158 jobs per year.

This situation is an underestimate of the seriousness of structural unemployment facing youth in the Marshall Islands in two senses. The first is that there is no guarantee that all 160 jobs will go to people under 25 years of age. Indeed, if the Ponape survey results would apply to the Marshalls, most of the jobs could be expected to go to people over 25. Since a number of the specific job categories indicated require specialized training and experience (e.g., dentist, doctors, etc.), it is certain that not all of the available jobs will go to youth. There is also the probability that some jobs will be filled by aliens.

Secondly, Table XV indicates that a significant number of the projected new jobs are those which are specifically rejected by Micronesian youth. Some of those projections are:

Copra Production Workers	206
Inshore fishermen	25
Off-shore fishermen	100
Craft workers	12

<sup>25</sup> The figure of 895 persons employed in the construction industry represents "White collar employees" in management and clerical positions and slightly inflates the actual picture of construction workers in Saipan. Page 5.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid, page 6.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid, Page 5.

Other unpopular job categories for which there are substantial projected needs are tourism, construction, and agriculture. If young people actually act on their stated likes and dislikes, then we may expect that many of them will reject a large number of the projected available jobs. We do not have clear evidence that the students in fact refuse jobs in these unpopular categories for most fields, but we do have rather strong evidence in the case of off-shore fishing that Micronesians do in fact reject the occupation overwhelmingly. As part of this study the management of Van Camp's tuna freezing plant in Palau and independent operators of fishing boats supplying the Van Camp plant were interviewed. Van Camp aggressively recruited Micronesians from all districts to work on the Van Camp boats and found that very few would remain past one season. Most of the independent operators currently employ foreign fishermen also. Table XIV is a breakdown of number and types of jobs with Micronesians and aliens in the Van Camp operation during the years 1974-1975. Of the 350 fishermen jobs open all were filled by aliens and only 25 Micronesians were hired as trainees. This does not indicate discrimination on the part of Van Camp since there has been a continuous recruitment program for Micronesian fishermen by Van Camp for a number of years. At the time of the interview in March of 1976, Van Camp employed 57 Palauans in its shoreside operations and expected the number to rise to 80 in the near future. Turnover among the shoreside employees is reported to be quite low but turnover among the fishermen is almost 100%

If this pattern is repeated in the Marshall Islands as a fishing industry is developed, then most of the 100 projected off-shore fishing jobs will be held by aliens and the actual number of jobs available to Marshallese will be close to 135 a year rather than 160. Similar drops in the actual availability of jobs to Marshallese may be expected in the construction trades and perhaps in agriculture and the tourist industry.

Because the Mariana Islands are moving into Commonwealth status with the United States the Marianas must be considered as a separate category. However, it is possible that the remaining districts of the Trust Territory would evidence the same kind of unemployment facing youth that appears to confront the Marshall Islands during the next four years. Since, as noted above, the problems of youthful unemployment is cumulative, the situation may be of critical proportions.

## Section V. NOTE ON DEMAND FROM YOUTH FOR EMPLOYMENT

It would be helpful to know what the actual demand for employment by Micronesian youth is. A statistical measure of demand would be more valuable for youth development planning than attitudinal surveys such as the Vocational Rehabilitation survey because there is no necessary correlation between the attitudes expressed and actual behavior. It may be that many students who said their first preference was to be a doctor quickly take construction or waitress jobs when they leave school and find they have few real choices.

Because the T.T. Labor Division does not register workers seeking employment as the United States Employment Service does, there is no statistical base for direct measurement of demand for jobs.

Two indirect approaches toward an identification of demand for employment were attempted in this study. The first was a survey of all major private employers in each district. Employers were asked to indicate how many applicants there were for each position. However, it was possible to achieve standardized control of data gathering only in Ponape. Therefore, the questionnaire forms from all other districts had to be discarded. The data from Ponape show an estimated 444 applicants for the 129 listed jobs. This indicates that for every job opening there were 3.4 applicants. This figure cannot be relied upon too heavily due to the fact that the figures were often given from memory and also because the number of applicants per job varied widely.

TABLE XII

I. Copra Industries:

1. Copra production workers .....	206
2. Extract mill workers .....	10
3. Mechanics .....	6
4. Clerical .....	5
5. Administrative personnel .....	3

Sub-Total..... 230

II. Fishing - Inshore

1. Fisherman .....	25
2. Reefer butchers .....	4
3. Reefer labors .....	8
4. Sales perscnnel.....	3
5. Administrative personnel .....	2

Sub-Total..... 42

III. Fishing - Off-Shore

1. Fisherman .....	100
2. Reefer butchers .....	16
3. Reefer laborers .....	32
4. Loin plant butchers .....	8
5. Loin plant laborers .....	6
6. Meal plant laborers .....	6
7. Clerical .....	8
8. Administrative personnel .....	4

Sub-Total..... 180

IV. Assemblage Industries\*

1. Craft workers .....	12
2. Production line labor .....	36
3. Clerical personnel .....	8
4. Administrative personnel .....	14

Sub-Total..... 68

\* Projected industries includ: expansion of fiberglass products industry, lumber wolmanizing, cycle assemblage, bottling industries, construction materials assemblage.

V. Tourism

1. Hotel room labor .....	18
2. Hotel clerical .....	28
3. Hotel administrative .....	10
4. Bar/Restaurant service .....	32
5. Bar/Restaurant clerical .....	6
6. Bar/Restaurant administrative .	5
7. Grounds personnel .....	9
8. Security personnel .....	10
9. Entertainment personnel .....	24
10. Misc. service personnel .....	40

Sub-Total ..... 182

VI. Service Industries

1. Air Conditioning service .....	3
2. Automative mechanics .....	8
3. Laundry/dry cleaning .....	6
4. Retail clerks .....	26
5. Charter/dive boat personnel ...	12

Sub-Total ..... 55

(Continued on next page)

VII. Port Operation

1. Stevedores .....	28
2. Warehouseman .....	16
3. Equipment operators .....	9
4. Clerical personnel .....	12
5. Administrative personnel.....	4
6. Misc. yard labor .....	<u>18</u>

Sub-Total ..... 87

VIII. Trades Personnel

1. Carpenter .....	6
2. Masons .....	10
3. Equipment operators .....	2
4. Electricians .....	6
5. Plumbers .....	6
6. Laborers .....	12
7. Mechanists .....	10
8. Welders .....	12
9. Ship crews .....	<u>42</u>

Sub-Total .....106

IX. Semi-Professional Personnel

1. Aircraft pilots .....	2
2. Ships captains .....	3
3. Bank personnel .....	4
4. Insurance personnel .....	6
5. Survey chairmen .....	6
6. Bookkeepers .....	<u>14</u>

Sub-Total ..... 39

X. Professional Personnel

1. Surveyors .....	2
2. Engineers .....	2
3. Architects .....	1
4. Lawyers .....	3
5. Doctors .....	4
6. Dentists .....	4
7. Veteran .....	<u>1</u>

Sub-Total ..... 17

XI. Agriculture - Truck Farming

1. Field hands .....	22
2. Equipment operators .....	4
3. Clerical personnel .....	4
4. Administrative personnel .....	<u>2</u>

Sub-Total ..... 32

Gross New Private Jobs .....	1,038
Government Reduction .....	<u>400</u>
Net New Private Jobs .....	638

NAME OF BUSINESS OR AGENCY VAN CAMP SEA FOOD COMPANY  
DIVISION OF RALSTON PURINA CO.  
P.O. BOX 5000  
KOROR, PALAU ISLANDS  
WESTERN CAROLINE ISLANDS 96950

TABLE XVI

DISTRICT: PALAU

Year	No.	Title	FILLED BY			Number of Applicants	Word of Mouth	METHOD OF RECRUITMENT	
			Micronesian Under 25	Over 25	Alien			Employment Service	Other
1975	100	Fishermen	-	-	97	-	-	X	-
	32	Fishermen	-	-	32	-	-	X	-
	1	Fleet Engineer	-	-	1	-	-	X	-
	1	Plant Engineer (Chief)	-	-	1	-	-	X	-
	2	Technicians	-	-	2	-	-	X	-
	1	Fleet Manager	-	-	1	-	-	X	-
1974	1	Fishing Specialist, Manager Res. & Dev.	-	-	1	-	-	X	-
	1	General Manager	-	-	1	-	-	X	-
	25	Fishermen	-	-	25	-	-	X	-
	1	Company's Representative	-	-	1	-	-	X	-
	1	Executive Secretary	-	1	-	3	-	X	-
	23	Fishermen	-	-	23	-	-	X	-
	18	Fishermen	-	-	18	-	-	X	-
	18	Fishermen	-	-	18	-	-	X	-
	1	Chief Engineer	1	-	1	-	-	X	-
	1	Fleet Engineer	-	-	1	-	-	X	-
	62	Fishermen	-	-	62	-	-	X	-
	20	Fishermen	-	-	20	-	-	X	-
	52	Fishermen	-	-	52	-	-	X	-
	3	Technician	-	-	3	-	-	X	-
	25	Fishermen Trainees	25	-	-	25	-	-	X



However, it is at least an indication that more people wanted work in Ponape than there were jobs available.

The second indirect measure of employment demand undertaken in this study was to identify demand for employment training opportunities through the Comprehensive Employment Training Act. Program Directors were interviewed in each District. They indicated a brisk demand for jobs. The C.E.T.A. program is not technically an employment service but rather manpower training. However, the C.E.T.A. Directors indicated that many people come to the C.E.T.A. offices looking for work as if they were employment agencies. Because C.E.T.A. is an on-the-job type of training program, many people look upon C.E.T.A. training opportunities ("slots") as jobs. One C.E.T.A. program director estimated that for each slot open they get 10 applicants.<sup>28</sup>

A third indirect measure of demand may be discovered in the fact that many private employers indicated in interviews that they do not have to advertise job openings because their employees tell friends and relatives and the open jobs are filled quickly as soon as word spreads in the community of an available job.

## Section VI. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS.

1. There does not exist a statistical data base which will provide youth program planners precise indicators of employment opportunities for youth or demand for employment by youth. In the face of this fact, program planning must be done using the limited data available and from insights gained by people working in fields of employment and youth development at the local levels.
2. In 1971-72 expressed vocational preferences by the junior high school and high school students of Micronesia were not related to the actual availability of jobs. There is a serious lack of understanding among high school students of actual job opportunities after school and also of what individual occupations actually entail. The widespread prevalence of similar attitudes in 1976 was found by the author in all districts of the Trust Territory.<sup>29</sup>
3. The island of Saipan does not seem to be faced with a problem of structural unemployment for its youth. However, currently available data indicate a serious structural unemployment facing youth in the Marshall Islands and it is probable that the same serious problem confronts the other districts of the Trust Territory.
4. Indirect data indicate a basic demand for employment. This is a partial validation of the assumption that formal employment is an increasingly important factor in the lives of Micronesian citizens.

---

<sup>28</sup> One CETA Director reported that most CETA applicants do not have a clear idea of goals or a picture of the future. They simply want any kind of position available, presumably for the income.

<sup>29</sup> Statistical data are not yet available to measure student attitudes in 1976. The author did report portions of the Vocational Rehabilitation Study. Approximately 1,000 jobs preference survey forms were filled out by Micronesian High School students as part of the current study. They have not yet been tabulated by computer.

## PART III

### JUVENILE DELINQUENCY AND THE JUSTICE SYSTEM IN MICRONESIA

#### INTRODUCTION

This part is one of a series of reports prepared under a planning grant from the United States Department of Justice to the Community Development Division of the Public Affairs Department of the government of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (TTPI). The report was designed to be of assistance in planning and operating a Youth Affairs Program within the Department of Community Development and also to provide basic data to other departments and branches of the government of the Trust Territory at Headquarters and District levels which might be useful in planning or evaluating their operations.

Although the report was prepared under the auspices of the Community Development Division, the research design was developed with the assistance of members of other departments in the Administration and with the assistance of members of the judiciary.

Formal interview questionnaires were developed to be administered to: (1) District Court Judges; (2) District Probation Officers; (3) District Police Chiefs; (4) District Attorneys; (5) District Public Defenders; and (6) The Director of Public Safety at Headquarters, TTPI. An initial set of questions was provided by Mr. Keith Andrews, Deputy Attorney General. Those questions were re-written into six separate questionnaire forms. The draft forms for District Court Judges and District Probation Officers were submitted to the Chief Justice of the High Court for review and comment before use in the field. The draft forms for Police Chiefs and District Attorneys were submitted to the Attorney General for review and comment before use in the field. The Chief Public Defender was not on the island at the time the Public Defender form was drafted. It was informally reviewed and commented upon by the Marianas Public Defender. The interview forms were forwarded in advance to District Court Judges and District Probation Officers by the Chief Justice. The Police Chief and District Attorney forms were forwarded in advance by the Attorney General. The Public Defender forms were forwarded in advance by the Chief, Community Development Division.

A research team<sup>1</sup> then visited all Districts in the Trust Territory. All District Court Judges, all District Probation Officers, all Public Defenders, all Police Chiefs except one, and all District Attorneys except one were interviewed. Many of the above named officials invited subordinates to participate in the interviews. All interviews were conducted by the author. In a few instances other members of the research teams participated. All interviews were conducted in English. Translators were provided when necessary. All interviews lasted from one to four hours. Many were extended over a period of a number of days. (For a list of people interviewed, see Appendix R)

In addition, unstructured interviews were conducted by the author and all members of the research teams with various other members of the communities in each District. Those interviewed included: District Administrators and Deputy District Administrators, Youth Affairs Coordinators, Youth Council or Commission members, Women's Interest Officers, District Legislators, members of the Congress of Micronesia, Legislative Councils, prisoners, ex-prisoners, members of youth organizations, education officials, clerks of court, Municipal Magistrates, Community Action Agency employees, Legal Services lawyers, religious leaders and others.

<sup>1</sup>Yap and Palau were visited by the author; Mr. Isaac Ngiraelulouw of the Community Development Division; and Mr. Tony Phannenstall, Youth Conservation Corps Coordinator (a Peace Corps volunteer). The Marshalls, Ponape, and Truk were visited by the author and Mr. Wilton Mackwelung, Youth Affairs Intern with Community Development. Field research in the Marianas was done by the author, Mr. Phannenstall, and Mr. Mackwelung. Many hours of valuable statistical research was donated by Headquarters Public Safety. Mr. Roman Torres provided the arrest statistics used in this report.

Jails were visited in all districts (including Ebeye and Dublon). Police record keeping methods were viewed in most districts as were court record keeping methods and probation officers record keeping procedures.

## FINDINGS

### I. SERIOUSNESS OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

For the purposes of this report juvenile delinquency (an alien concept imported into Micronesia under the American administration) is defined narrowly to conform to Chapter 15 of the Trust Territory Code which defines juveniles as persons under 18 years of age and delinquent children as the following:

"As used in this Title, 'delinquent child' includes any child:

(1) who violates any Trust Territory or District law, except that a child who violates any traffic law or regulation shall be designated as a 'juvenile traffic offender' and shall not be designated as a delinquent unless it be so ordered by the court after hearing the evidence; or

(2) who does not subject himself to the reasonable control of his parents, teachers, guardian, or custodian, by reason of being wayward or habitually disobedient; or

(3) who is a habitual truant from home or school; or

(4) who so deports himself as to injure or endanger the morals or health of himself or others." (15TTC2)

TABLE XVII shows the specific number of arrests of youth under subsections (2) - (4) of Title 15 of the TTC code. The offenses listed here are increasingly called "status offenses" in the United States due to the fact that adults cannot be arrested for these offenses -- they are offenses which are not criminal and which are offenses only for a person who holds the status of "juvenile". While the data for table XVII are incomplete, there is a strong indication that these three sub-sections of the juvenile code are seldom used by police as reasons for arrests. The majority of juvenile arrests are for behavior which is considered criminal if committed by adults. It is not clear if these data indicate that there are relatively few incidents of behavior which warrant action under sub-sections (2) -(4) or if the police, for various reasons, do not avail themselves of these. The community at large believes that there is a significant and alarming amount of truancy and refusal of youth to subject themselves to the reasonable control of guardians or parents, even though there are few formal arrests for these reasons.

The official definition obscures the reality that almost all juvenile arrests are alcohol related. There is a consensus among police officers and other justice system officials interviewed that at least 90% of all juvenile arrests are for illegal possession and consumption of alcohol; disturbing the peace while under the influence of alcohol; assault and battery while under the influence of alcohol; vandalism while under the influence of alcohol; and burglarly and larceny to get alcohol or money to purchase alcoholic beverages.

Opinion among both justice system officials and the lay population is divided regarding the seriousness of juvenile delinquency in Micronesia. Most justice system officials felt the problem was serious, very serious, or the most serious of all social problems. A few felt that it was of medium seriousness but on the increase. None saw it as a minor problem.<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>2</sup>Appendices F through Q contain summaries of official responses to the formally structured interview questionnaires (also found in the appendices). The reader will find greater detail by district and by class of respondent in these appendices.

In order to validate the original question a second question was asked of respondents concerning the seriousness of juvenile delinquency. They were asked to put it into the perspective of other social problems or needs in their districts. There was no major conflict in responses between the two questions. Generally those who saw juvenile delinquency as a medium serious or serious problem (not "very serious" -- the highest ranking alternative presented) were able to identify other social problems which they felt were more serious.

A number of justice system officials were accurately able to indicate that arrests of juveniles are significantly fewer than arrests of young adults (between the ages of 18 and 30) and that arrests after the age of 30 drop dramatically. Some who felt juvenile delinquency was "very serious" were also able to identify other social problems more serious.

Lay opinion varied also. Many laymen felt that juvenile delinquency was very serious while others indicated that most juvenile misbehavior is done by a small handful of repeat offenders known to police and to the community. Some police officers made similar observations.<sup>3</sup> One Youth Commission Board member in Yap saw the problem as increasing and decreasing through time. One Yapese Chief and a number of Yapese youth leaders felt that the concept is irrelevant -- that it is the "whiteman's" idea and that within the Yapese situation there is no youth problem. (It should be noted that the term juvenile delinquency is not in common usage among Micronesians in the Trust Territory.) X<sup>VIII</sup>

Table XVIII presents an Arrest Summary by Age, Sex, and District for the years 1972 to 1975. The data came from monthly arrest reports forwarded by District Police Departments to the Headquarters Public Safety office. The data are incomplete with data from many months from all districts not available. Table XVIII also includes percentage of arrests for males under 18, females under 18, males 18-30, females 18-30, males over 30 and females over 30 as a percent of total arrests. First it will be noted that the vast preponderance of arrests are of males rather than females. Secondly, the data available indicate that there are 4 or 5 arrests of males between 18 and 30 years old for every arrest of a male under 18. The percentage of arrests for males between 18 and 30 of total male arrests varies from 59.7% to 74.7%.

Raw figures and percentages indicate that as a *police problem* criminal behavior by males between 18 and 30 years of age is significantly greater than criminal behavior or delinquent behavior by minors.<sup>4</sup>

Female arrest statistics are so sketchy that it is hard to generalize about arrest patterns. Table XVIII indicates that the difference between juveniles and young adults (18-30) is not as pronounced as for males.

Table XIX presents selected Age Distribution Data (de facto population for the year from Table 9 of the Trust Territory census of 1973, pp 117 - 123).<sup>5</sup> These data show that there is a remarkable correspondence between the number of persons in the juvenile category (10-17) and in the young adult category (18-30). The populations vary only slightly and in some cases are almost identical.

This indicates that criminal behavior by young adults is not only a significantly more serious *police* problem than juvenile delinquency, but it is also a *more serious social problem in general*.<sup>6</sup>

3 Statistics are not kept which allow verification of this observation.

4 The author knows of no way to determine if there are informal police discretionary practices which might amount to discriminatory arrest practices in favor of, or opposed to juveniles. In the absence of any evidence to the contrary, the assumption is made that there are no such discriminatory practices in operation.

5 Table 9 presents data by 5 year age groups which do not correspond to this reports' age groupings of (1) under 18 years; and (2) 18-30. Crude extrapolations were made to estimate the number of people in the categories 10-17 and 18-30 as indicated on Table XIX. The extrapolation method used will introduce error into the estimates but the author considers that the error will not materially influence conclusions drawn from the estimates.

6 Another source of error in these data also considered by the author to be insignificant, consists of the fact that some persons under 10 years of age were arrested during the study period. The number is very small.

The data are not complete enough to make any judgement concerning the possible increase of juvenile delinquency during the five year study period.

There is another dimension to consider in attempting to define the seriousness of the problem. Many instances of juvenile misbehavior go un-reported. Many respondents estimated that most behavior which is technically a violation of 15TTC2 is not reported and that the number of unreported incidents is very high. The Public Defender for Ponape analyzes this situation by saying that the arrests at the higher ages have their roots in the juvenile period from 14 to 18 years of age when many of the offenders begin delinquent acts but do not get arrested and brought into the formal justice system. People who may be technically first offenders are actually repeaters.

Still another possible dimension of seriousness of delinquency versus criminal behavior of young adults might concern the incidence of violent crimes (crimes against persons). Tables XX through XXV show Arrests by Age, Sex and District for Selected Categories of Offenses.<sup>7</sup> These tables show that most violent crimes are committed by young adults rather than juveniles. In Yap, the Marianas, and Truk burglary and larcenies are also committed primarily by young adults while in Ponape, Palau, and the Marshalls burglaries and larcenies are more nearly equally distributed between the juvenile group and the young adult group.

Finally, in the discussion of the seriousness of juvenile delinquency, it is important to register the feeling of many older adults interviewed that the current level of juvenile misbehavior is a serious problem compared to the period of their youth. While there may not be a dramatic rise from year to year, they feel that there has been a serious rise in juvenile delinquency accompanied by a massive breakdown in social control during the past 20 - 30 years.

Summary: The judgement of the seriousness of juvenile delinquency is a subjective matter. It is serious to those people who consider it serious. Available (and incomplete) statistics indicate that Juvenile criminal behavior is relatively much less serious than criminal behavior by young adults. Juvenile delinquency and criminal behavior by young adults is largely a male phenomenon.

## II. CAUSES OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

While there are no statistics available which conclusively "prove" causes of juvenile delinquency, there was a solid consensus among almost all people interviewed, both justice system officials and laypeople, that the primary causes are related to the family situation of the young persons.<sup>8</sup>

The basic positions of officials of the justice system were as follows:<sup>9</sup>

- A. Family situation: The primary family problem was seen as a lack of control or guidance by the parents of their children. The closely related idea of parental negligence of their children was also repeatedly expressed. Three respondents noted that families are getting to be of unmanageable size and that parents are overwhelmed by their family duties, especially if one or both parents are working in the money economy. The ease of getting divorced and the large number of broken families were also mentioned. One respondent indicated that

---

<sup>7</sup> Arrests involving multiple charges are shown only by the most serious charge in the eyes of the researcher. Accuracy in age and sex statistics is thus preserved while total number of charges is not complete. Alcohol offenses by juveniles are almost always for illegal possession or consumption of an alcoholic beverage. Alcohol offenses by adults are almost always for drunk and disorderly conduct. Disturbing the peace is generally always related to a companion alcohol violation. Cheating generally means to swindle or defraud. The line 15TTC2 (2) - (4) indicates arrests for status offenses which would not be criminal acts were the person arrested as an adult.

<sup>8</sup> Detailed summaries of justice system officials' analyses of the causes of juvenile delinquency are contained in Appendices F through Q.

<sup>9</sup> While there are minor variations from district to district, the generalizations which follow are valid for all districts of the Trust Territory and the Northern Mariana Islands.

Table XVII

ARRESTS FOR VIOLATION OF SUB PARAGRAPHS (2)-(4) OF 15TTC2  
BY DISTRICT AND SEX & AS A % OF TOTAL ARRESTS  
JUVENILES

	Males 15 TTC2 (2)-(4)	Total Arrests Males	O/O 15 TTC2 (2)-(4)	Females 15 TTC2 (2)-(4)	Total Arrests Female	O/O 15 TTC 2 (2)-(4)	Total 15 TTC2 M & F	Total Juvenile Arrests	O/O 15 TTC2 M & F Arrests
Marianas	41	342	11.9	44	7	63.8	85	411	20.7
Marshall's	4	124	3.2	1		14.3	5	131	3.3
Palau	20	105	19.	1	2	50.	21	107	19.6
Ponape	107	431	22.2	46	120	38.3	153	601	25.5
Truk	-0-	101	-0-	-0-	2	-0-	-0-	103	-0-
Yap	-0-	54	-0-	-0-	6	-0-	-0-	60	-0-
*1972	37				44		131		
1973-1975	20				2		22		

Table XVIII

ARREST SUMMARY BY AGE, SEX & DISTRICT  
(BASE LINE DATA INCOMPLETE) 1972 - 1975

	Male Under 18	Male 18-30	Male Above 30	Total Male	Female Under 18	Female 18-30	Female Over 30	Total Female
Marianas %	15.4%	65.6%	19	100				
1972	92	446	88	626	26	50	15	91
1973	159	522	134	815	20	31	14	65
1974 (6 Months)	71	165	38	274	21	14	7	42
1975 (1 Month)	20	45	16	81	2	-0-	1	3
Total	342	1178	276	1796	69	95	37	201
Marshall's %	16.7%	70.1%	13.2%	100				
1972	24	245	43	312	1	3	1	5
1973	6	102	20	128	-0-	-0-	-0-	-0-
1974	61	103	25	189	-0-	-0-	-0-	-0-
1975 (10 Months)	33	71	10	114	6	-0-	-0-	-0-
Total	124	521	98	743	7	3	1	11
Palau %	.35	.56	.53	100				
1972 (2 Months)	16	22	1	39	-0-	-0-	-0-	-0-
1973 (6 Months)	42	55	4	101	1	-0-	-0-	1
1974 (3 Months)	26	18	3	47	1	-0-	-0-	1
1975 (4 Months)	21	84	8	113	-0-	-0-	-0-	-0-
Total	105	179	16	300	2	-0-	-0-	2
Ponape %	16.8%	73.4%	9.8%					
1972	157	430	50	637	59	24	5	88
1973	132	746	96	974	20	38	6	64
1974	106	596	79	781	13	38	11	62
1975 (6 Months)	86	328	55	469	20	28	5	61
Total	481	2100	280	2861	122	128	27	245
Truk %	18%	65.8%	16.2%					
1972	No Data							
1973	No Data							
1974 (9 Months)	98	343	84	525	2	-0-	1	3
1975 (1 Months)	3	26	7	36	-0-	-0-	-0-	-0-
Total	101	369	91	561	2	-0-	1	3
Yap %	17.5%	74.7%	7.8%					
1972 (7 Months)	20	54	5	79	-0-	1	2	3
1973 (10 Months)	15	84	12	111	4	1	2	7
1974 (6 Months)	13	74	7	94	2	-0-	-0-	2
1975 (2 Months)	6	18	-0-	24	-0-	-0-	-0-	-0-
Total	54	230	24	308	6	2	4	12

Table XIX

SELECTED AGE DISTRIBUTION DATA  
(DE FACTO POPULATION)  
FROM TABLE 9 OF T.T. CENSUS  
OF 1973 (PP 117 - 123)

	10-14	15-19	EST. 15-17 @60% 15-19*	EST. 18-19 @40% 15-19	EST. 10-17	20-24	25-29	EST. 16-29	EST. 30 @70% 30-34	EST. 18-30
<b>Marshall Is.</b>										
Male	1542	1376	838	558	2380	1113	728	2399	94	2493
Female	1534	1397	838	559	2372	982	750	2291	88	2379
Total	3076	2793	1676	1117	4752	2095	1478	4690	182	4872
<b>Marianas Is.</b>										
Male	922	717	430	287	1352	493	411	1491	54	1505
Female	838	750	450	300	1200	542	366	1208	43	1251
Total	1760	1467	880	587	2552	1035	777	2699	97	2796
<b>Palau</b>										
Male	970	787	472	315	1442	475	300	1150	51	1201
Female	885	682	409	273	1294	465	372	1060	59	1119
Total	1855	1469	881	588	2736	940	482	2210	110	2320
<b>Ponape</b>										
Male	1726	1359	815	544	2541	953	611	2108	99	2207
Female	1525	1308	785	523	2310	956	605	2884	100	2984
Total	3251	2667	1600	1067	4851	1909	1216	4992	199	5191
<b>Truk</b>										
Male	2074	1840	1104	736	3178	1331	929	2996	128	3124
Female	1992	1739	1043	696	3035	1377	933	3006	129	3135
Total	4066	3579	2147	1432	6213	2708	1862	6002	257	6259
<b>Yap</b>										
Male	528	454	272	182	800	316	216	714	26	740
Female	448	443	266	177	712	287	171	635	32	667
Total	976	897	538	359	1514	603	387	1349	58	1407
<b>TOTAL T.T.</b>										
Male	7863	6636	3782	2654	11845	4948	3655	11257	541	11793
Female	7305	6381	4129	2552	11434	4791	3335	10628	477	11105
Total	15168	13017	8111	5206	23279	9689	6990	21885	1018	22903



ARREST SUMMARY BY AGE, SEX AND DISTRICT AND YEAR  
1972 - 1975

TABLE XX

MARIANAS	MALE UNDER 18	MALE 18-30	MALE ABOVE 30	TOTAL MALE	FEMALE UNDER 18	FEMALE 18-30	FEMALE ABOVE 30	TOTAL FEMALE	TOTAL MALE & FEMALE
Alcohol Offense	8	141	29	178	1	3	0	4	182
Drug Offense	17	37	4	58	1	0	2	3	61
15 TTC2 (2)-(4)	36	0	0	36	52	0	0	52	88
Burglary - Larceny	191	189	38	418	14	18	3	35	453
Violent Crimes	19	215	69	303	0	18	5	23	326
Vandalism	38	74	20	134	2	3	0	5	139
Trespass	15	34	7	56	0	3	0	3	72
Disturbing the Peace	20	261	79	360	5	12	18	35	395
Cheating	0	18	7	25	0	4	0	4	29
Poss. of Explosive	0	34	6	40	0	4	4	8	48
Criminal Libel	1	7	8	16	3	16	9	28	44
Forgery	0	7	1	8	0	1	0	1	9
Unlawful Poss. Firearms	0	22	7	29	0	0	0	0	29
Counterfeit	0	6	1	7	0	1	0	0	8
Arson	0	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	2
Gambling	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Embezzlement	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Conspiracy	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Contempt of Courts	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

\*NOTE: No Data Available for July, Aug., Sept., Oct., Nov., and Dec. 1974.

No Data Available for Jan., Feb., March, April, May, June, July, Sept., Oct., Nov., and Dec. 1975.

ARREST SUMMARY BY AGE, SEX AND DISTRICT AND YEAR  
1972 - 1975

TABLE XXI

MARSHALLS	MALE UNDER 18	MALE 18-30	MALE ABOVE 30	TOTAL MALE	FEMALE UNDER 18	FEMALE 18-30	FEMALE ABOVE 30	TOTAL FEMALE	TOTAL MALE & FEMALE
Alcohol Offense	30	111	43	184	5	1	0	6	190
Drug Offense	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	2
15 TTC2 (2)-(4)	4	0	0	4	1	0	0	1	5
Burglary - Larceny	104	112	9	224	0	0	0	0	225
Violent Crimes	20	83	14	117	0	0	1	1	118
Vandalism	0	41	7	48	0	0	0	0	48
Trespass	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Disturbing the Peace	13	244	44	301	0	1	0	1	302
Cheating	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Poss. of Explosive	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Criminal Libel	2	29	2	33	0	0	0	0	33
Forgery	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Unlawful Poss. Firearms	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Counterfeit	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1
Arson	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1
Gambling	0	16	4	20	0	0	0	0	20
Embezzlement	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1
Conspiracy	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Contempt of Courts	1	9	2	12	0	0	0	0	12

\*NOTE: No Data Available for May and September 1975.

TABLE XXII

ARREST SUMMARY BY AGE, SEX AND DISTRICT AND YEAR  
1972 - 1975

PALAU	MALE UNDER 18	MALE 18-30	MALE ABOVE 30	TOTAL MALE	FEMALE UNDER 18	FEMALE 18-30	FEMALE ABOVE 30	TOTAL FEMALE	TOTAL MALE & FEMALE
Alcohol Offense	26	76	3	105	0	0	0	0	105
Drug Offense	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
15 TTC2 (2)-(4)	20	0	0	20	1	0	0	1	21
Burglary - Larceny	34	25	2	61	1	0	0	1	62
Violent Crimes	4	30	6	40	0	0	0	0	40
Vandalism	2	3	0	5	0	0	0	0	5
Trespass	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Disturbing the Peace	2	5	0	7	0	0	0	0	7
Cheating	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Poss. of Explosive	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Criminal Libel	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Forgery	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Unlawful Poss. Firearms	1	3	1	5	0	0	0	0	5
Counterfeit	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Arson	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Gambling	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Embezzlement	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Conspiracy	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Contempt of Courts	0	10	2	12	0	0	0	0	12

\*NOTE: No Data Available for: Jan. through Aug., 1972; Oct. and Nov. 1972; Jan. and Feb. 1973; June through Oct. 1973; Dec. 1973; Jan. and Feb. 1974; Oct. - Dec. 1974; April through June 1975; Aug. through Dec. 1975.

the parents cannot control their children because the children are being socialized into a new social system in which the parents do not participate. The parents are thus not able to provide guidance and counseling in a system which they do not understand. Also mentioned was the imitation by young people of the drinking behavior of adults within the family.

- B. Lack of Activities: The second most emphasized cause of juvenile delinquency as seen by the officials of the justice system was a lack of structured activities for the young people to participate in. A more general statement of the problem was that the young people are bored and have nothing to do. More specifically, the lack of recreation facilities was mentioned as one of the causes of juvenile delinquency.
- C. Use (or abuse) of alcoholic beverages was seen as the third most important cause of juvenile delinquency.

Other causes listed by justice system officials were:

- A. Too many young people leave school before graduating;
- B. The society is undergoing a loss of traditional culture and customs;
- C. Young people have a lack of self-pride;
- D. Schools do not teach traditional customs;
- E. There is a vast discrepancy between the wealth of Americans and Micronesians;
- F. Movies teach and glorify undesirable behavior;
- G. Too much unemployment among young people
- H. Customs are in conflict with the T.T. Code.

One specific cause mentioned frequently by District Attorneys, Police, Probation Officers, and District Court Judges was that court punishment is not severe enough to deter young people from causing trouble. This was a heavily emphasized theme by all members of all parts of the justice system and is singled out here for special attention because some of the judges who are responsible for the sentencing criticized their own actions. (A more detailed treatment of this criticism is contained in Appendix, "Summary of Interviews with District Court Judges", and in the other appendices summarizing official reactions to the juvenile justice questionnaire.)

### III. THE JUVENILE JUSTICE SYSTEM

There is no juvenile justice system in the Trust Territory in the United States sense (nor is it clear that there should be). There is no special juvenile intake procedure; processing; referral to community agencies; overnight homes and shelter care facilities; juvenile or family courts; rehabilitation programs or separate juvenile detention or correctional facilities.

Each District police department has one male officer designated as a juvenile officer. These officers do not have special training in juvenile matters. No other member of the justice system (courts; prosecution; defense; probation) has either specific juvenile duties assigned to him nor have any of them had any special training for dealing with juveniles.

There is no handbook or set of special guidelines published by the Department of Public Safety concerning the handling of juveniles by police officers. Juvenile Officers do not have exclusive

contact with arrested juveniles. Arrests are usually made by patrolmen or detectives. Interrogations of juveniles are often conducted by the arresting officers rather than the Juvenile Officer. The Juvenile Officer has primary responsibility for following a juvenile case from the time he is brought into the case until it is turned over to the District Attorney for final disposition. The Juvenile Officer is responsible for record keeping regarding juvenile arrests (Logs are maintained in some Districts and case files are maintained separately). He is also responsible generally for contacts with the family of the juveniles arrested.

Interrogation of juveniles is similar to interrogation of adults except that one or both parents are required to be present. The right to counsel during interrogation as expressed in the Miranda decision has been extended to the Trust Territory by the High Court. Juveniles are read their rights and sign a form stating that they read and understood their right to counsel. Waiver forms are provided in the case that juveniles (or their parents acting for them) waive their right to counsel.<sup>10</sup>

Juveniles are sometimes detained overnight or, if arrested on a Friday night, for the whole weekend awaiting interrogation.<sup>11</sup> All jails in the District Centers are part of the police station. They all have one or more large tank rooms with space for a number of prisoners and a few (up to 6) separate detention cells. The only separation possible of juveniles from adults is by assigning the juveniles to the detention cells. In almost all cases the cells are bare cement with no beds, furniture, or sanitary facilities. Visual and verbal contact with adult prisoners can be maintained in most cases.

The results of the police investigation following a juvenile arrest are forwarded to the District Attorney's office for further action. The case may be handled informally to the satisfaction of all parties without formal court action.<sup>12</sup> The juvenile may be brought before the District Court or upon filing by the District, hearings are closed to the public by law, informal, and allegedly non-adversary. In fact, the presence of opposing counsel makes them adversary proceedings whether or not the rules of procedure are informal.<sup>13</sup> Juveniles may be tried as adults for serious offenses if in the opinion of the court their physical or mental maturity justifies adult treatment. Trials of juveniles on charges of rape or murder are conducted in the High Court.

In those districts where there are probation officers, the probation officer will conduct an investigation and prepare a report (similar to a pre-sentencing report) on the family and background of juveniles judged to be delinquent. The Judge will consider this report in determining what action to follow in attempting to rehabilitate the juvenile.

Most juveniles judged to be delinquent are placed on probation in the custody of their parents or other family members. Virtually all first offenders are placed on probation and most repeat offenders. Judges are reluctant to incarcerate juveniles while there are no separate facilities for juveniles, both because they recognize the harmful effects the juvenile from associating with adult offenders and because the T.T. Code requires that juveniles be detained in separate facilities (15TTC1). Repeat offenders for whom probation has proved ineffective are occasionally

<sup>10</sup> No statistics are kept on the number of arrested juveniles waiving their right to counsel. However, Police Chiefs indicate that most juveniles waive their right to counsel. They also indicate that in felony cases the police will call in the Public Defender even if the parents waive the right to counsel. When asked why the great majority of juvenile defendants waive their right to counsel, the Police Chiefs responded that most parents want their children punished if they are guilty and want the children to confess.

<sup>11</sup> The author received a number of complaints (which he was not able to verify) that parents are often not informed of the arrest during the period of detention prior to interrogation.

<sup>12</sup> If there is a victim (of burglary, larceny, violence, etc.) the victim's family may accept apologies, gift, or other customary settlement practices and request that charges be dropped. District Attorneys generally follow victims' wishes in such cases. No statistics are kept which show the number of cases settled informally through customary practices. Most officials feel through customary practices. Most officials feel that the majority of cases are handled in this manner.

<sup>13</sup> One reason families choose informal settlement is adversary behavior is strongly proscribed by the cultures of all Island groups. Direct confrontation is often quite discomforting.

confined in the District jails (such confinement is authorized by 15TTC0). Recently the District Court Judges in Majuro have begun ordering delinquent juveniles from islands other than Majuro to return to their home islands under the custody of a relative on that island.

In the Northern Mariana Islands there is the beginning of an attempt to locate families in remote islands (from Saipan) who will accept juveniles judged to be delinquent to be placed with them for a specific period of time for rehabilitation. This is not yet a functioning system.

The Probation Officer in Palau has been instrumental in securing a quonset hut to be used as a night time juvenile home. The plan was to have the Court assign juvenile delinquents to this facility for night time supervision. During the day the residents would go to school or to work. The facility has been available for a number of months but the District Court Judges have not assigned any delinquent children there because there is no staff, no provision for feeding of residents,<sup>14</sup> and no supervision. The building, at the time of the field visit for this research, was nearly devoid of beds, furniture or equipment.

#### IV. TWO SEPARATE LEGAL SYSTEMS IN THE TRUST TERRITORY

There are two separate functioning legal systems in the Trust Territory. In addition to the American style system (of which the above listed juvenile procedures are a part), there is a set of customary procedures operating in each District, including the Northern Mariana Islands.<sup>15</sup>

In most situations where they operate together on one island they are in conflict. Not only do they not reinforce each other, but often they are destructive of each other's ability to function.

Customary law is operative in all 97 inhabited islands of the Trust Territory. It is virtually *exclusively* operative in all islands other than the urbanized islands of Yap, Koror, the Truk Lagoon, Ponape, Kusaie, Majuro, Ebeye, Saipan, Tinian, and Rota.

The term "customary law" as used in this report means the process or processes used in each island (the processes varied from island to island and from island group to island group) whereby traditional leaders (chiefs, heads of families, heads of clans and lineages) decided the outcome of disputes between families (roughly equivalent to American civil disputes) and the sanctions to be applied to people who violated cultural norms (including "criminal" behavior). Customary law was law in the sense that authoritative decisions were made according to procedures acceptable to the members of the community regarding disputes between persons or families and regarding actions repellant to the community. It was law also inasmuch as the decisions were obeyed and/or enforced.<sup>16</sup>

The rules, processes, and decisions were not codified or written. Customary law generally did not build on a body of precedent as in the English common law. Decisions and processes would change from time to time as new leaders emerged and new social relationships were in effect. It is very difficult to be specific about customary law because of the great variation from place to place, the changes occurring through time, and the widespread erosion of the system brought about by the vigorous foreign occupations begun by the German administration and carried out by the Japanese and American administrations. Ancient patterns are largely forgotten. Current patterns are known in a fragmentary fashion.

Nonetheless there is widespread agreement among Micronesians in the justice system and in other

<sup>14</sup> The probation officer feels that the families of the delinquent children should be held responsible for feeding them.

<sup>15</sup> Customary practices are much weaker in the Northern Mariana Islands than in the other areas of Micronesia.

<sup>16</sup> It was not a perfect system. War between villages or clans or islands could be result if peaceful settlement were not reached through the leadership decisions.

areas of work about certain fundamentals of customary practices. Some areas of agreement are listed below:

Customarily it was the extended family's responsibility to control the behavior of individuals within the family. Disputes were between families, not individuals. In what we would consider criminal matters the family of the offender would be punished (often by being fined traditional money or land) and would be expected to supervise and control the behavior of the offender in the future.<sup>17</sup>

- Decisions were made within the reality of small island societies where village residents could expect to come in face-to-face contact every day of their lives. The processes had to submerge hostilities so the people could continue living in close proximity after the decisions were made and carried out. Decisions had to be seen as fair and appropriate and to be accepted by all families involved.
- The processes were not confrontational or adversary even when severe punishments were involved.
- There was no doubt that transgressions would be punished with a severity appropriate to the offense.

It is not within the scope of this report to exhaustively catalog or definitively describe customary systems of law within the Trust Territory. A few examples will be given here so that readers unfamiliar with Micronesia may get a taste of the system.

- In Truk currently the clan heads or lineage heads of the victim and offender will meet to attempt to work out a solution acceptable to both families. The settlement may involve, among other things, apologies from the family of the offender's family to the victim's family.<sup>18</sup> If a settlement cannot be achieved by negotiations between the clan or lineage heads involved, they may go to a third party who occupies a traditional position of respect and authority and ask him to sit as a combination judge and mediator to help resolve the dispute. He gives advice which is generally followed as if it were an order.
- In some areas a thief might have his coconut trees cut down, his fishing nets slashed and his tools or fishing canoes destroyed.
- In some areas a murderer will be given to the victim's family as a replacement for the loss.
- In many areas an insult regarding a female relative, especially sister or mother was and is still considered a crime requiring violent revenge by a male of the family of insulted persons.<sup>19</sup>
- A trespasser from one village caught creating a disturbance in another village might be tied to a tree and held until ransomed by his relatives.

<sup>17</sup> Corporal punishment and capital punishment were inflicted upon the offender directly. In at least one district revenge for murder seem to be accepted. The victim of the revenge killing was likely to be close relative of the murder who would then have to live the rest of his life knowing he was responsible for his relative's death.

<sup>18</sup> In very serious situations the offender might have to give his inheritance to the victim's family. This an extremely serious punishment since wealth and position customarily flow from possession on land in a society where land is scarce and the commodity of highest value. Land is, in fact, the source of life itself since without land one has no way to produce food and the necessities of life. A male without land had poor prospects of attracting a good wife and supporting a family.

<sup>19</sup> During this research for this report Micronesians educated into the American system said that even though they knew that violent revenge for an insult was wrong, they still felt such revenge legitimate. One respondent described such an insult as "war words". Another respondent a Public Defender's Representative, called such insult a "trigger for war" and said the degree of the insult determines the degree of violence of the response. This was not a universal feeling.

Offenders who destroyed homes, canoes, other property, coconut trees or other sources of food might be required to make restitution and to work either for the family offended or on general public projects within the village.

This brief listing of cultural practices that fit within the category of "customary law" as used in this report shows a wide divergence of responses. However, during the field interviews there was strong and near unanimous opinion that the collection of practices in effect were very effective in maintaining social control. Punishment was seen as being sure, swift, and severe.<sup>20</sup>

One of the major conflicts between the customary system and the American system is in the difference in severity of punishment of offenders. Most of the Micronesian employees of the present justice system (and most lay persons interviewed also) felt that one of the major contributing causes of the current rise of juvenile delinquency in the urbanized areas is in the fact that punishment under the current system is nearly non-existent, often too long delayed, and when punishment is imposed it is seen as being too mild to be effective as a deterrent. This attitude was also expressed by a significant number of the American and American trained Micronesian lawyers interviewed.<sup>21</sup>

There was near unanimous consent by all members of the justice system and lay persons interviewed that the key reason why the courts are ineffective is the fact that there are no separate detention or rehabilitation facilities for juveniles forcing judges to put juveniles on probation with suspended sentences. In other words, there are no effective sanctions as jail or confinement is seen as the single response to juvenile misbehavior. The Vice-Speaker of the Truk District Legislator (an ex-trial assistant in the District Attorney's office) said, "Suspended sentences mean absolutely nothing." He stated that youth under 18 are not afraid to commit any act because they know they will not be jailed. The Chief Trial Assistant in the Truk District Attorney's office stated, "I don't believe probation is punishment. That is why we have all this delinquency increasing." He added that parents cannot control their youngsters because the young boys will beat up their parents. He felt that it was up to the court to impose effective and severe punishment. "Kids should be jailed and do hard labor." He feels that the light sentencing of the courts now ignores the future impact of the sentences on the community at large.

Probation was seen as ineffective due to the fact that the children are usually put back into the custody of parents who could not control them in the first place and who are unable to control them under the terms of probation. Another reason for the ineffectiveness of probation is the fact that where there are probation officers, their work is seen as being largely ineffective due to high case loads, lack of training, and lack of cooperation by parents, police, and the community at large in helping enforce the conditions of probation. The probation officers conscientiously attempt to do their jobs but cannot offer much supervision in monthly conferences or to young people who live in remote villages.

Where a punishment other than suspended sentence with probation is imposed, that punishment is often seen as being far too mild. District Court and High Court Judges often do not avail themselves of the full severity of punishment allowed for serious crimes. Light punishment is seen as only token and a quiet communication to the community that misbehavior will be tolerated.

<sup>20</sup> The memories of the older respondents extend back to the Japanese administration and for some to the end of the German administration. It is not always possible to separate from their responses the effects of customary sanctions and the effects of the German and Japanese systems of sanctions. The authoritarian nature of those administrations were compatible with the hierarchical ordering of Micronesian society and apparently their rather harsh punishments and summary systems of judgment were compatible with customary values insofar as they were seen as effective. Many of the older Micronesians interviewed, including one District Court Judge, expressed the desire to return to the Japanese system of allowing the police to beat prisoners as they saw fit.

<sup>21</sup> In one district the District Attorney and Public Defender estimated that they handle about 90% of all juvenile arrests out of court, using customary practices of having the families of the offender and victim resolve the issues to their mutual satisfaction. This is seen by them as providing more "justice" in the local context than a trip to court and as providing more social control than the court can provide.



Also, the T.T. Code itself seems to be in conflict with customary practices. One District Court Judge expressed anguish over his inability to sentence a person convicted of involuntary manslaughter to no more than two years<sup>22</sup> while for grand larceny the law allows up to 10 years. This judge expressed his opinion that the taking of a human life is a far graver offense than grand larceny and that the punishment allowable under modern law should reflect that gravity.<sup>23</sup>

Another conflict noted was that there is often a great delay between the commission of an offense and the trial or hearing of the offender. A number of instances were cited where trials occurred two or three years after the offense. Statistics are not kept on the delay between arrest and trial or hearing. However, many respondents reported that it is common for a delay of 3 to 6 months to take place between arrest and trial or hearing. During this time the families of offender and victim often make customary settlements rendering a trial or hearing anticlimactic and unnecessary. Many respondents felt that the gravity of the trial and the effect of sentencing are lost on the offender and his family long after the event.

A third conflict between customary practices and current practices is in the area of certainty of punishment. There was strong criticism expressed of judicial responses to criminal acts which seemed to be inconsistent and follow no pattern. Many respondents felt that similar offenses would draw very different responses from the same Court and that the community at large could not count upon a consistent application of standards.<sup>24</sup> In this regard justice was seen as arbitrary.

A number of Micronesian practitioners in the justice system including one licensed attorney who is a graduate from an American law school stated that prior to the American Administration in Micronesia, drunkenness would not be considered a mitigating factor in the imposition of sanctions under customary practices for an offense committed while under the influence of intoxicants. While most members of the justice system interviewed stated that drunkenness is not an excuse for misbehavior but a fact to be considered in reducing penalties during sentencing, the general population strongly believes that drunkenness does excuse criminal or anti-social behavior. The American Public Defenders and their Micronesian assistants under their charge to defend their clients as successfully as possible are seen as legitimizing the issue of intoxication as a mitigating factor.

The key issue in the differential handling of intoxication under American and customary practices is intent. Under the American system alcohol is a mitigating factor in sentencing if it can be shown that there was a lack of intent to commit the crime committed due to the offender being under the influence of alcohol. But intent is very hard to prove. Many people in Truk and Ponape both within the justice system and laymen, reported that very often a young man will deliberately get drunk while planning to start a fight in order to have the excuse that he did not know what he was doing. In discussing one case the district prosecutor in Truk said, "Everybody knows he cut this guy up deliberately but he claims he was drunk." Many respondents in all districts agreed with his statement that "Anything that is done we see as deliberate." It seems highly probable that the permissiveness of the current judicial system regarding offenses committed under the influence of alcohol contributes to the growing breakdown of social control.

One Palauan respondent complained that the current justice system's treatment of disturbing the peace as a minor misdemeanor was in direct conflict with Palauan tradition. In his view, a group of adolescent boys who disturbed a meeting of chiefs or highly respected elders in a men's house

<sup>22</sup> High Court Judges can impose higher penalties.

<sup>23</sup> It was his opinion and the opinion of other Micronesians in the justice system including Micronesians trained in American law schools that Micronesian custom did not distinguish degrees of homicide and did not concern itself with intent.

<sup>24</sup> Although no evidence is available to verify the allegations, many laymen and members of the justice system felt that judges did not treat all defendants equally. There were many allegations that judges were more lenient with members of their extended family or with persons of high rank or caste. At least one judge was accused of being more severe with people from his own village where he is a chief.

would have been seen as committing an act comparable to a felony. Their families would have been severely fined for their transgression. Other respondents noted that disturbing the peace in small island communities where social tensions must be kept tightly under control was a serious offense.

Thus far in this chapter, our emphasis has been on laws, actions, and court practices in its focus on the conflict between the two systems of social control and the void which results from that conflict. Ineffectiveness of court sentencing due to the lack of reasonable alternatives has been singled out for attention. However, there are at least two other major facets of the justice system which merit attention. First, the imported system is imperfectly understood by the Micronesian participants just as the local cultural context is imperfectly understood by the American participants. Secondly, law enforcement is widely regarded by Micronesians interviewed as being very weak.

The weak law enforcement flows in part from one overriding cultural consideration: On small islands where a policeman has to live all his life with people he will see very frequently and with whom he is related by many ties, the policeman is reluctant to arrest friends or relatives. He has very strong cultural need to maintain friendships.<sup>25</sup> An example of this is contained in the following anecdote reported by an officer of the court in one district: This respondent had at one time been a sergeant on the local police force. He and a corporal who was older than he came across a relative of the corporal committing a crime. The sergeant ordered the corporal to arrest his relative. The corporal not only refused but also ordered the sergeant not to arrest the suspect. The sergeant resigned from the police force as a result of this cultural conflict.

Those who complained of weak law enforcement usually had a number of other complaints to make against the police. Some of those complaints are listed here:

- (1) In a number of districts police are alleged to furnish alcoholic beverages to minors;
- (2) In a number of districts police are alleged to often become drunk and disorderly in public, thus setting an example for others and bringing disrespect on the police;
- (3) In most districts the police are alleged to keep minors in detention longer than allowed by law and to evade the requirements of explaining the right to counsel by deception;<sup>26</sup>
- (4) In one District the police were charged with refusing to serve summons in part to protect friends.
- (5) In two districts the police were alleged to participate in illegal dynamiting of fish in the lagoons;
- (6) In three districts the police were alleged to beat prisoners.<sup>27</sup>
- (7) Police are reported as being too lax in issuing driver's licenses. This practice allegedly means that unnecessary accidents are caused by people who should not be driving.

<sup>25</sup> One legislator cited this cultural reality as a reason why increased training of police personnel will not help. An impersonal police enforcing abstract laws does not fit in with highly personalized local cultures.

<sup>26</sup> See the Summary of Public Defender's responses to the Questionnaire (Appendix H) for more detail. Probation officers made similar allegations.

<sup>27</sup> If the allegations are true, it is possible that the beatings are in part due to police frustration from knowing that juvenile defendants will not get punished by the courts. It becomes, in effect, "pre-punishment" to insure that the suspect gets some form of punishment from the arrest. In one district a few years ago prisoners were handcuffed with one wrist in the small of the back and the other over the shoulder and behind the neck. They were hung by the handcuffs for varying lengths of time. All respondents in that district report that crime violence, whether by juveniles or young adults, was reduced to negligible proportions by this very painful practice. Once the practice was stopped the incidence of crime and violence is reported to have gone up. Police beatings are seen in this district as rising in recent months due to frustration with the rise in criminal activity. The author has no evidence to prove the allegations of police beatings and only reports those allegations as presented to him. The allegations are reported because they are an accurate reflection of the reputation of the police department among both members of the justice system and lay respondents, and not as an attack on the police forces.

(8) In all districts where there was a drinking permit law at the time of the field research,<sup>28</sup> the police were seen by most respondents as not enforcing the drinking permit law.

(9) The police were seen not arresting people of high traditional or current political status.

(10) Police chiefs were charged with illegally jailing juveniles who had not violated any section of the T.T. Code or any local law or ordinance on the basis of a parental request. The Public Defender in one district stated that he knew this to be true and a fact. One police chief admitted to the author that he will lock up a juvenile for up to seven days without court order and without any reason to suspect a violation of law if a parent requests.<sup>29</sup>

The complaints listed above came from responsible people who in many cases were in jobs which put them into daily contact with police behavior. From this perspective, the allegations (while yet unproved) cannot be dismissed lightly. While all of the above criticisms do not relate to police activities regarding juveniles, they are listed because they lend weight to the observation that the police system in Micronesia contributes to the breakdown of social control currently underway.

The last complaint listed above, incarceration of juveniles without legal authority as a service to parents unable to control their children, lends weight to the statement made earlier that the Micronesians staffing the American style system in operation imperfectly understand the system they are charged with running.

Eloquent testimony to the uneasy mix of the two systems is the order of the Chief Justice of the High Court that Micronesian trial assistants<sup>30</sup> in the Public Defenders' offices and the District Attorneys' offices cannot be opposed by licensed lawyers. The purpose of this order is to give both sides approximate equality in representation. Thus it is common to have a judge not trained in American law hearing a criminal case based on American law being argued by a prosecutor and defense counsel who are also not trained in American law. The professionals who are trained in American law may sit on the sidelines uninvolved.

Some of the judges who hear these cases admitted that they do not understand the law they are charged with interpreting and that they are reluctant to do anything they have not seen done by an American High Court Justice. They also admitted that they are afraid of having their decisions overturned by the High Court when it sits as an appellate court.<sup>31</sup>

During an interview with the District Court judges in one district, one of the Associate Judges volunteered the information that their sentencing is not effective in deterring juvenile misbehavior or in any kind of rehabilitation. He referred to suspended sentences and probation. The other two judges concurred. Asked what kind of relationship the Probation Officer had with parents of juvenile offenders adjudicated to be delinquent and placed on probation, their answer was that they did not know because the probation officer never informed them. The Presiding Judge acknowledged that he is the Probation Officer's supervisor but added that he had never had any training in supervising a Probation Officer. He simply did not know that he could require reports from the Probation Officers regarding their activities.

<sup>28</sup> Palau has repealed its drinking permit law since the field research was conducted.

<sup>29</sup> This practice was seen by some respondents as a community service. The parents have lost control of their children and are turning to the new institution set up to maintain social control -- the police. They expect the power of the society to help them when they need help. The police see this as a legitimate community service function.

<sup>30</sup> The trial assistant in the District Attorney's office has the title "District Prosecutor". If he has an assistant his title is "Assistant District Prosecutor". The trial assistants in the Public Defenders' offices are called "Public Defender Representatives". These are Micronesians who have not gone to law school and are not trained lawyers. However, they practice in District Court as counsel (prosecution or defense) in the absence of the District Attorney or Public Defender. While no statistics are kept, most juvenile cases appear to be conducted by trial assistants rather than by licensed lawyers.

<sup>31</sup> Valuable research for a future study would be the incidence of decisions in criminal cases in District Court being overturned by the High Court and the reasons. One Public Defender with trial experience in three Districts reported that he regularly gets charges dismissed or acquittal for questionable defendants because the police do not understand proper arrest procedure. He also reports that illegal arrests in the Tanaas and Ponape are the rule rather than the exception.

The same judges were asked what steps they take to encourage or require the parents of children adjudicated to be delinquent to enforce the conditions of probation. The answer from all three judges was that they take no steps of any kind to encourage or require delinquent children to enforce probation.<sup>32</sup> Asked specifically if they require the posting of surety bonds by the parents to guarantee the child's good behavior, the judges stated that they did not know anything about surety bonding. (TTC51 allows such surety bonding. Some District Court Judges in other districts indicated that they were not familiar with this legal tool while others said that they used it.)

Asked if they scold the parents of delinquent children to try to lecture them about the need for controlling the behavior of their offspring, the answer was "No" from all three judges. When asked why not, they responded that the High Court does not.

This is an example of the chill cast by the shadow of the High Court on the District Courts. The District Court Judges in this case are setting self-imposed limitations on their own behavior because they do not feel comfortable, as they admitted to the author, with the system in which they are working.<sup>33</sup>

The American High Court Judges were severely criticized by many respondents throughout the research period. The basic criticism was that it was they who were setting the pattern of light sentencing that has as its long range consequence the breakdown of social control locally. One American lawyer went further to state that the High Court Judges are able to make their inappropriate sentences which do not take into effect their impact on the future ability of the community to control itself because they have no stake in the community. They know they are in the culture for relatively short period of time and that the consequences of their actions will not follow them as they leave to work in another setting.

If the above analysis is correct, that the alien American style justice system is a major contributing factor in the breakdown of social control in Micronesia and in fact one of the causes of the current juvenile and youthful misbehavior which is of concern to many people, it is ironical to realize that the American justice system is also unable to effectively respond to or control juvenile and youthful criminal or delinquent behavior in America. The Law Enforcement Assistance Administration itself was created as a national agency to deal with the soaring and immensely disturbing epidemic rise in crime (including juvenile delinquency) in the United States which became apparent in the early sixties.

Professor James Q. Wilson, in his book *Thinking About Crime*, identifies as an American problem the relation between police and community but *emphasizes* that the crucial agency in the justice system is not the police but the prosecutors and courts. "Of far greater importance are those agencies that handle persons once arrested and that determine whether, how soon, and under what conditions they will returned to the communities from which they came".<sup>34</sup> In Professor Wilson's view the crucial issue is the sentence. In his book he shows that the United States legal system is creating many of the same problems there that are apparent in the Trust Territory: The lack of certainty, severity, and swiftness of judicial response in America is correlated with the soaring rise in crime in America during the last two decades. In Dr. Wilson's view, we (in America) must admit that our attempts at reducing poverty and social problems of groups likely to commit crimes have not worked to reduce crime and that we must also admit that we do not know what is effective in controlling crime other than isolation and punishment.<sup>35</sup> Wilson feels that "... we can most

<sup>32</sup> In some districts, however, other District Court Judges do take some steps to encourage or require parents of delinquent children to take responsibility for their children's behavior.

<sup>33</sup> It may be, of course, that they were not comfortable in the interview situation. All interviews by an American in English of Micronesians who speak English as a second language must be viewed with a certain amount of skepticism.

<sup>34</sup> Wilson, James Q., "Thinking About Crime", Vintage, New York, 1977, 260 pp.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid. p. 193

definitely stop pretending that judges know, any better than the rest of us, how to provide individualized justice".<sup>36</sup> Wilson further cites studies which indicate that certainty and severity of punishment have significant deterrent effects on crime rates.<sup>37</sup> Wilson also emphasizes that the moral revulsion and horror of heinous crimes such as homicide, assault, rape, and armed robbery warrant society's punishment of the criminal without regard to the theoretical value of rehabilitation. The release of criminals with little or no punishment in Dr. Wilson's view

"... is to fail to protect society from those crimes which they may commit again and to violate society's moral concern for criminality, and thus to undermine society's concept of what constitutes proper conduct."<sup>38</sup>

In order to overcome these problems Dr. Wilson makes some suggestions for reforming the correctional system which may have applicability in the Trust Territory, though it is clear that the recommendations were made for the United States. They are:

1. Reorganize the court system around the primary task of sentencing offenders. (Determination of guilt must still be seen as a function of the court using appropriate processes safeguarding the rights of the accused, but it should be recognized as a minor function *in terms of amount of time consumed by the court.*)

2. Sentencing should be standardized throughout the judicial system with uniform standards applied under central management.

3. Assure that "every conviction for a non-trivial offense would entail a penalty that involved a deprivation of liberty, even if brief. For many offenses the minimum sentence might be as low as one week, and even that might be served on weekends. For most offenses the average sentence would be relatively short -- but it would be invariably applied. Only the most serious offenses would result in long penalties."

4. Deprivation of liberty would not have to take place in conventional jails or prisons. Various forms of community control and confinement could be developed to fit the situation. The key point is that punishment would surely follow a crime. This would mean the virtual abolition of conventional probation -- the release back into the community of an offender with the requirement that he/she visit a probation officer from time to time.

5. Subsequent convictions would *invariably* result in a longer period of deprivation of liberty.

The suggestions are offered not only as increased deterrents to criminal activity but with two other goals in mind. One is to keep offenders away from society to insure that they cannot repeat their offenses during the time they are confined, and the other is to indicate the moral revulsion of the society for the offenses committed.

As suggested *Micronesian* remedies for the problems cited above, a number of respondents during the study suggested that for a while the two systems should be given formal status. The idea was that the customary system still works in the outer islands and should be allowed to work as it does but in some District Center areas where the customary system is still partially or largely valid, victims and accused be formally given the option of going through court proceedings or settling the case by local customary methods. The court would remain in reserve in the background in case settlement could not be reached by customary methods.

Another idea, far more extensive in scope, was discussed with both laymen and officials in the justice system: The possibility of formally reorganizing the system by developing a new Trust Territory Code (as it pertains to juveniles specifically and criminal behavior in general since the two

<sup>36</sup> Ibid. p. 234

<sup>37</sup> Ibid. p. 195

<sup>38</sup> Ibid. p. 191

<sup>39</sup> Ibid. p. 201-203

are inseparable) which integrates the best of the customary systems and the best of the American system while dropping the harsh or inappropriate parts of both. The idea was generally endorsed by those with whom it was discussed. It was seen as an attempt to bring into harmony the two systems and emphasize their areas of agreement while minimizing and resolving the areas of conflict.

Such an undertaking is extremely large and would probably require the whole five year transition time period until the end of the Trusteeship Agreement. The first requirement would be for the Congress of Micronesia to pass enabling legislation. Such legislation might create a Trust Territory Law Review Commission charged with the task of drafting the revisions needed to rebuild the two separate systems into one system designed to be appropriate for Micronesia.<sup>40</sup>

Another requirement would probably be a restatement of customary practices. This restatement would be extremely difficult to achieve since customs vary from island to island, from district to district, and from memory to memory. The restatement would have to be a negotiated consensus of those asked to participate. This would clearly have to be done on a District by District basis and a final compilation would have to reconcile District differences if a truly national set of core legal principles is to be distilled.

At the same time that the Law Review Commission is developing a restatement of customary law, another section of the Commission could be analyzing the Trust Territory Code for internal improvements needed.

Following the agreement on a set of national legal traditional principles and a set of recommendations for internal revisions in the Trust Territory code, the restatement of customary law would have to be compared on a point by point basis with the T.T. Code and proposed revisions to determine what modifications are needed in either the restatement of customary law or the Code and proposed changes to create a workable national legal system.

It is not within the scope of this paper to make detailed recommendations for such changes. However, a few specific brief examples might make clear the real possibility of merging the two systems into one modern Micronesian system. One example is in the area of restitution. There were strong feelings expressed by many that acts of theft, damage, and vandalism should be atoned for by having the violator replace the stolen or damaged articles or property, rebuild damaged property when appropriate, or provide substitutes of equal or greater value. When none of the above are possible it was felt that the violator should be required to perform public service to contribute to the community at large for the destruction caused.

Such restitution and public service was seen as being part of the old customs but also holds a strong influence today. There was a great deal of scorn for the grass cutting done by prisoners under the current systems. The prisoners may feel humiliation from having to cut grass in public but do not feel that they are contributing to the society which they have harmed.

Another example is in the area of jails or "separate juvenile facilities". As noted above, almost all of the officials of the justice system interviewed called for separate juvenile facilities to hold juveniles adjudicated to be delinquent. Many respondents felt that the jails should be isolated from the District Centers deep in the interior of large islands or on distant separate islands. Some respondents emphasized that they should be harsh and unpleasant places where young people would not want to be sent. Others felt that they should have aspects of punishment so that the people would not want to go there but that they should also have rehabilitative services such as remedial English, vocational training, training in self-sufficiency, and training in traditional arts and customs.

However, there was another theme expressed by a few participants in the study which said that the community service mentioned above (if it were real service and not make-work) would do more to

<sup>40</sup>

The Commission could be composed of members drawn from the current staffing of the justice system and from respected men and women from the lay community having deep, detailed, and authoritative knowledge of past and current customary practices.

<sup>41</sup>

Detailed suggestions are contained in Appendices F through Q, the summaries of responses of members of the justice system to the questionnaires.

reinstate the young offenders in the eyes of the community than a stay in a jail or juvenile detention facility.

The emphasis of this theme of reinstatement is the same in the T.T. code on rehabilitation. The focus is on setting. Is rehabilitation more likely to be achieved in the isolation of an institution or in the midst of a community?

A closely related theme expressed by a number of participants was the need to remember that the transition from Trusteeship status to self-government or independence is also a transition from almost complete foreign subsidy to much greater reliance on local economic resources. The research team was specifically reminded that it is not possible to start any grandiose plans under the new economic patterns.

While no cost/benefit analyses have been done regarding the building of new separate juvenile facilities and the related continuing costs of staffing, equipping, and maintaining such facilities, it seems possible that these costs cannot be borne under reduced budget subsidies flowing from the Administering Authority. Thus a program of enforced and supervised community service as a major rehabilitation program may be not only desirable from a social point of view but also the only system economically feasible under the new budget conditions.

A third example of incompatible areas of both customary and American law that could be brought into harmony under a revised code is the need for swift and certain reaction to code violations. This is not an issue if there is an option for families to choose customary style family settlement since the pace itself is part of the customary solution. It becomes an issue, however, if family settlement fails and the formal system must be resorted to as a last resort or if the formal system is selected as the initial area for decision making. Current delays of months or years are often caused by the absences of witnesses who are away to attend school or for other purposes or by the absence from the district center of the District Attorney or Public Defender. The issue is one generally of procedure rather than incompatibility of the two systems, and as such may be open to relatively easy solution.

Swift and certainty: can only be assured if the system is an integral part of community life and not an imposed, alien system which does not have the respect and acceptance of the community residents. This proposal is offered as one suggestion for organizing a social control system which will be acceptable to the community and which will simultaneously address itself to the emerging needs of rapidly changing cultures and to the deep seated conservatism of human society which will insure that traditional customs continue their hold on people in Micronesia for years to come.

## SUMMARY

While juvenile delinquency is not a statistically serious problem compared to young adult delinquency, juvenile delinquency is viewed by many members of the Micronesian community in general and of the justice system specifically as a serious problem. The problem is more clear to Micronesians than outsiders since the Micronesians are more likely to hear about the instances of delinquent behavior by juveniles occurring in villages that does not get reported to police. The problem is seen as growing.

There are many factors identified as causes of the increase in juvenile delinquency. Three causes were singled out for attention in this report: (1) The breakdown of traditional family structure in Micronesia; (2) the lack of structured activities for young people sanctioned by adults; and (3) the breakdown of social control which flows in part from an ineffective response by the justice system to juvenile misbehavior.

There is no juvenile justice system. There is a section of the T.T. Code modeled after American law which treats delinquency as non-criminal behavior, requires closed and informal "non-adversary" hearings, states that juveniles should not be incarcerated in the same facilities with adults, and emphasizes rehabilitation rather than punishment. Each police department has one officer with the title Juvenile Officer. Training for these officers in handling juveniles is minimal. This system contributes to the breakdown in social control because (1) it offers no effective sanctions; (2) is not understood either by delinquent children or their parents; (3) is only partly understood by the officials within the system; (4) violates the deeply held feelings of many members of the community; and (5) offers no positive programs for rehabilitation a stated purpose of the T.T. code.

The ineffectiveness of the justice system is fundamentally a political problem. For unassailable motives the foreign administering authority has superimposed upon a group of still live and vital Micronesian cultures a system of metropolitan law which is not wholly appropriate in this cultural setting.

In the current five year transition phase from Trusteeship agreement to self-government by 1981, planners and policy makers have an opportunity to address these issues directly.

It is clear that after 1981 no district will be able to go back to the old system -- and most of the leadership in Micronesia would not wish to go back if they could. The old system worked because the populations were largely homogenous. Traditional society was extremely intimate and highly personalized. Now urbanized islands such as Ebeye and the District Centers have people living on them who come from many places and cultures. Chiefs and other traditional leaders cannot be expected to exercise traditional authority over these newcomers who were not raised with the same set of shared cultural ideas and expectations. Family structures have changed and in the urbanized islands it is no longer realistic to expect extended families to exercise control over all members of the family. In these islands, at least, it is essential that there be a respected and effective law enforcement and judicial system which is fair and non-discriminatory.

There is another key reason that the old system cannot be reinstated: many Micronesians have adopted the principles of individual freedom and individual accountability under law inherent in the American system.

The planners, policy makers, and lawmakers who wish to address the need for changes in the way the current justice system operates are faced not only with the highly visible five year political transition period from now to 1981 but also with the deeper and endless long range cultural transition from the old to the new. The question is, of course, how to adjust to the present and select desired innovations while maintaining the real valuable strengths of the old system.



**CONTINUED**

**1 OF 3**

ARREST SUMMARY BY AGE, SEX AND DISTRICT AND YEAR  
1972 - 1975

TABLE XXIII

RONAPE	MALE UNDER 18	MALE 18-30	MALE ABOVE 30	TOTAL MALE	FEMALE UNDER 18	FEMALE 18-30	FEMALE ABOVE 30	TOTAL FEMALE	TOTAL MALE & FEMALE
Alcohol Offense	170	1,045	157	1,372	17	47	11	75	1,447
Drug Offense	0	8	0	8	0	0	0	0	8
15 TTC2 (2)-(4)	103	0	0	103	34	0	0	0	137
Burglary - Larceny	94	126	9	229	4	9	1	14	243
Violent Crimes	27	165	28	220	7	16	1	24	244
Vandalism	22	54	8	84	0	1	0	1	85
Trespass	17	57	6	80	3	8	0	11	91
Disturbing the Peace	42	611	57	710	38	43	8	89	799
Cheating	1	18	4	23	0	1	0	1	24
Poss. of Explosive	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Criminal Libel	0	2	2	4	0	0	5	5	9
Forgery	2	1	2	5	0	1	0	1	6
Unlawful Poss. Firearms	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Counterfeit	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Arson	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1
Gambling	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Embezzlement	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Conspiracy	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	2
Contempt of Courts	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

\*NOTE: No Data Available for May 1974, Jan. 1975, June 1975; Sept. through Dec. 1975.

ARREST SUMMARY BY AGE, SEX AND DISTRICT AND YEAR  
1972 - 1975

TABLE XXIV

TRUK	MALE UNDER 18	MALE 18-30	MALE ABOVE 30	TOTAL MALE	FEMALE UNDER 18	FEMALE 18-30	FEMALE ABOVE 30	TOTAL FEMALE	TOTAL MALE & FEMALE
Alcohol Offense	81	275	64	420	0	0	1	1	421
Drug Offense	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
15 TTC2 (2)-(4)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Burglary - Larceny	5	21	3	29	0	0	0	0	29
Violent Crimes	9	31	16	56	0	2	0	2	58
Vandalism	0	11	1	12	0	0	0	0	12
Trespass	2	2	0	4	0	0	0	0	4
Disturbing the Peace	2	15	4	21	0	0	0	0	21
Cheating	0	2	1	3	0	0	0	0	3
Poss. of Explosive	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Criminal Libel	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Forgery	0	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	2
Unlawful Poss. Firearms	0	9	1	10	0	0	0	0	10
Counterfeit	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Arson	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Gambling	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Embezzlement	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Conspiracy	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Contempt of Courts	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

\*NOTE: No Data Available for all of 1972 and 1973.

No Data Available for Jan., Feb., March, and Nov. 1974.

No Data Available for Feb. through Dec. 1975.

TABLE XXV

ARREST SUMMARY BY AGE, SEX AND DISTRICT  
1972 - 1975

YAP	MALE UNDER 18	MALE 18-30	MALE ABOVE 30	TOTAL MALE	FEMALE UNDER 18	FEMALE 18-30	FEMALE ABOVE 30	TOTAL FEMALE	TOTAL MALE & FEMALE
Alcohol Offense	17	61	12	90	1	1	2	3	94
Drug Offense	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
15 TIC2 (2)-(4)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Burglary - Larceny	16	31	2	49	0	0	0	0	49
Violent Crimes	6	58	0	64	0	0	0	0	64
Vandalism	2	9	0	11	0	0	0	0	11
Trespass	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
Disturbing the Peace	3	24	0	27	0	0	0	0	27
Cheating	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Poss. of Explosive	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Criminal Libel	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Forgery	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Unlawful Poss. Firearms	0	3	1	4	0	0	1	1	5
Counterfeit	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Arson	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Gambling	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Embezzlement	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Conspiracy	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Contempt of Courts	8	40	5	53	0	1	3	4	56

\*NOTE: No Data Available for Feb., April, June, October, and December, 1972.

No Data Available for April, July, August, September, November, and Dec., 1974.

No Data Available for May, October 1973.

No Data Available for Jan., Feb., March, April, May, June, July, Aug., Sept., and Nov. 1975.

APPENDIX A

AVERAGE NUMBER STUDENTS IN 8TH GRADE WHO DO NOT STAY IN SCHOOL

TO GRADUATE FROM HIGH SCHOOL FOR T.T. AND BY DISTRICTS

Average Rounded to Nearest whole #

DISTRICTS	TOTAL 8TH GRADERS FOR H.S. CLASSES 1972-75	GRADUATES FROM HIGH SCHOOL CLASSES 1972-75	# STUDENTS LEAVING SCHOOL 1972-75	AVERAGE # LEAVING PER YEAR 1972-75	AVERAGE # HIGH SCHOOL GRADS PER YEAR 1972-1975	TOTAL AVERAGE # GRADS AND EARLY LEAVERS
MARIANAS	1506	796	710	178	199	377
MARSHALLS	2539	904	1635	409	226	635
PALAU	1719	936	783	196	234	430
PONAPE	2784	814	1970	493	204	697
TRUK	2730	941	1789	447	235	165
YAP	660	347	313	78	87	165
TOTALS	11938	4138	7200	1801	1185	2986

Does not include Micronesian students enrolled out of Trust Territory.

Does include expatriate students not likely to enter job market.

APPENDIX B

NO. GOVERNMENT JOBS AVAILABLE BY DISTRICT ANNOUNCED BY HEADQUARTERS PERSONNEL  
FOR EACH DISTRICT AND BY EACH PERSONNEL DEPARTMENT 1972 - 1975  
PAY LEVEL 16 AND BELOW (PREVIOUSLY P/L 22)

	1972 DIST. AN- NOUNCEMENT	1972 HQ	1972 TOTAL	1973 DIST.	1973 HQ.	1973 TOTAL	1974 DIST.	1974 HQ.	1974 TOTAL	1975 DIST.	1975 HQ.	1975 TOTAL
MARIANAS' (1975 ONLY)	N.D.*	157	?	N.D.	254	?	N.D.	249	?	52	107	159
MARSHALLS	53	9	62	47	36	83	58	10	68	53	9	62
PALAU	24	7	31	36	29	65	99	30	79	37	10	47
PONAPE	41	11	52	60	37	97	75	14	89	41	9	50
TRUK	65	4	69	85	16	101	179	6	185	61	8	69
YAP	20	3	23	22	15	37	43	5	48	21	3	24
	DISTRICT TOTAL 1972	HQ 4 yrs -1975	TOTAL	DISTRICT AVERAGE PER YEAR	HQ AVERAGE PER YEAR	TOTAL AVERAGE PER YR.	*N.D. = No Data					
MARIANAS	N.D.											
MARSHALLS	210	64	274	53	16	69						
PALAU	146	76	222	37	19	56						
PONAPE	217	71	288	54	18	72						
TRUK	390	34	424	98	9	106						
YAP	106	26	132	27	7	33						
TOTALS												

APPENDIX C  
QUESTIONNAIRE  
JOB TITLES

Introduction: On this page there are several kinds of jobs listed. Please ask yourself this question: "If I could pick the job I wanted most to have, what job listed below would it be?"

When you decide what job you would like to have the MOST, put a #1 in front of that job title listed below to tell us your first choice. Then put a #2 in front of the job you would like to have as second choice.

After you finish picking your first job choice and your second job choice, reread the list one more time and pick out the job that you LEAST want to have and put a #9 in front of that job title (the job you really don't like at all).

\*\*\* When you are finished marking your choices on this page, there should only be three (3) numbers on the page: #1, #2, and #9.

- \_\_\_\_\_ FARMER - HOME WORKER  
    raise chickens, pigs, gather eggs, grow coconuts, make copra, grow vegetable, taro, bananas, breadfruit
- \_\_\_\_\_ HANDICRAFT WORKER  
    cut pandanus, weave things from local materials, make wood carvings, shell necklaces.
- \_\_\_\_\_ SELF EMPLOYED  
    own a small store or sell gasoline, operate a car or motorboat for rent, catch fish for family and to sell.
- \_\_\_\_\_ MECHANIC  
    fix outboard motors, car engines, machinery, airplane engines.
- \_\_\_\_\_ OFFICE WORKER  
    use adding machine, typewriter, calculator, mimeograph machine, xerox, dictaphone and transcriber.
- \_\_\_\_\_ HOTEL WORKER  
    waiter, waitress, hotel maid or janitor, restaurant cook, dishwasher
- \_\_\_\_\_ NURSE OR HEALTH AIDE
- \_\_\_\_\_ LEGISLATOR OR LAWYER
- \_\_\_\_\_ DOCTOR OR DENTIST
- \_\_\_\_\_ SCHOOL TEACHER
- \_\_\_\_\_ SALESMAN  
    work in food store, sell cars or radios, or clothes.
- \_\_\_\_\_ CARPENTER OR BOAT BUILDER
- \_\_\_\_\_ CONSTRUCTION WORKER - STEVEDORE ON THE BOAT DOCK
- \_\_\_\_\_ ENGINEER
- \_\_\_\_\_ TRUCK DRIVER- HEAVY EQUIPMENT OPERATOR

APPENDIX D

TRUST TERRITORY OF THE PACIFIC ISLANDS  
1970 - 1975 SIX YEAR TOTAL WORK PERMITS ISSUED BY JOB CLASSIFICATION AND DISTRICT

Occupational Title, Listed Alphabetically:	Marianas	Marshalls	Palau	Ponape	Truk	Yap	Totals
1. Accountant	79	8	9	12	9	4	121
2. Acting Master	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
3. Adjuster	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
4. Administrator	0	0	0	1	0	2	3
5. Advisor Liaison Man	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
6. Aerial Survey Consultant	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
7. Agriculture Technician	24	0	4	0	0	0	28
8. Animal Husbandry	4	0	0	0	0	0	4
9. Appliance Repairman	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
10. Architect	21	0	4	5	0	1	31
11. Architect Cartographer	4	0	0	0	0	0	4
12. Artificial Inseminator	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
13. Assistant Cofffe Shop Manager	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
14. Assistant Manager	14	1	1	1	2	0	19
15. Assistant Manager Accountant	1	0	1	0	0	0	2
16. Aquamarine Specialist	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
17. Asphaltic Concrete Finisher	4	0	0	1	0	0	5
18. Attorney	19	0	4	2	0	1	26
19. Auditor	2	0	0	0	0	0	2
20. Auto Parts Clerk	2	0	0	0	0	0	2
21. Baker	5	2	0	0	0	0	7
22. Banker	11	1	0	0	0	1	13
23. Bar Manager	0	2	0	0	0	0	2
24. Beautician	13	0	0	0	0	0	13
25. Blaster	1	1	0	0	0	0	2
26. Boat Desinger	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
27. Boat Engineer	0	0	0	0	3	0	3
28. Boat Swain	0	0	2	0	0	0	2
29. Body Fender Man	6	0	8	0	0	0	14
30. Boiler Operator	5	0	2	0	0	0	7



TRUST TERRITORY OF THE PACIFIC ISLANDS  
1970 - 1975 SIX YEAR TOTAL WORK PERMITS ISSUED BY JOB CLASSIFICATION AND DISTRICT

Occupational Title, Listed Alphabetically:	Marianas	Marshalls	Palau	Ponape	Truk	Yap	Totals
31. Book Keeper	0	1	1	0	3	0	5
32. Bus Driver	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
33. Business Advisor	0	2	0	0	1	1	4
34. Business Manager	1	0	1	1	0	0	3
35. Butcher	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
36. Captain	1	0	2	1	0	1	5
37. Carpenter	563	42	81	66	8	18	778
38. Cashier	11	0	0	0	0	0	11
39. Cement Finisher	1	1	0	0	0	0	2
40. Chief Executive	0	1	0	0	0	1	2
41. Chief Mate	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
42. Claim Officer	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
43. Clerk	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
44. Concrete Worker	0	0	12	3	0	0	15
45. Costomologist	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
46. Construction Labor	14	0	7	1	2	1	25
47. Construction Supervisor	4	1	1	0	1	1	8
48. Construction Foreman	2	2	1	0	0	0	5
49. Consultant	19	3	2	2	0	1	27
50. Consulting Safety Officer	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
51. Controller	3	1	0	1	0	0	5
52. Cook	82	6	2	3	2	1	96
53. Coordinator	3	0	0	3	1	0	7
54. Craftswoman	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
55. Dairy Herdsman	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
56. Dairy Specialist	3	0	0	0	0	0	3
57. Dark Room Specialist	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
58. Dental Hygienist	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
59. Dentist	1	1	0	0	0	0	2
60. Dining Room Hostess	1	1	0	0	0	0	2

TRUST TERRITORY OF THE PACIFIC ISLANDS  
1970 - 1975 SIX YEAR TOTAL WORK PERMITS ISSUED BY JOB CLASSIFICATION AND DISTRICT

Occupational Title, Listed Alphabetically:		Marianas	Marshalls	Palau	Ponape	Truk	Yap	Totals
61.	Director	1	0	1	0	0	0	2
62.	Directing Manager	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
63.	Diver	0	2	0	0	0	0	2
64.	Draftsman	5	0	0	0	0	0	5
65.	Driller	1	2	0	0	0	0	3
66.	Ductman	2	0	0	0	0	0	2
67.	Editor	1	0	1	0	0	0	2
68.	Electrical Engineer	3	0	2	0	0	0	5
69.	Electrical Instructor	0	0	0	16	0	0	16
70.	Electrical Mechanic	2	0	0	0	0	0	2
71.	Electrician	111	28	20	0	8	8	175
72.	Engineer	112	18	27	15	16	14	202
73.	Entertainer	120	6	2	10	0	0	138
74.	Equipment Installer	1	0	0	0	0	1	2
75.	Estimator	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
76.	Expediter	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
77.	Farmer	105	0	8	0	0	0	113
78.	Field Lab Technician	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
79.	First Aid Specialist	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
80.	Fisherman	43	15	381	0	81	0	520
81.	Fish Pond Specialist	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
82.	Fleet Manager	0	0	2	0	0	0	2
83.	Florist	2	0	0	0	0	0	2
84.	Foreman	12	2	2	2	0	0	18
85.	Furniture Repair Specialist	5	0	0	0	0	0	5
86.	Gas Attendant	2	0	0	0	0	0	2
87.	General Maintenance	2	1	0	0	2	0	5
88.	General Manger	5	1	0	0	2	0	8
89.	Goldsmith	2	0	0	0	0	0	2
90.	Graphic Designer	1	0	0	0	0	0	1

TRUST TERRITORY OF THE PACIFIC ISLANDS  
1970 - 1975 SIX YEAR TOTAL WORK PERMITS ISSUED BY JOB CLASSIFICATION AND DISTRICT

	Occupational Title, Listed Alphabetically	Marianas	Marshalls	Palau	Ponape	Truk	Yap	Totals
	91. Handicrafts Specialist	3	0	0	0	0	0	3
	92. Hardware Specialist	4	2	0	0	0	0	6
	93. Headstart	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
	94. Heavy Equipment Operator	99	98	22	16	7	11	253
	95. Home Art Teacher	4	0	0	0	0	0	4
	96. Hotel Manager	3	0	2	1	5	0	11
	97. Horse Trainer	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
	98. Instructor Masonry	0	0	0	2	0	0	2
	99. Instrument Man	15	0	2	0	0	0	17
	100. Iron Worker	0	3	0	0	0	0	3
	101. Itinerary Specialist	2	0	0	0	0	0	2
	102. Journalist	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
	103. Journeyman	8	0	0	0	0	0	8
86	104. Landscaper	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
	105. Leadman	3	0	0	0	0	0	3
	106. Live-in-Maid	58	0	1	0	0	0	59
	107. Lobster Specialist	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
	108. M-Boat Operator	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
	109. Machinist	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
	110. Maid	111	1	4	0	2	0	118
	111. Manager	116	48	18	13	15	2	212
	112. Maintenance	0	0	0	5	0	0	5
	113. Marine Officer	2	0	1	0	0	0	3
	114. Mason	258	35	55	18	4	4	374
	115. Master	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
	116. Mechanic	85	29	33	15	9	5	176
	117. Micro Film Technician	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
	118. Minister	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
	119. Movie Technician	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
	120. Music Teacher	1	0	0	0	0	0	1

TRUST TERRITORY OF THE PACIFIC ISLANDS  
1970 - 1975 SIX YEAR TOTAL WORK PERMITS ISSUED BY JOB CLASSIFICATION AND DISTRICT

Occupational Title, Listed Alphabetically:		Marianas	Marshalls	Palau	Ponape	Truk	Yap	Totals
121.	Musician	5	0	0	0	0	0	5
122.	Office Worker	30	2	7	0	2	0	41
123.	Oiler	0	0	3	0	1	0	4
124.	Painter	76	4	13	5	2	0	100
125.	Passenger Div. Manager	1	1	0	0	0	0	2
126.	Photogrametist	1	0	5	0	0	0	6
127.	Photographer	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
128.	Pilot	0	2	3	2	0	0	7
129.	Pipe Fitter	12	0	0	3	2	0	17
130.	Pipe Layer	0	1	12	0	0	0	13
131.	Pipeing Supervisor	0	0	1	0	11	0	12
132.	Plaster	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
133.	Plumber	0	18	1	10	0	2	31
134.	Powderman	1	0	0	0	0	1	2
135.	Printer	0	0	3	0	0	1	4
136.	Project Manager	9	1	3	1	2	1	17
137.	Purchasing Representative	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
138.	Radio Technician	3	0	0	0	0	0	3
139.	Radiation Specialist	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
140.	Ranch Management	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
141.	Receptionist	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
142.	Refrigeration & Air Condition Spec.	2	2	2	0	2	0	8
143.	Regional Service Manager	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
144.	Reporter	0	0	6	0	0	0	6
145.	Restaurant Manager	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
146.	Rigger	2	2	6	0	0	0	10
147.	Rodman	3	0	0	0	0	2	5
148.	Salesclerk	6	0	0	0	0	0	6
149.	Salesgirl	2	0	0	0	0	0	2
150.	Salesman	1	0	0	0	0	0	1

TRUST TERRITORY OF THE PACIFIC ISLANDS  
1970 - 1975 SIX YEAR TOTAL WORK PERMITS ISSUED BY JOB CLASSIFICATION AND DISTRICT

Occupational Title, Listed Alphabetically:		Marianas	Marshalls	Palau	Ponape	Truk	Yap	Totals
151.	Sales Manager	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
152.	Sand Blaster	0	0	0	2	0	3	5
153.	Seaman	0	4	8	0	0	0	12
154.	Seamstress	48	0	8	0	0	0	56
155.	Second Mate	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
156.	Secretary	2	0	0	0	1	0	3
157.	Security Officer	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
158.	Service Station Manager	1	0	4	0	0	0	5
159.	Sheet Metal Man	17	0	0	0	0	1	18
160.	Shift Supervisor	3	0	0	0	0	0	3
161.	Soil Conservationist	4	0	0	0	0	0	4
162.	Steel Worker	73	13	20	6	2	3	117
163.	Stevedore Superintendent	2	0	0	0	0	0	2
164.	Stock Controller	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
165.	Store Keeper	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
166.	Superintendent	2	0	0	0	1	0	2
167.	Supervisor	31	3	2	2	1	2	41
168.	Supervisor Maintenance	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
169.	Supplier	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
170.	Surveyor	36	5	10	12	3	6	72
171.	Switch Board Operator	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
172.	Jailor	5	0	0	0	0	0	5
173.	Teacher	19	9	11	4	0	3	46
174.	Technician	11	0	1	3	0	0	15
175.	Telephone Technician	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
176.	Telephone Cable Splicer	2	0	0	0	0	0	2
177.	Ticket Agent	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
178.	Tire Repairman	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
179.	Tour Guide	3	0	0	0	0	0	3
180.	Truck Driver	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
181.	Traffic Operator	2	0	0	0	0	0	2
182.	Turbine Operator	2	0	0	0	0	0	2
183.	Utility Foreman	1	0	0	0	0	0	1

TRUST TERRITORY OF THE PACIFIC ISLANDS  
1970 - 1975 SIX YEAR TOTAL WORK PERMITS ISSUED BY JOB CLASSIFICATION AND DISTRICT

Occupational Title, Listed Alphabetically:		Marianas	Marshalls	Palau	Ponape	Truk	Yap	Totals
184.	Upholsterer	3	0	1	0	0	0	4
185.	Waiter	24	0	2	0	0	0	26
186.	Waitress	111	4	0	0	0	6	121
187.	Warehouseman	3	1	4	1	0	2	11
188.	Watchman	1	0	0	0	0	1	2
189.	Watch Repairman	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
190.	Welder	33	5	17	18	0	17	90
191.	Well Digger	4	0	0	0	2	0	6
192.	Wood Lathe Operator	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
193.	X-ray Technican	0	2	0	2	0	0	4
TOTALS		2,869	471	893	290	221	132	4,877

## APPENDIX E

### EFFORTS ON BEHALF OF YOUTH IN MICRONESIA

It will be of general interest and of considerable value to delineate the Status of Youth Development in Micronesia at this time. In order to do this, we look into the recent past (1972-76), at the current situation.<sup>1</sup>

The essential task is that of utilizing existing resources more effectively within a coordinated services system aimed at delinquency prevention through youth development programs.

#### Delinquency Prevention System Building - Process to the Present Time.

The Headquarters Division of Community Development (and SPA) in March 1973 initiated with existing staff a program to assist the Trust Territory districts organize community-based youth services systems utilizing funds under the Juvenile Delinquency and Control Act (HEW). An annual grant of \$25,000 for the years 1972-75 had been used to organize Youth Services Commissions in three districts (Palau, Yap, and Truk) identified as having the greatest youth delinquency problems, particularly in regard to alcohol abuse. It is summarized as follows:

#### Palau District

- Established Youth Services Commission and Youth Services Coordinator position by act of local legislature in Fall of 1973.
- New Youth Coordinator received 3 months intensive training by the Honolulu YMCA.
- District Legislature appropriated support funds totalling \$14,000 for 1974-75 and \$15,000 for 1975-76.

#### Yap District

- Established Youth Services Board with Youth Coordinator position by act of district legislature in June, 1973.
- Employed a Youth Services Coordinator in 1974-75.
- The legislature appropriated \$4,000 in 1974-75 to support the Board and the district government matched this with over \$5,000 toward staff pay. The District Legislature appropriated \$20,000 for the Youth Commission (Board) for 1975-76.

#### Truk District

- District Legislature enacted a law to create the Truk Youth Services Commission and Youth Services Coordinator position. An initial \$18,000 support appropriation in May 1975, was made. Appropriated \$18,000 again for 1975-76.
- The Honolulu YMCA provided 3-months training to the newly hired Administrator.
- For four summers, YMCA youth workers demonstrated day camp projects for youngsters and trained local volunteers.

<sup>1</sup> This Appendix is a statement of facts about existing programs, services and activities, governmental and non-governmental, as completed by the Youth Services Staff, Headquarters Community Development, and was not written by the research consultant.

## Marshall District

- District Nitijela (Legislature) enacted a law to create the Marshall Youth Commission, to begin July 1, 1976, and appropriated \$20,000 for its purposes and programs.
- Youth Commission assisted summer projects for youth in 1976.
- The Commission has employed a Youth Services Director based in Majuro, and a Deputy Director on Ebeye and our Office has assisted them with training, for both the staff members and the Youth Commission members.

## Direct Services

Direct preventive service programs for youth at the present time are largely sports competitions and Boy and Girl Scouting. The Department of Health Services has initiated counseling and rehabilitation projects in an effort to find suitable models for dealing with youth alcoholism.

### A. Sports

Each district organizes baseball, volleyball or track and field competition on an irregular basis using volunteer organizers supported by financial assistance from the local legislature. These activities usually are in conjunction with key holidays although various leagues spring up from time to time depending on the availability of a spirited community member to provide the leadership necessary to initiate a sports activity. On-going training for sports, and continuing organized sports leagues has been strongly encouraged.

### B. Scouting

The Aloha Council, Boy Scouts of America, of Honolulu have provided organizational technical assistance and training to potential scout leaders in four of the six districts for the past several years. About 5,000 youngsters are currently registered Boy Scouts; however, the number of active participants are probably half that amount due to difficulties in maintaining troop leaders with adequate skills.

The organization of Girl Scouts is similar and the Girl Scouts, U.S.A., since 1968 have provided training and technical assistance to all six districts. An estimated 2,000 girls are organized in cadette and senior level troops.

### C. Alcohol Abuse Control

Counseling services for youth with alcohol abuse problems are developing through the Division of Mental Health and supported mainly by funds under the Alcohol and Narcotic Rehabilitation Act. The program operates as part of the district Health Services Department and treats clients of all ages. Isolated pilot projects utilizing peer group counseling and Outward Bound group activities are being tested in two districts as potentially useful youth rehabilitation strategies. Also being introduced for the first time are breathalizers for use by district police for determining intoxication.

The 1975 State Plan on Alcohol and Drug Abuse for the Trust Territory summarized the objectives and activities in the plan by the following chart:

Objectives and related proposed activities.



Objectives	Activities
1. Reduced number of medical patients	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Help to establish comprehensive rehabilitation programming for the patients and their families.</li> <li>2. Help to provide in-service training for medical personnel to ensure appropriate treatment and follow-up for the patients. Included in such training should be comprehensive instruction to physicians and nurses concerning the proper use and monitoring of dependency producing medicines, i.e., controlled substances, whenever such medicines are prescribed as a part of any patient's treatment.</li> </ol>
2. Reduced number of persons arrested.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Help to establish comprehensive rehabilitation programming for the persons arrested and their families.</li> <li>2. Help to provide in-service training for judges, public defenders, district attorneys and law enforcement personnel to ensure the most therapeutic management of the person arrested.</li> <li>3. Help to develop new or improved laws concerning the distribution and consumption of alcohol and other drugs.</li> <li>4. Help to reduce the community's resistance to the enforcement of established laws governing the distribution and consumption of alcohol and other drugs.</li> <li>5. Encourage communities to meet full responsibility for socially disruptive behavior associated with substance abuse to the person(s) involved.</li> </ol>
3. Reduced number of persons with impaired functioning	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Help to establish comprehensive rehabilitation programming for the families.</li> <li>2. Help to provide in-service training for educators, employers, clergy, youth leaders, and village chiefs to increase the opportunity for the impaired person and the family to experience a therapeutic relationship with the community through daily contact with significant others.</li> </ol>
4. To deter people from substance abuse.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Help to design and implement alcohol and drug abuse education programming throughout Micronesia.</li> </ol>

2. Help to monitor the distribution of controlled substances.
3. Help to devise appropriate legislation concerning the distribution and consumption of alcohol and other drug substances.
4. Help to establish diversionary programs identifying and offering meaningful alternatives to substance abuse.

### Annual Federal Grants

Mention has been made of grants from the U. S. Department of Health Education and Welfare, which were available for several years, but cut off at the end of Fiscal Year 1974. Since then, other grants have become available, and have had significant impact on the Trust Territory. We describe these briefly, because they are in place and available annually.

### Youth Conservation Corps Program

Youth Conservation Corps Program has become a permanent program in the Trust Territory. In 1976 Headquarters Division of Community Development received a \$70,000 grant allotment from the Federal Government, and with this level of funding, a Territorywide program was initiated for the first time. The objectives of this program are as follows:

1. To employ youth during summer vacation.
2. To provide working experiences.
3. To make youth aware of ecology and the environment.

During the Summer of 1976, there were fifteen projects in the Trust Territory. Ages of employees involved in this particular program ranging from 15-18. As of December 28, 1976 there were 16 proposed projects for Summer of 1977, and numbers of youth to participate is expected to reach approximately 200.

### Young Adult Conservation Corps

We anticipate that sometime during FY 1977 we will receive notice of legislation establishing the Young Adult Conservation Corps as Title II of the YCC Act.

This will provide a similar program to YCC, but will be for persons between ages 19 and 23 inclusive, and will be on a year-round basis. This will enable the Trust Territory to involve hundreds of young adults, now unemployed, to be gainfully occupied and to receive training for other future employment.

### Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act of 1974 (Law Enforcement Assistance Administration.)

The LEAA of the United States Department of Justice provides opportunity for an annual grant currently set at \$50,000, which funds the Youth Services Branch of the HQ Community Development Division. Primarily for work in the field of juvenile justice and delinquency prevention. The intent is to improve the manner in which juveniles are handled when apprehended, as well as to encourage wholesome diversionary activities in an effort to help to keep youth out of trouble. The Youth Services staff is currently made up of Gerald L. Heyl, Youth Services Administrator, a retired YMCA Director who is on a two-year contract to end in May of 1978;

Wilton J. Mackwelung, a Public Services Management Trainee as Deputy Youth Services Administrator; with Trinidad T. Berdon providing secretarial and clerical support as the Clerk-Typist in the office.

Recommendation has been made to the Congress of Micronesia, through the President of the Senate and Speaker of the House, that a Trust Territory Youth Commission and Office wiht staff be funded by appropriation annually from the Congress of Micronesia, so that continuity would be assured.

Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968, as Amended.

The Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, as of August 1976, has been included in the total Crime Control Act of 1968. The purpose of this Act is to assist the Trust Territory Government in strengthening and improving law enforcement and criminal justice at every level by federal assistance. The Act enables the Trust Territory to:

- (1) Establish a limited term justice system improvement planning agency, manned by specialists to assist district and Trust Territory police, courts, corrections and delinquency prevention agencies to upgrade their capability before termination of the Trusteeship.
- (2) Provide direct project grants to justice system operating agencies to carry out improvements and guide the development of these projects.
- (3) Conduct research and demonstration projects to provide a reality base for development goals.

Planning Grant	(Part B)	\$275,000
Action Projects	(Part C)	178,000
Action Projects	(Part E —Corrections)	20,000
Juvenile Justice & Delinquency Prevention.		<u>50,000</u>
		\$523,000
State supplemental projects		<u>174,000</u>
		\$697,000

## APPENDIX F

### TRUST TERRITORY YOUTH DEVELOPMENT RESEARCH PROJECT

Funded by the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration of the United States Department of Justice pursuant to the Crime Control Act of 1968, as amended.

#### Police Chief Interview Form

1. Compared to the other aspects of Police work, how serious is juvenile delinquency in this District?
2. If there are other problems in this District more serious than juvenile delinquency, please list them:
  1. \_\_\_\_\_
  2. \_\_\_\_\_
  3. \_\_\_\_\_
3. See attached
4. From the above list what are the three most serious causes of juvenile delinquency?  
First \_\_\_\_\_  
Second \_\_\_\_\_  
Third \_\_\_\_\_
5. Do you have one or more officers assigned primarily to handle juvenile cases?
  - A. If yes, has this person (s) had any special training?
  - B. If yes, what kind of training? Where? For how long? How long ago? Who gave the training?
6. Does your office have a written set of guidelines or a procedural manual for handling juvenile cases?
  - A. If yes, may I have a copy?
  - B. If you do not have a procedural manual for handling juvenile cases, would one be helpful to you?

- C. If it would be helpful, how would it help?
7. When they are arrested, do most young people ask to have a lawyer present?
- A. If yes, how do they contact the lawyer and when?
- B. If not, why do you think they do not ask for a lawyer?
- C. If they do not ask for a lawyer, does someone give them advice to call a lawyer?  
Who would do this?
8. What facilities are used for detaining juvenile offenders temporarily after an arrest? Are these the same facilities used for adults?
9. What facilities are used for detaining juvenile offenders for longer periods of time, either pending trial or for other reasons? Are these facilities also used by adults?
10. Are there separate facilities for female juveniles?
11. Are juveniles required to perform any kind of work while being temporarily detained?
12. What are the visiting rules for juveniles being temporarily detained?
13. When juveniles are arrested, are they photographed, fingerprinted, and/or booked?
14. Is a permanent record made of all arrests? If yes, what information is on the arrest sheet? Is the arrest sheet a standard form? May I have a blank copy?
15. Are there any female police employees, either uniformed officers, detectives, or civilians who have contact with female juveniles during or immediately after an arrest? If so, please give the numbers, titles, training, and types of contact such female employees have with female detainees.
16. What should be done in your District to improve your present system of handling young people who get into trouble after they get into trouble?
17. What could be done in this District to prevent young people from getting into trouble?

(attachment)

3. Listed below are some possible reasons why young people might become juvenile delinquents in this District. Please read the whole list. Then, after you have read the list, please mark an "x" in the box at the right indicating if the reason is important, minor, or not really a reason. If you are not sure, please mark the "NO Opinion" box.

	a	b	c	d
	Important Reason	Minor Reason	Not a Reason	No Opinion
1. There are not enough activities in the Dist. Center to keep young people busy doing good things.				
2. They need money to buy the things they want but cannot afford.				
3. Too many young people drop out of school and do not do anything else.				
4. Their parents do not control them enough.				
5. It is too easy to get alcoholic beverages.				
6. Many young people just like to cause trouble.				
7. There are not enough jobs.				
8. They know they will not get punished by the courts.				
9. Many young people are neglected by their parents or older relatives.				
10. Young people from other municipalities or islands or Districts do not know how to behave properly here on this island.				
11. Young people do not have proper respect for their parents or families.				
12. Other (Please write)				

## APPENDIX G

### SUMMARY OF POLICE CHIEFS (AND OTHER POLICE OFFICERS) RESPONSES TO JUVENILE JUSTICE QUESTIONNAIRE

All Police Chiefs except one were contacted for a formal interview. The Police Chief in Truk became ill after an initial informal discussion with the author and was not available for a formal interview session. In Palau the Chief of Police turned the task of responding to the questionnaire over to his Special Assistant (a temporary assistant from Public Safety Headquarters in Saipan) a Captain, and the Lieutenant designated as Juvenile Officer. In Saipan the Chief invited into the discussion two Captains, one Lieutenant, a Sergeant from Saipan who is the Juvenile Officer and a Sergeant from Tinian. In addition the Officer-In-Charge of the Ebeye Police Detachment was interviewed formally but the standard interview form was not used during this interview. All interview forms had been forwarded in advance by the Attorney General's office but in two districts (Ponape and Majuro) the forms had not been delivered. In Ponape the Chief elected to study the questionnaire form and have the interviewer return the next day to complete the interview.

During the interview process it was found that some questions were not very helpful and they were dropped. Other questions were sometimes added during the interviews so that while the interviews are fairly standardized, they are not identical.

Some statements which might cause embarrassment if the speaker were identified have been included without attribution to a specific respondent. But because many of the answers are specific to each district, non-controversial statements are identified by District.

The critical comments which might be embarrassing are presented anonymously first:

- \* One officer said that a Community Court Judge who handles juvenile cases does not conduct himself professionally in court and the young people have no respect for the court.
- \* The Chief of Police being a person of a very high social status traditionally can mean that subordinates are intimidated from expressing themselves freely to the Chief.
- \* One Police Chief had to hire a Micronesian Occupational Center graduate mechanic as a uniformed officer to get his police cars serviced. He felt the District Public Works service to police vehicles unsatisfactory.
- \* One Police Chief admitted that he would lock up juveniles for up to seven days "for their own protection" if requested by a parent, even though the child was not alleged to have committed any offense under the T.T. code.
- \* One Chief noted that some prisoners had been in jail in this district for up to seven months without trial or conviction and without posting bail.
- \* Even though high local officials and traditional leaders in one district may state publicly (as they had to the author) that they are in favor of severe punishment, when it comes to their own sons they do not want their sons severely punished.
- \* One Police Chief admitted that his officers often get drunk and disorderly off duty.
- \* One Chief noted that his department's morale suffers both because of the delay (often up to one year) between the arrest and the time of trial and because of the excessive leniency in sentencing.



- \* One Chief admitted that he does not enforce the letter of the drinking permit law: he has instructed his officers to only request permits of bar patrons who are not clearly over 21 years old.
- \* Another Chief admitted that he does not enforce the drinking permit law at all since he felt it was the responsibility of the Alcoholic Beverage Control Board to enforce the law. The author was provided with a copy of the District Alcoholic Beverage Control Act. The Act does not specify enforcement procedures but does create an Alcoholic Beverage Control enforcement Fund and funds it at \$500 per year. The District Administrator is authorized by the Act to spend money from this fund "for the specific purposes".
- \* One officer was critical of the school system which he alleged automatically expelled a high school student for three unexcused absences. This officer felt that the high school should have more counsellors who could keep in touch with the families of truant children to help solve family problems. This officer felt that the key problems were family problems and that the schools increased the problems for the police by this policy of automatic expulsions. (It is interesting to note that the Principal of the District High School had made a similar recommendation a few days earlier that adequate counselling services be provided at the High School to work with the families of truant students.)
- \* One Chief noted that his Department does not arrest for violation of District curfew laws but instead the officers take the offender home to his/her parents and issues a verbal warning to the parents.

All Police Chief and officers interviewed saw juvenile delinquency as either "serious" or "very serious". The mildest response was from the Chief of Police in Yap who said that "juvenile delinquency is getting to be serious in Yap." In Palau the Chief stated that juvenile delinquency is the single biggest police problem. The Officer-in-Charge in Ebeye felt juvenile delinquency was very serious and the Chief in Ponape noted that serious problems with larceny exist from age 13 to age 25. In Majuro the social pressures that are causing the current high suicide incidence and abuse of alcoholic beverages by minors and adults were listed as problems more serious than juvenile delinquency although the Chief stated that 90% of all apprehensions are of juveniles.

There was no formal open-ended question concerning the causes of juvenile delinquency in the questionnaire. However, the interview dynamic sometimes led to this kind of discussion. Also, there was a structured question which presented 11 possible causes of juvenile delinquency and the respondents were asked to rate the possible cause as being (a) important; (b) minor; (c) not valid; or they might elect to offer no opinion. There were a total of twelve officers answering the question.

Half of the respondents were from one District (now the Northern Mariana Islands) and all questions except one were answered unanimously by this group. It is possible that in private sessions the officers would have individually answered differently but in the group one answer was selected by the whole group. Subsequent discussion added emphasis that lack of family control and use, abuse of alcoholic beverages are very important "causes"<sup>1</sup> of juvenile delinquency. Also, there was near unanimous consent that court sentencing is too lenient. In the one instance where the Chief marked "They (the young people) know they will not get punished by the courts" as not a cause of juvenile delinquency, he added that the reason was that the young people do not stop to think about the court policy when they

<sup>1</sup> "Causes" is in quotations because the author feels that abuse of alcoholic beverages is a result of social problems rather than a cause.

commit a crime. In another part of the interview he was in fact very critical of the lenient court sentencing policy. Item No. 9, neglect by parents or older relatives, has six answers as "not a reason" why young people might become juvenile delinquents because the Saipan officers answered as a bloc. Other responses were more in keeping with the subsequent emphasis by the Northern Marianas group in discussions on family problems as a major cause of juvenile delinquency.

In fact, at the very beginning of the interview with the six Northern Marianas officers, before any formal questions were asked, the Chief noted that in his opinion the most important question of all was not on the form. The question was, in his words, "What are the causes of juvenile delinquency?" His own answer was that the principal cause (emphasized in the discussion) was lack of parental control. The author asked what is the reason for lack of parental control and a Captain responded that it is the fault of the government which "provides nothing to balance off with parents the changes in the kids." In other words, the general social situation is creating a new generation which is not living in the same reality for their children. This Captain, while recognizing the key role played by the education system in separating the youth from the adults, specifically felt that it is the collective responsibility of the society, not just the education department, to try to reach the parents.

Most of the respondents were asked to list the top three causes in rank order after they completed the structured question concerning possible reasons for juvenile delinquency. In Ponape the Chief responded that the first most important cause of juvenile delinquency in Ponape was that there were not enough activities in the District Center to keep young people busy. He saw the second most important cause as being the lack of parental control and then added, "I really blame the parents." The third item to selected was closely related: he felt that many young people are neglected by their parents who seem not to care much and who are often out at night drinking (fathers) or playing bingo (mothers). (He recommended the setting up of family programs and activities rather than just "youth" oriented problems as a solution.)

There was no agreement among the three Palau respondents on first, second, or third rank causes. Family problems, however, were predominant.

The responses were:

First most important causes numbers 1, 5 and 11;

Second most important causes -- numbers 2 and 4 (4 twice)

Third most important causes -- 2, 5, and 9.

One specific comment made was that youth are in a sense "absentee". They are sent to the District Center by their parents for school. They often stay with relatives who are not close enough to be able to control them or to really care about them. Sometimes they do not get enough food in these "foster" homes and end up stealing food from neighboring houses. (It was stated that in Palau young people do not ask adults for food but wait until they are invited to eat.) The Palauan officers felt the need for a government sponsored program to educate parents on how to control and care for children. The needs for recreation facilities and food access for young people were also mentioned.

The rank order question was not asked of the Yap Police Chief. However, during the interview he was extremely critical of the attitudes of parents. He said, "This whole problem revolves around the immediate family". If a child says he/she is going out, the parents do not question the children about where they are going, what they will be doing, who they will be with or when they will be back. They just say, "O.K." Parents often do not

cooperate with the police while at the same time saying "If the child has done something wrong, you're the police, you do something about it." He noted that the parents were brought up in a different situation and do not understand their children now. There is a lack of communication and large distance between the children and their parents. He felt there should be a program of radio skits which could teach parents how to control their children.

The Chief of Police in Ponape stated that the main problem was negligence on the part of parents. He felt that most parents do not know how to take care of their children. In his opinion it is especially hard for mothers with large families to control their children. He noted that some women play bingo every evening or go to the movies and leave their children alone. He felt that some kind of education program for parents is needed.

After the discussion of the seriousness and causes of juvenile delinquency the questionnaire asked a series of questions about the specific operations of the police departments in each district. In all Districts it was reported that there is one officer with the title Juvenile Officer, though others work on juvenile cases. In Majuro the chief said that most of his investigators are working on juvenile cases (since 90% of all arrests are of juveniles).<sup>2</sup> In all other districts the detectives handle juvenile investigations also. The specific activities which distinguish a juvenile officer from other officers are generally (a) he keeps records of juvenile arrests; (b) meets with the parents of arrested juveniles; and (c) keeps track of petitions going through court. It was reported that training was provided in Saipan for juvenile officers in 1973. The session lasted four weeks. The officers were not trained in working with parents of juvenile offenders. The Ponape Chief felt the training was not adequate. The Special Assistant to the Chief in Palau also felt the same way. This is significant since his primary job is as Training Officer for the Department of Public Safety.

All Chiefs interviewed responded that there is no Trust Territory manual for the handling of juveniles by police. A general need for such a manual was felt in most cases. In Yap, the Chief has for reference a Virginia State Police manual which he considers not very relevant.

There was unanimous agreement in all districts that when arrested most young people do not ask to have a lawyer present. The officers were then asked why they think arrested juveniles do not ask for a lawyer. They were also asked, "If they do not ask for a lawyer, does someone give them advice to call a lawyer? Who would do this?"

In Saipan the response was that the officers had never asked the young people why they did not request a lawyer (note that in Saipan most juvenile arrestees waive their rights for a lawyer.) A Captain felt that the influence of the parents was the main reason. He noted that parents are always present during interrogation. The attitude of the parents was reported to be that if the child did something wrong, he/she should admit it. The children are passive and follow the parents' lead. In very serious cases the Police will call a lawyer for the juvenile, even if the parents have waived the right to counsel.

In Ponape the Chief noted that most juveniles arrested also waive their rights to a lawyer. He felt that they probably do not consider that a lawyer will help them. Most of those arrested admit their guilt.

In Majuro it was reported that most juveniles waive their right to counsel because the Parents prefer to have their children confess. The waivers for lawyers are allowed for some felonies but in the case of "very serious crimes" the police require that a lawyer be present during the interrogation.

---

<sup>2</sup>The Juvenile officers in Saipan and Palau were present during and participated in the interviews.

In Yap as in other districts although most juveniles do not ask to have a lawyer present, the rights are read at the station<sup>3</sup>. The police officers contact a lawyer for those people who request them. The Chief felt that most did not request a lawyer because they were not aware of the magnitude of the offense.

In Palau the officers felt that the reasons young people did not ask for a lawyer were: (1) The young people were timid, afraid, or bashful; and (2) most did not know their rights to counsel before being arrested. Some juveniles waive the right to counsel but in the case of felonies the police insist on lawyers, even if the right is waived.

There are no separate facilities for detaining or incarcerating juveniles in any district. Juveniles are segregated from adult prisoners by holding them in separate detention cells which are either a part of the jail connected to the police station or part of the police station but slightly separated from the jail. This information was received both in answer to a question on the questionnaire and by visual inspection of the facilities. In Yap female juveniles are detained in one of the police office rooms which will be temporarily vacated by the officers using it while the females are detained. Otherwise, there are no separate facilities for females. The author observed that there is no real privacy for female prisoners,, who are placed in the detention cells since they are visually open to males in opposing or adjoining cells.

No juveniles in temporary detention<sup>4</sup> are required to perform any work in any district. All are allowed visits by parents or lawyers at any time.

Juveniles are booked when arrested but not photographed or fingerprinted in five districts. In Saipan they are fingerprinted.

There is one uniformed female police officer in the Trust Territory. She is part of the Palau police force. Her normal assignment is to do clerical and filing work. She does not carry a sidearm as the male officers do. She has special duties to search female prisoners and to interrogate certain parties in rape or incest cases. She is a Police Officer II. She received basic training and Supervisory Training I. She is not willing to go on patrol because she has no female partner. She cannot patrol with a male partner because of cultural considerations concerning her status as a married woman. Though she might be deserving she has no real hope for promotion to sergeant because she has no patrol experience and sergeants must have patrol experience.<sup>5</sup>

In the Marianas the Chief felt that it would be useful to have a matron to search females but that there is not enough police work with females to require a full-time matron or female police officer. In the past there was a matron who did many other kinds of duties including clerical work. If more money were available to hire another officer, he would prefer to hire another male officer to arrest males.

In Ponape the Chief felt that it would be useful to have a female police officer (not necessarily uniformed) for juvenile work. He thought such an officer would not patrol but would be used for investigative duties.

In Majuro the Chief also felt it would be useful to have a female officer for searching females and for detective investigations but that there is not really enough need to justify a female officer. Now a female clerk with no police training searches female prisoners.

<sup>3</sup> All people, adults or juveniles, arrested in all districts are read their rights and sign a form acknowledging that they have had their rights explained to them and understand them. The reading of rights flows from the Miranda decision.

<sup>4</sup> For investigative purposes up to 24 hours.

<sup>5</sup> Job advertisements for police officers in Palau announce for both men and women. The Police Department does not have a recruitment program which sends officers to the various high schools in Palau to invite graduating seniors of either sex to apply.

In Yap the Chief stated that he would like to have a female investigator but that there is not enough work to keep her busy full time (assuming that she would only work on female cases). Now female prisoners are taken to the hospital and searched by nurses with no police training.

The next question was: "What should be done in your District to improve your present system of handling young people who get into trouble after they get into trouble?" The answers were:

- |                 |  |
|-----------------|--|
| Ponape:         | Separate detention facilities and a juvenile correctional facility for second and other repeat offenders. This facility should be on the abandoned Metalanim copra plantation. There are empty buildings which would be used. Mornings should be devoted to classroom education and afternoons to agriculture and livestock raising. In this way the youth would be helping the community at the same time they helped themselves. |
| Mariana Islands | A separate juvenile staff of police officers plus social workers was the expressed need.   |
| Marshalls       | A reformatory school is needed with a trained psychiatrist and social workers according to the Chief. This school should be mandatory for those who leave high school before graduating as well as for juveniles adjudicated to be delinquent.   |
| Palau           | It was suggested juveniles adjudicated as delinquents should have to spend their nights in jail and be required to attend the Micronesian Occupational Center during the day.  |

The final question on the questionnaire was: "What could be done in this District to prevent young people from getting into trouble?" There were only two responses:

- |        |  |
|--------|--|
| Palau  | Develop jobs for those who are unemployed.                                 |
| Ponape | Develop more adult supervised activities for youth in the District Center. |

It is worth noting that no Micronesian police department has a formal police/community relations program. All of the other justice-system questionnaire (prosecution, defense, courts, and probation officers) contained a very abstract question concerning the relationship between the current justice system which embodied American codified law and the customary justice practices. However, in all districts except the Marshalls (where the Police Chief is from another culture), this issue was either touched upon indirectly or dealt with very directly.

In Yap the Chief of Police felt that in about 10% of the cases the conditions in jail were better than at home and that for those prisoners jail was not an effective deterrent. He went so far as to say, "A lot of people have put on weight in the jail." He recommends a prison farm in an isolated area and is currently informally attempting (on his own initiative) to rehabilitate some young offenders by taking them out of jail during the day to do farm work in a distant municipality.

In the Northern Marianas the Chief noted that a big problem is the lack of punishment under the current system. He felt that customary law was stricter in punishment and would like to see the new government being organized in the Marianas honor customary law and write customs into law.

In Ponape the Chief noted that transgressions in the outlying municipalities usually are handled by family settlements while arrests in the District Center usually proceed all the way through the system. He felt that the court's sentencing was too lenient. Specifically cited was over-use of the suspended sentence: "If we punish them adequately, then the people here will perceive that they will receive hard punishment . . . ." He also stated that paying a \$25.00 fine for selling liquor to minors "is a game" since the profits are much greater than an occasional fine.

He also felt that the American system inverts human values. Homicide under this system is seen as not much more serious than killing an animal. He noted that jail is not always an effective deterrent because conditions in jail are often better than at home. He knows of some people who commit crimes to get back in jail where the food is good and the beds comfortable.

In a related comment he noted that many children are afraid of the police. (The author sees this as related since the idea of a police force is an alien import not reflected in any way by customary culture.)

In Palau the respondents specifically noted the conflict between the American system and the customary system. They felt that the American system is too lenient. In the past a transgressor had to pay heavy fines or do hard labor. Now there is little deterrence.

The caste system is also a hindrance since if a low caste officer arrests a high caste person, the officer will be criticized by the community. Once the family of a low caste officer had to ransom the officer with traditional money because he arrested the son of a high chief who banished the officer.

It appears that some low caste officers (they estimated that 5 officers are high caste and 32 low caste) avoid contacting offending high caste juveniles by reporting Their violationsto the Chief who is high caste and can handle the situation.

The Palauan officers wished that the law would provide for the punishment of parents (as in customary times) rather than of the individual juvenile.

The final section of this summary is a report of the interview with the Officer-in-Charge of the Ebeye detachment of the Marshall Islands Police force. The Lieutenant in charge had been in Ebeye for four months at the time of the interview. He sees the problem of juvenile delinquency as "very serious". Juvenile delinquency takes the form of (illegal) drinking of alcoholic beverages, fighting, and burglary. Most crime in Ebeye is committed by juveniles. There are no existing records from the time before he arrived so it is not possible to make a statistical comparison of current conditions and past conditions. The Lieutenant is not a native of Ebeye and was apparently brought in to reorganize a police detachment which was considered unsatisfactory. He feels that his current system of vigorous patrolling and enforcement has significantly lessened the number of delinquent acts by juveniles. He reports much less under-age drinking of alcoholic beverages and much less fighting between juveniles.

The 11 man squad is divided into a 6 man evening shift and a 5 man midnight shift. There is no need for patrol activities during the day.

While the predominant juvenile delinquency problem is with males, a number of girls were also drinking and fighting at the time of his arrival on the island. Now he reports there is no trouble with girls drinking and fighting.

One of the continuing problems mentioned by other respondents in Ebeye was the free flow of alcohol at teen-age dances sponsored by local groups to raise money. The alcohol is supplied by older youths who loiter around the dance premises. The sponsors of the dances must request a full-time patrolman on duty and the Lieutenant does not station a patrolman there in the absence of such a request. The dances are checked periodically during the evening by the patrols on duty.

The Lieutenant recommended the development of a teen center to be open at night with adult supervision to keep the young people busy.

The jail facilities in Ebeye are unuseable. There are three small cells which are filthy. There is no furniture and no mattresses. If a prisoner were held there, he/she would have to sleep on the cement floor. There is an adjoining exercise yard which is not secure; the cyclone fence is severely dillapidated. There is also a larger three-person cell which is currently used for equipment storage.

Currently there are nine juvenile "prisoners" who stay at home with their parents during the evenings and who are assigned work during the days from 0730 to 1630. The work is considered "light labor" cleaning up the office and public areas on the island. Prisoners do not always show up for work. They are not fetched if they do not show up.

3. Listed below are some possible reasons why young people might become juvenile delinquents in this District. Please read the whole list. Then, after you have read the list, please mark an "x" in the box at the right indicating if the reason is important, minor, or not really a reason. If you are not sure, please mark the "NO Opinion" box.

	a Important Reason	b Minor Reason	c Not a Reason	d No Opinion
1. There are not enough activities in the Dist. Center to keep young people busy doing good things.				
2. They need money to buy the things they want but cannot afford.				
3. Too many young people drop out of school and do not do anything else.				
4. Their parents do not control them enough.				
5. It is too easy to get alcoholic beverages.				
6. Many young people just like to cause trouble.				
7. There are not enough jobs.				
8. They know they will not get punished by the courts.				
9. Many young people are neglected by their parents or older relatives.				
10. Young people from other municipalities or islands or Districts do not know how to behave properly here on this island.				
11. Young people do not have proper respect for their parents or families.				
12. Other (Please write)				



## APPENDIX H

### 1976 TRUST TERRITORY YOUTH DEVELOPMENT PROJECT

Funded by the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration of the United States Department of Justice pursuant to the Crime Control Act of 1968, as amended.

#### Description and Analysis of Trust Territory Juvenile Justice System Questionnaires

#### QUESTIONNAIRE FOR PROBATION OFFICERS

1. Is the phrase "juvenile delinquent" commonly used by English speaking Micronesians in this District? ( ) yes ( ) No ( ) No Opinion
2. If the term "juvenile delinquent" is commonly used by English speaking Micronesians in this District, what do they mean by the term? Do they mean:
  - (a) Only young people who have been formally adjudicated by the Court as juvenile delinquents?
  - (b) Young people who have been arrested one or more times?
  - (c) Young people who violate local customs by doing such things as showing disrespect for the chiefs or older people; refusing to obey their parents, make fun of old people, etc.
  - (d) Young people who get drunk often and cause minor disturbances?
  - (e) Young people who might not have been arrested but who steal chickens or commit other minor offenses.
  - (f) Girls who hang around bars and often stay away from home at night?
3. If there is a local expression which means about the same thing as the technical term "juvenile delinquent", what would be the common translation for that local expression? Please write both the local expression and the common English translation.
4. How do young people get called by this local expression? Is it because they have been arrested and taken before a court or is it for other more informal and customary reasons?
5. Does having this term applied to someone affect the way that young person is treated by other people or groups or officer on the island?
6. The T.T. Code allows a determination of delinquency for action by a juvenile which would be a crime if he/she were an adult and for actions which would not be criminal if the offender were an adult (for example, truancy, refusal to subject himself to the reasonable control of parents or guardian, use of alcohol, etc.).

Is it your experience that a juvenile who is adjudicated a delinquent for behavior which would not be a criminal if he/she were an adult and then treated like a criminal by other young people, employers and other adults?

- A. ☐ Yes                                      B. ☐ No                                      C. ☐ No opinion

7. Regarding juvenile delinquency in your District, would you describe it as

- A. ☐ not a serious problem  
B. ☐ a small problem  
C. ☐ a serious problem  
D. ☐ a very serious problem

8. If there are other problems in this District more serious than juvenile delinquency, please list them:

- A. \_\_\_\_\_  
B. \_\_\_\_\_  
C. \_\_\_\_\_

9. Are there other indicators of the seriousness of the problem apart from court or police records?

10. Are there certain definable ethnic groups whose juveniles seem to be brought to court more than you would expect because of their numbers in the District?

- A. ☐ Yes                                      B. ☐ No                                      C. ☐ No opinion

11. If your answer was "yes" to the above, what are those groups?

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

12. If your answer was "yes" to number 10, why do you think juveniles from those groups are brought before you court more than young people from other group?

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

13. Do family problems seem to be one of the important causes of juvenile delinquency?

- A. ☐ Yes                                      B. ☐ No                                      C. ☐ No opinion

14. If your answer is "yes", can you list the most common kinds of family problems which are causes of juvenile delinquency?

- A.  
B.  
C.

15. Does the family status of a juvenile from a high family cause problems for you in the preparation of a pre-sentence report?

A. ☐ Yes

B. ☐ No

C. ☐ No opinion

16. If your answer is "yes", please explain the nature of the problems encountered. Please be as specific as possible.

17. Do parents of delinquent children need special counselling to help them understand the causes of the delinquent acts of their children and the rehabilitation steps necessary for the children?

A. ☐ Most parents need such help

B. ☐ Some parents need such help

C. ☐ Few parents need such help

D. ☐ No parents need such help

18. If you answer that parents do need help, how could such help be provided?

---

---

19. Should the Court have authority to order parents to accept such help?

---

---

20. How well do young people understand their rights under the law?

---

---

21. How well do the parents of young people brought before the Court understand the rights of their children?

---

---

22. How would you describe the relationship between customary practices of handling juvenile offenders and statutory proceedings? Please discuss the major points of divergence and the main areas of similarity?

---

---

---

23. What are the standard procedures you follow when a case is turned over to you for preparation of a pre-sentencing report?\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

24. What are the standard procedures you follow when youth is placed on probation?\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

25. What are the standard procedures you follow when an adult is placed on probation?\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

26. Do you have standard pre-sentencing report forms? If so, may we have a blank copy?\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

27. Do you have standard probation report forms? If so, may we have a blank copy?\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

28. Do you personally feel that juveniles who do not commit acts which would be criminal if the juvenile were an adult should be handled differently from those juveniles who commit criminal acts? For example, do you think the law should be changed to allow juveniles who do not commit criminal acts but who are truants, consume alcohol, or otherwise fit into the category of 15 TTC Para. 2, (2) - (4) to be dealt with by another institution or system other than the court system?

A. ☐ Yes

B. ☐ No

C. ☐ No opinion

29. If your answer is "yes" to question 28, what would be a suitable alternative system for handling non-criminal juveniles who misbehave in ways specified in 15 TTC Para 2. sub-paragraphs (2) - (4).\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

30. If there was a lot of money available to improve the juvenile justice system in your District (including defense, prosecution; police; probation; rehabilitation; diversion; and preventive services and programs) what would you recommend be done with that money to make things better in the juvenile justice system?\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

31. Are there any changes in the laws you would recommend to make your job easier? If so, what changes would you recommend?

A. ☐ Recommend no changes

B. ☐ Recommend the following changes:

1. \_\_\_\_\_

2. \_\_\_\_\_

3. \_\_\_\_\_

32. Is there more the government should know about juvenile justice problems in your District that has not been covered by this questionnaire? If so, what else should be make known? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

33. Listed below are some possible reasons why young people might become juvenile delinquents in this District. Please tell me if you think those are important reasons or not.

	a Important Reason	b Minor Reason	c Not a Reason	d No Opinion
1. There are not enough activities in the District Centers to keep young people busy doing good things.				
2. They need money to buy the things they want but cannot afford.				
3. Too many young people drop out of school and do not do anything else.				
4. Their parents do not control them enough.				
5. It is too easy to get alcoholic beverages.				
6. Many young people just like to cause trouble.				
7. There are not enough jobs.				
8. They know they will not get punished by the courts.				
9. Many young people are neglected by their parents or older relatives.				
10. Young people from other municipalities or islands or Districts do not know how to behave properly here on this island.				
11. Young people do not have necessary respect for their parents or families.				
12. Other (Please write)				
13. Other (Please write)				

34. In your opinion, what are the three most important causes of juveniles delinquency in your District? (From the above list).

A. First most important cause ( ); B. Second most important cause ( );  
C. Third most important cause ( )

## APPENDIX I

### SUMMARY OF PROBATION OFFICERS RESPONSES TO JUVENILE JUSTICE QUESTIONNAIRE

At the time of the interviews there were only three probation officers working in four districts. A fourth officer for another district had recently resigned to take a seat in the District Legislature. The districts represented in this report are Truk, Palau, Yap, and the Marianas.

The probation officer in the Marianas was interviewed before the standard interview format was developed. Therefore, standardization of process is not as complete as in the other sectors of the justice system. The Probation officers for Palau/Yap and Truk received their interview forms in advance from the Chief Justice of the High Court.

During the interview process it was found that some questions were not very helpful and they were dropped. Other questions were added during the interviews.

Because of differences in interview technique and because of some extensive discussions providing information specific to one district which cannot be disguised to maintain anonymity of the respondents, non-controversial comments may be identified by district in the following narrative. Because there were some highly critical opinions of police and other branches of the justice system, those comments will be grouped together at the beginning of the narrative without disclosing the identity of the speakers.

In all districts it was felt that juvenile offenders when first arrested do not understand their rights under the American system of law. The parents generally have even less understanding of the rights of their children under the law.

One respondent stated that the police during an interrogation immediately following an arrest will promise the juvenile that he/she will be released immediately if a lawyer is not arrested. This helps account for the fact that in this district, most juveniles waive their rights to a lawyer. In another district it was stated that interrogation is often done without parents or counsel present at first. It was stated that sometimes the police will arrest a juvenile and detain him/her overnight without informing the parents in one district.

Other criticisms of the police in one district included the observation that police will not arrest their friends -- that they will leave the scene of a crime if they see a friend committing a criminal act. Police are alleged in one district to furnish alcohol to minors including juveniles serving suspended sentences where one of the conditions of probation is that the juvenile not drink alcoholic beverages. Police in one district were said to drive recklessly while drunk and to have stated that they know nobody will file a complaint against them because they are Police Officers. Police in one district are also alleged to get drunk and fight in public while off-duty. The police in two districts are also seen as treating some prisoners with favoritism and as harrassing people whom they do not like.

---

<sup>1</sup> As in all districts according to interviews with police.

In one district it was stated that the police and judges generally are more lenient in their treatment of juveniles who are the children of high government employees. This is more pronounced than favoritism toward children of parents who are of high traditional social status, though some such minor favoritism was noted.

In one district it was stated that records will show that a number of convicted felons have been placed on the police force in recent years. (The author did not verify this allegation because his purpose was not investigative and he did not want to antagonize the police whose cooperation was needed for this research).

One suggestion to improve police performance was to rotate police officers among the districts.

One Probation Officer criticized the judges, defense attorneys, and prosecution for the light sentencing of juvenile offenders. He felt that the Public Defender and District Attorney (or their local counterparts) sentencing recommendations were too lenient and that the judges sentences were too lenient. The incarcerated juveniles have told this probation officer that they like jail because they get three full meals a day instead of one at home and that punishment from the court means nothing to them. They reported that they felt a suspended sentence had no meaning.

What follows will be some specific comments by district.

#### NORTHERN MARIANA ISLANDS

The key issue for juvenile justice is the need for separate juvenile detention and rehabilitation facilities. The juveniles get to be worse criminals if they are mixed with adults in jail, according to the Probation Officer. Because there is no matron and there are no female detention or rehabilitation facilities, all female juveniles get off with only fines or probation. It is not possible to punish females more severely.

Another big problem is the lack of a special juvenile court or family court. The probation officer felt that a separate family court would be good in the Northern Mariana Islands.

After a long discussion concerning the definition of status offenses, the probation officer felt that it would be valuable to amend the T.T. code to eliminate the status offenses contained in 15 TTC 2 (2) - (4).

#### TRUK

The probation officer regards juvenile delinquency as a serious problem. He felt that the seriousness of the problem is not reflected in court records because many incidents are not reported but are handled in the village by customary means. He felt that the customary handling of minor infractions was acceptable but that serious offenses (including murder and aggravated assault) should be handled by the Courts.

When asked if there were other social problems in the district more serious than juvenile delinquency, he responded that the greatest social problem in the district is the need for jobs to provide income. The second priority social problem was identified as agricultural development. Water transportation to other lagoon islands and the outer islands was listed as a third social problem more serious than juvenile delinquency.



One interview question was: "Are there certain definable ethnic groups whose juveniles seem to be brought to court more than you would expect because of their numbers in the District?" The Probation Officer felt that outer island youth are arrested more than District Center youth because they are not fully socialized into the new cultural situation in the District Center which is significantly different from their home islands. He did not identify any discriminatory police practices in arrests of outer island youth.

Family problems were seen as one of the important causes of juvenile delinquency. Divorce is getting to be quite common. A man will leave his wife with four or five children. The new wife will not want her husband to support his children from his earlier marriage. Family arguments will follow in front of the children who are aware of the hostility. The children from both of the man's families will steal from the other part of the family and will get into repeated fights.

In other cases parents are taunted by their children because the young people have learned to speak English and to read and write in both English and Trukese. The children have also learned to do arithmetic and cause the parents to feel inferior because they are not "educated". The parents then find it very hard to discipline their children in these circumstances.

The formal question, "Do parents of delinquent children need special counselling to help them understand the causes of the delinquent acts of their children and the rehabilitation steps necessary for the children?" was not clear as written and required a lengthy discussion before it could be answered. The concept of counselling is an alien concept (in all Districts, not just Truk). The probation officer expressed a general feeling that most parents do not know how to control their children or do not have the personal resources and that outside help would be useful. Counselling may not be the correct term. He felt that such services might be situated in the Community Development office or Alcohol Abuse branch of health services.

There was a quite clear answer to a question which in most other interviews (even with American trained lawyers) proved to be very difficult. The question was: "How would you describe the relationship between customary practices of handling juvenile offenders and statutory proceedings? Please discuss the major points of divergence and the main areas of similarity." The Probation Officer stated the two systems are in conflict. The Trukese traditional system was unambiguous. Punishment was effective because the juvenile offender could be sure that punishment would be severe and would flow rather quickly from the offense. An example was given that in the case of homicide, the inheritance of the offender would go to the family of the victim. This was an extremely severe punishment because in the limited land resource of a small island culture, the ability to survive is intimately connected with the ownership or control of land. In fact, the ability of a young man to get married and start a family was connected in past times with his ability to produce food and shelter. The current judicial system does not provide effective punishment or deterrent and has led to contempt by youth for the police and courts.

A corollary idea was expressed when the probation officer himself expressed the opinion that the probation program is not successful. The fault lies in the fact that cooperation is not forthcoming from parents and the general community. There is no way one officer can closely supervise the activities of a probationer in villages removed from the district center. The adult community in the villages does not supervise the young people on probation. The probationers are allowed to violate the curfew and consumption of alcoholic beverage restrictions in the probation order. Alcohol vendors will provide alcoholic beverages to young people on probation.

Although the consumption of alcoholic beverages by minors was not listed earlier in the interview as a serious social problem, the seriousness of the problem became evident from the discussion which followed. Alcohol is provided to minors by adult relatives and friends. Even some district legislators who passed the drinking permit law are known to give alcohol to young people who by law cannot purchase a valid drinking permit.

The community widely accepts drunkenness as an excuse for serious misbehavior because it is generally agreed that a person may be out of control when extremely drunk. It is now common practice for young persons who "have something in their heart" (i.e., anger which impels them to start a fight) to go to relatives to get enough alcohol to get drunk so they can get up the courage to pick the fight they want. Although they will claim that they were so drunk they did not know what they were doing, usually the behavior is premeditated.

The Probation Officer was asked, "If there was a lot of money available to improve the juvenile justice system in your District (including defense, prosecution; police probation; rehabilitation; diversion; and preventative services programs) what would you recommend be done with that money to make things better in the juvenile justice system?"

The next question was: "Are there any changes in the laws you would recommend to make your job easier? If so, what changes would you recommend?" There were three basic responses:

1. Treat all juveniles from sixteen years old and up as adults;
2. Increase the severity of court punishment;
3. Increase the professionalism of the police department.

The last formal question listed 11 possible causes of juvenile delinquency and asked the respondent to rate them as (a) important causes; (b) minor cause; (c) not a cause; or (d) no opinion. The respondent was given an opportunity to add possible causes to the list. He was also asked to choose three of the 11 listed causes plus any added and rank them as (1) "First most important cause"; (2) "Second most important cause"; and (3) "Third most important cause."

Only three of the 11 were identified as "important causes". They were also the three identified in the rank ordering. They were:

First most important cause of juvenile delinquency: "Lack of parental control."

Second most important cause: "There are not enough activities in the District Centers to keep young people busy doing good things."

Third most important cause: "They know they will not get punished by the courts."

Listed as minor causes were:

- \* They need money to buy things they want but cannot afford;
  - \* It is too easy to get alcoholic beverages;
  - \* Many young people just like to cause trouble;
  - \* There are not enough jobs;
  - \* Many young people are neglected by their parents or older relatives.
- Young people do not have necessary respect for their parents or families.

Listed as "not a cause" was: "Too many young people drop out of school and do not do anything else."

Not marked was: "Young people from other municipalities or islands or Districts do not know how to behave properly here on this island."

One final note. While in Yap, the outgoing Chairman of the Youth Commission had told the author that there was not a juvenile delinquency problem in Yap. Rather, he viewed it as an adult delinquency problem in that the adults set the pattern of drinking and disrespect for the law which was followed by the youth and the adults did not take responsibility for controlling the behavior of the youth. When this comment was repeated to the Probation Officer in Truk, he agreed that it was true in Truk also. (This is, of course, quite consistent with statements reported above.)

#### PALAU (Officer stationed in Palau and travels to Yap)

The initial discussion during the interview centered on the use of the English term "juvenile delinquency" in Palau. As commonly used by English-speaking Palauans it is not limited to only young people who have been formally adjudicated to be delinquents by the court but also is used to refer to:

- a. Young people who violate local customs;
- b. Young people who get drunk often and cause minor disturbances;
- c. Young people who commit minor offenses but escape arrest;
- d. Girls who hang around bars and often stay away from home at night.

The specific question, "Is it your experience that a juvenile who is adjudicated a delinquent for behavior which would not be criminal if he/she were an adult is then treated like a criminal by other young people, employers, and other adults?" was answered affirmatively. But the act of labelling did not seem to be the crucial fact. Rather it was noted that once a young person is brought to court for any reason, he or she is likely to be seen as a criminal, no matter what the reason for the court appearance. Parents do not want their children brought to court. They see this as a serious matter. They will cooperate in trying to control the behavior of their children if contacted first. Once a child is brought before the court the parents feel they have lost control and responsibility and that the entire matter is now the responsibility of the government.

The Probation Officer noted that the police never initiate complaints against a juvenile who runs away from home or school. A serious part of the juvenile delinquency problem is that young people congregate and loiter in public places.

In Palau the probation officer saw the problem of juvenile delinquency as a small problem. In 1975 only 83 juveniles were adjudicated by the Court to be delinquent. Most youthful crime is committed by repeaters. He felt that criminal acts by young adults (21-25) was more serious than juvenile delinquency. A second social problem listed as more serious than juvenile delinquency was unemployment.

The probation officer felt that family problems are a serious causal factor in the existence of juvenile delinquency. The parents are not able to control their children in large measure because school training conflicts with family control. Because the parents do not have the socialization into the current transitional culture being created in large measure by the school system, they cannot counsel their children about living in the present situation. One significant area where they are helpless to guide their children is the alien law system. (He recommended that the Public Affairs division produce radio programs to help educate the parents about the law and other aspects of the changing cultural life in Palau.)

Parents are not able to keep their teenage children at home in the evenings. The young people do not want to be in their homes "doing nothing." They want to go to places where they can be with friends their own age.

The curfew law requiring all minors to be home by 9:00 p.m. is not easily enforced because adult run activities such as movies and basketball games often do not get over with before 10:30 or 11:00 at night. It might be possible to enforce the curfew if it were changed to 11:00 p.m.

The probation officer felt that not all parents of children adjudicated to be delinquent needed counselling help, but that some did. He felt the locus for the counselling services should be in the probation department and that the Adult Basic Education program should conduct parent education programs.

This probation officer also gave specific answers to the usually thorny question, "How would you describe the relationship between customary practices of handling juvenile offenders and statutory proceedings? Please discuss the major points of divergence and the main areas of similarity." American law directly contradicts customary views of the gravity of offenses. Some offenses treated by the T.T. code as minor would have been and are still seen by older people as very serious offenses. Social control would have been maintained by the family of the offender(s) being heavily fined.

Jail sentences are often not onerous in Palau. Prisoners who carve wooden handicraft items become relatively wealthy and may make more money than the police guarding them. They are not required to pay for the shop space they use or for the electricity consumed. (Food is provided from the kitchens of the Micronesian Occupational Center across the street so the prisoners eat better than many people and often better than they could eat at home.) In Yap also a jail sentence is often seen as desirable and therefore is not a threat effective in deterring criminal behavior.

The related question, "Do you personally feel that juveniles who do not commit acts which would be criminal if the juvenile were an adult should be handled differently from those juveniles who commit criminal acts?" was answered in the affirmative. Specifically, he felt that juveniles whose behavior falls within sub-sections (2) - (4) of 15 TTC 2 should be dealt with by an alternative system. The court would be in the background as a last resort, but counselling and overnight facilities should be available as a primary method for dealing with these problems.

Another related question was: "If there was a lot of money available to improve the juvenile justice system in your District (including defense; prosecution; police; probation; rehabilitation; diversion; and preventative services and programs) what would you recommend be done with that money to make things better in the juvenile justice system? The answers were:

1. Write a separate juvenile proceedings manual summarizing the T.T. code. This would be written in Palauan for the use of officials in the justice system;
2. Organize a separate Youth Authority or agency and Juvenile Court. (One of the problems now is the long delay between the filing of the complaint and the juvenile hearing.) The Youth Authority would handle counselling, job placement, and special education.
3. Place a Palauan on the Yap police force to work with the large Palauan community in permanent residence on Yap.

The author asked if it would be valuable to develop a generally agreed upon version of customary practices in writing and then review the T.T. code to see how it could be modified to incorporate still living and valid customary practices. The Probation Officer thought that this would be valuable.

He added that additional resources were currently needed. Right now he is forced to do counselling, investigating, and all his own typing. He felt that he needed an assistant probation officer and a clerk-typist.

Also, resources were needed to staff a building which he located and raised money to have refurbishing for use as an "overnight home". The facility is a quonset hut in the center of town relatively near the police station jail and directly adjacent to a large ball field. He feels that it could house up to twenty young people. The court uses this facility when young people need supervision other than that of their families. They would be free to go to school or work at jobs during the day but would have to live in the facility in the evenings. The facility has been available for a number of months but is not used by the judges because it does not have any furniture, equipment, staffing or food budget.

There are other limitations on the probation officer's abilities to perform his duties aside from inadequate staffing. All probation officers were given training by an instructor provided by the Honolulu judiciary. The lesson materials are now used in lieu of a probation officer's manual. A systematic Trust Territory-wide Probation Officer's Manual is needed.

Current procedures followed in Yap and Palau for preparing a pre-sentencing report are: Initially check the family background and prior police records. School counsellors and teachers are interviewed and medical reports are solicited if the youth is injured. The facts of the case are also investigated and research is done to see how similar cases were handled under T.T. and U.S. law. The report is prepared with this information gathered.

After a youth is placed on probation, a schedule for office visits by the probationer is prepared as well as a schedule for visits to the family. Schedules vary according to differences in each individual case. There are no standards provided by the Court.

Because the probation officer was the volunteer head of the Sea Scouts for a number of years in Palau, the interview left strictly probation matters and there was general discussion of youth development problems. (The Sea Scout program died when he resigned because nobody took over. Adults apparently are not willing to volunteer time for this kind of continuous, repetitive activity.)

One of the needs identified was for a well organized program for early school leavers but which would be open to any interested young person. The program should include remedial education, community service, recreation sports, and (marketable) skill development. It would be valuable to house the program in a building with its own name similar to the traditional men's houses which were associated with age-structured clubs.

During customary times each age group had a club which was part of an "abai" or men's house. Membership in the club began at about 8 years of age. This was an educational system where fishing, dancing, chants, construction, roofing, legends and other customary knowledge was passed by elders to the youth. Each member of the abai had specific work assigned and knew his responsibility. Daytime work might include maintaining trails, fishing, building sea-walls, fishing, roofing, or working on the family land.

After a number of years the youth would move into the abai housing the next highest age group.

Trust Territory planning for youth programs should recognize that the culture supports well organized youth activities. Now, it is harder for adults to control in the traditional manner because the young have learned the ideas of democracy and want to choose their own leaders rather than take orders from a family or clan hierarchy. This is not an insuperable problem in planning youth programs.

Another one of the research team members who is himself a Palauan adult pointed out that there are a number of adult clubs in Palau but most are not functioning. Many of them were chartered for the primary purpose of getting Trust Territory Grants-in-Aid or other government benefits but do not directly relate to the functioning community life as the clubs did in traditional society. The main life of the clubs now is during baseball season when people gather together to plan the games and watch them.

One aspect of the breakdown of the culture currently being experienced is that there are few organized community groups functioning any more. With the decline in power of the chiefs, they are not able to carry out their previous responsibility to organize the boys into clubs.

## APPENDIX J

### 1976 TRUST TERRITORY YOUTH DEVELOPMENT RESEARCH PROJECT

Funded by the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration of the United States Department of Justice pursuant to the Crime Control Act of 1968, as amended

#### Public Defenders Questionnaire

1. In your district, how do people usually define "youth" or "young person?"
2. Regarding juvenile delinquency in your District, would you describe it as
  - A. ☐ Not a serious problem
  - B. ☐ A small problem
  - C. ☐ A medium serious problem
  - D. ☐ A very serious problem
3. If there are other problems in this District more serious than juvenile delinquency, please list them:
  - A. \_\_\_\_\_
  - B. \_\_\_\_\_
  - C. \_\_\_\_\_
4. (See next page.)
5. In your opinion, what are the three most important causes of juvenile delinquency in your district?
  - A. First most important reason \_\_\_\_\_
  - B. Second most important reason \_\_\_\_\_
  - C. Third most important reason \_\_\_\_\_
6. Are there certain definable ethnic groups whose juveniles seem to be arrested out of proportion to their relative numbers in the district?--
  - A. If yes, please identify.
7. What, if any, special defense problems are there in the defense of juvenile offenders in your District?
8. How would you describe the relationship between customary practices of handling juvenile offenders and statutory proceedings? Please discuss the major points of divergence and the main area of similarity.
9. Are any special difficulties created for you in your defense of juveniles by the co-existence of the statutory and customary systems of law in your District?
10. Do you plea-bargain juvenile defendants?
11. What is your opinion of procedures for arrest and detention of minors in the District?
12. In your District, do youthful suspects claim they have been beaten or otherwise roughed up by the police during an arrest or interrogation? If they do make such allegations, do you feel there is evidence to support such allegations?

4. Listed below are some possible reasons why young people might become juvenile delinquents in this District. Please read the whole list. Then, after you have read the list, please mark an "x" in the box at the right indicating if the reason is important, minor, or not really a reason. If you are not sure, please mark the "NO Opinion" box.

	a Important Reason	b Minor Reason	c Not a Reason	d No Opinion
1. There are not enough activities in the District Centers to keep young people busy doing good things.				
2. They need money to buy the things they want but cannot afford.				
3. Too many young people drop out of school and do not do anything else.				
4. Their parents do not control them enough.				
5. It is too easy to get alcoholic beverages.				
6. Many young people just like to cause trouble.				
7. There are not enough jobs.				
8. They know they will not get punished by the courts.				
9. Many young people are neglected by their parents or older relatives.				
10. Young people from other municipalities or islands or Districts do not know how to behave properly here on this island.				
11. Young people do not have necessary respect for their parents or families.				
12. Other (Please write)				
13. Other (Please write)				



13. Are there diversion programs in operation in your District?
  - A. If so, what are they and are they effective?
  - B. If there are no diversion programs, what do you do as an alternative?
  - C. If there are no diversion programs, should diversion programs be started in your District?
  - D. If yes, what kind?
14. Are there shelter care facilities in your District?
  - A. If yes, are they adequate?
  - B. If not, what do you do in lieu of using shelter care facilities?
  - C. If not, do you feel a shelter care facility is needed?
15. Are there rehabilitation programs in operation in your District?
  - A. If so, what are they?
  - B. If not, what do you do as an alternative?
  - C. If not, what kinds of rehabilitation programs (if any) do you think are needed?
16. What is the nature of your dealings with the parents of juvenile offenders?
17. What suggestions would you offer for the improvement of arrest procedures, detention facilities, and trials of juveniles?
18. Do you have a parole program in your District?
  - A. If yes, how effective is it?
  - B. If it is not effective, what needs to be done to improve it?
  - C. If there is none, do you feel you should have one?
19. Upon conviction or court judgement (whichever is appropriate) finding a person under 18 years of age to be delinquent, is there a difference in the way you recommend sentencing depending on:
  - A. Sex
  - B. Age
  - C. Nature of offense
  - D. Prior convictions or judgements of Juvenile Delinquency
  - E. Family status in the community

20. What suggestions would you offer for the improvement of arrest procedures, detention facilities, and trials of juveniles?

21. Do you feel that your clients understand their rights under the law before you see them the first time?

If yes, how did they learn those rights?

- ( ) From the arresting officer?
- ( ) From another police officer?
- ( ) From school?
- ( ) Other?

22. How do juvenile offenders learn of your availability for defense?

21. Do you feel that your clients understand their rights under the law before you see them the first time?

If yes, how did they learn those rights?

- ( ) From the arresting officer?
- ( ) From another police officer?
- ( ) From school?
- ( ) Other?

22. How do juvenile offenders learn of your availability for defense?

23. Would you say that the coordination between the Probation Officers (if there are any in your District) and parents of juveniles found to be delinquent is adequate to significantly increase the chances of rehabilitation of the youthful offender?

- A. ( ) Adequate
- B. ( ) Not adequate
- C. ( ) Unable to determine

24. Are there differences in juvenile delinquency rates between various locations (islands or municipalities) or ethnic groups in your District?

- ( ) Yes
- ( ) No
- ( ) No opinion

25. If your answer to No. 24 was "yes", what are the causes of these higher juvenile delinquency rates?

- A. Differences in cultures or customs
- B. Differential enforcement policies by police

C. \_\_\_\_\_

D. \_\_\_\_\_

## APPENDIX K

### SUMMARY OF PUBLIC DEFENDER OR PUBLIC DEFENDER REPRESENTATIVES RESPONSES TO JUVENILE JUSTICE QUESTIONNAIRE

The Public Defenders for all Districts were interviewed. Three of the Public Defenders are responsible for two Districts each. Responses from two Public Defender Representatives (Micronesians who are not trained lawyers) are included. In the other districts the public Defender Representatives were either present for the interviews or consulted by the Public Defenders before responses were given;

Interview forms had been forwarded to all Public Defenders a number of weeks prior to the field visits. The Public Defender for the Northern Marianas and Truk submitted written answers to the questionnaire some weeks after initial unstructured discussions. During the interview process it was found that some questions were not very helpful and they were not asked during subsequent interviews. Other questions were sometimes added during the interviews so that while the interviews were fairly standardized, they were not identical.

Some statements which might cause embarrassment if the speaker were identified have been included without attribution to a specific respondent. But because many of the answers are specific to each district, non-controversial statements are identified by district. All potentially controversial statements by the Ponape/Marshalls Defender are included with expressed permission. Those possibly controversial statements which are presented anonymously are presented first;

- \* One Public Defender identified one of the police chiefs with whom he has to deal as a "notorious public drunk" and alleged that police chief personally beats up citizens.
- \* A Public Defender alleged beatings of prisoners by police of another district.
- \* A question asking if different criteria were used in recommendations to the Judge for sentences depending on sex, age, nature of offense, prior convictions, or prior convictions was not very useful. Most Defenders answered, "Of course!" and one specified that it was done based on his estimate of what the judge would accept. The question was dropped.
- \* A Public Defender Representative separately agreed with his Public Defender that the police beat suspects during interrogation and detention and he added that the police detain juveniles without the knowledge of parents. He made the allegation that juveniles are threatened during interrogation. He stated that when he complains about this behavior the police respond that they have the right to beat those in custody. He also felt that the police do not inform juveniles of their right to legal counsel. He said that many times he does not see an arrested juvenile until the court appearance. In part this is because the family will intercede and refuse to allow him contact in part because the police do not notify him during the arrest. This respondent added that sometimes a child will be in custody four or five months without a trial. He was not sure why but thought that it might be due to parents not caring. He was asked if it was not his duty to have such a child released as soon as possible and he answered that it was his duty only if the parents required. He felt that some parents were pleased with long incarcerations without a trial.

- \* In another district where there is a Probation Officer stationed, the Public Defender Representatives felt that there was no coordination at all (their emphasis) between the Probation Officer and the parents of juveniles found to be delinquent.
- \* In another District the Public Defender said parents have no respect for or confidence in the present Parole Officer. Caste discrimination in arrests was charged by one Public Defender.
- \* In one district the Public Defender stated that there is evidence to support allegations by youthful suspects that they have been beaten or otherwise roughed up by the police during an arrest or interrogation. The same attorney stated that he had special defense problems (not encountered in the U.S.) in defense of juvenile offenders due to "professional inadequacy of the courts."

Another respondent stated that he has special defense problems because the juveniles do not understand their rights under the law and are intimidated by the police into confessing.

Still another respondent reported that the police in his district

- a. were often drunk and disorderly in public off-duty;
- b. supply liquor to minors;
- c. do not arrest their friends;
- d. keep juveniles in detention longer than 24 hours without notifying the Public Defender's office.
- e. do not serve witness summons in part to protect friends.

He commented generally that the police do not cooperate with the court system.

The first question on the questionnaire asked what was the upper age limit defining "youth". The question was answered in five of the six districts and the answers all varied between 25 and 30 years of age.

An estimate of the seriousness of juvenile delinquency in each district was requested of each respondent. The answers were as follows:

#### PONAPE

It is a very serious problem. The problem most manifests itself in the formal judicial system by arrests of people between 14 and 25 years of age with the heaviest incidence of arrest between the ages of 20-22. The arrests at this higher age have their roots in the juvenile period of 14-18 when many of the offenders begin delinquent acts but do not get arrested and brought into the formal justice system. People who may be technically first offenders are actually repeaters. Violence is a serious part of the problem in Ponape.

In Kosrae the crime problem is insignificant.

#### MARSHALLS

In Majuro the problem is of medium seriousness and rising. Violence is not a serious problem; alcoholic beverage consumption by minors and theft are the major criminal acts.

In Ebeye the problem has been very serious and is declining both because of the superb work being done by the new Officer-in-Charge of the Ebeye police detachment and because of the removal of people to their home islands under the current health and sanitation emergency.

Northern Mariana Islands

The problem is of medium seriousness.

Truk

Small but growing.

Yap

Very serious. Recently girls have started to accompany boys in breaking and entering, larceny, and drinking of alcoholic beverages.

Palau

Very serious.

All respondents were asked if other social problems in their districts are more serious than juvenile delinquency. The answers were:

Yap

1. A water system for the whole island.
2. Lack of enough jobs.

Palau

1. Loss of traditions.
2. Political status: Will the Palauan people be self-governing or be dominated by outside control?

Ponape

The economic system which affects the institution of the family and causes most of the problems related to the breakdown of the family. (This is not true in Kosrae where the family structures are still largely intact.)

Marshalls

General economic conditions and political status considerations.

Northern Mariana Islands

1. Sanitation
2. Imported labor displacing local people from employment opportunities

3. Lack of industrial development.

Truk

1. Alcohol abuse.

2. Lack of employment opportunities after graduation from high school.

3. Over population in the District Center and many outer islands.

Each respondent was then asked to list the three most important causes of juvenile delinquency in his district. The answers were as follows:

Truk

First: Lack of parental controls over children;

Second: Large numbers of students leaving school before graduation;

Third: Loss of traditional culture and customs.

Northern Mariana Islands

First: Lack of parental guidance;

Second: Lack of self-pride

Third: Lack of organized youth activities.

Ponape and Marshalls

First: Breakdown of the family flowing from impact of Western culture on local cultures.  
Palau

First: Vast discrepancy of wealth between the rich Americans and the not-so-rich Palauan;

Second: Alcohol abuse by minors.

Yap

First: Movies are teaching stealing, killing, and other anti-social acts;

Second: Families do not control their children.

Third: Schools do not teach respect for traditional customs.

The next question asked if there were certain definable ethnic groups whose juveniles seem to be arrested out of proportion to their relative numbers in the district. Answers follow:

---

<sup>1</sup> There are no female Public Defenders, Public Defender Representatives, or Assistant Public Defender Representatives.

Ponape and Marshalls: No. Outer Islands youth are arrested more often because they are not fully socialized into the very different culture of the District Center. There is not visible police discrimination against outer island youth.

Northern Mariana Islands: Carolinians are arrested out of proportion to their numbers. Residents of poorer areas are arrested out of proportion to their numbers.

Truk: No.

Palau: No.

Yap: Palauan youth were identified as being arrested out of proportion to their numbers. Outer Islanders were considered model youth who virtually never get into trouble.

The next question asked if there were any special defense problems in the defense of juvenile offenders in the district. The question was intended to get at the differences between the alien legal system embodied in the code and the still alive local culture. Two responses were noted above. In most districts no special defense problems were identified. Other responses received were:

In Ponape and the Marshalls the families do not want a defense. They are not interested in the technical aspect of the law; they want their children punished.

The defense in Truk finds that sometimes the victim's family will comply with customary forgiveness and not want a prosecution but the District Attorney will prosecute over the victim's family's objections. Often the victim's family will not be witnesses at such prosecutions because they are satisfied with the customary arrangements and will not be shamed by appearing to back own on their word.

Also in Truk the author repeated to the Public Defender Representative a statement made to the author earlier in another district to the effect that drunkenness as a mitigating factor in determination of sentencing entered Micronesia only under the American occupation. The frequent (and in the mind of the lay public apparently successful) use of this argument by Public Defenders and Public Defender Representatives was thought to have created the general public attitude that drunkenness excuses criminal behavior. This acceptance by the public of the loss of control during a state of intoxication justifies almost any violent criminal act and seriously weakens the fabric of society and social control. The Truk Public Defender Representative thought this argument was applicable in Truk but that he had to continue to use drunkenness as an appeal for mitigation of sentence because it was his duty to do his best for his clients.

He noted another moral dilemma for someone in his position. That moral dilemma springs from the conflict between statutory and customary processes: customarily in Truk an insult, especially by one male of another male's female relatives, is a trigger for "war". The degree of the insult will determine the degree of violence. Such an insult must be avenged and violent vengeance is not considered "criminal". But Trukese officers of the court have to treat the violence in response to an insult as criminal, even though they personally believe it was justified and called for.

It should be noted that two Public Defenders commented on a rule which does not allow American trained and licensed lawyers to oppose counsel without formal legal training. Thus a Prosecutor (Micronesian who is not formally trained in the law) may not be opposed by a Public Defender but only by a Public Defender Representative (who is also a Micronesian without formal legal training)

and vice versa. One Public Defender felt that this rule effectively denied a defendant of his right to counsel if an attorney could not represent him because the prosecution was being conducted by the Prosecutor rather than by the District Attorney. The Public Defender for Ponape/Marshalls was emphatic in his agreement and in saying that he would not give up the defense of a client because of this rule but rather demand that the prosecution be conducted by the District Attorney instead of the Prosecutor, thus assuring his client the right to effective counsel.

The next question was: "how would you describe the relationship between customary practices of handling juvenile offenders and statutory proceedings. Please discuss the major points of divergence and the main areas of similarity." Answers follow:

#### Truk

In customary times the lineage head of the offender's family would deal with the lineage head of the victim's family in a cooperative search for a just solution relationship between the government and the immediate family of the offender in the case. Customary settlements are still used, if possible.

#### Ponape and Marshalls.

There is a strong conflict between what is believed to be the traditional system of correcting improper behavior and our current system. However, it is difficult to get consensus on what the customary system was. The cultural solution was always changing because decisions were made by very power high caste individuals who judged each case on the basis of then current conditions which were continuously changing. Precedent and written rules did not impose rigid limits on decision making.

The author noted that he had been told that many people in Ponape believed that a dead man found floating in a body of water had been killed in revenge for his brother's having murdered a person. The brother of the dead man was then serving a jail sentence for the murder but a jail sentence was not seen as adequate punishment by the members of the murder victim's family. Rather, it was felt that those dissatisfied members of the murder victim's family chose to follow a practice sometimes followed customarily: kill a close relative of the murderer so that he will have to spend the rest of his life knowing he is responsible for his relative's death.

The Public Defender thought that it was a distinct possibility that this death was such a revenge murder but noted that the autopsy capability in Ponape is not adequate to have allowed a determination if the cause of death was unlawful.

He felt that while there are many areas of conflict between customary practices and our current system, the current system is now in a dominant position and cultural adjustments will have to be made to it. One example is Ebeye where the population is so divergent and divorced from custom that customary ways of resolving disputes will not work. A formal legal system is required and the current situation is difficult because the incumbent Community Court Judge is "useless."

The author then asked the Ponape/Marshalls Public Defender for comments on following proposal:

Gather together from all islands or relevant areas in each district people in a position to discuss customary practices in the district and negotiate an agreed upon consensus of current valid operational practices which could be written down or "restated" (in legal terms.)

This restatement would then be compared point-for-point with the current T.T. code by an appropriate body consisting of practicing lawyers, and judges in the District, non lawyers who are long time participants in the judicial system, traditional leaders, legislative representatives, and others considered appropriate. The purpose of the comparison would be to develop a new code embodying the aspects of the American system which are considered desirable and the aspects of the customary system which are considered to be effective and not in conflict with fundamental human liberties. In appropriate parts of the current T.T. code would be dropped from the new code.



Although he saw inherent difficulties in the process because there would be conflicting opinions by traditional experts on what customary practices are or were and because it would mean five separate codes (the Northern Mariana are already in a separate category). The Public Defender felt that it would be "very worthwhile if it could be done" in criminal law and that it was "imperative in civil law" which composes the bulk of legal work in the districts.

(The same question had been put to the Public Defender Representative in Truk who were very supportive of the idea and said, "I would love to work on that committee!")

#### Palau

The customary process was not adversary as the current one is. (The current system is actually adversary and not reform oriented as it claims). The customary system was one of family control of the youthful offender and any punishment imposed by figures in authority would have been on the family of the juvenile. Now the punishment is directed at the individual. It was added that the past family control system is irretrievably broken. The current system of virtually unsupervised probation is ineffective. One Palauan respondent felt that another system is needed which does not bring young people into an adversary situation although the court would continue to remain as a back-up system if the other methods would not work.

Another Palauan respondent felt the current system is good but that a work farm was needed isolated in Babelthaup where the youth would have to work hard so he would learn that he has done something wrong and has to repay society.

All the respondents were asked, "What is your opinion of procedures for arrest and detention of minors in the District." Some answers have already been given above in the anonymous response section. However, there were three other responses:

#### Truk:

Detention facilities very poor because there are no separate juvenile facilities and there are no professional counselling services available to young people in trouble.

#### Ponape and Marshalls:

Arrest procedures in Ponape are very poor. Arrests and detention of juveniles is more often done illegally than legally. In the Marshalls illegal arrests and detention are much less of a problem though there are some instances of illegal arrest and detention. The Public Defender more limited experience in the Marianas indicates illegal arrests and detention also. Illegal detention in Ponape includes, but is not limited to, incarceration of juveniles on the request of parents. The police use the excuse that they are being held for investigation. They are usually released without any charges or booking so there are no statistical records. It is favor to the parents; essentially seen by the police as a community service.

In all three districts in which he has worked he feels that the police are more adopt at getting around the requirements of the Miranda decision requiring advice of rights that American police departments. The right to counsel is explained but then the police tell the suspects that the Public Defender is not around or probably will not listen to the suspect and thus effectively discourage contact with the Public Defender's Office. In the Marianas one of the ploys is to promise immediate release after interrogation for a full confession without a lawyer present, then incarcerate the juvenile anyway. These practices, along with ignorance of the law, account for the vast majority of the decisions to waive the right to counsel. (Police in all districts indicate that almost all juveniles waive right to counsel.)

<sup>1</sup> Note that Public Defender for Ponape and the Marshalls has also had temporary assignments practicing in Salpan. Some of his comments regarding Salpan will be included here and identified as referring to Salpan.

Females are searched by men. There should be at least one female police officer in each district, not only to search female prisoners but also to do general police work, especially juvenile investigations.

One problem in the Northern Marianas is arrests are made without probable cause.

Palau:

There are no separate juvenile detention facilities.

No district (including the Northern Marianas) has any diversion programs or shelter care facilities in operation. No district has any formal rehabilitation program though there is a rudimentary work-release program in Palau in which some prisoners are allowed to work under the supervision of the Probation Officer. There are no real alternatives other than probation or jail.

Respondents were asked what is the nature of their dealings with the parents of juvenile offenders.

Truk:

Parents are called in and all charges and procedures are explained.

Northern Marianas

Parent attitudes avoid the problem of changing the child's anti-social behavior and focus on forgiveness.

The Public Defender Representative in Truk recommended a "complete diversion program" consisting of off-island (meaning off-Moen) facilities where teaching of custom, pride in Trukese culture, and mechanical skills would be taught.

The Public Defender in Palau has been trying to get juvenile prisoners released from jail during the day to finish their high school education but the Palau High School administration refuses to allow them in school on the grounds that prisoners should be punished.

Yap:

Parents will tell the truth about the behavior of their children.

Ponape and Marshalls:

We attempt to inform the parents of the full significance of the acts alleged to have been committed by the child, the nature of the juvenile justice procedures they will be going through, and we try to help them understand why they have lost control of their children. Most parents express bewilderment at this loss of control.

The next question asked what suggestions would the respondent offer for the improvement of arrest procedures, detention facilities, and trials of juveniles. The answers follow:

Ponape and Marshalls:

There is no system now. The procedure is chaotic. The police require training in arrest procedures and the juvenile officers on the police forces require training in handling juveniles.

Also, the whole process should be changed to eliminate the current real adversary system. Even though the Code pretends that the system is to help the child and not adversary, it is adversary because of the fact of arrests, opposing counsel, and proceedings in court-which

is clearly identified in the minds of the public as being a place of adversary relations. Stigmatization from the current system is harmful. It essentially throws 18-25 year olds on the "scrap heap".

The system should be revised to eliminate arrests and change booking to an initial screening process. The process should not only be removed from the current court system but should not be part of a juvenile or family court either. If a non-adversary community-based program fail to help a specific juvenile, then the court which would have final authority could be resorted to.

There was a question concerning the existence of a parole system in the Districts. The parole program is created by the T.T. code. Its effectiveness was judged to be "minimal" or "fair" by the respondents. In the Marshalls and Ponape it was reported to be just beginning to function with no real supervision of parolees though in theory they are supervised by the Chief of Police and the Parole Board. The members of the Parole Board were seen as untrained and the law described as incomplete in that it does not spell out a complete process. Operationally the system is actually an early release program for good behavior in the opinion of the Public Defender for those districts.

In Yap the Defender Representative felt that it works because the parolees tend to behave because they are afraid of returning to jail and because it allows juveniles to return to school.

The respondents were asked: "Do you feel that your clients understand their rights under the law before you see them the first time?" In all six districts the answer was that the juveniles do not know their rights the first time the Public Defender sees them. One respondent was emphatic: "No, absolutely not -- neither juvenile, adult, nor parent. There is categoric ignorance and nobody is trying to change that."

The Public Defender in Palau and Yap also recommended a community based program of supervision for juvenile offenders rather than an emphasis on punishment or the development of a separate juvenile facility. He was in favor of strengthening the probation department to help young people in trouble.

One of his staff members suggested that curfew arrests should be stopped and that the police take children home to parents rather than lock them up overnight in jail.

Another of his staff members agreed that the probation department staff should be increased and that two more staff members are needed to deal only with juveniles. One of these additional staff members should be a social worker.

A further suggestion was made that village oriented adult education for parents be instituted.

## APPENDIX L

### 1976 TRUST TERRITORY YOUTH DEVELOPMENT RESEARCH PROJECT

Funded by the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration of the United States Department of Justice pursuant to the Crime Control Act of 1968, as amended

#### District Attorney's Questionnaire

1. In your district, how do people usually define "youth" or "young person?"
2. Regarding juvenile delinquency in your District, would you describe it as
  - A. ( ) Not a serious problem
  - B. ( ) A small problem
  - C. ( ) A medium serious problem
  - D. ( ) A very serious problem
3. If there are other problems in this District more serious than juvenile delinquency, please list them:
  - A  
\_\_\_\_\_
  - B  
\_\_\_\_\_
  - C  
\_\_\_\_\_
4. In your opinion, what are the three most important causes of juvenile delinquency in your district?
  - A. First most important reason \_\_\_\_\_
  - B. Second most important reason \_\_\_\_\_
  - C. Third most important reason \_\_\_\_\_
5. Are there certain definable ethnic groups whose juveniles seem to be arrested out of proportion to their relative numbers in the district.
  - A. If yes, please identify.
6. What, if any, special problems are there in the prosecution of juvenile offenders in your District?
7. How would you describe the relationship between customary practices of handling juvenile offenders and statutory proceedings? Please discuss the major points of divergence and the main area of similarity.
8. Are any special difficulties created for you in your prosecution of juveniles by the co-existence of the statutory and customary systems of law in your District?

9. Do you plea-bargain juvenile defendants?
10. What is your opinion of procedures for arrest and detention of minors in your District?
11. In your District, do youthful suspects claim they have been beaten or otherwise roughed up by the police during an arrest or interrogation? If they do make such allegations, do you feel there is evidence to support such allegations?
12. Are there offenses by juveniles that you do not prosecute as a matter of policy?
  - A. If yes, please explain.
13. Are there diversion programs in operation in your District?
  - A. If so, what are they and are they effective?
  - B. If there are no diversion programs, what do you do as an alternative?
  - C. If there are no diversion programs, should diversion programs be started in your District?
  - D. If yes, what kind?
14. Are there shelter care facilities in your District?
  - A. If yes, are they adequate?
  - B. If not, what do you do in lieu of using shelter care facilities?
  - C. If not, do you feel a shelter care facility is needed?
15. Are there rehabilitation programs in operation in your District?
  - A. If so, what are they?
  - B. If not, what do you do as an alternative?
  - C. If not, what kinds of rehabilitation programs (if any) do you think are needed?
16. What is the nature of your dealings with the parents of juvenile offenders?
17. What suggestions would you offer for the improvement of arrest procedures, detention facilities, and trials of juveniles?
18. Do you have a parole program in your District?
  - A. If yes, how effective is it?
  - B. If it is not effective, what needs to be done to improve it?
  - C. If there is none, do you feel you should have one?

19. Upon conviction or court judgement (whichever is appropriate) finding a person under 18 years of age to be delinquent, is there a difference in the way you recommend sentencing depending on:
- A. Sex
  - B. Age
  - C. Nature of offense
  - D. Prior convictions or judgements of Juvenile Delinquency
  - E. Family status in the community
20. What suggestions would you offer for the improvement of arrest procedures detention facilities, and trials of juveniles?
21. Regarding sentencing in this District, do you feel that the sentences generally:
- A. ( ) are appropriate to the offense
  - B. ( ) are too lenient
  - C. ( ) are too severe
  - D. ( ) have no single pattern

Listed below are some possible reasons why young people might become juvenile delinquents in this District. Please read the whole list. Then, after you have read the list, please mark an "x" in the box at the right indicating if the reason is important, minor, or not really a reason. If you are not sure, please mark the "NO Opinion" box.

	A Important reason	B Minor reason	C Not a reason	D No opinion
1. There are not enough activities in the District Centers to keep young people busy doing good things.				
2. They need money to buy the things they want but cannot afford.				
3. Too many young people drop out of school and do not do anything else.				
4. Their parents do not control them enough.				
5. It is too easy to get alcoholic beverages.				
6. Many young people just like to cause trouble.				
7. There are not enough jobs.				
8. They know they will not get punished by the courts.				
9. Many young people are neglected by their parents or older relatives.				
10. Young people from other municipalities or islands or Districts do not know how to behave properly here on this island.				
11. Young people do not have necessary respect for their parents or families.				
12. Other (Please write)				
13. Other (Please write)				

22. Would you say that the coordination between the Probation Officers (if there are any in your District) and parents of juveniles found to be delinquent is adequate to significantly increase the chances of rehabilitation of the youthful offender?

A. ☐ Adequate

B. ☐ Not adequate

C. ☐ Unable to determine

23. Are there differences in juvenile delinquency rates between various locations (islands or municipalities) or ethnic groups in your District?

☐ Yes

☐ No

☐ No opinion

24. If your answer to No. 23 was "yes", what are the causes of these higher juvenile delinquency rates?

A. Differences in cultures or customs

B. Differential enforcement policies by police

C. \_\_\_\_\_

D. \_\_\_\_\_




## APPENDIX M

### SUMMARY OF DISTRICT ATTORNEYS' AND/OR DISTRICT PROSECUTORS' RESPONSES TO THE DISTRICT ATTORNEY QUESTIONNAIRE

The District Attorneys were interviewed in all Districts except one (he was off-island) and in that District the Prosecutor and Assistant Prosecutor were interviewed. All interview forms had been forwarded to the District Attorney's office in advance by the Attorney General's office. In most Districts the District Attorneys conferred with their Prosecutors and Assistant Prosecutors before responding to the questionnaire. In one District, all three officials were present for the interview and responded together.

During the interview process it was found that some questions were not very helpful and they were not asked in subsequent interviews. Other questions were sometimes added during the interviews so that while the interviews are fairly standardized, they are not identical.

As in the case of all officers of the justice system, the respondents were not explicitly promised anonymity so they could speak freely. However, the author has proceeded as if such a promise had been explicitly made. Two respondents specifically agreed to have some of their statements quoted for the purpose of this report. Some non-controversial positions were identified by District in this report.

The first question asked how "youth" was defined in each District. In one District the staff could not come up with a satisfactory definition. In two others the ages 15-25 were given. The question was not asked further.

In five districts of six people answering the question concerning the seriousness of juvenile delinquency, three felt it was "very serious", one felt it was "becoming very serious" and two felt it was "medium serious".

The respondents were then asked to list other social problems in their Districts more serious than juvenile delinquency, if any. In one District the answer was "delinquency by people 18-30 years old". Since the general cultural norms of Micronesia, while varying a little from place to place, have youth extending into the late twenties, delinquency becomes a proper term when applied to this age group while it would not be proper in the United States. This District Attorney felt that there was no social problem in the District more serious. (He is an American).

In another District the local Prosecutor felt that there were probably more serious social problems but he did not feel that he was in a position to discuss them. He did feel that in the area of criminal activity juvenile delinquency "is probably the most serious".

In one District where the District Attorney felt juvenile delinquency was a "medium serious" problem, he felt that the following were more serious problems:

1. Overcrowding in the District Center;
2. Lack of employment opportunities;
3. Not enough land available for agricultural use and settlement.

There were no other answers received to this question.

The District Attorneys and Prosecutors were next asked what, in their opinions, were the three

most important causes of juvenile delinquency in their Districts. The responses were:

Ponape

1. Abuse of alcoholic beverages in imitation of adults and out of boredom from lack of things to do;
2. Families have become of unmanageable size. Large numbers of children live in cramped quarters. The parents do not have enough time to give each child all the necessary attention. There are insufficient activities to occupy the time of the young.

Marianas

1. Loss of traditional values;
2. Large number of school dropouts;
3. Unemployment for high school graduates;
4. Lack of parental supervision/control;
5. Overly lenient court sentences.

Palau

1. Lack of employment opportunities;
2. The void which exists between traditional customs and the new law system?
3. Lack of direct family supervision of children. Parents are often busy working and do not exercise enough control. Many families are broken. Drunkenness by adults in the family contributes to the loss of parental control.

Yap

1. Abuse of alcoholic beverages;
2. Bad influence of movies;
3. Young people without homes.

Marshalls

1. Lack of parental guidance;
2. Lack of recreation facilities;
3. Abuse of alcohol.

Truk

No response to this question.

Two reasons show up in all five Districts: (1) breakdown of the family; and (2) abuse of alcohol. These reasons as well as the others listed above are generally emphasized in all of the other interviews with other members of the justice system. There is a highly shared and common set of perceptions of the causes of juvenile delinquency throughout Micronesia. (See summaries of Judges, Police Chiefs, Public Defenders, and Probation Officers questionnaires.)

The next question asked was if there are "...certain definable ethnic groups whose juveniles be arrested out of proportion to their relative numbers in the district"? In two districts the answer was "no". Most respondents stated that they had no opinion. In one District it was felt that children of broken marriages are arrested out of proportion to their relative numbers. In the Marianas it was felt that the Carolinians are arrested out of proportion to their numbers.

A 1971 statistical analysis of Salpan police juvenile arrest records and Juvenile Court records for the period from January 1969 through April 1971 was made by Gregory J. Miles, M.S., Director of Mental Health for the TTPI. A total of 567 juvenile arrests of which 472 were males were examined. Thirty-one of the juveniles arrested were brought to court. Fifty-six different correlations (hypotheses) were tested by Chi-square or Fisher Exact Probability methods. Relationships bearing a probability of chance occurrence of less than 10% were adjudged by the author to be significant. Among those hypotheses were differential arrest rates for Carolinian males and females as opposed to arrest rates for Chamorro males and females. Some of the author's conclusions follow:

"...the data does not support contentions that the generalized treatment by the police of Carolinian or other minority juvenile males is unfair or prejudicial."

"Contrary to that for males, data on female juveniles indicates the presence of differential handling. First, a higher proportion of Carolinians than Chamorros are arrested for offenses of minority. Comparisons with population projections reveal that significantly more Carolinian girls and fewer Chamorro and "Others" are arrested than would be expected. Also, in comparing arrests of females and males, significantly more Carolinian females are arrested than expected. Either a greater percentage of (Carolinian) girls commit offenses than Chamorros or "Others", or the police are handling the ethnic groups differently. Experience would lead this investigator to believe the latter.

"Data on referrals (presumably to Court) also indicates prejudicial treatment of Carolinian girls are referred than are Chamorro."

The author of that study also felt that from the data it was evident that "...there are too many arrests occurring. Only 2-3% of the male arrestees were referred to court. Arrests are commonly used (wrongly) as an investigative tool or for punitive purposes..." It should be noted that it was entirely possible that most of the arrests during the period were justified but did not reach court because family or "customary" settlements were arranged.

The next question asked, "What, if any, special problems are there in the prosecution of juvenile offenders in your District?" The word "special" was not defined by the interviewer so that the question would be very open-ended.

In one District both the Prosecutor and Assistant Prosecutor felt there were no special problems in prosecuting juveniles. In another District the District Attorney felt the need for a "qualified probation officer". In another District the need was expressed for separate facilities for housing juvenile offenders. There was no answer in one District. In another District the District Attorney felt that the lack of a rehabilitation program and the lack of effective punishment by the courts inhibited his ability to prosecute juveniles.

The next question was very difficult for many respondents to understand. After extensive discussion when both the interviewer and the respondents were satisfied that the question was restated clearly, a number of the people being interviewed felt they did not have enough knowledge to respond. The question was: "How would you describe the relationship between customary practices of handling juvenile offenders and statutory proceedings? Please discuss the major points of divergence and the main areas of similarity." The responses were as follows:

- \* One District Attorney felt that drunkenness as an excuse for criminal behavior was not part of custom but entered the culture under The American administration. He felt that the permissiveness of the courts in giving light sentences when an offender was drunk was a contributing factor in the current inability of adults to control the behavior of juveniles.
- \* In another District the Prosecutor felt that under custom, the parents had the discretion of exercising the proper amount of punishment but now statutory law limits the ability of parents to punish.
- \* In another District the following narrative was prepared in advance by the District Attorney: "The interest of the child is taken into consideration both in customary and in statutory practices. However, I am told by my staff that rehabilitation is effective under customary practices rather than statutory practices. Under customary practices, punishment is swift and speedy. Corporal punishment is sanctioned. There are no delays in meting out punishment. Justice under customary practices is far more effective. Due process is a concept made by guilt-ridden Americans. The staff regards American justice as a joke in comparison to the effectiveness of customary practices."
- \* In Palau the District Attorney finds enforcement of traffic laws difficult. Although drunk driving is a serious problem creating dangerous situations for the community, it is possible to get a license suspended. One of the reasons is the pattern of extreme leniency of sentences by judges. In a system where a person convicted of murder will get only a three year jail sentence it is not possible to be appropriately severe for lesser offenses.

- \* One person noted that a recent sentence of six months for kidnapping and murder was not appropriate to the crime. The members of the village of the victim do not feel that justice was done and were upset about the sentence. A customary solution to the problem of sanctions for homicide would have probably left most members of the community feeling that justice had been served and passions would quickly subside.
- \* A District Attorney noted that family punishment was the effective way of controlling an individual's behavior and stated that long ago in his district one practice followed was that a person caught doing some violation in another family's compound would be tied to a coconut tree and left until he was ransomed by his family.
- \* Also, social control was maintained by chiefs. The chief of the village of an offender might be fined himself, thus supporting his incentive to maintain control in the village. Now the chief's powers are vanishing under the impact of the social system in general and the legal system is one of the forces contributing.

One of the Assistant Prosecutors in one of the Districts represented above felt that the two systems of justice were "almost the same". It can indicate that the question was not clearly presented; or it can indicate that he is not familiar with customary practices of handling juvenile misbehavior. Some of the Prosecutors and Assistant Prosecutors interviewed felt that they did not know enough about customary practices to make the comparison.

The District Attorney in Palau felt that something totally new is needed. A large measure of creativity is needed to develop a new viable code which would contain the best of both legal systems. However, the District Attorney in Yap (who is Palauan) felt that the two systems cannot be mixed -- that it is an either-or situation.

The next question was closely related. As in the above question, most of those interviewed did not express an opinion. In one case, where the respondent had not answered the previous question he did answer the following question. The question was: "Are any special difficulties created for you in your prosecution of juveniles by the co-existence of the statutory and customary systems of law in your District?"

The respondent who answered this question but who did not answer the preceding question said that he felt no difficulties because he essentially ignored customary law and followed the statutes only. This was very similar to the answer given by the District Attorney whose narrative was quoted above. His response was:

"There are no special difficulties that we can see. When we receive a police report we prosecute the juvenile according to the American system. In less serious cases, we might be more inclined to allow the juvenile to apologize to the victim, if the victim will accept the apology. However, in serious cases, more apologies and forgiveness will only serve to create further difficulty for the juvenile in the future. At some time, the juvenile is (sic) or should know that under the American system, Apologies won't satisfy the goal of the law that crimes should cease. Better they learn now than later on".

In another District the District Attorney stated that his Prosecutor could not prosecute the children of families from a very high social status and that those cases had to be turned over to the District Attorney for prosecution.

In one District both the Prosecutor and Assistant Prosecutor felt the only difficulty they faced was from parents who wanted their children jailed for longer periods than the law allows or without the procedural safeguards embodied in the law.

In one of the districts where these two questions were not answered directly, there was a discussion during the interview which did in fact respond to the issues raised, at least in part. That portion of the interview began with the following statement: "Suspended sentence with probation is a joke." The reason given to the interviewer was that probation has no controls. The respondent stated that the High Court probation conditions were reasonable but the Probation Officer does not monitor and control the probationer's behavior. He felt it was a problem of staffing and facilities and stated unequivocally that there was "no system". He added that the police do not enforce the conditions of probation.

He noted that although nothing in the T.T. code stops traditional sanctions from being imposed, the courts do not avail themselves of traditional sanctions.

He also felt that punishment under the current system is too mild to be effective.

In response to the question "What is your opinion of procedures for arrest and detention of minors in your District, the following responses were given:

- \* Detention should be separate from adults and should be more comfortable.
- \* There should be separate juvenile detention facilities.
- \* Minors should be issued citations to appear in court if it is not intended that they be brought to the police station for questioning.
- \* In general the police are very un-professional in their work. Citations should be issued instead of detention for non-dangerous misdemeanors. In "minor situations" the juveniles should be taken home rather than to the police station.

The District Attorney and Prosecutors and their assistants were asked if youthful suspects claim they have been beaten or otherwise roughed up by the police during an arrest or interrogation. If such claims were made, the respondents were asked if they thought there was evidence to support the allegations. In one District there was no response at all to the question. In two other districts three people responded that they had never heard such allegations.

However, in three other Districts the District Attorneys all said that such allegations are made and that there is evidence to support the allegations.

When asked if there were offenses which were not prosecuted as a matter policy, three respondents in two Districts did not answer. In three districts there was a clear "no" answer. In one district the District Attorney responded that such minor crimes as stealing a candy bar which would waste the court's time are not prosecuted.

In response to a question concerning the existence of diversion programs in the districts, most respondents answered that there were none. One stated that while there was not any such program now, some meetings and discussions had been held concerning setting up some kind of program. He recommended that recreation and sports programs be considered. In Ponape the Outward Bound program was identified as a diversion program.

Regarding shelter care facilities, all districts except Palau reported none. In Palau there is a quonset hut located and renovated by the Probation Officer for use as an overnight home for juveniles as an alternative to jail. It has no staff and virtually no furniture or equipment and is not utilized by the judges because of lack of supervision. It is not really intended as a shelter care facility.

All of the respondents agreed that there are no rehabilitation programs operative in any district. In

one district the alternative was to assign work programs to juveniles adjudicated to be delinquent. The system does not work due to lack of supervision.

Most respondents stated that they have no contact with the parents of juvenile offenders. One stated that he sees them only after the child has been charged. Usually the parents cannot articulate the reasons for the child's misbehavior.

The next question asked: "What suggestions would you offer for the improvement of arrest procedures, detention facilities, and trials of juveniles? The answers were as follows.

- \* There is a need for separate juvenile detention correction facilities and trial procedures need to be improved by having judges with formal training in the U.S. legal system.
- \* Proceedings should not be closed. Openness of trials would bring to bear the sanction of public shame. The proceedings should be trials and not fact finding hearings. Young people should have to face the fact that they are being punished for violating the law. Only in cases of rape or mental derangement should portions of the trials be closed to protect parties to the case.
- \* "Probably the best thing we can do FOR the juveniles is to prosecute them hard and let them know that we mean business at this stage of their lives. I believe that permissiveness is equated to coddling. The only beneficial thing that comes from coddling juveniles is that a lot more people are employed in the correctional field. Aside from that, permissiveness will only lead to further taking advantage of the system by immature juveniles who, as can be expected, are reluctant to have their fun and games curtailed . . . The biggest problem in the area is speedy trials. Sometimes a juvenile has grown up and married by the time he is brought to trial. Another problem is the lack of ability on the part of judges, especially High Court judges, to lash out at a juvenile. They insist on being overly polite and almost saccharine. There's nothing wrong with coming down hard on a juvenile in court. It lets him know where he stands. Being polite to an extreme is another way of coddling juveniles. It's not fair to the juvenile because it doesn't tell the juvenile that he's in trouble."
- \* Separate detention facilities are needed.
- \* "The trial and arrest procedures do not present problems. The problems arose (sic) after the trial is over. What do we do with the offender? To this end a full time probation officer is recommended."

All respondents were asked if there is a parole program in their districts and if there is, is it effective. In three districts the answer was that there is no program at all and in two districts there is nominally a parole program but they were described as not functioning. In the last district the District Attorney stated that there is an "unofficial work furlough" program which he started. He felt that it is possible (though not yet done) for a juvenile offender to be paroled after serving a certain portion of a jail sentence.

The respondents were asked to comment on the appropriateness of sentencing in their districts. They were given four choices: Sentences generally are:

- a. appropriate to the offense
- b. too lenient
- c. too severe
- d. have no single pattern

One respondent answered that they follow no single pattern. Two felt that they were too lenient and a third stated that they were generally too lenient but on occasion were too severe. This person stated that the judges are increasing the severity of punishment and that he would like to see fines accompany suspended sentences along with the requirement of free community services on weekends and evenings (or during the day if the offender is not working). Such community service would be picking up beer cans, doing public works, etc., and should be done in full public view.

Another response was: "It's not just the sentences, but the way the sentences are imposed which are (sic) disgustingly lenient. You'd think that the prosecution should be apologizing to the juvenile and his family for the inconvenience of bringing them to court. Terrible. No wonder juveniles laugh at the system."

Since there were only three districts in which probation officers were active at the time of the interviews, answers to a question regarding coordination between the Probation Officers and parents of delinquent juveniles were limited. The District Attorneys and Prosecutors felt they were not able to comment, due to lack of knowledge of the Probation Officer's contact with parents. Two questions dealt with differences in juvenile delinquency rates between various locations or ethnic groups in the District. Except for a general feeling that outer island youth are more supervised by their families and cause significantly less trouble, no conclusive answers were given.

The formal questionnaire with narrative questions ended at this point. There was a question requesting answers in tabular form to possible causes of juvenile delinquency. It will be treated last in this discussion.

In Yap, additional discussion took place after the completion of the formal questionnaire. The District Attorney in Yap agreed with the LEAA position that status offenses should be de-institutionalized. He felt that the primary current problem in Yap was that probation is unsupervised. He also felt that it would be valuable to have a uniformed Palauan Officer on the Yap police force to deal with the sizeable Palauan community in permanent residence in Yap. He also felt that a female uniformed police officer would be "very effective" in working with juveniles of both sexes and with female adults.

In Palau an additional question was asked of the District Attorney: "If a large amount of money were to become available to improve the juvenile justice system, how should it be spent?" There was a general response that the problem is "simple" -- hot pockets (3 areas) should be flooded with police patrols. On weekends, and especially on pay-day weekends police patrols should be increased. It is common knowledge where trouble is likely to occur and the police should have a presence there to deter the trouble. He also felt that the Palau equivalent of the "neighborhood cop" could be a workable solution. There should be foot patrols in Koror through the villages allowing the police to develop a good working relationship with the people of the villages.

Specific answers to the question were:

1. Move the jail out of Koror and have the prisoners responsible for growing their own food;
2. Provide adequate modern communication equipment to the police. This would allow them to secure areas. They should also have flood lights on their cars.
3. The police should have a rescue boat which could also bring in witnesses from remote villages for trials.
4. There should be a professional training program for the police perhaps based on the Hawaii model.
5. The District Attorney's office needs a photocopy machine.

On the following page is a reproduction of the summary of responses to the question regarding causes of juvenile delinquency which was presented with fixed choices rather than in an open-ended fashion as in the beginning of the questionnaire. One respondent felt that the knowledge that courts

do not punish severely was on the borderline between a minor reason and not a reason. In Ponape it was felt that the government spends too many thousands of dollars on scholarships to colleges in the U.S. while it should be providing money for graduates of Ponape Agricultural and Trade School with financial assistance to get started in commercial farming.

It will be noted that there is a slight difference of emphasis between this set of answers and the answers given to the open-ended question regarding causes of juvenile delinquency at the beginning of the questionnaire. When a specific question regarding the role of courts was included as it was in the second question, it was selected as an important reason by two respondents and as a minor reason by another. Two of the respondents who were most critical of the lenient sentencing policies of the courts in the narrative discussions did not answer this part of the survey. Therefore, this tabular summary does not adequately reflect their attitudes. In the opinion of the author, this question has less value than the narrative statements, though it does not show any serious inconsistencies.



## APPENDIX N

### TRUST TERRITORY YOUTH DEVELOPMENT RESEARCH PROJECT

Funded by the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration of the United States Department of Justice pursuant to the Crime Control Act of 1968, as amended.

#### Description and Analysis of Trust Territory Juvenile Justice System Questionnaires

#### INTERVIEW FORM FOR JUDGES

1. Regarding juvenile delinquency in your District, would you describe it as
  - A. ☐ not a serious problem
  - B. ☐ a small problem
  - C. ☐ a serious problem
  - D. ☐ a very serious problem
2. If there are other problems in this District more serious than juvenile delinquency, please list them:
  - A. \_\_\_\_\_
  - B. \_\_\_\_\_
  - C. \_\_\_\_\_
3. Are there other indicators of the seriousness of the problem apart from your court records?
4. In your opinion, what are the three most important causes of juvenile delinquency in your District? (Be as specific as possible)
  - A. First most important cause? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
  - B. Second most important cause? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
  - C. Third most important cause? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
5. Does your court maintain a permanent record of juvenile cases?
  - A. If yes, is there a standard form used?
  - B. Can you please give us a blank sample copy of that form?
  - C. If a standard form is not used, what kinds of information do you keep in the records?
6. What types of juvenile cases do you most frequently hear?
  - A. Why do you think you get this kind of case more than others?
7. Are there certain definable ethnic groups whose juveniles seem to be brought to your court more often than you would expect because of their numbers in the District?
  - A. ☐ Yes

**CONTINUED**

**2 OF 3**

Listed below are some possible reasons why young people might become juvenile delinquents in this District. Please read the whole list. Then, after you have read the list, please mark an "x" in the box at the right indicating if the reason is important, minor, or not really a reason. If you are not sure, please mark the "NO Opinion" box.

	A Important reason	B Minor reason	C Not a reason	D No opinion
1. There are not enough activities in the District Centers to keep young people busy doing good things.				
2. They need money to buy the things they want but cannot afford.				
3. Too many young people drop out of school and do not do anything else.				
4. Their parents do not control them enough.				
5. It is too easy to get alcoholic beverages.				
6. Many young people just like to cause trouble.				
7. There are not enough jobs.				
8. They know they will not get punished by the courts.				
9. Many young people are neglected by their parents or older relatives.				
10. Young people from other municipalities or islands or Districts do not know how to behave properly here on this island.				
11. Young people do not have necessary respect for their parents or families.				
12. Other (Please write)				
13. Other (Please write)				

Listed below are some possible reasons why young people might become juvenile delinquents in this District. Please tell me if you think those are important reasons or not.

	A Important reason	B Minor reason	C Not a reason	D No opinion
1. There are not enough activities in the District Centers to keep young people busy doing good things.				
2. They need money to buy the things they want but cannot afford.				
3. Too many young people drop out of school and do not do anything else.				
4. Their parents do not control them enough.				
5. It is too easy to get alcoholic beverages.				
6. Many young people just like to cause trouble.				
7. There are not enough jobs.				
8. They know they will not get punished by the courts.				
9. Many young people are neglected by their parents or older relatives.				
10. Young people from other municipalities or islands or Districts do not know how to behave properly here on this island.				
11. Young people do not have necessary respect for their parents or families.				
12. Other (Please write)				
13. Other (Please write)				

9. If your answer was "yes" to the above, what are those groups?
10. If your answer was "yes" to number 7, why do you think juveniles from those groups are brought before your court more often than young people from other groups?
- 
- 

11. Do family problems seem to be one of the important causes of juvenile delinquency?

A. ( ) Yes

12. If your answer is "yes", can you list the most common kinds of family problems which are causes of juvenile delinquency?

A.

B.

C.

13. Does the family status of a juvenile from a high family cause problems for the court in the handling of a case or sentencing of an offender?

A. ( ) Yes

13. If your answer is "yes", please explain the nature of the problems encountered.  
Please be as specific as possible.

---

---

---

---

---

14. How would you describe the relationship between customary practices of handling juvenile offenders and statutory proceedings? Please discuss the major points of divergence and the main area, of similarity.

16. Is there any difference in the sentencing of juvenile offenders as opposed to adult offenders when the offenses are the same?

A. ( ) Yes

17. If there is a difference in the sentencing of adult and juvenile offenders for the same offenses, what are the differences?

18. Is there a difference in the way the court sentences a juvenile depending on:

A. Sex?

B. Age?

C. Number of prior court appearances

D. Other (Please specify)

19. If there are differences, what are those differences?

A. In sentencing according to sex? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

B. In sentencing according to age? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

C. In sentencing according to number of prior court appearances?

\_\_\_\_\_

D. In sentencing according to other factors? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

20. What criteria do you use in deciding whether a delinquent juvenile should be:

A. Sent to Jail \_\_\_\_\_

B. Given a suspended sentence and placed under custody of the parents or the probation officer

\_\_\_\_\_

C. Other alternatives? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

21. What does your court do to provide or encourage parents of juvenile repeaters to control delinquent behavior of their children?

A. \_\_\_\_\_

B. \_\_\_\_\_

C. \_\_\_\_\_

22. Do you find it makes any difference in the rehabilitation of a delinquent juvenile if both parents or only one parent is present with the child in the courtroom during the adjudication of delinquency?

A. If your answer is "yes", what is the difference?

B. Should the court have the authority to order both parents to be present? What about juveniles whose parents are not on the island?

23. The T.T. code allows a determination of delinquency for actions by a juvenile which would be a crime if he/she were an adult AND for actions which would not be criminal if the offender were an adult (for example, truancy, refusal to subject himself to the reasonable control of parents or guardian, use of alcohol, etc.).

It is your experience that a juvenile who is adjudicated a delinquent for behavior which would not be criminal if he/she were an adult is then treated like a criminal by other young people, employers and other adults?

A. ( ) Yes?

B. ( ) No;

C. ( ) No opinion

24. Do you personally feel that juveniles who do not commit acts which would be criminal if the juvenile were an adult should be handled differently from those juveniles who commit criminal acts? For example, do you think the law should be changed to allow juveniles who do not commit criminal acts but who are truants, consume alcohol, or otherwise fit into the category of 15TTC Para. 2, (2) - (4) to be dealt with by another institution or system other than the court system?

A. ( ) Yes?

B. ( ) No;

C. ( ) No opinion

25. If your answer is "yes" to question 24, what would be a suitable alternative system for handling non-criminal juveniles who misbehave in ways specified in 15TTC Para 2. sub-paragraphs (2) - (4)

---

---

---

26. How much coordination in the work of rehabilitation of a delinquent child do you see exists between the probation officer and the parents of juveniles judged to be delinquent

( ) Adequate; ( ) Inadequate; ( ) No opinion

27. Do parents of delinquent children need special counseling to help them understand the causes of the delinquent acts of their children and the rehabilitation programs necessary for the children?

- A. ( ) Most parents need such help  
B. ( ) Some parents need such help  
C. ( ) Few parents need such help  
D. ( ) No parents need such help

28. If you answered that parents do need such help, in your opinion what agency or office should have the primary responsibility for providing such help?

---

---

---

29. Should the Court have authority to order parents to accept such help? Does it now?

---

---

30. If there was a lot of money available to improve the juvenile justice system in your District (including defense, prosecution; police; probation; rehabilitation, diversion; and preventive services and programs) what would you recommend be done with that money to make things better in the juvenile justice system?

31. Are there any changes in the laws you would recommend to make your job easier? If so, what changes would you recommend?

- A. ( ) Recommend no changes.  
C. ( ) Recommend the following changes:

1. 

---

2. 

---

3. 

---

32. Is there more the government should know about juvenile justice problems in your District that has not been covered by this questionnaire? If so, what else should be made known?

## Summary of Interviews with District Court Judges

During the months of April and May 1976 twelve District Court Judges were interviewed for this section of the report. All judges sitting on the bench at the time were interviewed. The numbers of judges in each District varied from one to three.

All judges were sent a copy of the interview form in advance by the Chief Justice of the High Court. Experience with those forms in the field showed that some of the questions were not effective, and consequently those questions were not asked during following interviews. In other cases, questions came to mind during the interview that were not in the formal interview format and those questions were added.

The respondents were not specifically promised anonymity during the interviews. However, all responses in the following discussion are couched in general terms so that no specific idea can be identified with the individual who made it. The raw data in the author's files do indicate specific responses.

Of the nine judges responding to a quotation about the seriousness of juvenile delinquency in their Districts currently, five said that juvenile delinquency was a "serious" problem and two of those five felt that the problem was growing. Four other judges saw juvenile delinquency as a "very serious problem."

When asked if there were other social problems more serious than juvenile delinquency, four judges said that it was the most serious of all problems. Two judges felt that criminal behavior by young people between 18-25 years old was more serious than juvenile (legally defined) misbehavior. Three judges saw economic problems as more serious than juvenile delinquency. One of the three specifically mentioned the rising prices of consumer goods accompanied by a decrease in copra prices; one described the problem as too little income to meet "modern needs" while the third simply mentioned economic development as a greater need. A fourth judge listed a closely related problem: youthful unemployment.

Also mentioned as problems more serious than juvenile delinquency were: (a) need for improved transportation to the outer islands; (b) the need for more scholarship aid; (c) lack of respect for adults.

There was general agreement that court records are not an adequate indicator of the magnitude of the juvenile delinquency problem because many incidents are not reported to the police but are handled by more informal or customary methods in the villages.

The judges were asked to list the three most important causes of juvenile delinquency in their Districts. Some did not feel comfortable with listing causes in rank order but they freely offered their ideas of major causes.

For those who were writing to rank order the causes, the following items were listed by various judges as being the "First most important cause of juvenile delinquency":

- \* Punishment is not severe enough
- \* Lack of parental control
- \* Drinking alcoholic beverages
- \* Lack of activities to keep young people busy



- \* Parents and children misunderstand the idea of freedom. Some parents seem to be afraid they will be brought to court if they punish their children and some young people feel that they cannot be punished under the American justice system

The same judges listed the following items as being the "Second most important cause of juvenile delinquency":

- \* Not enough parental supervision
- \* Youth do not respect their elders. They feel more educated and therefore superior.
- \* There are not enough activities for young people to keep them busy.
- \* Punishment is not severe enough.

The items listed as being the "Third most important cause of juvenile delinquency" were:

- \* Lack of respect for adults;
- \* It is too easy to get alcoholic beverages

Those judges who listed three prime causes and wished to continue discussing causal factors in juvenile delinquency added a category of "fourth" most important causes:

- \* Suspended sentences and probation are not severe enough to be effective
- \* It is too easy to get alcoholic beverages.

Those judges who did not rank over their responses listed the following as all being major causes of juvenile delinquency:

- \* Parents neglect their children. In some families there are too many children for the parents to supervise. In others the fathers spend their time and family incomes drinking and some mothers spend large amounts of time playing bingo (in one District).
- \* The young people have nothing to do.
- \* Movies are a bad influence
- \* Imported goods are a temptation leading young people to steal to get them.
- \* Young people are losing respect for their parents.
- \* There is a conflict between parents and young people. The parents do not know how to control their children any more.
- \* Broken Families. Divorce is very common. Some judges felt it was much too easy to get divorced.
- \* Drinking of alcoholic beverages by young people.

From the above list it will be seen that there are four broad areas of strong agreement by the District Judges from all Districts on certain basic causes of juvenile delinquency. The key idea that was most stressed in the actual interviews was the breakdown of the family with the consequent loss of parental control and accompanying disrespect on the part of the young for the adults.

In some cases this family breakdown was seen as being neglect on the part of parents who were too busy (working, drinking, or gambling) to take care of their children. In other cases, the judges saw the problem as coming from the parent's inability to command respect from their children who have been educated into a system which the parents do not understand.

One judge was very explicit in blaming the parents for the juvenile misbehavior. He felt that the parents do not show proper concern for where their children are at night and what they are doing. He noted that in some cases where parents are both working they do not have the time to supervise their children. Another judge expressed the problem as flowing from the demands of the money economy that force parents to search for money thus leaving them little time to discipline their children.

Another specific comment was that the young imitate their parents. There was criticism of fathers who are often habitually drink and teach their sons to copy their behavior. In one District it was felt that long compulsive bingo playing by some mothers in the evening keeps them away from their home very often as the same time the father may be out drinking so there is no adult supervision in house.

Another judge felt that the parents were not living up to their responsibility to beat their children when they did something wrong. However, most judges felt that the parents did not really have the power to control, even by beating. As one of them put it, serious problems in the municipalities in the past would be brought before the chiefs and the families would be fined. Now the fines do not solve the problem. The young boys get drunk and throw rock at the chiefs and parents. "nobody knows how to solve the problem". The youth have partially and imperfectly learned American notions of individual freedom and say that they do not have to obey their parents because "It's a free country."

A second area of general agreement regarding causes of juvenile delinquency was that the lack of activities for young people is of critical importance. A number of judges emphasized that when young people drop out of school they can't find work and have nothing to occupy their time.

A third important cause was seen by the judges as flowing from their own work: punishment under the current justice system is not severe enough. This seems to be an exceptionally important set of answers since it comes from the men who are themselves responsible for handing out the punishment. One judge said: "I myself don't think this system of government we are in now really works." This attitude was expressed by other judges as well. The judges were in general agreement that suspended sentences with probation do not operate as an effective tool for reducing or controlling juvenile delinquency. However, in most cases they continue to give out what they know to be ineffective sentences because they feel that they have very few other options. The T.T. code requirement that juveniles not be incarcerated in the same facilities with adults coupled with the fact that there are no separate juvenile facilities puts the judges in an intolerable bind. Only one of the judges interviewed expressed opposition to incarceration for young people. All of the rest recommended separate juvenile facilities and some placed that recommendation as their first priority for changes needed in the system.

One judge thought that the Japanese system of deep humiliation of prisoners by shaving their heads and requiring them to wear thu's should be followed now and another judge felt that the police should have a free hand (as they did in Japanese times) to beat prisoners or young people causing trouble.

A few judges are experimenting with banishment of outer islands youth to their home islands for the third offense in District Centers in those Districts where outer island young people more readily pick up District Center behavior patterns.

A fourth generally agreed upon major "cause" of juvenile delinquency cited by nearly all judges was

listed as either (a) drinking of alcoholic beverages by young people or (b) too easy access to alcoholic beverages. Most judges felt that almost all juvenile arrests were either for drinking, for committing crimes while drunk, or for committing larceny and burglary to get alcoholic beverages or money to purchase alcoholic beverages. In one case the judge attributed all motivation for delinquent acts as flowing from drunkenness. Although five of the six Districts of the T.T. have local laws requiring the possession of a valid "drinking permit", the judges in all five of those Districts admitted that the drinking permit system does not eliminate access to alcoholic beverages by youth. In some Districts it does minimize access in bars. However, adults with valid drinking permits freely furnish beer or hard liquor to young people who consume it in places other than bars.

As a solution to this problem one judge felt that alcoholic beverages should be sold by a government authority which would be the only retail store authorized to import and sell alcoholic beverages and that all wholesale licenses be terminated. Another suggestion was that an officer should be stationed outside each bar to check drinking permits before a person enters the bar. Another suggestion was that a higher tax should be imposed to discourage drinking. (Note: All judges stated that they do not accept loss of control while under the influence of alcohol as a defense in a criminal case, but some accept that argument as a mitigating factor in sentencing.

When asked what juvenile offenses most frequently come to the attention of the court, there was unanimous agreement that the majority of cases concern larceny and under-age drinking. In one District curfew violations were also mentioned and in another District malicious mischief and assault and battery were added to the list.

One of the interview questions asked if certain definable ethnic groups seem to have juveniles who are brought to court more often than their number in the District would warrant. The question was not clear as written and was changed during the interviews to ask if District Center youth had different court appearance rates from Outer Island youth or youth from other Districts. One judge felt there was no difference, one felt that non-District Center youth appeared in court more often than their proportion of the population. One felt that drop-outs as a group were more often in court than students who were in school or who had finished school. However, most judges were clear in saying that Outer Island youth were much more well behaved than youth raised in the District Center. In Truk and Majuro the behavior of Outer Island youth seemed to change rather rapidly after contact with District Center life styles, to conform to District Center behavior patterns, but in Ponape and Yap where the Outer Island cultures are markedly different from the District Center culture, the judges felt that boys from the Outer Islands of the Yap District and boys from Kapingamarangi and Kusaie were seldom in trouble. The judges were unanimous in saying that caste or status of a juvenile from a "high" family offers absolutely no problems for the court in handling a case or sentencing an offender.

Although most of the emphasis in the interviews was on juvenile delinquency relating to young men, there was agreement that misbehavior by young women is increasing. In some Districts girls are starting to participate in burglaries and larcenies but in most cases the problem is truancy from the home combined with under-age drinking and staying with boy friends or adult men.

The judges were asked "What does your court do to provide or encourage parents of juvenile repeaters to control delinquent behavior of their children?" The answers varied from "nothing" in one District to the requiring of surety bonds from parents in all juvenile cases where the youth is adjudicated delinquent.

In one District two judges interviewed said they always impose a surety bond of between \$15 and \$40 and that they require the parents to accompany the child while reporting to the probation officer. They order restitution in the case of loss or damage of valuable property and lecture the parents about their duties in supervising their children. In this District the judges felt that probation was effective insofar as there were few violations of probation. In another District the surety bond was used as a tool but only in selected cases. The judges could not recall a single instance of a

forfeiture of a surety bond. In the same District, a juvenile is sometimes taken away from the mother and father and placed by the court in the household of another relative. Parents in this District are also reprimanded and lectured by the court.

In a third District the tool of surety bond is rarely used and no other form of persuasion or legal sanction was mentioned to encourage or require parents to control the behavior of their children.

In another District, one judge stated that he had no power over the parents of the delinquent children either as a judge or as a chief in the municipality.

In still another District the technique of surety bond is never used. When the judges were asked why, they answered that they never knew they had this authority. However, the judges did warn the parents that they were responsible for enforcing the terms of the probation order and that they could be held in contempt if they did not enforce the order. No parent has ever been found in contempt in that District for not enforcing the court ordered probation, according to the judges. They also have found that probation is not effective and have begun sending Outer Island youth who have come to court more than twice to their home islands. The judges see this policy of exile working. They do not know if it is a deterrent but they say that of those who have returned to the District Center, none have been arrested since returning.

In the sixth District, when asked what they did to encourage or require parents to control the delinquent behavior of their children, the three judges conferred and then said that they do nothing. They were then asked if they ever imposed a surety bond and they answered that they did not know they had the authority. The next question was if they warned parents they could be held in contempt. Again they answered no and that they did not know they had the power. Finally they were asked if they lectured or "scolded" parents. The answer was again "no" and that they did not know they could lecture or scold. They felt this power was available to chiefs and lineage heads. They added that the High Court never does any of these things and that they see themselves as following in the general pattern of the High Court.

At the time of the field research, there were Probation Officers stationed in three Districts. One Probation Officer was responsible for a second District. One District had recently lost its Probation Officer and was looking for a replacement. The judges were asked "How much coordination in the work of rehabilitation of a delinquent child do you see exists between the probation officer and the parents of juveniles judged to be delinquent?" In the case of the District which was recruiting a replacement for the recently resigned Probation Officer, the judges felt his work with parents had been excellent. In two other Districts the judges felt the current probation officer was doing an adequate job but the workload was too great for them to handle and that more probation officers were needed.

In the other District where there is a Probation Officer, the judges answered that they did not know how effective the coordination was between the probation officer and the parents of delinquent children. When asked why not, they replied that the probation officer never tells them! They were not involved in the probation officer's training and feel that they do not know what exactly are his duties and responsibilities nor do they know how to supervise a probation officer.

Another question asked of the judges was whether parents of delinquent children need special counselling to help them understand the causes of the delinquent acts of their children and the rehabilitation programs necessary for the children. This question introduced a rather novel idea and required a careful explanation. One judge felt there was no need for any help to parents since they already know what to do but will not do it. In two other Districts there was very little need seen for counselling of parents. The answer in another District was "maybe". In two Districts there was agreement from five judges that most parents need such help. Those judges who thought such help was necessary were asked what agency or office should have the primary responsibility for providing the counselling services. The answers were: (a) clergy of the religion of the parents; (b) Probation Office; (c) Education; (d) Community Development.

Another question which introduced rather novel concepts and required considerable discussion was: "How would you describe the relationship between customary practices of handling juvenile offenders and statutory proceedings?" In many cases the judges did not feel that they knew enough about customary practices to make a comparison. The main area of agreement was that in customary practices, the family of the juvenile would be punished and it would be up to the family to control his/her behavior.

One judge expressed anguish that sometimes the punishment for taking a life under the current system is less than the punishment for stealing. He was referring to the maximum sentence for involuntary manslaughter being considerably less than for grand larceny. He felt this was an inversion of values. In customary practices the degree of homicide or the intent was not considered in his opinion. The taking of a life was the taking of a life under all circumstances. He also felt that the loss of control due to being intoxicated would not have been even a mitigating factor in considering punishment. It is this judge who felt that prisoners should have their heads shaved and be required to wear thus. He felt the present system is "not good" and should be changed.

In another District the question was paraphrased to read: "Does the Court and Police system cause juvenile Delinquency?" The answer was: "To some extent, yes." When asked to what extent, the answer was that the lack of separate juvenile facilities requires that the court puts the child in the custody of the families who cannot control the young people. He also felt that the problem was in part caused by weak law enforcement. A final reason given was that people refuse to be witnesses in the confrontation style proceedings in court because of the consequences of loss of friendship on a small island.

In another District the judges said that the American law stops parents from controlling or punishing their children. They felt that parents give up because they know the court will not punish either. (In civil matters they noted that during Japanese times divorce was almost unknown. They feel that the easy divorce procedures of the current system are harmful and contribute significantly to the breakdown of the family and therefore to the rise in juvenile delinquency.)

Two questions were specifically inspired by the LEAA mandate that political jurisdictions receiving funds under the Juvenile Delinquency Prevention Act commit themselves to "deinstitutionalization of status offenses" by 1977. A status offense is an offense that is applicable only to juveniles because they are in the status of juveniles -- that is, a non-criminal act such as truancy, refusal to obey parents, or curfew violations.

In one question the judges were asked if a child is adjudicated a delinquent for a status offense, would the reputation which followed from being labeled a "juvenile delinquent" mean that the community at large would treat this person as a criminal. In most cases no opinion was offered. However, one judge felt that if a child commits a status offense, "... there is no doubt in my mind that he will commit a crime." Another judge felt that even though the proceedings are closed, the community at large will know the facts and the decision and will be able to distinguish between status and criminal behavior. In another District the three judges agreed that they never get any cases for other than criminal behavior.

The second question regarding status offenses read:

"Do you personally feel that juveniles who do not commit acts which would be criminal if the juvenile were an adult should be handled differently from those juveniles who commit criminal acts? For example, do you think the law should be changed to allow juveniles who do not commit criminal acts but who are truants, consume alcohol, or otherwise fit into the category of 15TTC 2, subsections (2) - (4) to be dealt with by another institution or system other than the court system?"

This question required a good deal of discussion in each interview so that the interviewer and judges all felt comfortable with the question and that the meaning was clear. After this discussion, in two districts the question was left unanswered as no clear opinion emerged from the discussion. In four other Districts there was unanimous agreement that the status offenses in 15TTC2 (2) -(4) should be eliminated. When asked for recommendations for alternate institutions to handle status offenders, the most specific answer was given as, "correctional homes or detention homes". Another judge felt that a professional youth psychologist attached to Education or Public Health should have responsibility for handling status offenders.

Another of the questions asked the judges was: If there was a lot of money available to improve the juvenile justice system in your District (including defense, prosecution, police, probation; rehabilitation, diversion and preventive services and programs) what would you recommend be done with that money?"

Two judges in two Districts responded that the subject was so complex that a study would be needed first. One said that a study team with a professional staff would be required. Two judges in another District agreed that the first priority should be separate juvenile correctional facilities and the second priority would be more scholarship funds. In another District one judge felt that the first priority would be for "some kind of community agency with trained youth workers" that would provide a combination of rehabilitation and prevention programs. His colleague suggested a draft for two years of all high school drop-outs (whether delinquent or not) to be placed in an isolated agricultural camp where they would be provided with job training "so that after 2 years they will be somebody."

In another District the first priority of the judges was to hire a separate Juvenile Court Judge and the second priority was to provide a work farm facility where agriculture and fishing would be taught.

The last set of responses from three judges in another District was: First priority, recreation programs, Second priority, a separate juvenile jail; Third priority training for court personnel in handling juveniles; and fourth priority, training for all members of the justice system in handling juveniles.

Only two judges responded to the question, "Are there any changes in the laws you would recommend to make your job easier? If so, what changes would you recommend?" One response was to make punishment more effective. The second was to make parents subject to punishment for neglect or abuse of their children.

Trust Territory Youth Development  
Research Project

Funded by the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration of the United States Department of Justice under the Crime Control Act of 1968, as amended.

DESCRIPTION AND ANALYSIS OF TRUST TERRITORY  
JUVENILE JUSTICE SYSTEM QUESTIONNAIRE

(Questionnaire No. 3 for Headquarters Public Safety)

1. Do you now consider juvenile delinquency a problem in Micronesia?  
☐ very serious                      ☐ moderately serious  
☐ slight problem                      ☐ not a problem
2. If there is a juvenile delinquency problem, does the seriousness of the problem vary from District to District?  
  
If your answer is "yes", please indicate the differences. What measures do you use to measure the seriousness of the problem?
3. What do you consider to be the primary causes of juvenile delinquency? Do the causes vary from District to District?
4. What special Division policies (if any) are in effect or planned to cope with the problems of juvenile delinquency?
5. What official Division policies or actions are in effect which would indicate the priorities of the Division regarding juvenile crime and/or delinquency?
6. Have any special training programs been conducted since 1971 or are any special training programs planned for 1976 which would help local officers respond more effectively to the problems of youthful offenders?
  - A. Please answer the following questions for special juvenile oriented police training programs conducted between 1971-1975:
    - (1) Specific content of training
    - (2) Officers trained
    - (3) Qualifications of trainers
    - (4) Has an evaluation of the effectiveness of the training been done?
  - B. Please answer the following questions for special juvenile oriented police training programs planned for 1976 (if any):
    - (1) Specific content of training
    - (2) Officers to be trained
    - (3) Qualifications of trainers

7. Compared to the professional standards required of licensed lawyers on the staffs of the District Attorneys and Public Defenders and compared to the professional qualifications required of judges on the High Court, would you say that police officers of all ranks have a comparable level of professional training and competence?
  - A. If not, what are the consequences of the different levels of professional training?
8. Do you have a TT-wide standard reporting system of police contacts (including situations where arrests were NOT made) with juveniles?
  - A. If yes, what are the items of information required. (This question could probably be answered easily by attaching a copy of the form or forms used).
  - B. How well do your District and Sub-district offices follow the system?
9. Are there any female uniformed police officers in the Trust Territory?
  - A. Are there any female police officers who are detectives?
  - B. If there are female police officers, how many are there and where are they stationed?
  - C. If there are female police officers, what are their duties:
    - (1) Are they given general police duties?
    - (2) Are they used primarily for clerical purposes?
    - (3) Do they work primarily with juveniles?
    - (4) Do they work primarily with female suspects?
10. Does the Division maintain records which would show the home area or the ethnicity of its officers?
  - A. Do police officers of a minority ethnic group deal primarily with members of the same ethnic group?
  - B. Are there any police officers from one District working in another District? if so, how many? Were they recruited from the District in which they are working or from their home District?
11. What are the effects of an officer's social caste or status upon his/her ability to perform his/her general duties?
12. How would you describe the relationship between customary practices of handling juvenile offenders and statutory practices?
13. Are there District (or TT-wide) Police Community Relations Program(s)?
  - A. Do officers explain their functions in a formal manner to:
    - (1) The adult community?
    - (2) The students in schools?
    - (3) Young people not in school?
  - B. Do you feel the general population understands the role of the police in this changing society?
14. What is your opinion of procedures for arrest and detention of juveniles in the Districts?



15. What is your opinion of the detention facilities in the Districts?
16. Are there any diversion programs in operation in the Trust Territory?
  - A. If so, what are they?
  - B. If so, are they effective?
  - C. If not, do you feel diversion programs are necessary?
17. Are there any rehabilitation of juvenile offenders programs in the Trust Territory?
  - A' If so, what are they ?
  - B. If so, are they effective?
  - C. If not, what kinds of rehabilitation programs (if any) do you think are needed?
18. What constructive suggestions would you offer for the improvement of: arrest procedures, detention, trial, probation, and rehabilitation of juvenile offenders?
19. Regarding prosecution practices, generally:
  - A. Do you feel the prosecutors are too lenient in not prosecuting some violations of the code?
  - B. Are they too anxious to prosecute?
  - C. Do you agree with prosecution procedures or practices?
  - D. Do conditions vary from District to District?
20. Do you feel that judges:
  - A. Are too lenient in sentencing?
  - B. Are too strict in sentencing?
  - C. Would you say that sentencing practices vary from District to District so that no generalizations regarding sentencing can be made?
21. If you had enough money available to institute three major reforms in the police system as it relates to contact with juveniles, what would those reforms be? (If three major reforms would not be enough, what others would be needed?)
22. What should the District police departments do locally to help prevent or eliminate juvenile delinquency or, more specifically, delinquent acts before they occur?
23. Please indicate any other information which would help put together the total picture of the juvenile justices system as it now stands in the Trust Territory.

## APPENDIX Q

Answers to Juvenile Justice System Questionnaire No. 3  
by Roman C. Torres, Juvenile and Detention Specialist,  
Headquarters Public Safety Division

1. Very Serious
2. Yes, the problem varies from district to district. Because of the incompleteness of the statistical records here at Headquarters regarding reported juvenile cases, it is difficult to figuratively show the degree of differences. However, cultural factors must be taken into consideration. For instance, many juvenile cases are reported to police but only a very minor percentage reaches court proceeding. This is due to the fact that people in the respective districts are related (extended kinship system). Because of this relationship, amicable settlement through restitution or other similar means, the cases never reach the court. Also, most crimes or offenses are committed in the district centers.
3. Again, cultural factors must be taken into consideration when dealing with causes of juvenile delinquency. The relative differences of the cultures of the respective districts and their interaction with statutory laws must be taken into consideration. Obviously, statutory laws relative to juvenile offenses as depicted in the Trust Territory Code is a model of United States Laws. Because of this difference between the cultures of the districts and the United States System, (i.e.) Western value system, technology, money economy, education, etc.), a conflicting atmosphere is created in the functioning relationship between the districts' culture and the imported ideas. Thus, I submit that the introduction of a foreign social system is at the root of the problem.
4. At the present time, Headquarters Public Safety has a Juvenile and Detention Specialist. In the districts, a police officer is assigned to act as a juvenile officer and is responsible for the reporting and processing of juvenile matters.
5. At the present time there is none.
6. Yes, in February 20, 1973 a District Juvenile Officers Conference was held on Saipan. (A) The instructors were Carl A. Lindh, Superintendent of Public Safety, a criminal investigator from the Marianas District Public Safety, a counselor from Dr. Torres Hospital Mental Health Division, Probation Officers from Ponape, Truk, Marianas, and Palau, a Youth Organizer from the Marianas, the Chairman of the Youth Development Board from the Marianas, and a representative from the District Attorney's Office from Saipan. The content of the conference dealt with the role of public safety in dealing with juvenile delinquency, process of investigation, the functions and goals of the Mental Health Division, discussion of juvenile delinquency in Ponape, Truk, Marianas, and Palau, the functions and goals of the Community Action Agency in dealing with juvenile delinquency and youth problems. A guest speaker from the Youth Division from Guam discussed the operation and management of the Guam Youth Division, services available to those referred, rules and procedures in handling and apprehending juveniles, and other related matters. An evaluation has not been made. (B) At the present time there is no concrete plan.
7. I would say yes. Prior to October 1971, a minimal training program was on-going. However, the Trust Territory Police Academy was instituted in October 1971. Police Officers from each district were trained for 3 months on a yearly basis. This program is on-going. Specialized training and/or education is continuing outside the Territory.

8. Yes.

- (A) This form is recently devised and is considered adequate.
- (B) Reports from the districts are not current.

9. Yes. There is a Police Officer II in Palau.

(A) There are no female detectives.

(B) There is a female Police Officer II in Palau.

(C) (1) Yes.

(2) Yes.

(3) No.

(4) Yes. The officer is responsible for record keeping and also functions as matron.

10. Yes.

(A) No.

(B) Yes. Only one. The Chief of Police in the Marshalls was working for the Marianas Public Safety when temporarily assigned to the Marshalls by Headquarters Public Safety. The District Administrator in the Marshalls then appointed him to the position of Chief of Police. He is presently there.

11. In some instances an officer of a low class is reluctant to arrest an individual or individuals of a higher status or class. This phenomena is especially true in Yap and Palau where the function of a structured chiefdom is pronounced.

12. The handling of juvenile offenders varies from district to district. However, generally, juvenile cases went unreported. It is safe to say that in an island ecosystem, the social relationship is personalized; extended family system or kinship system is a function of social interaction. In most cases the problem is amicably settled outside of the police stations or the courts. Those in contact with the police or the court resulted from arrest (as provided in statutory laws) and referrals by parent(s) of the juvenile. The provisions in the Trust Territory Code (15 TTC sub-section 2) relative to the definition of a juvenile offender is not a working provision due to the fact that a majority of the problems of that nature are settled by the concerned parties outside of court.

13. There are no Trust Territory-Wide Police Community Relations Program. However, there is participation in this area by the districts but very minimal.

(A) In the Marianas where there is television, representatives from the police department explain related police functions to the community. Officers also appear in schools. In the districts where there is no television, officers sometimes appear in schools explaining their functions. Over all there is no set program(s) conducted on a periodic basis.

(B) The presence of a uniformed officer constitutes authority. Whether the entire police force is respected depends on the quality of its officers. Where actions of officers refrain from performing "public safety" in a literal sense, there will be evidence of disrespect from individual(s) or the community as a whole. To remedy this problem,, it is planned to devise a Community Relations Program aside from vigorous training of officers in the execution of their duties and responsibilities.

14. The procedures for arrest are adequate where the Trust Territory Code is complied with relative to the handling of juveniles. In regard to detention, I will submit that the treatment of juveniles reflect a negative approach. Juveniles are incarcerated along with adult prisoners. Police duties in this respect are of a custodial nature only. There is no positive rehabilitation or correctional supervision.
15. The detention facilities in the districts are generally in a very poor condition aside from the fact that there are no separate detention facilities for juveniles.
16. There are no formal diversion programs in the districts. However, the existence of "little leagues" and the Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts serve as a sublimating ground for youthful energies. I feel that diversion program(s) are necessary in order that we may prevent the adoption of negative attitudes or patterns of behavior through the association of juveniles and adults in the prison environment. The stigma tagged on the juvenile who is incarcerated along with other prisoners in the detention or jail facilities serve no positive purpose relative to deterrence or rehabilitation. I will consider diversion program(s) to be a step in the positive direction especially with the non-existence of separate juvenile detention facilities, correction, and/or rehabilitation.
17. Presently there are no rehabilitation programs in the Trust Territory. It is recommended that juveniles who are incarcerated be closely supervised. The juvenile should be sent to school, work, participate in community related projects, etc. The sense of community involvement and participation is a positive step toward the understanding of responsibilities and gradually will lead to rehabilitation. However, again, it is recommended that separate juvenile detention and/or correctional facilities be instituted with qualified staff, preferably those with formal education in the area of psychology, sociology, education, and other related discipline.
18. Constructive suggestions for improvement: (1) Arrest procedures: I believe that where arrests are made in accordance with set provisions of the Trust Territory Code, a conflicting state could be alleviated. (2) Detention: There must be separate areas of confinement preferably away from the police station or jail. (3) Trial: Trials are held in closed session. However, 16 and 17 year old juveniles could stand open court session by being classified as an adult by the presiding judge, true in the case of felonious acts such as rape and murder. (4) Probation: I will recommend that juveniles under probation be carefully supervised. The probation officer must closely check whether the juvenile is attending school, working, etc., and help such juvenile find employment or other related rehabilitative alternative.
19. Because there are no separate detention facilities for juveniles, both the prosecutors and the judges are reluctant to send the juvenile to prison. Because of this fact, aside from cultural consideration, cases are widely settled amicably between parties.
20. Again, the lack of separate detention facilities in the districts contribute to the few sentencing of "delinquents" for confinement. Probationary sentences are widely exercised by the judges. Condition of probation depends on the presiding judge and the nature of the offense (s).
21. (1) A Juvenile Division must be created in each district under the close supervision of the Chiefs of Police and the courts. The Division must be separated from the district jails and police stations. The Division must be staffed with qualified personnel having both experience and formal education in the area dealing with juvenile offenders. The facilities must be staffed with qualified personnel in the areas of guidance counseling, vocational/formal education, and other related rehabilitative or correctional tools.  
(2) Extensive training and/or education must be undertaken to promote the efficiency of the entire police force regarding the handling of juveniles. In other words, designated juvenile officers should not be the only ones to understand the procedures, but the force as a whole. Relative to this area, a periodic Community Relations Program be undertaken

utilizing the media such as television, radio, newspapers, personal appearances, etc. Creation of a Public Relations Office within the department is necessary for this purpose.

22. (1) There must be a Public Relations Office within the department to educate the public on police duties, functions, and responsibilities.
  - (2) There must be frequent patrols at crime concentrated areas. This will necessitate more manpower and equipment. It is well founded that the presence of police officers on a periodic basis, especially at crime concentrated areas, acts as a deterrent.
  - (3) Arrests must be made impartially. Laws must be enforced until such time that a revision on the unenforceable laws are made. Some laws are not as strictly enforced as others.
23. An extensive study must be made in the districts regarding their respective cultures or social systems in the traditional sense. It is evident that in all of the districts, except the Northern Marianas, there are chiefs who are considered as "governors". Well defined delegation of authority and responsibility of each individual in the community is functioning although traditional customs (laws) remain uncoded. The chiefdom structure of government varies from to district. The clan or lineage system, also vary.
- In all the districts there is a municipal council and a district legislature. These are comprised in most instances of traditional and elected leaders. They make laws with respect to local customs. However, those laws that deviate from standard United States Laws are vetoed by the District Administrator who is an appointee of the High Commissioner (See 1 TTC sub-section 105). It must be noted that the social organization of a chiefdom system of government is socialistic or totalitarian in nature. This is where standard United States Laws and the traditional chiefdom system of social control and/or organization conflicts in respect to a functioning body of laws.
24. A review of all laws on a district by district basis should be formalized and a centralized body of laws (TT Laws) must be generalized and composed of guidelines for the handling of juveniles. The formula for the implementation of this system must not conflict with any laws passed by the respective districts. In other word, with due respect to the policy of the United Nations on Human Rights, each District must review its laws and codify them. The codified laws of the respective districts must be studied jointly until a centralized guideline is established alleviating any conflict that may exist between the centralized laws and those of any of the districts. The central government (T.T. Government) should be a guiding light and will certainly reflect the policy of the United States in regard to the democratic means of handling juveniles. Furthermore, juvenile detention and correctional/rehabilitation facilities must be instituted. At the present time there are no such facilities and/or diversion programs.

## APPENDIX R

### PERSONS INTERVIEWED OR CONTACTED MARIANAS/HEADQUARTERS

1. Akapito, Ira	Assistant, Special Education
2. Allen, William	Chief, Community Development Division, HQ.
3. Anddessa, Keith	Deputy Attorney General
4. Aquino, Regina	Probation Officer, Marianas Is.
5. Babauta, Jose	Lieutenant, Marianas Police
6. Barbor, Richard	Chief, Labor Division, TTPI
7. Berdon, Rokuro	Deputy Clerk of the High Court
8. Borja, Manuel	Counselor, Marianas High School
9. Brennan, Thomas	Assistant Superintendent Public Safety Division, TTPI
10. Burgess, Jack	Country Peace Corps Director
11. Burnett, Harold	Chief Justice of the High Court
12. Chamberlain, Philip	Territorial Planner, TTPI
13. Choo, Herbert	Chief, Employee-Employer Relations, Personnel Dept.
14. Cooper, Cecilia Dr.	Mental Health Specialist
15. Crossan, Thomas B. Jr.	Program & Budget Officer
16. Edvalson, Patrick	Student Services Officer
17. Falan, Henry	Researcher, Dept., Education, TTPI
18. Fisher, Robert Dr.	Chief, Mental Health Division, TTPI
19. Freeman, Lindsay	District Attorney, Marianas Dist.
20. Garratt, Charles W.	Chief, Labor Division
21. George, Yoshiwo	Director, Social Security, TTPI
22. Giddings, Don	Acting Principal, Marianas High School
23. Grizzard, James	Public Defender, Marianas
24. Guerrero, Herman R.	Representative, Congress of Micronesia
25. Guerrero, Vicente	Assistant Dir., Headstart
26. Harris, Pedro	UNDP Social Planner
27. Johnny, Judah	Clerk of the High Court
28. Kapileo, Dionesia	Clerk Steno
29. Kaufer, Leonard Dr.	Planner, Dept. Education, TTPI
30. Limes, Luis	Researcher, Civic Affairs
31. Mafnas, Jose	Chief of Police, Marianas
32. Manglona, Justin	Coordinator of Secondary Education, TTPI
33. Moreham, Tony	Community Specialist, Marianas Dist. CAA
34. McPhetres, Agnes	Chief, Elementary & Secondary Education, TTPI
35. Meyers, Anne Marie	Personnel
36. Mugonbey, Cypriano	Public Service Intern, Public Safety
37. Ngiraeluoluw, Isaac	Program Analyst, Office of Aging
38. Olopai, Abel	Coordinator, Pre Vocational Career Educ.
39. Pangelinan, Dulce	CETA Director, Marianas
40. Rabauliman, Felix	Adult Education Coordinator, TTPI
41. Ramarui, David	Director, Education, TTPI
42. Ramon, Derson	Public Info., Specialist, TTPI
43. Sablan, Jose M.	Captain, Marianas Police
44. Sablan, Pedro	Youth Coordinator, CAA
45. Salas, Felipe	Dist. Court Judge, Marianas
46. San Nicholas, Jesus	Sergeant, Marianas Police Saipan

47. San Nicholas, Jose P.
48. Benavente, Bernadita Sr.
49. Sheehan, Thomas
50. Sicard, Charles
51. Smith, Dana
52. Stewart, William
53. Techitong, Kazuyo
54. Townsend, Terry
55. Villanueva, Joaquin

Sergeant, Marianas Police, Tinian  
Principal, Mt. Carmel High School  
Dist. Planner, Marianas Islands  
Chief, Business Development Branch, TTPI  
Staff Attorney, Congress of Micronesia  
Deputy Dir., Dept. of R & D, TTPI

Marianas Planner  
Captain Marianas Police

## MARSHALL ISLANDS

1. Alexander, William
2. Bigler, Carmen
3. Bokkerok, Hilai
4. Brian, Rhine
5. Cabrera, Felix
6. DeBrum, Oscar
7. DeBrum, Tony
8. Duncan, Rev. David
9. Earley, Lee
10. Earwicker, Harvey
11. Edward, Lawrence
12. Elliot, Lang
13. Fowler, Al
14. Hacker, Father
15. Hazlett, Robert
16. Jacklik, Adina
17. Kabua, Amata
18. Kabua, Kabua
19. Keju, Que
20. Kiba, Hermios
21. Konou, Evelyn
22. Lalej, Beia
23. Lanwi, Mary
24. Lowe, David
- e25. Lavin, Jina
26. Madison, Marie
27. Malinowski, Jan
28. Mattson, Tom
29. McBreen, Dennis
30. Michael, Smith
31. Nelson, William
32. Noonan, Frank
33. Oliver, Peter N.
34. Philip, Clude
35. Riklon, Chitco
36. Sampson, Jude
37. Staebell, Francis
38. Timothy, Anibar

Anthropologist, Ebeye  
Member, Congress of Micronesia  
Assistant Prosecutor  
Executive Director, Community Action Agency  
Chief of Police  
District Administrator  
Public Affairs Officer  
Principal, Calvary Baptist High Sch.  
Director, International Cultural Association  
District Attorney  
DistAd Representative, Ebeye  
Marshall's Administrative Specialist I  
Vice Principal, Marshall's High Sch. &  
Chairman, Alcohol and Drug Abuse Commission  
Principal, Assumption High Sch.  
Peace Corps Representative  
Girl Scout Leader, Ebeye  
Senator, Congress of Micronesia  
Presiding Dist. Court Judge  
Member, Yoith Council, Ebeye  
Assistant Public Defender Representative  
President Women's Club  
District Prosecutor  
Women's Interest Officer  
Public Defender  
Community Development Officer  
Teacher at Assumption High Sch. &  
member of Women's club  
Teacher, Marshall High School  
Legal Services Attorney  
District Planner  
CETA Director  
Principal Marshall Is. High Sch.  
Public Works Director, Ebeye  
Acting Principal, Outer Is. High Sch.  
Civic Affairs Officer  
Chairman, Alcoholic Beverage Control  
Board and District Legislative Liaison Officer  
Minister  
Priest, Ebeye  
Public Defender Rep. Majuro

- |                       |  |
|-----------------------|--|
| 39. Vihtelik, Charles | Peace Corps Volunteer, Youth Worker, Ebeye |
| 40. Wally, Morris     | Associate Dist. Court Judge                |
| 41. Wedman, Langlein  | Police Supervisor, Ebeye                   |
| 42. Zakios, Milton    | Clerk of Courts                            |
| 43. Zekekie, Elon     | Farm land owner in Rita                    |

## PALAU

- |                          |  |
|--------------------------|--|
| 1. Aguon, Francisco      | Magistrate and village councilmen of Ngarchelong village   |
| 2. Armaluuk, Francisco   | Public Defender Representative   |
| 3. Bismark, Francisca    | Public Health Nurse  |
| 4. Eliar, Mario          | Juvenile Delinquent Officer  |
| 5. Emul, Jonathan        | Community Development Officer  |
| 6. Gibbons, Ibedul       | High Chief   |
| 7. Govendon, Kenneth     | District Attorney  |
| 8. Hanler, Abarabau      | Magistrate and village councilmen of Ngarchelong village   |
| 9. Howell, John          | Public Defender  |
| 10. Ikekesakes, Singichi | District Court Judge   |
| 11. Iyar, Obedei         | Probation Officer  |
| 12. Johannes, Gilliau    | Peace Corps Deputy Dist. Representative  |
| 13. Koshiba, Joshua      | Member Dist. Legislature   |
| 14. Kuartei, Billy Rev.  | Teacher Emmaus High School   |
| 15. Kunoda,              | Magistrate & village councilman of Ngarechelong village  |
| 16. Luii, Itelbang       | Former Speaker, Palau Dist. Legislature  |
| 17. Littler, Michael     | Assistant Director, M.O.C.   |
| 18. Mitchumi, Solang     | CETA Director  |
| 19. Moikeha, James       | Manager, Continental Hotel   |
| 20. Morei, Francisco     | Presiding Judge, Dist. Court   |
| 21. Nakamura, Kuniwo     | Representative Congress of Micronesia  |
| 22. Ngiraked, John       | Member of District Legislature   |
| 23. Oiterong, Alfonso    | District Director, Education   |
| 24. Oiterong, Benjamin   | Associate Judge  |
| 25. Pennington, Jesse    | Legal Services Lawyer  |
| 26. Polloi, Juan         | Principal, Mindzenty High School   |
| 27. Remeliik, Haruo      | Deputy District Administrator  |
| 28. Remengesau, Thomas   | District Administrator, Palau  |
| 29. Rengiil, Yoichi      | Public Affairs Officer, member of the Youth<br>Commission & chairman of the Alcohol Beverage Control Board |
| 30. Rubasech, Fritz      | Mayor, Koror Municipality  |
| 31. Rudimch, Isidro      | Member Congress of Micronesia & Businessman  |
| 32. Ruluked, Leo         | Principal, Palau High School   |
| 33. Sablan, Mariano      | Special Assistant to the Police Chief  |
| 34. Santos, Benjamin     | Assistant Public Defender Representative   |
| 35. Savas, Virgil        | M.O.C.   |
| 36. Sawaichi, Jacob      | Manager, Royal Palau Hotel   |
| 37. Sechelong, Baules    | Chief, Ngubeched hamlet  |
| 38. Shover, Richard      | Manager, Van Camp, Palau   |
| 39. Sisor, Timarong      | Legislator, Palau District   |
| 40. Soladaopand, Isol    | Police Lieutenant  |
| 41. Stole, John          | Executive Director, Palau CAA  |
| 42. Sugiyama, Peter      | Physician, Palau McDonald Hospital   |
| 43. Swei, Nobuo Dr.      | Land Management Supervisor   |
| 44. Techur, Idesiar      | Chief of Police  |
| 45. Ternettei, Eusevio   | Youth Affairs Coordinator  |



46. Toribiong, Johnson
47. Tutii, Ngirutang
48. Ueki, Minami
49. Ueki, Minoru Dr.

Assistant Public Defender  
Businessman  
Businessman

50. Uludong, Moses
51. Wong, Sinaichi

Dist. Director, Health Services & Vice  
Chairman, Alcohol Beverage Control Board  
Legal Services  
Expert Fisherman trained in Hawaii

## PONAPE

1. Antonio, Rosario
2. Beckman, Thomas
3. Burdick, Alan
4. Court, Amy
5. Edward, Bernel
6. Falcam, Leo
7. Gallen, Herbert
8. Gallen, Kodaro
9. Gallen, Paul
10. Kohler, Karl
11. Krebs, Marvin
12. Largo, Edwin
13. Lowe, David
14. McAllister, Dan
15. Metwarick, Donald
16. Montague, George
17. Nikon, Johnny
18. Pounds, Minor
19. Rothguery, David
20. Santos, Hosiah
21. Soto, Modesto
22. Weital, Daro
23. Yoster, Carl

Peace Corps Representative  
Legislative Counsel  
Legal Services Attorney  
Peace Corps Volunteer, Ponape Health Council  
Community Development Officer  
District Administrator  
Clerk of Courts  
Executive Director, CAA  
Dist. Director, Education  
Presiding Dist. Court Judge  
District Administrator Representative  
Deputy Peace Corps Representative  
Public Defender  
Peace Corps Volunteer, CDO  
Community Development  
Business Mgr. CCM  
Chief of Police  
District Attorney  
High School Counselor, PICS  
Dist. Probation Officer - Health Counsel member  
Boy Scout Director  
Director, CCM  
Dist. Court Judge

## TRUK

1. Akapito, Julio
2. Aten, Erhart
3. Betweon, John
4. Blanks, Nancy
5. Carrol, Dennis
6. Danis, Mitaro
7. Foley, Daniel
8. Frank, Sabastian
9. Fritz, Soukichi
10. Fujita, Peter
11. Harin, Tiboe
12. Heltard, Motaro
13. Hezel, Francis S.J. Rev.

Executive Dir., CAA. Vice Chairman Youth  
Commission; President, Recreation Board  
and member of CETA Board

Deputy District Director  
Truk Legal Services  
Peace Corps Representative  
Attorney, Legal Services  
District Administrator  
Legislative Counsel  
Dist. Associate Judge  
Presiding Judge  
District Prosecutor  
District Planner  
Immigration Officer  
Xavier High School

- |                     |   |
|---------------------|---|
| 14. Inek, Anon      | Probation Officer                               |
| 15. James, Filonia  | Women's Interest Officer                        |
| 16. James, Keicho   | Education Specialist                            |
| 17. Johnny, Ready   | Assistant Prosecutor's Rep.                     |
| 18. Kaufman, Robert | Principal, Truk High School                     |
| 19. Lukeset, Pio    | Chief, Dubon Police Sub-Station                 |
| 20. Marar, Keske    | Public Defender Representative                  |
| 21. Muritok, Joseph | Vice Speaker; Trial Assistant, Dist.            |
|                     | Attorney, Ex-Dean of Students, Truk High School |
| 23. Nifon, Frank    | Chief of Police                                 |

## YAP

- |                        |   |
|------------------------|---|
| 1. Alfonso, Silvester  | Palauan Community Leader                                |
| 2. Babilung,           | Traditional Chief                                       |
| 3. Burke, Russel       | Counselor, Yap High School                              |
| 4. Defnigen, Rancis    | Public Affairs Officer                                  |
| 5. Falanruw, Sam       | Peace Corps Representative                              |
| 6. Fanechoor, Joseph   | Dist. Court Judge & Magistrate                          |
| 7. Fanechigiy, Alfonso | Dist. Director, Education                               |
| 8. Figir, Isaac        | Legal Services Staff                                    |
| 9. Flagan, Lawrence    | Dist. Prosecutor  |
| 10. Gilmar, Edmund     | District Administrator                                  |
| 11. Giltamag, Sam      | Health Services   |
| 12. Golbuu, Antonio    | Dist. Director, Health Services                         |
| 13. Groves, Kenneth    | Principal, Outer Is. High School                        |
| 14. Hefner, Robert     | Associate Justice of the High Court                     |
| 15. Kluver, Wally      | Chairman, Youth Commission                              |
| 16. Luktun, Francisco  | Civic Affairs Officer                                   |
| 17. Maag, John         | Youth Coordinator                                       |
| 18. McCoy, Michael     | Fisheries Officer                                       |
| 19. Mirey, Liyab       | Acting Chief of Police                                  |
| 20. Moon, Luke         | Youth Commission Member                                 |
| 21. Moongog, Louis     | Chief of Police, Vice Chairman,<br>Youth Services Board |
| 22. Mutngwy, Carmen    | Women's Interest Officer & Girl Scout Coordinator       |
| 23. Newrnan, Larry     | Peace Corps Volunteer                                   |
| 24. Polulin, Rev. Fr.  | Priest  |
| 25. Rechucher, John    | District Attorney                                       |
| 26. Roboman            | Chief and Magistrate                                    |
| 27. Rody, Michael      | District Planner  |
| 28. Ross, Richard      | Lawyer, Legal Services                                  |
| 29. Smith, Gary        | Principal, Yap High School                              |
| 30. Weinrich, Harriet  | Dist. Personnel Officer                                 |
| 31. Worswick, John     | Elementary School Principal - Gigil                     |

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### A PARTIAL LISTING OF PRINTED RESOURCES REFERRED TO IN CONNECTION WITH THIS STUDY

Bazinet, Jean-Michel

Urban Youth in the South Pacific, South Pacific  
Commission Handbook No. 7  
Noumea, New Caledonia (1973)

58 pp

Report on a Visit to the Trust Territory of the  
Pacific Islands (6 August - 2 September 1970)  
Noumea, New Caledonia (1970)

8 pp

Biber, Barbara

Integration of Mental Health Principles, in the  
School Setting.

18 pp

Dengoki, Yukio Et Al (4 others)

High School Drop-Outs, Truk High School Student  
Research paper 1975

14 pp

Department of Education, TTPI

1976 Vocational Education Act State Plan

Ehsa, John Et Al (4 others)

Survey of Private Business on Moen,  
1975 Truk High School Class Research paper

11 pp

Fox, Morris G.

Strengthening the Contribution of Social Services to  
the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands--Findings  
& Recommendations of United Nations Social Welfare  
Advisor for the Pacific, 1971

113 pp

Hartung, Frank E.

Crime, Law & Society, Detroit, Wayne State  
University Press (1966)

320 pp

Headquarters Division of Community Development

A Community Basis Strategy for Delinquency  
Prevention in Micronesia, TTPI, 1973

19 pp

Headquarters Division of Community Development

FY 1976 State Plan for Delinquency Prevention  
in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands  
Saipan, Mariana Islands, 1975

93 pp

Headquarters Personnel Department, Classified and  
Compensations Division

Wage Survey of Private Companies in the Districts  
of Marianas, Marshalls, Palau, Ponape, Truk and  
Yap. Saipan, Mariana Islands, 1976

64 pp

Hezel, Francis X. S.J.

Micronesia's Main Industry-the School  
Undated Mimeograph paper

5 pp

Who shall own the Schools?  
Undated Ditto paper

6 pp

In Search of a Home: Colonial Education  
in Micronesia, in Topics in Cultural  
Learning Vol 3, 1975, East-West Center  
Honolulu, Hawaii

Micronesia's Hanging Spree  
Truk, Eastern Caroline Islands  
Mimeographed Paper, 1976

11 pp

Huntley, Lou & Cummings, Roberta S.

Final Report - Planning for vocational Rehabilitation  
Services, TTPI, 1972

Institute of Cultural Affairs

Marshalls Human Development Project  
Majuro, September, 1974

117 pp

Kanst, Ricahrd F.

Manpower Development in Micronesia,  
Micronesian Reporter, 1974

2-parts 12 pp

Koskelin, Kenneth L.

MOC Graduates Follow-up Study,  
Micronesian Occupational Center  
Job Placement Office, Palau, Nov., 1975

Mahoney, Francis B.

Social and Cultural Factors Relating to the  
Cause and Control of Alcohol Abuse among  
Micronesian Youth

Mimeographed Study Report  
Saipan, Mariana Islands, 1973

80 pp

Menninger, Karl, MD

The Crime of Punishment, Viking Press Compass  
Edition, New York, 1971

305 pp

Micronesian Seminar

Education for What? Report of the proceedings of the Conference on Micronesian  
Education held in Kolonia, Ponape, Jan. 9-11, 1974, with introductory remarks  
by Rev. Francis X. Hezel, S.J.

Miles, Gregory J.

Patterns of Juvenile Arrest & Prosecution, in  
Saipan, TTPI, Sept., 1971, Xerox

31 pp

National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals

A National Strategy to Reduce Crime,  
Washington, D.C., 1973

195 pp

Courts, Washington, D.C., 1973

358 pp

Criminal Justice System, Washington, D.C. 1973

286 pp

Community Crime Prevention,  
Washington, D.C., 1973

364 pp

Political Status Commission of the Marshall Islands

1976 Interim Report, Majuro, Marshall Islands  
April 1976

Ramarui, David

Education in Micronesia: It's Past, Present and Future,  
Micronesian Reporter, 1st Quarter 1976

12 pp

Sheehan, Thomas

Preliminary Report on Population, Marianas District,  
Office of the Marianas District Planner June 24, 1974

Singer, Hans

Children in the Strategy of Development, Executive  
Briefing paper, 6 United Nations, New York 1972

61 pp

Stewart, William H.

1973 Population of Trust Territory of the Pacific  
Islands, (Census) Saipan, Mariana Islands, 1973

292 pp

Trifonovitch, Gregory J.

Roots of Bilingual/Bicultural Education in the Trust Territory  
of the Pacific Islands, Topics in Cultural Learning Vol 3, 1975

TTPI Social Security Administration

Wage & Employment Data for the TTPI, April 1975  
Saipan

10 pp

Wilson, James Q.

Crime & Punishment 1776-1976, Time, April 16, 1976

Thinking About Crime, Vintage, New York, 1977

206 pp

**END**