



INTO THE DEEP: LAUNCHING CULTURE AND POLICY IN THE FEDERATED STATES OF MICRONESIA



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Into the Deep:
Launching Culture and Policy in the Federated States of Micronesia

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

COM-FSM	College of Micronesia-FSM
FSM	Federated States of Micronesia
IREI	Island Research and Education Initiative
MicSem	Micronesian Seminar
NACH	Office of National Archives, Culture, and Historical Preservation
NPS	National Park Services
OurYap	Our Youth are Progressive
PREL	Pacific Resources for Education and Learning
SHIP/HOOPS	Society of Historic Investigation and Preservation/Helping Ourselves: Outreach Program in Sports
SPC	Secretariat of the Pacific Community (formerly South Pacific Commission)
TNS	Yap Traditional Navigation Society
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization

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1. BACKGROUND

Introduction

The Federated States of Micronesia is undertaking a cultural mapping, planning and policy project (CMPP) which is funded by the European Union and facilitated by the Secretariat of the Pacific Community. The CMPP project began with the cultural mapping process in the Federated States of Micronesia (FSM) on 10 November 2010 in all the four states: Kosrae, Pohnpei, Chuuk and Yap. Cultural mapping involves research, collection and inventory of cultural information and resources primarily through community consultations. The purpose of the cultural mapping report is to summarize cultural key findings as well as the current situation of cultural practices, resources, and recommendations to improve cultural sector in FSM.

Consultations with cultural stakeholders in each state took from one to two weeks, depending on specific protocols and logistics. In Pohnpei, it was first necessary to seek the approval of the state government and traditional chiefs. Yap's organized council of chiefs and their advocacy for cultural preservation contributed to successful meetings in that state. Approximately two weeks were spent in Pohnpei, one week in Kosrae, and one week in Yap. Consultations in Chuuk were flexible because the consultant is a native and resident of Chuuk.

The purpose of this report is to present the cultural findings and priorities identified by the cultural mapping process within FSM. The objective of the mapping process is to:

- identify cultural themes, priorities and needs in FSM through a cultural mapping process that will assist in the development of a national cultural policy;
- provide a situational analysis of culture findings in FSM; and
- offer options for directing an FSM cultural policy.

History and geography of the Federated States of Micronesia

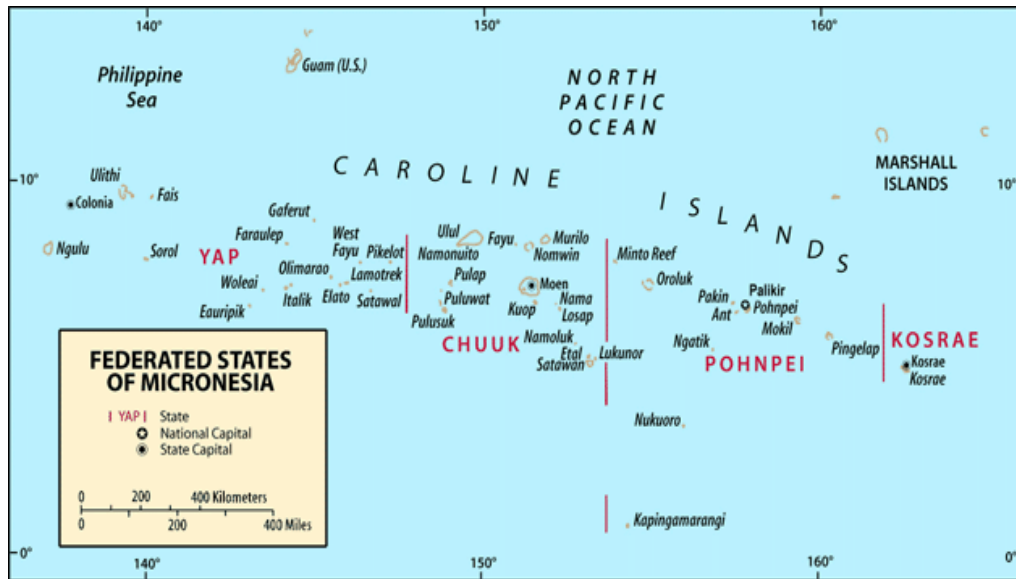


Figure 1: Map of the Federated States of Micronesia (Source: <http://www.fsmgov.org/info/map.html>)

FSM is located in the western Pacific, about 2,500 miles southwest of Hawaii. FSM consists of 607 islands with a total land area of 271 square miles, spread across more than one million square miles of the Pacific Ocean (between 1°S and 14° N, and between 135°E and 166°E).

FSM has four states: Yap, Chuuk, Pohnpei and Kosrae. Each state is different in terms of physical formation, structure, culture and language. Yap, Chuuk and Pohnpei consist of both high islands and low islands, whereas Kosrae consists of only one high island. Kosrae is the smallest (43 square miles) and easternmost of FSM's states. Pohnpei State consists of six island groups, the largest of which is Pohnpei proper. Pohnpei's total land area is 132 square miles. In the center of FSM are the islands of Chuuk State, which combined, make up a total land area of 49 square miles located in seven major island groups. Chuuk has 98 inhabited islands, of which, only 14 are high islands and the remainder are low-lying atolls. Yap is the westernmost state in FSM, and consists of 14 inhabited islands and a total land area of 46 square miles (FSM Office of Planning and Statistics 1996).

Linguistic and archaeological evidence indicate that about 2,000 years ago, a group of people sharing similar language(s), agricultural skills, and sophisticated maritime technology entered the eastern part of FSM. The ancient settlers of Micronesia were Austronesians (belonging to the second largest language group in the world) who originated from Southeast Asia. These people were skilled navigators who built sophisticated canoes, studied the sea, and sailed the vast Pacific Ocean relying on the stars, birds, marine life, winds, waves, and currents to navigate by.

From Southeast Asia and Melanesia, they sailed to the northern Pacific, settling first on Kosrae, and then quickly dispersing westward to Pohnpei, Chuuk, and some parts of Yap, and creating the ancient Kachau Empire. According to Micronesian legends, Kachau refers to Kosrae, the ruling empire, which then included the islands of Pohnpei, Chuuk, Yap and the Mariana Islands (Higashi 2007).

About a thousand years ago, long-distance voyages were made between some of the major western Polynesian island groups (e.g. Samoa and Tonga) and the islands of Kapingamarangi and Nukuoro in Pohnpei State.

Kachau Empire Map

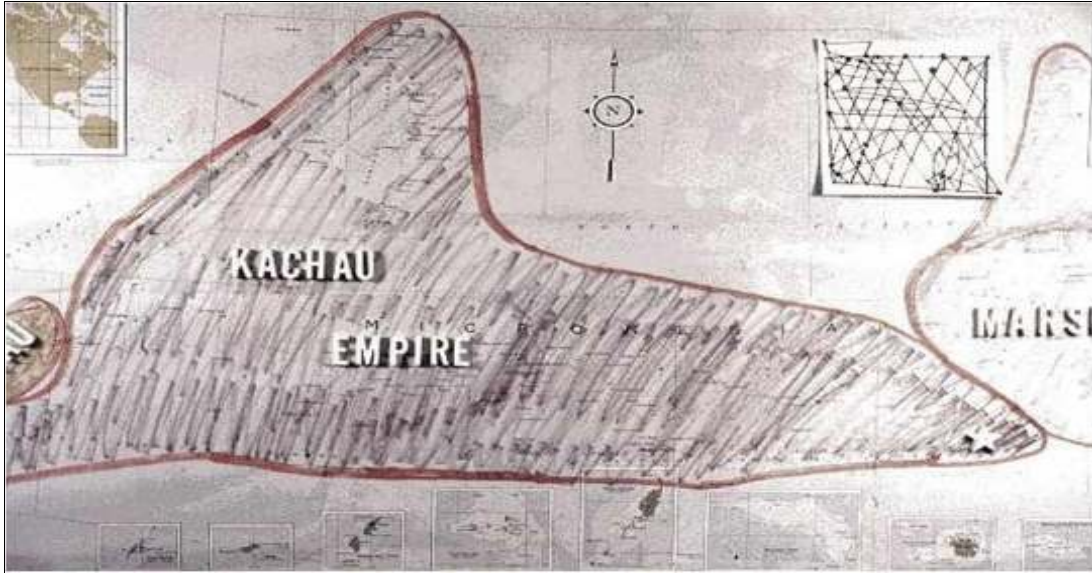


Figure 2: Kachau Empire, Map used by the late Chief of Weno Island, Petrus Mailo (Higashi 2007)

Long-distance voyages occurred between the four major island groups of FSM before Western colonizers arrived, and the islanders had well established and strong linkages and connections across the region. Interisland trade, visits, marriages, alliances and warfare created and strengthened relationships across the many islands, and these relationships are evident today through clan and linguistic histories. Some people can trace the origin of their lineage and alliance to as far away as the Marshall Islands, Mariana Islands, Palau, Kiribati and Nauru.

FSM was colonized over a period of 300 years by successive countries. Spain's occupation of the Northern Marianas and Guam occurred from 1521 to 1898, and Spain also controlled the islands within (what is now) FSM between 1885 and 1898. In 1898, Germany bought the islands from Spain, and controlled them until 1914 when the Japanese navy took over the islands. When Japan lost World War II to the United States (US), the US took over the trusteeship of the islands until 1979, when Pohnpei, Chuuk, Kosrae and Yap joined together to form FSM.

On 3 November 1986, FSM signed the Compact of Free Association with the US and took full responsibility over its internal and external affairs. The Compact allows the US to use Micronesian land and waters for military and security purposes, with payment of at least USD 89–100 million every year for 15 years. After years of renegotiation, the Compact was renewed in 2001 for another 15 years. The US currency is the only currency used in FSM.

The intensive years of colonial rule led to many changes in cultural practices, values and belief systems. For example, the outbreak of epidemic diseases in Kosrae greatly reduced the island's population to a few hundred individuals, which then made it easy to convert the people to Christianity. Traditional leadership, traditional schools, and daily practices lost their value and place when Western colonial powers influenced the islanders with new rules and belief systems.

Currently, FSM's population is 108,155, with Chuuk accounting for half of the population (at 53,000), making it the most populated of FSM's states. Pohnpei's population is 34,500, Yap's is 11,200 and Kosrae's is 7,700 (2004 census; see SPC 2004).

Political structure

There are two levels of government in FSM, the national government and the state governments (Kosrae State, Pohnpei State, Chuuk State and Yap State), which are modelled after the US. The national government comprises the Executive, Judicial, and Legislative branches and associated government agencies. Under FSM's Constitution, article V, section 3, Congress may establish a Chamber of Chiefs, but to date, this has not been implemented.

The Executive Branch is composed of cabinet offices nominated by the President and approved by Congress. Below is an overview of the composition of FSM's government.

National government

I. Executive Branch

- a. Department of Foreign Affairs
- b. Department of Resources and Development
- c. Department of Transportation, Communication, and Infrastructure
- d. Department of Finance and Administration
- e. Department of Health and Social Affairs
- f. Department of Justice
- g. Department of Education
- h. Office of the Public Defender
- i. Office of the National Archives, Culture, and Historic Preservation

II. Legislative Branch

- a. Congress of the Federated States of Micronesia

III. Judicial Branch

- a. Chief Justice

IV. Government agencies

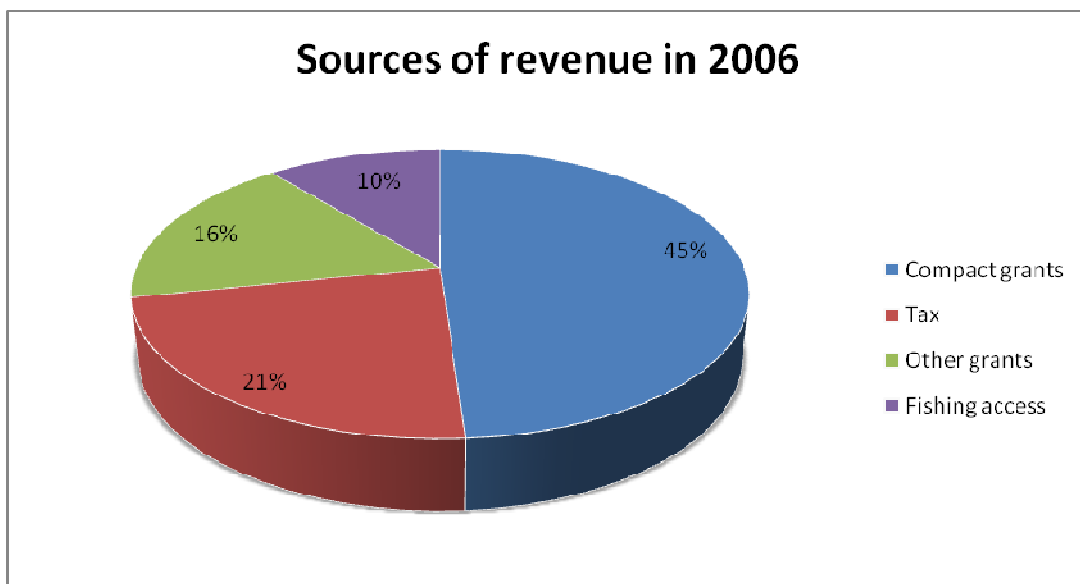
- a. Public Auditor
- b. Office of Environment and Emergency Management
- c. Office of Statistics, Budget and Economic Management, Overseas Development Assistance and Compact Management (SBOC)
- d. Postmaster General
- e. FSM Development Bank
- f. National Fisheries Corporation

- g. Coconut Development Authority
- h. National Oceanic Resource Management Authority (NORMA)
- i. FSM Social Security Administration
- j. FSM Telecommunications Cooperation (FSMTC)
- k. College of Micronesia-FSM (COM-FSM)

Each of FSM’s states has its own constitutional government, consisting of the three branches: Executive, Legislative and Judicial. Executive offices are also selected by the current governor and approved by the state legislature. Each state may have fewer or more offices depending on their priorities and needs. Yap, however, is the only state with a traditional leadership branch. The traditional leadership is made up of the Council of Pilung and Council of Tamol.¹ All states have a governor and lieutenant governor.

Sources of revenue

Most of FSM’s revenue comes from Compact funding. Other sources of revenue include taxes, foreign aid and grants, and fishing fees.



Cultural background

FSM’s states are unique and diverse in terms of culture and language. Prior to western contact, the development of unique traditions, customs and languages within each of the four main island groups occurred as a result of isolation and lack of frequent interaction. Today, there are 15 languages spoken in FSM, not counting English. The 15 languages are grouped into five major categories: Kosraean, Pohnpeian, Chuukese, Yapese, and Kapinga-Nukuoro.

¹ The Council of Pilung is made up of the traditional chiefs of Yap Island proper. The Council of Tamol is made up of traditional chiefs from the neighbor islands and atolls in Yap State.

The language of Kapingamarangi and Nukuoro islands are Polynesian in origin, and are closely related to the languages of Tokelau and Tuvalu. The traditional customs, performing arts, and arts and crafts of Kapingamarangi are also closer to those of Polynesia than they are to Micronesia. Because languages vary in each state, English has become the official language used in government and schools.

In addition to the diversity of languages in FSM, there are also subtle differences (which will be discussed later) in the following major cultural practices and expressions:

- Spirituality, spiritual knowledge, belief systems
- Social institutions (clan and kinship, socio-political system)
- Performing arts (dances, songs, music)
- Games and sports
- Healing practices
- Oral narratives (sacred chants, clan histories).

All states have matrilineal clan systems in which lineage is passed on through the mother's line. Yap Island (not including the outlying atolls), however, is a more patrilineal society within a more structured caste system.

During the last two thousand years, people in Micronesia have been influenced by waves of migrants and visitors who introduced different ways of life and world views. Besides their colonial successors, the early Micronesians interacted regularly with missionaries, explorers, whalers, and traders — all of whom have influenced Micronesian culture. Christianity, for instance, was once foreign to Micronesians, but has since been accepted as a significant cultural and religious part of society. As foreign cultural elements (e.g. cultural expressions, ideas, and behavior) come into contact with indigenous cultural elements, the indigenous cultural elements are either transformed or replaced. When they are replaced, people often lose certain aspects of their culture and tradition, their identity and cultural realities. With globalization, cultural change is inevitable and is constantly taking place, and therefore FSM islanders are continuously facing new challenges.

National and state holidays

Besides the adopted foreign holidays, such as Christmas, New Year's, and Easter, here are some state and national holidays primarily for FSM and its states.

Jan 11	Kosrae Constitution Day
March 31	Micronesian Culture and Traditions Day ²
May 10	Federated States of Micronesia Day (Constitution Day)
Aug 21	Gospel Day (Kosrae)

² President Mori has recently signed into law a bill that came out of the 16th FSM Congress, and submitted by the former Senator Peter Sitan of Chuuk. President Mori suggests that the national government consider funding the activities for this holiday, but also proposed holiday rate compensation to national employees who are required to work on this holiday. The new holiday is 31 March of every year.

Sept 8	Kosrae Liberation Day
Sept 11	Pohnpei Liberation Day
Oct 1	Chuuk Constitution Day

UNESCO and its role in historic preservation in FSM

In 1991, FSM obtained membership into the United Nations, and in 2000, it became a member state of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). FSM has currently ratified the Convention on the Rights of the Child, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, and the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage. In collaboration with all state historic preservation offices, and the Palauan government, FSM's Office of National Archives, Culture, and Historic Preservation (NACH) submitted the Yap State stone money quarry site in Palau to UNESCO's World Heritage List. The first submission was returned for final review and editing. In addition to the quarry site in Palau, FSM also submitted to UNESCO the stone money dancing site in Yap State. NACH presently continues to work on the submission of the Nan Madol ruins site, Lelu ruins site, and the Chuuk shipwrecks for nomination to UNESCO's World Heritage listing.³

Methodology

Much of the cultural information collected are obtained through the author's participatory observations. Participatory observations include author's experience and involvement in communities, schools, and cultural activities aside from the cultural mapping activities.

The methodology also involved a literature survey, field observations, focus group discussions, and key interviews. Online communication with FSM Citizens abroad via online chats and forum took place through the Chuuk Reform website in order to stimulate a dialogue on culture with few members of the diasporic FSM communities living outside of FSM. In Pohnpei, Kosrae and Yap, field assistants translated interviews.

In addition to consultations, special visits were made to local offices, villages, historical sites (i.e. Nan Madol ruins in Pohnpei, Menke ruins in Kosrae, Chuuk petroglyphs at Wichen Falls, dancing grounds and stone money in Yap), art galleries, museums, and schools to observe what resources were available and to learn what resources were lacking and/or needed. Field observations also included island-wide tours in all four states.

³ Nan Madol and Lelu ruins are some of the most ancient ruins in FSM, and are discussed later in the report.

2. KEY FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The cultural mapping process identified similar cultural themes across all four states. Findings reaffirm the need to document, safeguard, promote and better manage culture in order to improve FSM’s economy, health and environment sectors, and political and social development. Culture is central to people’s identity and practices, yet it needs to be better represented and integrated in the development of both community and government planning and decision-making. The key findings of this study are the cultural priorities of the people of FSM, and include:

- cultural identity,
- preservation and promotion of languages,
- identification and protection of historic sites and properties,
- cultural education and traditional knowledge,
- promotion of cultural industries,
- consciousness of the environment and natural resources, and
- integration of culture within the government and public sectors.

The key findings are summarized below along with recommendations.

Key findings	Description of key findings and recommendations
1. Cultural identity	<p>1.1 The people of FSM and their government recognize the importance of culture and values (e.g. respect, humility, peace-making, family values, relationships) as the core of identity.</p> <p>1.2 Kinship and the clan system identify one’s ancestral roots as well as rights or ownership of land, traditional knowledge, and other historical properties (cultural expression). Lineages identify kinship relations even beyond each state.</p> <p>1.3 Although culture is defined in numerous ways, it is defined as the values that are expressed through oral traditions, arts, crafts, music, poetry, and other forms of cultural expression.</p>

Recommendations	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increase cultural awareness and family education programs in the community to promote, maintain and reinstate cultural values. • Promote the continued practice of the lineage or clan system to serve as a source of cultural values and prevent increased social problems. Also, require the use of clan identification in any legal documentation of identification as is done with surnames. • Encourage the study and practice of oral traditions, arts and crafts, music, poetry and other forms of cultural expression. 	
2. Language	<p>2.1 Because each state has different languages, English is the official language of FSM.</p> <p>2.2 Many Micronesians perceive English as being superior to indigenous languages. In many homes and schools, native languages have been replaced by English. In many private schools, English is the primary language used, and the use of native languages is prohibited.</p> <p>2.3 Language is symbolic. Each language represents and classifies different caste systems, clans, roles, knowledge and values. In Chuuk, the <i>itang</i> language is only used, spoken and understood by the most sophisticated, knowledgeable and scholarly individuals (known as <i>itang</i>) who are also</p>

	<p>educated under the school of <i>itang</i>. Traditional schools of language are valuable because they hold and keep historical stories, chants, poetry and traditional knowledge.</p>
<p>Recommendations</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strengthen native language curriculum in schools. • Establish and prioritize programs for the four major FSM languages to be taught in each state. • Encourage the use and translation of native languages in government programmes and planning, media and public advertisements. • Recognize, support and promote traditional language schools such as the Chuukese <i>itang</i>. 	
<p>3. Documentation, preservation, and protection of traditional knowledge and historic sites or properties</p>	<p>3.1 There is no organized structure that is responsible for documenting traditional knowledge and historical properties, and overseeing foreign research in FSM.</p> <p>3.2 Numerous works have been done on traditional knowledge and historical properties but are not well maintained and are not always available to the public.</p> <p>3.3 There is no current regulation for conducting foreign research.</p> <p>3.4 There is little networking and collaboration between cultural experts and government sectors and agencies.</p> <p>3.5 Museums or cultural centers that have been established have not always been successful and well-maintained due to the lack of skills, professionals and funding to maintain such centers.</p> <p>3.6 Churches and other faith-based organizations introduced new culture and traditions, which are now ingrained in the traditions and cultures of FSM. Some Christian extremists and missionaries have published books and encouraged local people to discontinue the practice of traditional knowledge because they deem it to be the work of Satan.</p> <p>3.7 Although the government is very supportive of preserving culture and history, little effort has been made to ensure the preservation or enhancement of culture and its expressions and products.</p>
<p>Recommendations</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Develop a Cultural Observatory for the registry and documentation of cultural information and resources. • Develop museums and cultural centers for sharing, preserving, protecting and promoting cultural and historical information. In addition, specific centers should be used for the repatriation of traditional artifacts. • Strengthen the identification, valuation and preservation of historic sites, and pursue value-added activities such as ecotourism in historical and cultural sites. • Identify skilled and knowledgeable culture experts and elders, and promote networking between them. • Review, strengthen and enforce existing policies on historic preservation, research and cultural properties and ownership. • Regulate international research within FSM. • Protect of traditional knowledge against moral and commercial abuse. 	
<p>4. Cultural education</p>	<p>4.1 Institutions and different chiefly systems that exist at a state level help keep culture and cultural practices alive.</p> <p>4.2 FSM's Department of Education currently has no curriculum in place for cultural education. Yap is the only state that offers cultural education at the primary level. However, students are not interested in a cultural education because it is designed for academic and classroom use.</p> <p>4.3 Passing on cultural knowledge and skills is mostly <i>ad hoc</i> and through informal mechanisms because they have not been incorporated into the formal education process.</p> <p>4.4 Traditional knowledge is gradually losing its role in society because fewer people are interested in it. Although there are traditional schools of language, navigation, architecture and medicine, almost none of them are included or recognized by the formal education system.</p> <p>4.5 Some aspects of culture and tradition seem to inhibit the progress of people in FSM. According to the community consultations across Chuuk, Pohnpei,</p>

	<p>and Kosrae, funeral practices which can last for more than a week, contributes to the absence of teachers and students in the school systems. These absences, they suggest, can inhibit progress in schools and public offices.</p> <p>4.6 There are limited training opportunities in the areas of music, creative writing, arts and performing arts.</p> <p>4.7 Although migration has always been part of the culture, contemporary migration in and out of FSM results in a new culture and traditions. This results in the gradual loss or change of cultural practices and knowledge in some areas.</p> <p>4.8 Libraries and museums have a poor collection of cultural resources.</p> <p>4.9 The use of mass media, radio programs, and other social networks has become important mediums for teaching and sharing cultural information and knowledge.</p> <p>4.10 Although there are numerous indigenous sports such as traditional wrestling and canoe racing, there are limited programs and activities that initiate them. Kosrae has an annual canoe race, and Yap’s Canoe Festival encourages canoe races. Although some youth groups in Chuuk promote traditional wrestling, there is limited support in terms of funding and equipment at the state level.</p>
<p>Recommendations</p>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increase education in and awareness of culture and traditions at schools and local communities. • Current education on culture should be strengthened and incorporated into the curriculum up to the college level in each state. • Encourage and prioritize all means of traditional learning (storytelling, carving, weaving, chanting, tattooing) in school programs and curriculum. • Public cultural learning centers should be set up in communities in each state – this should involve elders and traditional experts in communities. • Encourage and use traditional activities and events (i.e. funeral practices) to continue cultural education. • Recognize, honor and certify traditional schools (schools of navigations, languages, and medicine) as providers of knowledge. • The aspects of culture that seems to inhibit progress in FSM should be re-evaluated and modified by multiple government sectors, working closely with traditional elders and leaders. • Maximize opportunities and encourage training programs in all areas of music and the performing arts. • Build libraries dedicated to cultural and historical resources. • Improve communications (especially Internet) in order to facilitate e-cultural sharing and education on culture. • Establish a wide-range of programs to encourage different forms of expression such as the use of media, TV and radio programs for cultural sharing and education within FSM and abroad. • Improve and support state programs in indigenous sports. 	
<p>5. Cultural industries</p>	<p>5.1 Each state within FSM has unique cultural objects, instruments and arts. Numerous culture-related stakeholders in FSM provide the foundation for maximizing culture into new areas of cultural industries, culture documentation and cultural revival.</p> <p>5.2 There are existing cultural and/or creative industries but these are weak and not well-developed. Cultural industries need skilled artists for the creation, production and distribution of cultural products. Industries also need to provide jobs for employees.</p> <p>5.3 Many talented youth are interested in drama and theatre, and many Micronesians (in FSM) are renowned and talented storytellers.</p> <p>5.4 Many interested and talented artists still lack training in their own areas of expertise. Many musicians have no opportunities to learn how to play musical instruments, and indigenous musical instruments are no longer used. For example, the nose flute used to be a frequently used musical instrument until the early 1900s. Today, very few people know about the nose flute and no one knows how to use it.</p>

	<p>5.5 Emerging talented artists within FSM are becoming visible in Micronesia and they are producing their own music, music videos, radio programs, and poetry. Some musicians are vocally talented but their music is often copied and unoriginal.</p> <p>5.6 There is no systematic compilation of information relevant to creative industries.</p>
<p>Recommendations</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Identify, support and monitor existing cultural industries. • Marketing and networking mechanisms must be established between main islands and outer islands in each state in order to create awareness and promote cultural industries. • Develop a training center for creating quality arts. • Establish educational scholarships and prioritize employment in areas related to culture. • Promote programs and opportunities to help individuals and emerging artists in cultural industries, and use cultural industries for economic development. • Identify artists and work with them on the development of modern forms of cultural expressions. • Encourage the integration of traditional and contemporary music, instruments and performances. Just as Micronesians have re-taught navigation to Polynesians, Micronesians can request Polynesians (in French Polynesia) to train Micronesians (in Chuuk) to use the nose flute. • Work with all stakeholders and migrant communities (Micronesians living abroad) to establish cultural overlaps, and strengthen these. • Establish copyright laws to protect artists and their productions. • Creative industries need a system for compiling, resources and information. • Create and offer cultural opportunities. 	
<p>6. Environment and natural resources</p>	<p>6.1 Land remains an important part of the culture, and no foreigner can have full ownership and rights over land or property.</p> <p>6.2 Numerous institutions and stakeholders are working together to educate communities on environmental issues such as littering, dynamite fishing and sea level rise.</p> <p>6.3 There are significant environmental and conservation issues in FSM, and the government and non-profit non-governmental organizations are working together to address these issues.</p> <p>6.4 Numerous groups are promoting the local food industry over imported foods in order to prevent increased poverty, obesity, diabetes and other non-communicable diseases.</p>
<p>Recommendation</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Enforce and revise polices on foreign investments and land leases. • Use traditional practices to strengthen existing environmental laws in order to protect and conserve natural resources. • Enforce existing policies to protect the environment and natural resources. • Increase educational awareness on environmental issues such as climate change, littering and dynamite fishing. • Encourage and improve farming, fishing and agricultural programs. 	
<p>7. Government and public sector</p>	<p>7.1 Each state has its own system of chiefs and leadership. Before Western contact, Kosrae had traditional kings called <i>tokosra</i>. Today,religious leaders have replaced the <i>tokosra</i>. In Pohnpei, there are five chiefdoms and each has its own paramount chief called the <i>nahnmwarki</i>. In Chuuk, there is no paramount chief but instead, there are varieties of chiefs, or <i>samol</i> of clans, villages, or islands. In Yap, traditional chiefs still hold great importance and actively participate in both community and government decision-making.</p> <p>7.2 There is little training on culture from the government and private sectors.</p> <p>7.3 Yap has a traditional road system that uses the original stone pathways.</p> <p>7.4 There is no Office of Urban Planning to help integrate culture into infrastructure and landscapes.</p> <p>7.5 During the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (TTPI) days, many US researchers conducted studies in the FSM. When one researcher was called upon to help the local people testify on land issues (since this was his area of research), he refused to testify. For this reason, it is important that all</p>

researchers on FSM matters should be required to testify when called upon and when the matter is relevant to their area of research in FSM.

Recommendations

- Mainstream and strengthen culture into the work of government sectors.
- Encourage traditional leaderships to be integrated into government planning and decision-making.
- Train government and private sector workers on cultural issues and matters.
- Create an eco-friendly Office of Urban Planning that contributes to developmental planning, infrastructure, landscapes and community efficiency.
- Require that all foreign researchers testify when called upon in all matters relevant to their area of research and expertise in FSM.

3. SITUATIONAL ANALYSIS

Stakeholders and institutions

When it comes to culture, everyone in FSM is involved and everyone is a stakeholder. However, various government departments and agencies, both at the national and state level, are key actors in the process of developing a cultural policy. Community groups, the private sector, traditional knowledge holders, traditional leaders, local artists, and consumers are important cultural stakeholders. Below is a list and description of the prominent cultural stakeholders and institutions in FSM.

<p>1. Youth groups</p>	<p>FSM has a national youth council. In the draft FSM Youth Policy, there is a section on youth and culture that focuses on promoting cultural activities for youth. In addition, each state has its own youth council, which consists of various types of youth groups. Youth groups play an important role in learning about culture and conducting cultural activities. For example, many youth groups in Yap are involved in organizing the annual Yap Canoe Festival. Some youth groups in Pohnpei and Chuuk are involved in teaching traditional dances within communities.</p>	<p>FSM Department of Health and Social Affairs, state governments, Pacific Youth Council; Micronesia Youth Services Network, women’s organizations, Society of Historic Investigation and Preservation/Helping Ourselves: Outreach Program in Sports</p>
<p>2. Women’s groups</p>	<p>Each state has its own women’s councils or associations. Women’s groups have taken a leading role in outreach and education programs in many areas, including health, education, environment, and cultural issues and traditional knowledge. A women’s group in Chuuk promotes agriculture and indigenous methods of farming. Other groups across the states promote cultural industries in sewing and handicrafts.</p>	<p>FSM Department of Health and Social Affairs, state governments, Micronesia Conservation Trust</p>
<p>3. Religious-based organizations</p>	<p>Church is important in FSM. Many cultural activities, such as music and dance performances are revived during church events. In some</p>	<p>Private (religious) schools, church youth groups</p>

	ways, the church continues to educate on the different roles of men, women and children from a cultural perspective. Both Catholic and Protestant church groups encourage the integration of indigenous chants in their music and rituals.	
4. Private sector	The private sector has a leading role in promoting FSM's unique cultures as well as its cultural industries. The Chamber of Commerce, which consists of many private sector representatives, is influential in initiating policies in areas related to their interests. The Chamber of Commerce is a support system for many cultural industries and emerging artists.	Chamber of Commerce
5. Local artists, carvers, painters, musicians	Local artists are the ones who perpetuate the knowledge of carving, painting, dancing and musical performance while making connections to oral stories, history and culture. The Yap Gallery is a high-quality arts gallery (carvings, paintings) that displays works by local artists. All of the art presents some kind of cultural aspect or tells an historical story.	Yap Studio and Art Gallery, Cooperative Research Extension, Visitors Bureau
6. SHIP/HOOPS (Chuuk)	The Society of Historic Investigation and Preservation and Helping Ourselves: Outreach in Sport has been successful in reaching out to youth on the island of Weno. SHIP/HOOPS has conducted programs and activities that address traditional knowledge, and has successfully organized sport tournaments such as soccer, track and field, volleyball, basketball, and many other events.	Department of Resources and Development, Visitors Bureau, Department of Education, youth and church groups
7. Rotary clubs	Rotary Club of Truk Lagoon has a program called E-Chuuk-8 that addresses eight areas of need in Chuuk. The purpose of the program is to raise awareness in these areas (including culture) and offer solutions in order to raise	State governments, local schools, private sector

	cultural and identity pride among the Chuukese people.	
8. Senior citizens	The senior citizens of each municipality in Kosrae meet once a week to discuss and address community issues and needs, including the documentation and promotion of culture and traditional knowledge.	Church leaders, women's associations, and historic preservation offices
9. Girl and boy scouts	The Girl Scouts organization helps carry out cultural and volunteer activities within communities. For example, members of the Girl Scouts learn how to use traditional fishing and cooking methods on camping trips.	FSM Department of Health and Social Affairs
10. Traditional leaders	Traditional leaders still carry out traditional procedures and decision-making within the government and communities. For example, the Council of Pilung makes the final decisions for Yap islanders, and the Council of Tamol makes decisions for islanders on outlying islands.	Community-based organizations, government leaders
11. Micronesian Seminar	MicSem is a leading research center for culture, history and major issues pertaining to Micronesia. MicSem is prominent in initiating discussions through publications and the online <i>MicSem Forum</i> on cultural and social issues.	Office of National Archives, Culture, and Historical Preservation, Island Food Community of Pohnpei, Schools, College of Micronesia-FSM
12. Conservation societies	The Micronesian Red Cross Society offers volunteers and serves as a network system for key individuals in communities. The Island Food Community of Pohnpei promotes eating local food to prevent diseases and to encourage the cultivation of local food and plants. It promotes local farming and encourages the teaching of cooking local foods.	Environmental Protection Agency, Department of Resources and Development, historic preservation offices
13. College of Micronesia-FSM, Land Grant Program	The Cooperative Research Center or Land Grant Program has conducted activities and outreach programs to promote and teach cultural values and traditional knowledge. For years it has offered free classes to communities in sewing,	Department of Agriculture, Department of Education

	handicraft making, and culinary arts. Many graduates sew dresses and skirts and sell them to businesses.	
14. Chuuk Reform Website	The Chuuk Reform Website (www.chuukreform.org) is dedicated to providing information primarily on Chuuk. This has been used as a positive networking site for many Chuukese people.	
15. The Fourth Branch	A group of concerned Micronesian citizens living in Hawaii (mostly college students or young professionals) share information and news relevant to the FSM, Palau and the Marshall Islands. This group is significant because it shares accurate information through personal interviews and provide awareness of current issues and activities relevant to the Freely Associated States (FAS).	SHIP/HOOPS, Department of Education, youth councils
16. Island Research and Education Initiative (IREI)	Based in Pohnpei, IREI is a non-governmental organization that works in a multidisciplinary manner to uphold the cultural and environmental legacies of the islands and their people in diverse fields of geoscience, bioscience, education, linguistics, arts, and more.	Local communities
17. Traditional navigation Society (TNS)	Based in Yap, TNS strives to teach traditional knowledge about navigation and. Every year, TNS hosts the Canoe Festival in Yap with activities ranging from rope-making, sailing canoes, canoe construction, paddling, and more.	Yap Visitors Bureau, Our Yap (Yap Youth Congress), Council of Pilung, Council of Tamol, schools, state government, and private sectors
18. Island Food Community of Pohnpei	A successful non-profit organization in Pohnpei that is taking the lead in the promotion and education of local food production and consumption.	Conservation societies, schools, College of Micronesia-FSM, local communities
19. Pacific Resources for Education and Learning	Regional institution in the Pacific that promotes education and cultural literacy in Micronesia.	Department of Education

1	Department of Foreign Affairs	Responsible for foreign matters
2	Department of Health and Social Affairs	Oversees the offices that conduct activities promoting culture.
3	The Office of National Archives, Culture, and Historic Preservations	Responsible for documenting historical and cultural resources and implementing programs in these areas. While it is concerned with many areas pertaining to culture, the office focuses on documentation and preservation of historic sites and intellectual property. Although, each state's historic preservation office has distinct projects, the national office helps monitor projects at the state level.
4	Secretariat of the Pacific Community	Regional agency that offers technical support to cultural programs.
5	State governments	Assist in endorsing and moving the cultural mapping process.
6	College of Micronesia-FSM	The only accredited higher education institution in FSM that holds libraries of cultural materials, and offers courses and activities pertaining to culture and history. Many of the students are also involved in cultural activities and teaching traditions. For example, students have initiated paddling and sailing activities, and have promoted traditional dances.
7	Department of Education	Education has a prominent role in establishing and strengthening curriculum and programs in culture and native languages.
8	Environmental Protection Agency	Strongly encourages indigenous methods of fishing, farming, as well as conservation.
9	Visitors Bureau	Assists in showcasing and promoting culture outside of FSM. It can also link culture with creative industries, promote economic development, and improve tourism in FSM.
10	Department of Planning and Statistics	Responsible for collecting and compiling data to provide statistics for the greater community. Little has been collected in terms of cultural resources.
11	FSM Office of Statistics, Budget and Economic Management, Overseas Development Assistance, and Compact Management (SBOC)	Provides data and statistics with analysis on certain necessary information.

Current status

In order to discuss cultural information, it is critical to discuss the current status of cultural practices and resources. Seven areas that play a major role in launching cultural preservation, protection and promotion include:

- establishing a cultural sector;
- understanding cultural meaning and identity;
- promoting cultural awareness, education and training;
- understanding the social structure;
- creating and supporting cultural industries; and
- considering technology and media infrastructure.

Establishing a cultural sector

Consultations with community and government stakeholders show that although culture is highly valued in FSM, there has been little effort to document, preserve, protect and promote culture and cultural expressions. Numerous government departments and agencies, and non-

governmental organizations and community groups have implemented or conducted culture-related activities, but none oversees all aspects of culture. In FSM (both at the state and national level) there is no organized national cultural sector.

Although NACH and the state historic preservation offices exist, their primary role is the preservation of historical sites and properties. NACH is one of the cabinet offices that serves as an archival and historic preservation office and oversees all legal and administrative work on cultural heritage, culture, and historic preservation. NACH is mandated to microfilm and safeguard important government documents as well as cultural properties. In addition, NACH also provides technical assistance and advice and monitors the projects of each state’s historic preservation office.

In 2009, NACH received funding for operations and projects from two primary sources: the FSM national government and the US National Park Service (NPS). FSM funds were used to pay salaries, contractual services, travel, equipment and supplies for the office. NPS funds were used to fund some travel, office expenses, and contractual services. The office shared NPS funds and Historic Preservation Fund grants with the Micronesian Seminar (MicSem) to carry out a series of videos on the history of Micronesia (from prehistory, to colonial times, to present day). Below are NACH’s funds for 2009.

Sources	Allocations (in USD)
Local revenues (operation)	138,645.00
US Historic Preservation Fund grants (operations)	7,393.00
a. Travel	5,588.00
b. Supplies and materials	1,805.00
Historic Preservation Fund special project	20,500.00

At the state level, each office has different projects, including mapping cultural stories and knowledge, restoration of traditional houses, or exhibitions of historical artifacts. Each office has different priorities with regards to their projects, depending on the availability of traditional and/or cultural resources. Regardless, the offices focus on the documentation and preservations of intellectual property and historical sites. It is important to note, however, that the listing of both federal and state historical sites is ongoing, and therefore not complete. In each state, there are over a hundred places considered to be historical sites, yet only a few are documented and protected. Most sites on neighboring islands or outlying atolls have not been identified or protected as historical sites as the process is slow. Below is a list of Pohnpei State’s historical sites.

US National Registry of Historic Places (National Park Service) and Pohnpei State Registry of Historical Properties	
Nan Madol	
Sokehs mass grave	
Spanish Wall park	
Japanese shrine	
Japanese elementary school for Pohnpeian children	
Pohndollap trail and Japanese artilleries	
German bell tower	
German cemetery	
Japanese agriculturist house	
Tentative World Heritage Listing	
Nominated Sites for Pohnpei State Registry of Historical Properties	
Pilen Kooanoat	
Sapwtakai	
Pein Ihd	
Dolen Paieke	
Soapwillap	
Diekot	
Pein Leng	

There are an estimated 764 unregistered historic sites, yet only a few historic sites have been registered. Below is a list of registered historical sites in Yap.

- Stone paths
- Men’s house (Faluw)
- Women’s meeting house
- Community meeting house (Peebay)
- Meeting stone platform
- Stone money banks and dancing grounds
- Menstrual grounds
- Burials and cemetery sites
- Sacred ceremonial sites
- Sacred food preparation sites
- Coastal causeways (for land erosion management)
- Riverbank stone structures (for watershed management, including garden plots and taro patches to the mangrove forest and lagoon)

Yap has some maritime archaeological sites, which include fish traps or rock weirs (called *aech*) located on flat reefs along the shoreline. The Yap State Historic Preservation Office and representatives from seven municipalities are helping to preserve the *aech*. Used extensively throughout Yap, the *aech* is shaped like an arrow and can be as big as 660 feet. During a flood tide, fish move shoreward with the current. When the tide ebbs, fish move seaward and go through the openings of the *aech* where they are trapped.

In traditional societies, fishing rights and privileges were regulated to ensure that people did not overfish or abuse fishing resources, and the *aech* was a fishing method that ensured that overfishing did not take place since fishermen would only take fish they need. Today, the *aech* serves the same purpose but also serves as the “communal supermarket”, where people come to select fish from the *aech* and pay the owners of the *aech*.

To date, 376 *aech* sites have been surveyed out of an estimated 800 sites. The few that have been surveyed are near the coast and seagrass bed areas, while those of the inner lagoon area and reefs have yet to be surveyed.

As with Yap, many historic places in the other three states have not been identified, listed or protected as historic sites. In Chuuk, the currently registered sites under the US National Register of Historical Places include:

- Fauba (Foupo) archaeological site, Tol Island (pre-western contact period)
- Tonnachau Mountain, Weno Island (pre-western contact)
- Wiichen men’s meeting house, Weno Island (pre-Western contact)
- Japanese army headquarters, Roro, Tonoas Island (Japanese period 1914–1945)
- Japanese lighthouse Allei Island, Puluwat Atoll, Truk Lagoon (Japanese period 1914–1945)
- Xavier High School, old Japanese communication center, Weno Island (Japanese period 1914–1945)
- Tonotan guns and caves, Weno Island (Japanese period 1914–1945)
- Truk Lagoon underwater fleet (Japanese period 1914–1945)



Chuukese petroglyph located at Wiichen Falls on Weno Island. *Photo Taken by Author.*

The Kosrae Historic Preservation Office prides itself in hosting the Kosrae State Museum, which contains a collection of over 300 cultural items, ranging from books, maps and pictures, to historical artifacts and cultural materials. In addition, the Kosrae Historic Preservation Office is working on a collection of oral stories. Kosrae is known to have been the main center for ancient Micronesia. Kosrae has two major sites: Lelu ruins and Menke ruins. Lelu ruins are the remains of an ancient city, which dates back to 1400 AD. Menke was built years before Lelu and is believed to have been a religious site where ancient Kosraeans gathered to worship their goddess of breadfruit, Singlaku.

The Kosrae Historic Preservation Office, with its consulting archaeologist, has conducted an excavation of the prehistoric site of Safonfok, another historic site in the remote village in Kosrae. The excavation is significant because it contains the site where coral fish hooks were produced, an industry found only here. Likinlulem is another registered site under the US National Register of Historic Places, and is significant because it is believed to have been the place where the island's political system first formed.⁴

Menke Ruins, Kosrae



Figure 3: Menke Ruins, Kosrae State. Photo taken by Author.

The Nan Madol ruins in Pohnpei are a spectacular ancient city made of up 92 man-made islands linked by a series of canals. It is properly maintained by the landowners and the paramount chief of Madelonihwm where the ruins are located.⁵ Because of its private ownership, it has not met with UNESCO's requirements for World Heritage Site Listing. However, work is ongoing between the National Historic Preservation and the traditional chiefs of Pohnpei, especially Madelonhimw Municipality on the ownership status so it meets the requirement for the World Heritage listing. Currently, FSM wishes to propose the site, but undergoing revisions.

Many more archaeological sites need to be documented and maintained. Many documented sites are not maintained consistently, and therefore, are in need of upgrading and restoration. Funding and resources are not always available to carry out maintenance on historic sites. In addition, existing cultural policies and legislation need to be strengthened and enforced in order to protect cultural materials, traditional knowledge and historic sites from abusive exploitation. It is sometimes difficult to determine who is responsible for maintaining and upgrading historical sites because many of them belong to either the chief of a village or the land owners where the site is located. Therefore, it is necessary that there be a careful review of land ownership of historic sites. In Kosrae, Lelu ruins are situated right in the heart of Lelu town. The ruins are not properly maintained, and many locals, especially young boys, use it as a gathering place and sometimes for drinking beer.

⁴ The author was not able to get the list of registered sites from the Kosrae State Historic Preservation Office.

⁵ Because of its private ownership, it does not meet UNESCO's requirement for World Heritage Site listing.

Required changes

State historic preservation offices need more staff and funding to be able to restore and preserve historical sites, and such support needs to be sustainable in order to maintain historical sites over time (see Appendix 1 for historic preservation office funding allocation). In order to document historical properties, skilled professionals are needed in the areas of preservation, archaeology, chemistry and history. A data collection system that is consistent and rigorous needs to be put in place. This system should be eco-friendly, while working with and respecting traditional stories, knowledge and elders.

FSM needs to establish a strong cultural sector that will serve as a central resource and learning center for cultural information. This cultural center could be a non-governmental or non-profit organization, but it should work collaboratively with the government and communities to document, regulate, and record traditional knowledge and cultural information.

Cultural meaning and identity

Although FSM's four states have different cultural backgrounds and practices, they share many similarities in cultural expression. In FSM, culture defines a collective identity, lifestyle, and the very livelihood of FSM people and culture exists to serve the needs and welfare of a vibrant society.

Culture in its core sustains people...There is something in the cultural identities that sustain a group people as well as the individuals... Sometimes we confuse cultural expressions and cultural performances which are the outcomes of culture and what is truly cultural because people will start looking for the physical manifestations of culture and focus on that as if that is the culture. More than anything else, culture is inside the people, it's deep within the soul of person and then it comes out in expressions, objects that we create out of that deep connection. — Joakim Peter, Personal Communication

In FSM, culture is the identity and inner being that sustains people, their relationships and their surroundings. Cultural values include respect, sharing, kinship, peace-making, humility and family, which in turn sustain the people and keep society intact. Micronesians tend to use the Western definition of culture as being something physical, and have forgotten that culture also includes intangible elements (in Chuukese culture, it is known as *ocholapei*) that live deep within a person's soul. As long as cultural values exist, culture will be expressed through objects, arts, behavior, cultural performances and other forms of expressions.

Today, the meaning of culture has taken different forms and perceptions, leaving many people confused about the essence of culture and its position in their lives. Because of this, different cultural factors and viewpoints are prioritized to better serve personal interests rather than the welfare of a greater society. In customary laws, the purpose of a traditional leader is to serve his people, that way, the people will trust him. In the past, when it was harvest time, people gathered to offer the first fruits of the season to the chief. The chief was then supposed to share and re-distribute the food to the people. This practice still continues

today, but not with fruit. Nowadays, people bring sacks or rice, cases of chicken, and even cash to the leader. But the leader does not always re-distribute the goods to the people, and so, people are doubtful about their leaders.

With Westernization, the value of culture for contemporary lifestyles and development is in question. Is culture necessary?

If we do not know our culture, then what do we have to build on? Nothing. And when we have nothing, how do we expect success? — (Gardenia Aisek, Personal Communication)

Culture, as we are taught in Western education, is almost exclusively a representation of the past; thus, it is about looking backward and not about moving forward. But as Ms Aisek has justified, we need to know the past in order to understand the present and to build the future. In island societies, culture is not only about the past; it is the connection of the past to the present, which in turn links to the future. As long as we maintain cultural values, we can continually upgrade and improve cultural information and practices to complement contemporary challenges.

A great number of young people are not receiving a cultural education at home or from their communities. The kinship system is not as important as it once was, and extended families have been replaced by a nuclear family. If they are not receiving a cultural education early on, then young people will lose the meaning of culture.

As people shift towards a Western and cash-economy lifestyle, the demands of employment and education rise and people begin moving away from their villages, islands and extended families to enrol in schools and find employment. This accounts for, in part, the breaking down of the extend family and the matrilineal system — the initial and central point for cultural education. Francis Hezel, a Jesuit priest and renowned Micronesian historian, and Donald Rubenstein, an anthropologist, explain that parental neglect is not necessarily associated with divorce or the nuclear family, but with the breakdown of extended families and clan systems. It is further suggested that the breakdown of the extended family disrupts the roles of men within families, which leads to a high rate of male suicides.

Criminal Indicators	2000	2001
Reported offenses	5,976	7,091
Misdemeanors	2,673	3,193
Felonies	406	534
Juvenile Offenses	316	142
Minor traffic offenses	1,856	1,540
Criminal offenses	725	1682

Required changes

There needs to be continual awareness and education of cultural information and practices. Cultural systems such as the kinship and extended families should be strengthened because they serve as networks and safety nets for people. Communities should emphasize and restrengthen family values.

To battle obesity and other lifestyle health-related issues, it is recommended that FSM encourage the production and consumption of local foods over imported foods, and to ensure that these activities begin at home with young children. The Island Food Community of Pohnpei educates communities on the importance of local foods, and encourages people to eat local foods not only because they are healthier but also because they are less expensive. A few local women's workshops and conferences have begun serving local fruits and foods as refreshments, and it is also highly recommended that other workshops do the same.

Cultural research, education, and training

Modern education is prevalent throughout FSM, and as a result, traditional schools have fallen into disuse, and fewer people are gaining traditional knowledge. Also, many people from FSM are lured towards modern employment and even migration overseas, and so the handing down of traditional knowledge is becoming increasingly infrequent.

FSM's indigenous languages are the most commonly used languages in the islands, but they are losing aspects of their diversity. Although the Department of Education requires that local languages be taught at the primary school level (i.e. grades 1–3), this does not always occur. Some schools do not have qualified teachers to teach local languages, or if they do, there are not enough books and other resources. Some private schools (both primary and secondary) restrict the use of local languages in order to promote the use of English. Even in homes, the situation is changing. Speaking English is associated with a good education, and parents tend to encourage their children to speak English at home. Young people, therefore, often grow up to value English over their native language.

Institutions and non-governmental organizations

The Island Research and Educational Initiative (IREI) is a non-governmental organization that carries out research and education projects pertaining to cultural and environmental heritage of the islands. Its focus is on cultural and environmental preservation through a wide range of fields, including biology, linguistics, geography, ethnography and anthropology. Some of IREI's projects include children's story books, geographic information system mapping in FSM, an FSM atlas, and the recording of indigenous place names.

MicSem engages in research, public education and awareness of a wide range of issues, including health, culture, economics, government and history. Although it is based in Pohnpei, MicSem serves the Marshall Islands, Palau and all of FSM. It has produced several books, hundreds of articles, and videos, and has compiled a collection of historical photos. MicSem is also known for its online discussion forum where Micronesians anywhere come together to discuss various issues and information.

SHIP/HOOPS is actually two organizations. SHIPS — The Society for Historic Investigation and Preservation — is an FSM non-profit organization that was founded in 1989 to promote

historic preservation and environmental protection; educate Micronesians in preserving traditional knowledge and information; and use cultural information to empower young people. HOOPS — Helping Ourselves: Outreach Programs in Sports — is a subsidiary organization that was established in order to offer sports programs, meaningful activities, and lifestyle education to Chuukese youth. Some of HOOPS’s activities and projects include maritime archaeology, cultural literacy, storybooks, and community-based programs in sports such as wrestling, soccer, basketball, volleyball, and track and field.

The Akoyikoyi center — a recently opened non-government school run by SHIP/HOOPS — is located in a remote village on Weno Island in Chuuk. Akoyikoyi literally means “the birds piping signals of the dawn” but culturally refers to intellectual awakening and enlightenment. The center focuses on cultural and computer literacy, sports and recreational activities, and educational awareness through films. The Center also provides literacy activities, including the use of computers, and offers hands-on opportunities for youth to use audio-visual methods for learning.



Figure 4: The Akoyikoyi Center. Photo taken from the Center's Facebook page with permission.

The College of Micronesia in Palikir, Pohnpei (and its branches in the other three states) offers courses in Micronesian history and cultural studies. Its libraries also hold a collection of Pacific-related books, newspapers and videos.

The Cooperative Research Extension (CRE) at the College of Micronesia in FSM, Chuuk Campus, has recently started working with the FSM Development Bank, the College of Micronesia, and the Small Business Development Center to carry out its projects. CRE has programs and classes in nutrition, agriculture, handicraft making, and sewing. These programs help individuals learn skills and promote sustainable living. None of the programs, however, have ever assessed the success of CRE students. This year, CRE is working with the College of Micronesia Career Program to help students who have completed CRE programs to take computer courses. Once students complete the computer courses, they are then eligible to apply for small business grants at the Small Business Development Center. The Small Business Development Center works with clients to develop a business plan, and works with the FSM Development Bank on applying for small business loans. CRE receives funding from both the federal government and outside grants.

Yap's Traditional Navigation Society (TNS) is a non-profit organization that ensures that traditional navigation and canoe building are preserved and promoted. TNS is known for its annual canoe festival where activities include sailing, traditional navigation, rope-making, canoe building, canoe bail carving, fish trap making, sail weaving, voyaging food preparation (for voyages), canoe paddling and races, and dance performances.

Yap's Traditional Maritime Academy was founded in 2006 by Yap's TNS. The Academy is dedicated to reviving canoe culture and traditional navigation, particularly among Yap's young people. Major funding for the Academy comes from the Asian Development Bank, Yap State Government Resource and Development Office, and the Yap Workforce Enrichment Program.

The Pacific Resources for Education and Learning (PREL) offers online programs that promote research on traditional knowledge. PREL currently hosts an online graduate program in ethnomathematics. There are at least one to three PREL students in each FSM state.

Informal education

Cultural education also takes place at the community, clan and family level, and traditional knowledge is collectively owned by the community, clan or extended family. Knowledge shared and practiced within a community includes fishing techniques, agricultural skills, architecture, dance and music. Knowledge owned and shared by a clan or extended family includes medicinal knowledge, oral stories, and knowledge about navigation and canoe building. Funerals and other festivities such as fundraising events in Pohnpei also offer opportunities for cultural education. Funerals are times where families learn about their clan history and family relations. Moreover, numerous non-governmental organizations such as women's and youth groups, have held workshops, conferences and trainings on cultural arts such as handicrafts and handicraft making.

The church and other religious-based organizations are another venue for cultural education in areas such as music and dance.

Traditional leadership and traditional schools

A few traditional schools still exist. Weriying is a traditional navigation school that have taught and trained many traditional navigators in the outlying atolls of Yap and Chuuk. Some traditional *itang* (traditional leaders or knowledge holders) schools in Chuuk are responsible for training traditional chiefs and these Moreover, traditional leaders continue to promote cultural learning on a grassroot level through traditional ceremonies, activities and practices.

Internet

Many FSM citizens both living in the country and abroad have used online discussions through Chuuk Reform, MicSem, the Fourth Branch web sites and other facebook pages as an avenue for cultural networking and sharing of cultural information, news and resources.

Museum and Art Gallery

Blue Lagoon Resort and Dive Shop are making efforts to transform their diving wrecks collection into a small museum. Currently, the collections are located at the Blue Lagoon

Resort in Chuuk and is dedicated to the late owner, Kimiuo Aisek. The collections include photographs and artifacts from diving wrecks from World War II.

Kosrae State Museum holds a small collection of pre-contact artifacts as well as artifacts during the colonial times. Museums also include photographs, maps, and canoe or housing models for Kosrae.

Yap Living History Museum is currently under development and construction but its purpose is to facilitate cultural education. It hopes to provide awareness on the importance of culture and history and to engage young people in learning traditional Yapese skills and values.

Yap Art Studio and Gallery is a gallery promoting local watercolor painting, wood carvings, and hand-woven or loomed products by Yapese artists and artisans. Artists hope to promote and preserve cultural arts while using contemporary methods to re-tell stories of Yap. Galleries include weaving, carving, and water painting products.



Figure 5: Yap Art Studio and Gallery. Photo retrieved from www.yapartstudioandgallery.com on September 21 2011

Required changes

We need to create a library of some sort to keep culture... Active or not, practiced or not, culture needs to be kept even though we don't need it, because we may need it one day. – (Mariano Marcus, Personal Communication)

Culture should be included in the formal education curriculum, although it is also important to recognize traditional schools and teachers as experts in the area of culture. The Department of Education should work with traditional schools to offer programs and courses pertaining to culture. Students should also be recognized as possessing traditional skills and knowledge.

Interactive media through online communication, video/telephone conferencing, films/videos must be integrated to classroom teaching, and the Department of Education is recommended to offer and develop creative curricula and methods to teach culture in schools. According to the community consultations, media has been a useful tool for community outreach as well as educational methods for students.

The government and communities must encourage the building of public, cultural learning centers and libraries to enhance cultural education. Within communities, clan and family leaders should encourage and use traditional activities and events (i.e. funeral practices) to further reinforce traditional knowledge and values. Today, many communities complain about the high cost of contemporary funerals, and it has been recommended that these should be re-evaluated to make them less costly and more culturally educational.

More work should be done in the future on identifying knowledge ownership and establishing patent and exclusive rights on traditional knowledge in order to prevent exploitative abuse of traditional knowledge.

Language courses still need to be upgraded and expanded to all school levels, and curriculum should include poetry, music and drama classes. Language resources such as storybooks should be created and used in classrooms. There should be an emphasis within school curriculum on native languages and these should be taught in all states. In Pohnpei, language courses in Pohnpeian, Kosraean, Yapese and Chuukese should be offered at all levels.

Understanding the social structure

In Yap and Pohnpei, traditional leaders are still considered to be highly important; in Chuuk, chiefs are only leaders in title but their traditional responsibilities are barely recognized. Yap is the only FSM state that has a traditional leadership council (Council of Pilung and Council of Tamol) within the government. Although traditional leadership (*nahnmwarkhi* and *nahnken* system) in Pohnpei is widely recognized and has influenced many government decisions, it does not have a formal branch within the state government. In Pohnpei, the *nahnmwarkhi* system is still practiced, and all five municipalities or chiefdoms have their own high chief and minor chiefs beneath the high chief. Traditional chiefs in Chuuk are acknowledged on paper, but have little influence or authority within the traditional leadership system. Chuuk is the only state without an overall paramount chief, although it still maintains many high chiefs, or *samol*, of an island, village or clan. Kosrae's traditional royalty (*tokosra* or king) has been replaced by church (mainly Christian) leaders. In Chuuk and Pohnpei, chiefly systems are closely tied to land ownership.

Yap has a strong caste system that is not existent in the other three states. In Yap, the caste system allows for a defined set of seven caste levels. A caste level exists to serve the caste higher than itself. For instance, members of the lowest caste is entitled to serve members of the second lowest caste, while members of the second lowest caste are designated to serve the members of the third level. This applies to the rest of the levels of the caste system. The caste system also restricts certain interactions or relations between members of a higher caste and lower caste. For instance, when it comes to marriage, one cannot marry from a lower class. If a woman wants to marry a man from a higher class, the higher caste must pay for her to move up. If a woman wants to marry a lower caste, she has to sacrifice her higher class title and move to the lower class because a man cannot change his class, especially when moving upward.

While Yap has proudly maintained its caste system for centuries, many islanders express feelings of inequality. If an individual from the lowest class is highly educated and is the most qualified person for a job, they may very likely not get the job because of their caste

level. Such individuals tend to move away from Yap to find work where they are treated equally.

The importance of traditional leaders is gradually changing. In communities, especially among young people, traditional leaders are perceived as old-fashioned and uneducated because many of them do not understand or speak English, and someone who is educated in a modern school tends to be considered more intelligent than a traditional leader. As a result, trust in traditional leaders is no longer strong.

Working together is a cultural aspect. If the people and government work together for the people, the common good, then we will be successful. – Kind Kanto (Personal Communication)

“Working together” may sound like a cliché but it is an important cultural value in FSM. One of the reasons why traditional leadership was successful in the past was because it worked for the common good of the people rather than for an individual. Traditionally, people went to the chief for advice on land boundaries and disputes, and food distribution. Today, leaders tend to put themselves, their families, or political families first, rather than considering what is right or good for the greater community. For instance, in Pohnpei, people stated that they are concerned that many of their traditional chiefs are gaining wealth from the people without returning the contribution to help communities.

In addition to an absence of the traditional system in some states, the government is failing to address cultural issues. People feel that the government cares little about culture and the fact it is becoming weak and under-valued. Because traditional leaders are well-versed in culture and history, they serve as important cultural resources to the government and the people they serve, yet the government fails to incorporate traditional leadership in governance and decision-making. In addition, the government does not use culture effectively to help improve the economy, living standards, and policies.

Required changes

The government needs to recognize the roles and responsibilities of traditional chiefs, and include traditional leadership in decision-making and governance. In each state, there needs to be the continued ordination of traditional leaders, and the government should consider Yap’s model of integrating traditional leadership within the state government structure, but using a traditional leadership approach that is appropriate for each state.

A few groups in Yap are recommending a change within the Yapese caste system in order to allow equal opportunities for all Yapese people. However, the new direction needs to be discussed and analysed further by the Yapese people.

4. CULTURAL INDUSTRIES

The term “cultural industry” is a new concept for many FSM people, and increasing interest in it is coming from various individuals, business owners, and other stakeholders. The industry is still very much disorganized and informal, and there is no organized system for data collection, studies or research. More effort needs to be focused on building a strong cultural industry.

Architecture

Traditional architecture is evident on many of FSM’s islands but needs to be restored and maintained. For instance, in remote villages of Yap and Pohnpei, it is still possible to see many traditional buildings. Many of the Yap Historic Preservation Office projects involve the restoration of men’s or community meeting houses. In Chuuk, with the exception of the outlying atolls, traditional architecture has been replaced with concrete buildings.

Performing arts

FSM people produce music, but much of it is not original and a considerable amount is copied. A musical keyboard is the major musical instrument used to make music, and there is no integration of other instruments, including traditional instruments. In fact, many people are not aware that there are indigenous instruments in FSM, including the nose flute from Chuuk and drums from Pohnpei. Other commonly used instruments include the guitar and ukulele.

Although FSM people are well-known for their dancing traditions and practices, little effort has been made to continue the teaching of traditional dances. Dances take many forms — from sitting, to standing and to stick dances. Yap’s famous *churuu* remains a significant cultural practice. In Pohnpei, Chuuk and Kosrae, Polynesian hula has gained greater popularity during events or festivals.

Visual arts and arts and crafts

There is exceptional talent and interest in theatre among many young people in FSM, but there are no school programs or courses that teach drama and theatre, and so there are no opportunities for these talented artists to explore and strengthen their skills in these areas. Likewise, although traditional poetry and storytelling has been an important aspect of FSM culture, little effort has been done to teach and implement activities and program in this areas.

Arts and crafts are FSM’s biggest cultural industry in terms of practice and availability. Some of the most common arts and crafts include *machi* weaving on Fais Atoll in Yap, and the weaving of mats, fans, baskets, *tur* or lava lavas, thatched roofs, sails, wall decorations and jewelry. Wood carvings are also made and include storyboards, wall and house decorations, devil masks, lovesticks and canoes.

Painting is not as popular as the other arts and crafts, but is occurring on Yap and Pohnpei. The artists of Yap Studio and Art Gallery produce paintings related to cultural themes.



Figure 6: Kapingamarangi gift shop in Pohnpei. Photo taken by Author.

Yap has a few professional artists who produce quality arts as a way of conveying Yap's rich cultural heritage to future generations. Numerous paintings have been purchased by art collectors around the world, although profits are not enough to cover artists' expenses, materials, rent and salary. So a demand for an increased tourism and appreciation of modern art is also necessary.

Fashion industry

In Chuuk, young business owners are getting into the graphic t-shirt industry. One successful brand is Metever Gear, whose designs use Chuukese sayings and colloquial expressions,. Chuukese *mumus* and dresses have also gained popularity throughout Micronesia, and Pohnpeian and Chuukese skirts are in great demand, not only in Micronesia, but outside of FSM as well.

When they travel, many FSM people proudly wear local clothing styles. In Yap, it is possible to determine who is from a neighboring atoll or from the main island of Yap because of the way they dress. In Chuuk, women from the northwestern islands still wear local-woven lava lavas while men wear the *thu*. Furthermore, these islanders continue to wear *tehrow*, special jewelry made from colorful beads. This occurs not only within FSM but also in FSM diasporic communities in Guam, Hawaii and the US mainland. Although, they have been criticized by communities abroad for their old-fashioned costumes and style, the people of FSM are not afraid or ashamed to showcase their cultural attires.

Market in Pohnpei and Pohnpeian *Urohs*



Figure 7: Pohnpeian store selling urohs (Pohnpeian Skirts). Retrieved from www.neilevans.smugmug.com on 10 July 2011.

Foods, drinks and *sakau*

Local markets sell fish and various local foods, and smaller markets sell local food lunch plates. Many government conferences now serve local food and produce. Pohnpei also manufactures *sakau* (*kava*) and its famous Pohnpeian pepper. Kosrae markets its famous Kosraean lemons and tangerines, and is well-known for its locally produced and manufactured bottled water, *Lelu Water*. One women's association in Chuuk manufactures virgin coconut oil and banana chips. The Coconut Development Authority is experimenting with an alternative energy option using copra. Pohnpei and Yap remain the highest exporters of betel nut within FSM. Major export items include reef fish (worth about USD 0.5 million), offshore fish (worth about USD 13.7 million), and betel nut (worth about USD 0.4 million).⁶ Pohnpei and Kosrae also manufacture *noni* and *noni* juices (FSM Trade Report 2005).

Body art and ornaments

Tattoos and body jewelry are traditional throughout FSM. After centuries of being prohibited by missionaries, traditional tattoos and body jewelry are once again gaining respect. Black pearls, a recent industry in Pohnpei and Chuuk, are becoming popular in jewelry pieces.

Media

FSM has no printing or publishing industry, and most publishing is done in other countries such as the US and Fiji.

There are currently no local television programs, but there are radio stations, although most are religious-based.

⁶ These numbers were obtained from the official site for FSM statistics www.s boc. fm

Visitors Bureau

Yap's Visitors Bureau actively promotes cultural events that attract tourists. Yap Day and the Canoe Festival attract not only Yapese, but other Micronesians as well as tourists. During these events, the Yapese showcase their culture through dance and musical performances, carvings, sailing, rope-making, canoe construction, and other forms of cultural expression.



Figure 8: "Yapese Lei." www.tomorrowsLeis.com. Retrieved 15 September 2011.

Tomorrow's Leis is a family business that sells authentic Yapese leis.

In addition, the private sector strives to promote culture through its sales of t-shirts printed with local sayings, handicrafts, and of historical objects. Hotel industries across FSM market local souvenirs, especially graphic t-shirts that promote the culture and positive aspects of the island culture.



Figure 9: "T-Shirts at the Truk Stop Souvenir Shop." Taken from *Trukstop Hotel Facebook Page* with permission

Truk Stop Hotel "Get Wrecked" t-shirts and other souvenirs.

Constraints to and limitations of cultural industries

Technology and media infrastructure

Poor infrastructure and media communication decreases the overall living standard. While three of FSM's states have good roads, Chuuk's road system is in poor condition.

Radio communication is relatively good, again, with the exception of Chuuk. While Yap, Pohnpei and Kosrae all have working AM and FM stations, Chuuk has no reliable radio station that can reach all of its islands. For the past decade, the power situation in Chuuk has been poor and there are only a few hours during the day when there is electricity. Pohnpei is currently experiencing the same situation. The main problems are that the generating machines are weak and there is not enough fuel to provide power to all households and buildings. Island communities must have better infrastructure, effective radio programs and other means of communications to ensure cultural education.

As emmigration from FSM increases, the demands for better communication technology also increase. Communication by telephone and the internet has become an expensive reality. FSM Telecom is the country's communication carrier, but it lacks skilled professionals, engineers and necessary technologies to provide good services.



Figure 10: Road in Chuuk. *Photo taken by Juanita Yasu*

Required changes

There is a growing need for advanced technology to accommodate the needs and demands of FSM's communities. In order to increase cultural awareness and industries, FSM needs to have a reliable communications infrastructure. FSM needs a nation-wide radio station and communication center with skilled professionals and services to accommodate the growing demands of its population.

Moreover, there should be an office of Urban Planning to help plan for better infrastructure, roads and buildings. An office of Urban Planning can also work towards integrating traditional architecture in modern buildings.

There needs to be an increase in creative activities and programs to expose artists to other innovative ideas. Pacific Island countries must establish and strengthen a network of artists who share creative ideas and success stories.

Tourism industries and creative industries rely on each other and both areas must be strengthened in ways that industries work together. No efforts have been made from the government to fund the tourism offices to help promote creative industries. Cultural industries also lack skilled professionals and training in this area. Traditional artists must continue to train new artists and work with creative industries and modern artists on establishing new and original products.

Cultural data

While the Office of National Archives, Culture and Historic Preservation is responsible for cultural information and cultural archives at the national level, cultural information is also held by a variety of other agencies and organizations, including the court system and its libraries, Land Commission offices, school and state libraries, local museums, the national Resources and Development Office, the National Oceanic Resources Management Authority, Coconut Development Authority, and the departments of Agriculture, Education, Health and Social Affairs, Environmental and Emergency Management.

Such cultural information includes (but is not limited to) government archives, land tenures, oral histories and stories, historical sites (both terrestrial and maritime), traditional tools and artifacts, arts and crafts, history and cultural books, some music, photographs, newspapers and audio records, and maps.

An awareness of the importance of collecting statistics on culture is lacking, and to date, cultural data and statistics, and information regarding cultural industries do not exist. Although there is a national statistics office, its main focus is on demographic and household statistics. There needs to be collaboration between the cultural sector and the government and statistics office.

Government offices institutions and non-governmental organizations working on cultural issues have not compiled any statistics on their activities and projects. There needs to be collaborative effort to gather cultural information and data in order to assess and measure cultural development and protection.

5. CURRENT POLICIES AND POTENTIAL POLICY OPTIONS

Culture and traditions in FSM's Constitution

FSM's Constitution ensures that Micronesian customs and traditions remain a continuing part of Micronesian life by including a traditional right article. Article V of the Constitution includes the following traditional right articles in section 1 and 2:

Section 1. Nothing in this Constitution takes away a role or function of a traditional leader as recognized by custom and tradition.

Section 2. The traditions of the people of the Federated States of Micronesia may be protected by statute. If challenged as violative of Article IV, protection of Micronesian tradition shall be considered a compelling social purpose warranting such governmental action.

FSM's courts have supported that clause and have accounted for customs and traditions in a wide variety of decisions involving crimes, torts and property rights. As a result, customs and traditions are kept alive and are making a substantial impact on the jurisprudence of FSM.

Historic and cultural preservation laws

The FSM government is conscious of the importance of its cultural heritage. Very early on, FSM passed Title 26 of the FSM Code, which deals with preservation of history and culture. FSM's policy is stated clearly in Title 26, Section 101:

It is the policy of the Federated States of Micronesia to protect and preserve the diverse cultural heritage of the people of Micronesia and, in furtherance of that policy, to assist in the identification and maintenance of those areas, sites, and objects of historical significance within the Federated States of Micronesia (Title 26, Section 101).

The terms mentioned in Title 26 are defined as:

- "Cultural attribute" means all aspects of local culture, tradition, arts, crafts, all social institutions, forms of expression, and mode of social interaction.
- "Historic property" includes sites, structures, buildings, objects, and areas of significance in local history, archaeology or culture.
- "Historical artifacts" refers to objects produced by human beings 30 or more years previously.

The functions of historical and cultural protection were initially vested in an Institute of Micronesian History and Culture. However, after a series of government reorganizations, these functions now rest with the Department of Health, Education and Social Affairs. There have been moves to reorganize the Institute as a component of the College of Micronesia-FSM, the local institution of higher education. This, however, has not occurred.

The mandate of the Department of Health, Education and Social Affairs, in particular the Division of Social Affairs, is to monitor the activities of national government agencies as well as of other parties, public or private, foreign or domestic that may have an impact on historic properties and cultural attributes, and to take all reasonable steps to determine the impact of such activities. As a result of an investigation by Department of Health, Education and Social Affairs,

If an irresolvable conflict arises between the preservation of historic properties or cultural attributes and the plans of an agency or a party, the Institute and the agency or party concerned shall prepare and submit reports setting forth the facts of the situation and all other relevant facts, opinions, and recommendations to the President of the Federated States of Micronesia (Title 26 of FSM Codes, Section 304).

The President must resolve the conflict, balancing the “economic and general development of the Federated States of Micronesia” on one hand, and “the value of the historic property or cultural attribute to the maintenance of Micronesia’s cultural integrity and to the scientific and humanistic understanding of Micronesia’s culture and history” on the other hand.

The Institute, and now the Department of Health, Education and Social Affairs, is given the right to prepare and promulgate rules, regulations and guidelines necessary to implement its mandate.

Copyright laws

FSM’s Constitution, which went into effect in 1979, provides expressly for intellectual property matters. Article IX Section 2 (g) provides Congress with the power to regulate, among others, patents and copyrights.

In 1981, Congress enacted a copyright law, Title 35 of the FSM Code. The legislative intent was to promote artistic, literary and intellectual protection within FSM. With that in mind, Congress concentrated on domestic protection. For example, for published works, Title 35 provides that protection exists when:

On the date of first publication, one or more of the authors is a national or domiciliary of the Federated States of Micronesia or is a national or a domiciliary of a country that is a party to a copyright treaty to which the Federated States of Micronesia is also a party.

FSM has not entered into any copyright treaty. Title 35 also provides for the President to extend copyright protection on a case-by-case basis to authors from a nation that extends similar protection to FSM authors.

Title 35 lists the rights that a copyright owner has. These include the right to:

- reproduce the copyrighted work in copies or phono records;
- prepare derivative works based upon the copyrighted work;
- distribute copies of phono records of the copyrighted work to the public by sale or other transfer of ownership, or by rental, lease or lending;

- perform the copyrighted work publicly in cases of literary, musical, dramatic, and choreographic works, pantomimes, and motion pictures and other audiovisual work;
- display the copyrighted work publicly (Title 35, FSM Codes, Section 106) in cases of literary, musical, dramatic and choreographic works, pantomimes, and pictorial, graphic or sculptural works, including the individual images of a motion picture or other audiovisual work.

Language policy

A language policy for FSM was established in 1997 but has not been widely implemented. This policy grew out of a deep concern over the impact of economic changes and the rapid pace of cultural change on language and culture. There is now a growing concern among community members and some scholars over the possibility of losing some FSM languages. There is a need to protect and preserve FSM's indigenous languages.

The language policy encourages bilingual education and it addresses issues not only related to local Micronesian languages but also addresses issues related to the English and other international languages spoken in FSM. One of the goals for the policy is to achieve a high competence in English and at least one Micronesian language. In order to promote FSM's indigenous languages, it has been agreed that an FSM National Language and Cultural Institute be established and located at the College of Micronesia-FSM National Campus. Another component of the policy on a state-wide-level is to encourage the designation of state official language(s), school and curriculum requirements, and spelling systems.

Tourism policy matrix

During the second FSM Economic Summit in 1999, FSM leaders developed the Tourism Policy Matrix, which addresses the need for work and development in 11 areas of public and private sectors. Integrated in the policy matrix, are areas promoting cultural tourism and economic development. The purpose of the policy is to:

- develop cultural industries, crafts, and cultural tourism;
- preserve and enhance tangible heritage and revitalize oral and intangible heritage; and
- maintain cultural and language diversity.

Below are policy elements under the Tourism Policy Matrix.

- Policy Element #3: Inform, educate, and obtain the support of the public for an expanded tourism industry, and maximize social and economic benefits while sustaining FSM's culture and environment.
- Policy Element#6: Promote FSM's pristine island environment, culture and people, which are the country's greatest assets.
- Policy Element #8: Optimally leverage FSM's culture and environmental resources for tourism.
- Policy Element #9: Mitigate any negative impact of tourism.

It is important to note that although there are national policies and legislation, each state and municipality also has legislation, and for the most part, these are independent of each other.

Marine species legislation

It is important to note the marine species legislation in a cultural report, because marine species are considered cultural species. Also, much of the marine species are used for the cultural industries as well as the cultural food market. Turtles, for instance, play a significant role in the cultural industries because the turtle shells are used for the sale of turtle shell combs and other jewelries/accessories. In order to consider strategies and policy options for a cultural policy, it is important that policies complement the protection of the marine species. For further information please see FSM constitution on marine species.

Marine legislations included under the FSM Constitution title 23 Section 101 prohibits the use of explosives, poisons, chemicals or other substances that kills marine life and sale or possession of dynamited fish Section 103 prevents anyone from catching fish using local roots, nuts or plants. The legislations also include the prohibition of killing turtles and the cultivation of mother of pearl oyster shells at certain times of the year. For further information, please see FSM Constitution.

Inadequate existing policies and lack of policy enforcement

Generally, the national and state constitutions uphold and protect traditions and customary laws, unless customary laws deny a person's rights and responsibilities. For instance, in Pohnpeian customary law, a man has full rights over his children. Today, the court recognizes the rights and responsibilities of both parents.

Policies under the FSM government aim not only to protect and preserve cultural heritage as well artifacts, but also promote the education of traditional knowledge. Although there are existing policies to protect cultural heritage and historical properties, the laws are not always enforced. For instance, under policies on historical sites, no person shall transport historical artifacts for interstate and foreign exchange without the permission of the state. Community members have raised the issue of violation, but little has been done to address this.

NACH is working with the Chuuk State Historic Preservation Office to lobby the state legislature on the passage of the proposed Chuuk Historic Preservation Bill. NACH staff have also met with the Chuuk governor and legislators to discuss the need for the state to establish a legal framework in order for Chuuk Historic Preservation Office staff to carry out the mandate of the office. Unfortunately, the introduced legislation has died out, although a former state Historic Preservation Office staff member has recently been elected as representative, and is revising the original legislation to be reintroduced as a new legislation (see NACH End of the Year Report 2009).

Existing policies need to be strengthened and enforced in each state and at the national level. More policies should be established to protect traditional knowledge, cultural practices, history, and historical properties. Policy-makers should work closely with traditional experts on integrating customary laws into legislation. Although it is difficult to determine and

clearly define the definition of traditional knowledge, the focus should be on protecting traditional knowledge from foreign and international illegitimate acts and misdemeanors.

Public awareness of such policies must also be considered. Many people are not familiar with the existing policies, and even traditional property owners have little information on their cultural rights and privileges.

Cultural policy options

The protection, preservation and promotion of culture is crucial in FSM. Below are suggested policy options and objective(s). These options and objectives are meant to help guide the new direction of FSM's cultural policy over the next decade.

Policy Area 1: Establish educational programs and strengthen existing curriculum in native or local languages and cultural education.

Objective: Promote programs and activities in cultural awareness and education to reinstate and increase cultural pride and identity.

This option aims to promote programs and curriculum in cultural education at all levels. Although many would argue that cultural education is not meant for the classroom, schools can integrate creative methods such as the use of media, storytelling, art, dancing, chanting, singing and drama to promote cultural awareness. The Department of Education may work with traditionalists and traditional knowledge holders to conduct project-based learning such as summer programs or out-of-classroom activities to teach cultural education. It is best if cultural education begins early, that way more students will appreciate and understand it.

Policy Area 2: Accreditation and certification of traditional experts and traditional schools

Objective: Identify, recognize, promote and maintain traditional schools, traditional experts and their knowledge.

The Instructional Division at the College of Micronesia, the only accredited higher learning institution in FSM, does not recognize traditional knowledge holders as potential instructors at the college. For instance, if a navigator does not hold a Master's degree, despite his knowledge of navigation, he does not have the credentials and competence to teach navigation at the college. Option 2 aims to not only identify traditional experts and schools but to rightfully accredit their knowledge. Despite what degree or level of education they complete, as long as they complete traditional school, the knowledge of traditional experts should be recognized.

Policy Area 3: Establish a cultural observatory for improved research, data collection and documentation of traditional knowledge.

Objective: Document, maintain and manage cultural resources, including the creation of a database, and encourage continual research in traditional knowledge with the permission of traditional holders and communities.

This option aims to document and protect cultural resources and traditional knowledge. In Sweden, a cultural observatory has been established to help manage cultural information and resources. The FSM government should look into establishing one that can be the central place for documenting, maintaining and managing cultural resources. The cultural observatory could be an interactive center for information gathering, monitoring and disseminating cultural information. It could also serve as a networking center for cultural information and cultural experts. Furthermore, it could perform research on traditional knowledge in order to upgrade and continually advance traditional technologies and knowledge.

Policy Area 4: Establish legislation on licensing and copyright laws to protect traditional knowledge and to strengthen existing laws on cultural heritage, historic preservation, and customary laws.

Objective: Use the Model Law to prohibit and regulate illegitimate acts and uses of traditional knowledge and properties.

This option aims to use the Model Law to protect the illicit use of traditional knowledge. There is currently no traditional knowledge law in FSM, and therefore, there needs to be further discussion and community consultations and forums on the Model Law with regard to traditional knowledge.

This option hopes to prevent and prohibit illicit activities by establishing licensing and copyright laws. Within Micronesia, this will be challenging, but it is recommended that the focus of copyright laws start by first regulating foreign research and the use of traditional properties.

There are also locals who misuse traditional knowledge. For instance, there are practitioners of traditional medicines who use traditional medicines for the wrong purpose, and are endangering lives with it. These kinds of uses should be regulated.

Not all community members in FSM are traditional knowledge holders. Only a few people are selected and the knowledge is usually passed on through clans and kinship systems. Such traditions and knowledge should be strengthened and restructured in ways that will help people adapt to the contemporary challenges.

There needs to be a consideration in copyrighting and licensing new local music as well as video productions. In FSM, many musical artists do not make money selling their albums because everyone has free access to it. Therefore, new directions for licensing should be established and more community discussion and forum is still needed to establish these laws.

Policy Area 5: Establish protocols and provisions for property rights, ceremonies and traditional knowledge sharing.

Objective: Support and facilitate the continuing use and development of traditional knowledge and customary laws.

This option hopes to use applicable customary laws to enhance and facilitate traditional knowledge and properties. Although several customary laws may not be appropriate, many are useful for contemporary living. There are customary laws or ceremonies for funerals, marriage, pregnancy, and other matters. In Chuuk, there is a customary law that says when a person dies, people must honor his or her death by closing off any access to the land or reef that the dead person owned. No one is permitted to fish and obtain food from the person's land or properties for a certain period of time (usually three months). This is not only a form of respect, but helps conserve land and marine resources from overharvesting.

There are certain customary laws for information and knowledge sharing. Some traditional and historic sites are not properly maintained because of unregulated use of the sites. Policy-makers and property owners should work together to establish clear general provisions and protocols to better maintain historical sites.

Policy Area 6: Promotion of creative industries and support of local and national production and marketing of cultural products.

Objective: Establish training programs in local and national production of cultural products.

This option hopes to use traditional knowledge to develop and improve creative and cultural industries in areas of creation, manufacture, production and marketing. Policies should be in place to protect the rights of local artists and their products. In addition, business programs must provide local artists and business owners with help with these creative industries. Regional and international networking and partnerships must be considered in order to establish and strengthen capacity building.

Policy Area 7: Promotion and enrichment of cultural expressions through performing arts.

Objective: Encourage the practice of traditional dances, theatre, music and other cultural expressions for cultural preservation.

This policy option hopes to continue the teaching and practice of traditional performing arts and the traditions revolving around them. For instance, policy intends to revive traditional ceremonies of music festivities with traditional instruments to strengthen cultural values of sharing, respect and humility. Integrating traditional performing arts with contemporary expressions is necessary for promoting and respecting cultural values.

6. CONCLUSION

Island communities face many contemporary challenges, including changes in culture and identity, globalization, and environmental issues. Island communities are faced with environmental challenges of sea level rise and drought. Some communities are forced to adapt to these changes, and in doing so, create new ways of livelihood and lifestyles. Many island communities still lack the awareness of environmental issues such as littering, dynamite fishing, and other forms of environmental degradation. Fortunately, many stakeholders are working together to educate people on these issues, and ways to adapt and solve the issues. As mentioned earlier, the Island Food Community of Pohnpei encourages and promotes the eating of local foods; Chuuk Conservation Society works hard to stop dynamite fishing in Chuuk; and many efforts have been made to address environmental issues and Yap continues to preserve its traditional fishing methods.

Culture is not static, and changes and adapts as necessary. Practices that may have worked well 300 years ago may be challenged today. Therefore, there is a need for continual advancement of the past culture to complement and harmonize with the current situation or context. For instance, many people would argue against the revival of the canoe culture and navigation because it would be considered a technology of the past and, therefore, moving backward. But it should be acknowledged that navigation does not end, but rather continues to evolve to complement contemporary challenges. Navigation was no doubt an exceptional skill that our ancestors mastered and took pride in. It was part of their identity. Today, navigational schools are becoming smaller and are gradually losing its importance. With modern means of transportation that are faster and more convenient, islanders have turned away from traditional navigation to motor boats and vehicles that are costly and generally not environmentally friendly. But it is important to keep in mind that the canoe was perfected for over many centuries, and through sailing thousands of miles from Southeast Asia throughout different parts of Oceania. Its design has been perfected to fit the currents, waves and winds. Although many may claim that the canoe is perfect as it is, there is still more room for perfection.

In Chuuk Lagoon, people commute from neighbouring islands to Weno for work and for school. Fuel is becoming more expensive, and so people may need an alternative means of transport. Although a canoe does not require fuel, its design needs to be improved to increase its speed, and thus better accommodate and help transport workers and students efficiently. Instead of being satisfied with the current canoe design, canoe builders and experts can re-design and re-engineer the canoe to be faster.

Many issues pertaining to culture need further discussion. Funding for the cultural sector also needs to be secured. Communities recognize the importance of culture, even without fully understanding what it is and what benefits it can bring about. Culture needs to be better managed and monitored to help development in all areas.

More work still needs to be done, and therefore more planning and funding needs to be organized. This is a new direction for culture in FSM and the recommendations are a long-term vision that will require full implementation and support from all communities, stakeholders, and most importantly, the government.

Based on consultations, it is recommended that the government pay attention to the recommendations and take ownership of the issues by securing funds and hiring skilled professionals to help manage and oversee the implementation and fulfilment of these recommendations.

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Secretariat of the Pacific Community, UN/CROP MDG 2004. *Pacific Islands Regional Millennium Development Goals Report 2004*. SPC: Noumea, New Caledonia.

8. WEB SOURCES

Chuuk Reform — www.chuukreform.org

FSM Government — www.fsmgov.org

FSM Legal information center — <http://www.fsmlaw.org/fsm/constitution/>

Micronesian Marketplace — <http://www.micronesiamarketplace.com>

Micronesian Seminar — www.micsem.org

Office of Statistics, Budget and Economic Management, Overseas Development Assistance and Compact Management — www.sbec.fm

Secretariat of the Pacific Community — www.spc.int

The 4th Branch — www.the4thbranch.com

Yap Traditional Navigation Society — www.yapnavigation.com

Yap Art Studio and Gallery — www.yapartstudioandgallery.com

APPENDIX 1: INTERVIEWEES

Below is a list of groups, individuals and key supporters involved in interviews and focus group discussions for this project.

Name	Organization/Institution	Location/State
Youth groups and councils		
Aaron Libuw Pongilyab	ourYAP Chairman	Yap
Michelle Chugen	ourYAP	
Eriks Lindemanis	Peace Corps Volunteers	Yap
Alvina Hachelbe	ourYap Secretary	Yap
Timothy Ruda	FSMYC, President	Yap
Aaron Sigrah	Kosrae Youth Council	Kosrae
Hans Skilling	Kosrae Youth and Red Cross Society	Kosrae
Steve Kephas	Kosrae Youth	Kosrae
Tolenna Tolenna	Kosrae Youth	Kosrae
Shiro Sigrah	Kosrae Youth	Kosrae
Traditional leaders		
Petrus Beyan	Council of Pilung	Yap
Steven Mar	Council of Pilung	Yap
John Pong	Council of Pilung	Yap
Bruno Tharngan	Council of Pilung	Yap
Cyril Yinnifel	Council of Pilung	Yap
James Yatman	Council of Pilung	Yap
Eric Kenyes	Council of Pilung	Yap
Justin Yilabwag	Council of Pilung	Yap
Francil Fithingmow	Council of Pilung	Yap
Thomas Falngin	Council of Pilung	Yap
Keropin David	Pwihn En Wahu	Pohnpei
Enerico	Pwihn En Wahu	Pohnpei
Peratio R	Pwihn En Wahu	Pohnpei
Aik Lungiee	Utwe Mayor	Kosrae
Tadao Waguk	Utwe Tour Guide and Storyteller	Kosrae
John Heufer	Utwe community leader and farmer	Kosrae
Joe Talley	Malem representative	Kosrae
Widmer Sigrah	Church/Community leader	Kosrae
Aloka Joe	Church/Community leader	Kosrae
Lyndon Abraham	Church/Community leader	Kosrae
Women's Groups		
Sue Ellen Nakamura	Kosrae Girls' Scout and	Kosrae

	Women's Groups	
Sonia Kephas	Kosrae Women's Association	Kosrae
Loucilla Abraham	Lelu United Women Association	Kosrae
Kenye Livae	Kosrae Women Association	Kosrae
Leona	Women Council	Yap
Other non-governmental organizations and institutions		
CY Mugunbey	Traditional Navigation Society	Yap
John Mootmag	Traditional Navigation Society	Yap
Jamesina Lemalisei	Traditional Navigation Society	Yap
John Gimatam	Waab Community Health Center, CEO	Yap
Dalilah Waltu	Peer Counselor, COM-FSM, National Campus	Pohnpei
Emihner Johnson	Island Food Community of Pohnpei	Pohnpei
Adelino Lorenz	Chief of Agriculture	Pohnpei
Wayner Louis	Micronesian Red Cross Society	Pohnpei
Local artists		
Eliezer John	Kapinga local carver and businessman	Pohnpei
College of Micronesia-FSM		
Kind Kanto	Science Instructor	Chuuk
Mariano Marcus	Instructional Coordinator	Chuuk
Roger Arnold	Business Instructor	Chuuk
Joakim Jojo Peter	Director COM-FSM, Chuuk Campus	Chuuk
Elfriede Suda	Cooperative Research Extension Coordinator	Chuuk
Lolita Ragus, PhD	Agroforestry Researcher, Cooperativer Research Extension	Chuuk
Government departments		
Gardenia Aisek	Department of Education, Chuuk	Chuuk
Burnis Danis	Chief, FSM Department of Education	Palikir, Pohnpei
Bermance Aldis	Resources and Development	Palikir, Pohnpei
Edgar Santos	Manager, Pohnpei Visitor's Bureau	Kolonia, Pohnpei

APPENDIX 2: KEY CONTRIBUTORS

Name	Office	State
Nena T. Lonno	HPO Office	Kosrae
Kerick Benjamin	HPO Office	Kosrae
Berlin Sigrah	HPO Office	Kosrae
Salik Waguk	Tour Guide	Kosrae
John Runman	HPO Office	Yap
Augustine Kohler	National Preservation	Historic Palikir, Pohnpei
Dr. Rufino Mauricio	Director of National Preservation	Historic Palikir, Pohnpei
Margarita Cholymay	Chuuk Reform Discussion	Website Chuuk
Limwe Ruda	Chuuk Reform Discussion	Website Chuuk

HPO= Historic Preservation Office

APPENDIX 3: OFFICE OF NATIONAL ARCHIVES, CULTURE AND HISTORIC PRESERVATION ORGANIZATIONAL CHART

