

CHAPTER VIII

Community Education in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands

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America's Purposes in Micronesia and Need for Education

In 1946 the United States agreed to administer Micronesia as a Trusteeship for the United Nations. The following year the administration began, and military government gave way to civilian administration under the Navy. On July 1, 1951, administrative responsibility was transferred from the Navy Department to the Interior Department.

Under the terms of the Trusteeship Agreement, the United States has accepted responsibility for furthering the economic, social, educational, and political development of Micronesia. Having assumed such obligations, community education, as defined in the first chapter of this yearbook, becomes a necessity. The need for Micronesians to be literate in order to achieve a fuller and more creative life is obvious if the United States is to live up to the responsibilities imposed upon it in the Trusteeship Agreement. If they are to become self-governing and to participate more effectively in the economic, social, and educational progress of their respective communities, then Micronesians must have a minimum of general education in order to understand the problems of their immediate environment and their rights and duties as citizens and individuals.

Micronesians suffer from such endemic diseases as yaws, filariasis, dysentery, tuberculosis, hookworm, and other types of intestinal parasites. Their sanitation is poor; as they recognize this as the source of most of their chronic illness, there will be the incentive to improve it. Good health is correlated with a prosperous economy. There must be the wealth to command the services of skilled medical men to provide relief from disease. Community education must free

Micronesians from those pressures within their cultures which resist or restrict the public health services.

Economic development is paramount in these islands, where the population is rapidly rising and where the demands for services are increasing by leaps and bounds. Most of the people are dependent for their livelihood on agriculture and fishing. Their main exportable product is copra. Land is precious on the coral atolls, and the soil is infertile. Only the coconut, breadfruit, taro, bananas, and pandanus thrive there. American agriculturists are striving to help Micronesians improve the strains of the indigenous plants and animals, to introduce new breeds of both, and to show them how to improve the fertility of their soil.

Another of the problems which face Micronesians and with which those concerned with community education must come to grips is that of diet. The native foods provided fairly adequate nutritional elements. It seems that in the more primitive environment, where man relied upon the natural subsistence foods, he almost instinctively ate those foods that were good for him. In the more remote communities of Micronesia he is still sustained by the natural foods. This is no longer true around the district centers, where an urban society has congregated, the breadwinners of whom work for the American administration. Since they work eight hours a day, they no longer have time to tend the native crops and to catch the fish that provided them with their one-time subsistence foods. They must purchase imported foods, which come at a high price. They are forced to purchase the cheapest of these foods, which usually are not the most nourishing. The result has been some beriberi, which is the result of faulty nutrition. Here is fertile ground for the community educator. Americans must help these people solve the problems of diet both through education and through economic development. The people in the growing urban societies must be taught how to supplement their diet of imported foods with garden crops and fish. Somehow there must be such an integration of the economy that the salaried employee will be able to purchase native fruits, vegetables, and fish from fellow Micronesians to the mutual profit of both.

The impact of World War II on the islanders was devastating. For years there was almost no medical treatment or care, and schools

were nonexistent. Trade was ruined. Many people had been displaced from their homes, gardens, and fishing grounds. Then came the Americans with their ideas of democratic self-government. All of these impacts have had a disorganizing effect upon the total life. In societies based on fixed relationships between groups and resources and on status determined by birth rather than individual effort, the concept of the more general distribution of economic and political power was at first disruptive. Where political chiefs, belonging only to the most noble kin groups, have had absolute authority over all life and lands, they do not surrender such power readily. Nor do the commoners accept their new political and economic status without some confusion.

Micronesian communities are in a state of ferment. A new synthesis is under way. Even remote communities are responsive to it. Americans can aid in this synthesis through the medium of community education and development programs. They will fail unless they learn the lessons that the sociologists have taught: that communities, like personalities, are living individualities and hence cannot be squeezed into arbitrary molds. Each community is held together by some authority at the root of which lie basic customs which cannot be ignored or opposed. The mores are changing through a combination of causes, but the extent of that change and the speed of it should be determined by Micronesians and not imposed by Americans.

The locus of authority in the organization of the Micronesian community has been for many hundreds of years in the hands of hereditary chiefs. There has been a monopoly of power in an autocratic organization. No doubt this system arose pragmatically as the most workable system where land was scarce and infertile and a good many people had to be fed. Competition for the land might have been ruinous. In a democratic society authority becomes diffused; leaders are responsive and responsible; and participation by all in policy questions is expected and encouraged. In our eagerness for more democratic political and economic institutions, we must not destroy those that have served the Micronesians well up to this time. A community is organized around the values that are most important for the common welfare. The most fundamental of these

values become incorporated into the culture as established custom. As the social environment changes, new values arise about which there are diverse attitudes. This is happening all over Micronesia today. It is testing the strength of existing community organization and giving rise to the need for a new integration. The successful educator, be he American or Micronesian, must be alert to all this and must understand it well, if he is to assist the various Micronesian communities to effect a healthy synthesis. He must not only be a good educator, he must also be a student of sociology and anthropology.

*Examples of Community Education in Trust Territory
of the Pacific Islands*

Having set the stage with the above description of Micronesia, of America's purposes there, and of the need for community education in order to achieve those purposes, the rest of this chapter will be devoted to descriptions of ongoing processes in Trust Territory which are considered to fall within the province of community education and development.

COMMUNITY EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT AMONG THE DISPLACED
BIKINI PEOPLE IN THE MARSHALL ISLANDS

Bikini, an atoll in the Marshall Islands, first became known to the world at large in January, 1946, when the U.S. Navy Department announced that it had been selected as the site for an experimental explosion of two atomic bombs. In February the military governor of the Marshalls arrived, in order "to secure the islanders' assent to their evacuation from Bikini in the interests of U.S. National security." Their reply was that if the government required their atoll for scientific experimentation they were willing to surrender it.

The Bikinians were first resettled on Rongerik, an uninhabited atoll 150 miles east of Bikini. Here they arrived on March 8, 1946, without enthusiasm and with some dissipatedness, which was not easily dissipated. Homes had been built for them and enough food supplies left them to feed the entire community for several weeks. But, from the beginning, progress was unsatisfactory at Rongerik. Food resources were poor, and this resulted in an alarming decline in the physical condition of the former Bikinians. A board of investi-

gation, after an evaluation of the situation in August, 1947, did not hesitate to recommend that the Bikinians be moved once more. Nothing was done for another six months. In the latter part of January, 1948, Leonard Mason, professor of anthropology at the University of Hawaii, was sent to Rongerik by the High Commissioner of the Trust Territory to investigate further. Mason had had previous field acquaintance as an anthropologist with the Marshallese people and their culture. His description of the near-starvation condition of the ex-Bikinians and of their heroic attempts to cope with the emergency at Rongerik brought about immediate relief from the Administration as well as the decision to resettle a second time.¹

On March 14, 1948, they left Rongerik for Kwajalein Island, seat of the American Naval base. Here they remained until the following November, when they were resettled for the third time on Kili, an uninhabited, isolated island without a lagoon. The physical environment of Kili was as different to them from that of their former home on Bikini as if they had been transplanted to the other side of the world. Their new home has a dry land area of 0.32 of a square mile as compared with the 2.32 square miles at Bikini. There is no lagoon at Kili, while at Bikini there are 230 square miles of lagoon area. This lack of a lagoon or protected anchorage has presented serious problems. From December through March, landing conditions are unfavorable. There is a very heavy surf, which means that copra can be loaded or trade goods off-loaded only at rare intervals when weather is suitable. For a people accustomed to living from fish caught easily in the lagoon, the transition to life on an island without a lagoon has made provisions of protein in their diet extremely difficult. This lack of a lagoon has set up psychological barriers which have made it almost impossible for them to think of Kili Island as their new home. On the positive side Kili has a good rainfall and a rich, deep soil (for the Marshalls).

In 1950, just before the transfer of the administration from the Navy Department to the Department of the Interior, the Navy anthropologist, D. Phillip Drucker, wrote in a report to the High Commissioner: "The Island of Kili is potentially rich agriculturally and

1. Leonard Mason, "The Bikinians: A Transplanted Population," *Human Organization*, Vol. IX (Spring, 1950).

thoroughly capable of supplying the economic needs of the present inhabitants [the ex-Bikini population], if properly utilized. At the present time it is clear that the resources of the island are not being properly utilized in any respect. The causes are considered to be twofold: first, an erroneous belief that a return to Bikini is likely at any time; second, real lack of know-how of agricultural techniques suited to the southern Marshalls." Drucker suggested in his report that an American agriculturist and a Marshallese assistant be employed to teach the Kili inhabitants how to utilize the island to its maximum.

Mason had similarly written in 1950: "On the material side of their existence, Bikinians have made a good beginning at Kili, but a planned program of education is needed to aid the newcomers in adjusting themselves to their new environment, such as learning to handle small craft in rough surf, to cure copra by artificial heat during the frequently rainy weather, and to cultivate and process the strange foods to which they have been introduced."² Here is clearly indicated the need for community education.

In an attempt to meet this need, the writer, as director of education of Trust Territory, Jack Tobin, anthropologist, and Leonard Mason discussed, during the spring of 1952, with James Milne, a Marshallese student at the University of Hawaii, his interests in returning to the Marshalls to serve as Community-Development Officer on Kili after preliminary training. Milne indicated an enthusiastic interest in the project and spent that summer alternating between the University and the High Commissioner's headquarters, which were at that time in Honolulu.

Under the guidance of these three persons, he reviewed the literature of fundamental education and community development, explored through Mason's firsthand information about Kili the needs of the inhabitants, and studied ways in which their needs might be met. Time did not permit the learning of specialized skills and techniques that might have helped him do his job better.

Milne started as Project Manager (Community-Development Officer) in Kili in the fall of 1953. He had the advantage of knowing the people's language and their culture. This is important. Too often

2. Ibid., p. 13.

Americans in their relations with people of another culture have the tendency to interpret what they see and hear in terms of American culture and its values. There is a corresponding failure to comprehend what is really taking place. This was not true of Milne, who knew, respected, and had no desire to destroy the traditions and customs.

Shortly before the Project Manager had started his work on Kili, the District Anthropologist and the District Agriculturist went there for one week to attempt to discover: (a) the use which the Kili people make of their time between field trips, (b) the work pattern followed, and (c) the present attitudes toward Kili, and to uncover the bases of their discontent in an effort to help these displaced people solve their problems and make a successful and satisfying adjustment to their new life.³ The agriculturist studied the utilization of tree crops and assessed the agricultural potentiality of Kili Island. All of this information was shared with the Project Manager before he came to the island.

The investigations revealed that the Bikinians had established their own political organization consisting of two communities similar to those they had known in Bikini. A Protestant church was regularly in operation, and the minister was a highly respected member of the community. An elementary school with two teachers and 39 pupils was functioning. A health aide was attending to the medical needs of the community. A work organization had been set up by the council. On four days a week the people were free to do any kind of work, make copra, fish, gather food, cultivate gardens, etc. But on the other two week days they worked for the community, doing such work as cleaning up paths, cultivating the communal taro patch, doing repair work on *benjos* (latrines), bathhouses, etc. There was one store on the island from which the people could purchase food supplies: rice, flour, sugar, etc., from their copra proceeds.

A year later the District Anthropologist returned to Kili to spend three weeks evaluating what had been accomplished under the leadership of the Project Manager. He reported a marked optimism among the Kili people. In his final summing up he said: "It cannot

3. Jack Tobin, "The Bikini People, Past and Present." Report to the District Administrator and the High Commissioner, October, 1953.

be overemphasized that James Milne is the key to the success of the Kili project. His guidance and technical knowledge are invaluable. His participation at this point . . . is absolutely essential if the project is to continue successfully."⁴

One of the Project Manager's first activities was to go by boat to Kusaie, a fairly large and prosperous island some three hundred miles away, and purchase several thousand taro plantings. This island grew the best breeds of taro in Trust Territory. While there he learned all the techniques of planting and cultivating taro from the Kusaieans, and when he returned he taught the Kilians all he had learned. The taro was planted before the stormy winter months in an attempt to insure a more adequate food supply for the coming year.

Breadfruit and pandanus plantings were increased, and in all these attempts to improve their agricultural productivity the technical aspects of the utilization of their natural resources were taught to the people.

In a search for other projects besides copra which would provide the people with a medium of exchange, the Project Manager greatly stimulated the development of handicrafts. The Kili people are adept at handicraft, but they had not been advised and shown the type of handicraft for which there was a market. The Project Manager had investigated the potential markets in Honolulu and Kwajalein and apprised the Kili people of the results. A Marshallese handicraft expert was brought to Kili from another island and taught handicraft techniques to the women. As a result of the research on available markets, the following types of handicraft were made: hats, square white handbags, table placemats, fine decorated mats, and wooden bowls.

The manufacture of large quantities of *jekmai*, a very delicious syrup from the sap of the coconut palm, was started, and soon considerable quantities were successfully exported to other islands of the Marshalls.

At council meetings, the Project Manager attempted to educate the people in the principles of nutrition as applicable to the local

4. Jack Tobin, "Kili Journal." Report to the District Administrator, September 19, 1954.

situation. He stressed the superiority of local foods to rice and flour and other imported foods.

Before he left the Kili Project at the end of 1954 to engage in private business, the Manager had assisted the people in obtaining a 40-foot Marshallese-type schooner with auxiliary engine. Their economy was developing to such an extent that there was need for regular and frequent communication with the outside, especially to transport local copra, handicraft, and other produce to market and to bring back trade products to Kili Island.

In order to insure the continuance of the Kili Project, another Project Manager (Community-Development Officer) was being trained in Honolulu under the guidance of two anthropologists at the University of Hawaii, Leonard Mason and Saul Riesenberg, both of whom had had extensive anthropological experience in Trust Territory. Riesenberg had been Staff Anthropologist for the Administration for one year. This student, Konto Sandbergen, was also a Marshallese who had had one year of education in Honolulu under a John Hay Whitney Scholarship grant. For the next year he carried on practically independent study under Professor Mason's direction in the field of community education and development. It is well to note here the nature of his training for leaders in community education and development, which does need a special kind of training in order to do a proper job. His reading was organized to cover certain general principles of community organization, the relation of the individual to his community, and participation in the culture of the group. Three or four hours each week the student reported to Professor Mason, and the two would go over the materials with considerable discussion on the more important points, always relating the materials to the student's own background in the Marshalls and, where information permitted, to the situation at Kili as the student expected to work with it. A second stage of the reading program involved more specific consideration of certain communities. The two went over the materials from Trust Territory files on Kili since 1950 and, with the student's own observation from field trips, tried to reconstruct as nearly as possible the community conditions there. Then the student read certain parts of the studies that Mason had previously made in the Marshalls in order to acquire more back-

ground on the nature of a small, relatively isolated community where resources are limited. Next, the student was encouraged to familiarize himself with specific community-development projects in the Pacific, notably Moturiki and the several projects in Papua and New Guinea.

Certain areas for concentration were established, as follows: agriculture (this meant improvement of what is there now and also included possible introduction of whatever crops might be judged suitable on the advice of agricultural specialists at the University); housing (improvement of existing housing with emphasis on greater use of local materials, e.g., thatch, or trade with other atolls for scarce materials); local government functioning, especially in regard to finance and co-ordination within the development framework; crafts (improvement of certain handicrafts for export to Americans or for trade with other atolls, e.g., sennit, a kind of rope made out of coconut fiber); sanitation (measures to prevent disease, to be co-ordinated closely with the work of the health aide, in respect to water supply, waste disposal, and housing); communication with the rest of the Marshalls (need for development of skills in boat-handling and navigation); and, last, education (divided emphasis on child and adult training with appropriate techniques and curriculum, all to be tied in with other emphases noted above).

The teacher and student discussed together many alternative possibilities for approaching each of the above problem areas, not so much in terms of the technical solutions (for these further information was sought from other experts at the University and the Hawaiian community) as the problems of human relations involved therein. This meant attention to the roles of individuals within the existing community, the significance of the present organization of the community, the fact of the relative isolation of Bikini in the past from the rest of the Marshalls.

All of this study and discussion was quite tentative. There was no attempt to work out any co-ordinated plan of attack, since there were still so many unknowns. The student and teacher were always cognizant of the fact that practical planning in this context must proceed on the ground with the participation of the people themselves.

Besides his close weekly contact with Mason, a series of meetings were arranged between the student and the head of the Botany Department at the University, who had carried out extensive studies of the plant life in Micronesia. The purpose was to find out how to improve the quality and quantity of what food crops were already available and, secondly, to consider what crop introductions might be feasible in the Kili environment.

Closely related to the food supply is the diet of the people. Consideration was given to the possibility of making a diet survey at Kili with the community's participation, partly as a means of educating the group to its own needs. In order to handle this problem more intelligently, the student worked with a nutritionist in the Home Economics Department at the University. He enrolled in a course on the elements of nutrition work, a basic introductory course for non-specialist students.

On the handicraft side, helpful assistance was received from a local agency dedicated to the encouragement of handicraft production in Hawaii.

Since instruction in bookkeeping would be helpful at Kili in keeping accounts in the store and council affairs, the student enrolled in a bookkeeping course.

In summary, the preparation of the Community Development Officer was of such a nature as to enable him to assess with some accuracy various elements of the community (housing, food, work effort, sanitation facilities, educational background, export products, and local resources and raw materials). By being able to make such surveys the Project Manager would have a useful device for developing within the community a realization of its inadequacies and assets.

During the first semester there was concentration upon general principles of community organization and individual and small-group participation in the larger community. The second semester was spent in learning about the more practical aspects of the problem where technical advice is needed to assist whatever community action is undertaken. Both these approaches are essential to any community-development program. Many of our technical-assistance pro-

grams in other countries have fallen short of established goals because the first approach was not given sufficient consideration.

This new Project Manager (Community-Development Officer), after his year of training in Hawaii, arrived on Kili in October, 1955. His first preliminary survey of the situation was a rather unusual document for a Micronesian. It showed a keen insight into the problems there and certainly was a favorable reflection on his preparation in Hawaii. He first made a study of the municipal government, which was composed of fifteen council members, headed by a magistrate, who served also as the community court judge. The financial situation of the local government next was investigated both from the standpoint of the total possible annual tax revenue and of the set annual operating budget. Here he noted that the treasurer's book-keeping system left much to be desired. The training in bookkeeping in Hawaii came in good stead.

In regard to economic development on Kili, the new Project Manager noted that "there now exists a moral code against unwise harvesting practices which were very common during the early settlement." The land and taro patches had been divided among the extended family groups. There was a desire on the part of the *alabs* (leaders) to obtain more seed plants, poultry, and pigs to raise on Kili. It was also noted that "the people have learned to conserve uncooked edible taro tubers by preserving them in ground pits, a social pattern never before practiced." It was apparent at this time from the activities of the people that a large number of them were supporting the project. In the opinion of the new Project Manager: "The extent to which the people of Kili continue to support the development program is partly dependent on the reward (whether it be in the form of psychological, financial, or a material return) they will obtain from the work they themselves have been or will be establishing with the assistance of the Project Manager on Kili and partly upon the support extended the Project Manager by the Administration where it is needed."

In public health the Project Manager found the people to be in good shape. The health aide was out of some of the more commonly used drugs which should be regularly supplied by the District

Health Department. Sanitary conditions were fairly good. "Nevertheless," the Project Manager noted, "it could have been improved to a greater extent if both the materials needed for such improvement were available (nylon screens, water-soluble DDT, picks and shovels) and also if the community had continued to practice natural sanitary measures, such as use of proper toilet facilities and proper garbage disposal (dugout pits). There is but one usable toilet house on Kili and there is no dugout pit anywhere. It is obvious that a community-wide sanitation program will have to be encouraged if a healthier community and a prolonged period of health is to be maintained."

In commenting on the housing situation, the new Project Manager reported: "Almost the entire houses on Kili are badly in need of repair. . . . There are three cisterns, and all of them will have to be repaired immediately." Some of the materials for repairing these houses would have to be obtained from available surpluses at the District Headquarters.

So far there had been very little development of the marine resources at Kili. The former Project Manager had started a small fish pond, but, aside from the usual pole-fishing, spear-fishing, and torch-fishing, no other methods were being used. Since the waters around Kili abound in tuna, the new Project Manager saw the possibilities for the people to catch enough fish during the calm season to supply the demand. There was need "to establish a process whereby they could have a reserve supply of fish or other meats which they could draw upon during the rough weather."

It was noted that a tremendous economic and agricultural development had been accomplished during the past two years under the former Project Manager. Copra sales had increased considerably, and the handicrafts industry was bringing in a substantial income. The securing of a boat had provided for regular shipping and marketing. Konto Sandbergen believed that with solid plans for work and proper equipment to reduce the difficulties of production a higher production could be obtained. The 25,000 taro plants imported by the former Project Manager had taken root. The breadfruit plantings were doing well.

This first report showed only a very brief and preliminary observation of the elementary-school program but indicated that a closer relation would be established later.

In September, 1957, Tobin revisited Kili for a final summing up of the efforts there in community development. He met with the Kili council, and this body stated that there were no serious difficulties on Kili and that the food supplies were adequate despite the fact that the taro project had not turned out as well as was anticipated. It could not be considered a failure, for the Kili people had learned taro culture, a completely new technique to a people who had had no taro on their native atoll. Enough were interested in taro and still cultivating it to insure that they will continue and probably expand the cultivation of this entirely new and important crop. Banana plantings had increased noticeably and were doing well. Many new plants were found throughout the island.

A large number of breadfruit trees in various stages of growth were also scattered throughout the island. The seedlings brought from Kusaie four years before were flourishing. The pandanus trees, which supply food as well as leaves for weaving their thatches and baskets, were also doing well.

The Kili people had learned how to run their co-op store. The store was filled with staple items. The books were kept in excellent condition.

Many Kili men had been trained as sailors to navigate the *Libra*, the Marshallese-type schooner which was proving to be the key to the economic and social welfare of the Kili people. With the help of this boat they have been able to take the first steps to establish a settlement for some of their people on an atoll some forty miles away.

Animal production had increased, but the people wanted and were willing to buy pigs, chickens, and turkeys from the Agriculture Department.

Their trade and transportation needs have increased to such an extent that the forty-foot auxiliary schooner is no longer sufficient. They want a larger boat with more cargo space and are willing to purchase it themselves.

Tobin's final summing up was this: "Konto Sandbergen is doing a good job, in my opinion, and has agreed to remain for another year, after which he plans to apply for a scholarship leading to a law de-

gree." The latest monthly report from the Marshalls states: "Conditions have improved on Kili since installation of the Project. . . . The Kilians will be completely self-supporting within two years. . . ."

Community Education in Yap

LOCAL SCHOOL BOARD TRAINING

The Yap District of the Trust Territory is located in the western Carolines, some five hundred miles southwest of Guam. The Yapese are the most individualistic of all the Micronesians. They have great pride in their own culture and are the most reluctant to acculturate. In other words, they have to be shown. The community educator who attempts to impose his ideas on the Yapese people will get nowhere. But for one who "believes considerably in other human beings, in their capacity for growth, given a propitious set of circumstances, and in the tenet that human growth is best encouraged in any given environment as the people concerned participate both in purpose and activity in their own progress,"⁵ working with the Yapese people can be most rewarding. Vincent Edson, the Educational Administrator in the Yap District has found it so, as he attempted a "grass-roots" approach to the problems of education in Yap. He started with the thesis that improving a culture means improving local communities and that education, broadly conceived, has a part in such improvement. His concept of education is not synonymous with formal schooling; nor is it equated with teaching and learning as primarily processes of memorizing subject matter. Rather, it accepts the view that there can be no higher educational act than that of the people of a community participating and co-operating to solve problems in community life.

One of the greatest problems in the functioning of elementary schools in Trust Territory has been that of the development of local responsibility. When the Navy first assumed the administration of Micronesia, it decreed the establishment of elementary schools on every island and atoll where there were children of school age. Public elementary schools were strange new institutions for a people who had for hundreds of years carried out the tasks of educating their

5. Robert E. Gibson, "Review" of *Moturiki: A Project in Community Development* by Howard Hayden. This review appeared in *South Pacific Commissions Quarterly Bulletin*.

young for the chief needs of life through a parent-child relationship or with the elders of the clan educating the young into the ways of their particular society. The universal, formal elementary school was a new creation, and one for which most of the people had no felt need. Since they were established first by the Navy, they are still often referred to as military schools or government schools. A sense of local ownership and responsibility is very slow in developing.

Edson and other educational administrators as well as Micronesian leaders are working hard on this problem. They realize that the chapter of the Code of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands describes very adequately the educational laws and regulations for each district in Micronesia, but the very way in which it is written purposefully leaves room for local interpretation and ingenuity. As far as Yap is concerned (and this is equally true of the rest of Trust Territory), after close observation it was concluded that the people were operating within the framework of a system about which they knew very little. It is very true that the Code provided for the establishment of a district as well as municipal boards of education, but if the present educational system is to become an integral part of the Yapese life (or an integral part of the life of the other peoples of Micronesia), it seems quite necessary that the idea of universal, free public education should not only become accepted but understood by the people and the boards who govern as well as by the educators. Boards especially must understand what public education is all about in order for it to become a real part of Yapese life.

The Educational Administrator, seeing the need for a program of educating his school boards directly and all the people indirectly, planned a series of meetings with his various local, municipal school boards to acquaint them with their own responsibilities and to bring about greater understanding of the purposes of this institution which Americans had set up. As explained by Edson:

Americans were responsible for the present system so we began with the "why" in our own cultural idea.

At the first meeting of each board, the "lesson" consisted of discussion—of why free education for all, especially of children? It was found that many understood and almost as many believed in the ideal. The Yapese had some basis for understanding because many board members remember, distinctly, educational facilities and ideals set forth by the Spanish, German, and Japanese administrations.

I cannot relate all the facets of these discussions that took place. Many questions were asked. The important thing is that the questions raised and discussed were not limited to our meetings. Many of the issues were discussed in the villages, at gatherings, and became topics for many conversations.

The next portion of our lessons was on organization. What was each group and individual in the educational organization to do? What was the responsibility of each? Was the present organization sufficient? Much confusion was evident concerning responsibility, power, and function of each group or individual.

Our next step was to discuss Trust Territory law regarding education. In this area it appeared that scarcely anyone really understood the Trust Territory code, such as that pertaining to attendance. Some people even believed that they were transgressing the law by sending their children to parochial schools. Some of the points of the Code in regard to education were not understood at all, even by the teachers. The questions and discussions concerning school law were too numerous to describe in detail. The most important conclusion regarding this part of our work with school boards is that Yap is now ready to make some school laws of its own. They will not be merely laws but rather standards made by the people who will be governed by them—standards and rules which the people will understand.

Financial responsibility was another topic of discussion with school boards. Even though Yap has done remarkably well in its local support of schools, the whole topic was one of common misunderstanding. We have been getting money because the Yapese are trusting and because they wanted to help. But the reason they wanted to help was limited almost entirely to their generosity and faith. Financial responsibility motivated by their own desires and needs rather than by the wishes of the Administration will develop as the schools become more truly their schools—answering their needs, understood by them, governed by them, and helping them to solve their own problems.

Our formal classes will not stop here. We have many more important problems to discuss. Here are a list of future objectives we have in mind:

(i) That Yap teachers and board members develop a handbook of policy and organization of the district educational program that will be a guide and learning tool for all. This handbook must not be an American creation; it must be a product of Yapese understanding.

(ii) That Yap district develop an education code of its own to supplement the Trust Territory Code. This Code must be more than a properly assembled group of laws; it must be a well-defined set of standards which express the desires and understandings of the people. It must be from the hearts and minds of the Yapese people—created and understood by them.

(iii) Yap teachers and board members must finally create, understand, and approve their own educational program.

SCHOOLS PARTICIPATE IN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Copra is the most important money crop in the Yap District. Every Yapese understands its importance and learns about it from childhood. All people on Yap participate in a certain amount of copra-making each year.

Scientific production of copra has never been emphasized on Yap, in spite of some experimentation and testing of products. There has been no realistic project undertaken which the Yapese have accepted as a change in method.

Each year a large percentage of the crop remains unharvested. Challenged by this waste of excess copra, the Education Department started a program which has come to be known as "Copra Week."

Copra Week provided funds for support of scholarships and school buildings. Three or four times in a year all schools are dismissed from classroom activities. Students go into various municipalities and work with the villagers in the task of harvesting and drying copra. All funds are turned over to the Board of Education to use for these purposes.

Each copra week has served as a successful school-community project. Besides raising money for good purposes, students and villagers have learned a great deal. They learned, for example, that the copra sold was not good copra. Often it came from nuts of an inferior quality. It was poorly dried and consequently often mouldy. While the project was worthwhile in its motivation, it was, nevertheless, an example of poor teaching because the educators were encouraging the perpetuation of bad methods of copra collection and drying.

Mr. Pieris, Director of Coconut Operations for Trust Territory, brought information to the Education Department on the "Improved Ceylon-Type Copra Dryer." The Education Department asked to be allowed to set up a project using this new type of copra dryer, thus bringing the information to the children of intermediate-school age. The Yap Trading Company, under the guidance of Mr. Pieris built a dryer on their property. The Agriculture Department furnished nuts for the first experimental drying. Students assisted in husking and chopping. The first batch was dried and sold

for number-one grade copra. Prior to this, the copra collected by the students had always been grades two and three.

Following discussion with the Board of Education and the local trading company, it was decided that the students would participate in a weekly collection of nuts from one of the ten different municipalities. The nuts would then be taken to the dryer and, under the supervision of intermediate teachers and other departmental personnel, processed and dried in this new dryer.

The school processed some thirty thousand coconuts in twenty batches. Without exception every pound of copra sold for the number-one price. This rather thorough test which was given the dryer did much to convince the Yapese of its worth.

The Agriculture Department through the office of the District Administrator reprinted scale drawings of the dryer. The Education Department translated written instructions for building the dryer and a materials' list. The Agriculture Department then encouraged the building of dryers in different parts of Yap. Students assisted the people with the actual building during the weekends. Thirty dryers were started and many completed within a short time. Through these efforts more copra is being harvested, higher prices are being obtained, less labor is required per pound of dried copra, and there is continuous drying of copra despite wet weather.

Copra week still continues on Yap. By now many of the villages have a new-type dryer completed. In some cases they have not been sure that they were using it correctly. Students found themselves actually instructing their elders in the drying of copra. The villagers talked to the students very happily about the innovation. An improvement has been made in Yapese life. The good feeling felt by students and teachers was not that they had done something but that they had co-operated in something—of value.

Thus community education in Yap has come to be regarded as the educational arm of community development. What still needs to be better thought out in most places is the detailed nature of that relationship, and this requires not only that the educator must try to meet halfway the agriculturist, the health worker, and all the rest but just as much that they must attempt to meet the educator the other half. In Yap you can see that this is being done.

In these and other projects, the possibilities of utilizing the techniques of community education and development as a means of bringing education to bear not only on the child but also on the family and on the whole community have been envisaged. In most cases, it will be noted, projects were carried out through the combined efforts of the community itself and of specially trained Micronesian leaders. There was adherence to the principle that program and planning should be adjusted to the needs of the situation itself. The people themselves of any community have the right of final judgment, and any outside expert in community education and development should defer to this final judgment of the people to be developed. At least he should give to their knowledge and judgment equal status with his own.

Such a viewpoint presupposes that the community educator or community development officer has the ability and inclination to learn from the people and does not seek to impose his judgment upon them. It also rules out detailed planning in advance for the very good reason that preconceived plans tend to make the officer carrying them out too committed to his own ideas of what the community needs. Preplanners are liable to define for themselves what the community's problems are. The next logical step is to provide the solutions and finally to manipulate the community into accepting both the problems and the solution.

In the opinion of those working in Trust Territory this is not good community education. What they have in mind is to make the community less dependent on the administering authority. They want to stimulate the people to the point where they are willing and able to identify and solve their own problems. Externally conceived goals will probably defeat such ends.