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Micronesian Resources Study


PROTECTING HISTORIC PROPERTIES AND CULTURAL TRADITIONS IN THE FREELY ASSOCIATED STATES OF MICRONESIA

**A Report on Cultural Resource Management Needs in the
Republic of the Marshall Islands, the Federated States of
Micronesia, and the Republic of Palau**

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MICRONESIAN RESOURCES STUDY

Protecting Historic Properties and Cultural Traditions in the Freely Associated States of Micronesia

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the Republic of the Marshall Islands, the Federated States of Micronesia,
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March 1994





Paddling canoes (waa fétún) carved from breadfruit trees are still used at Nakuna, bordering Pwené village, Tonowas Island, Chúiúk State, Federated States of Micronesia. (photograph by John Young, Nancy Rosenberger, and Joe Harding, 1989)

Orthographic Note:

During the 1960s and 1970s, a series of dictionaries and reference grammars were developed by the University of Hawai'i for the Department of Education of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. As part of this process, new orthographies for spelling Micronesian words, were developed throughout the Freely Associated States of Micronesia. These orthographies are in varying stages of acceptance among the islands, but are generally becoming standardized through the public school systems. Of importance here is that members of the older generation who are the culture bearers and naturally those sought out for information in projects like this, are generally not familiar with the "new spelling." Since most of the scholars involved in the Micronesian Resources Study were neither speakers of Micronesian languages or familiar with current efforts to standardize the spelling of Micronesian languages, no attempt was made to require them to do so within the time and funding constraints of this project. Spellings throughout are as the ethnographers and archeologists recorded them in the field.

This summary report of the Micronesian Resources Study was compiled and written by Patricia L. Parker, Deputy Chief, Preservation Planning Branch, Interagency Resources Division, National Park Service, Washington, D.C. This publication is largely based upon the work and research of 17 scholars and Project Director, Dr. Michael J. Evans. Participating scholars are listed in Table 1 and are acknowledged throughout. Dr. Parker was the National Park Service liaison officer for the project.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In 1986, Congress enacted legislation (Pub. L. 99-658) approving the Compact of Free Association between the United States and the Republic of Palau. Section 104(b) of this bill directed the National Park Service to conduct "a comprehensive inventory and study of the most unique and significant natural, historical, cultural, and recreational resources of Palau, the Federated States of Micronesia, and the Republic of the Marshall Islands." In 1988, Congress appropriated \$750,000 from the Historic Preservation Fund to allow the National Park Service to undertake this study, which came to be referred to as the Micronesian Resources Study.

To ensure that the study was truly Micronesian, and of maximum usefulness to the Micronesian governments, the National Park Service entered into a cooperative agreement with the Micronesian Endowment for Historic Preservation, a non-profit corporation dedicated to historic preservation in Micronesia, whose board of directors comprise the Historic Preservation Officers of the Republic of Palau, the Republic of the Marshall Islands, the Federated States of Micronesia, the four states of the Federated States of Micronesia, Guam, and the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands.

Since it was not feasible to conduct a truly comprehensive study of the full range of resources with the available funds, and because the funds appropriated were from the Historic Preservation Fund, the National Park Service and the Micronesian Endowment for Historic Preservation focused on identifying the classes of cultural resources that should be addressed in ongoing inventories. These are of two types: historic and prehistoric archeological resources, and ethnographic resources — that is, the traditions and values which give significance to both historic properties and many natural resources in the eyes of Micronesians. The Micronesian Resources Study was also designed to provide training to Micronesian Historic Preservation Office personnel in conducting inventory research, and to address geographic areas assigned priority by the Micronesian governments because of their cultural significance and/or perceived development pressure.

In each of the Micronesian jurisdictions (the Republic of Palau, each of the four states of the Federated States of Micronesia, and the Republic of the Marshall Islands), the Micronesian Resources Study undertook to accomplish the following.

1. Establish a user-friendly electronic database that could be used by the Micronesian Historic Preservation Officers to store data on archeological and ethnographic resources and apply these data to land use and development planning.
2. Through contracts with a number of academic institutions and organizations, carry out pilot projects in archeological and ethnographic resource identification and management, in locations selected by Micronesian officials based on local priorities.
3. Coordinate the archeological and ethnographic work and ensure that both reflected local perspectives.
4. Train Micronesian Historic Preservation Office staff to use the database and to conduct inventory research.
5. Produce a model process by which national, state, and local governments can consult with local groups about the cultural resource management concerns.

In addition, the Micronesian Resources Study produced two educational videotapes for use in Micronesia and elsewhere. *Yesterday and Tomorrow: Historic Preservation in Micronesia* is an overview of the importance of Micronesia's cultural resources. *Chúúk Lagoon: Underwater Museum* is a documen-

tary on one of Micronesia's most famous and threatened cultural resources: the sunken Japanese fleet in Chúúk Lagoon.

The Database

The Micronesian Resources Study database was put on-line in all of the Micronesian Historic Preservation Offices, using hardware and software compatible with the computer systems that were either on-line or being established for government-wide use by all three governments. The content of the database varies from island group to island group, depending on the work that was feasible at the time of the study. In most cases a large volume of archeological data has been entered, together with a substantial body of ethnographic data. Ethnomusicological and ethnobotanical data have been entered in some cases, but to a much smaller degree. Further development of the database, and linking it to computer-based planning systems, would be desirable but was not completed within the constraints of Micronesian Resources Study funding.

The Pilot Studies

In the Republic of the Marshall Islands, the pilot studies in both archeology and ethnography addressed Taroa Island in Maloelap Atoll, where a new atoll capital is to be established. The archeological study identified a number of traditional Marshallese sites as well as a rich profusion of World War II structures and other remains. The ethnographic study focused on traditional uses of natural resources and the development of a local consultation process.

In Kosrae State in the Federated States of Micronesia, the pilot project in archeology was a survey of Lela and Mosral in Malem Municipality, coupled with training in archeological survey and test excavation. The survey revealed an extensive complex of ruins at Lela, identified in oral tradition as a residence of the local Low Chief and apparently occupied during the 17th and 18th centuries. Another site is a stone walled enclosure dating to the 15th century A.D. The ethnographic study was coordinated with the archeological work, and included a major videographic component. Kosrae Historic Preservation Office staff were trained in the use of videotape equipment to document their own cultural institutions. The model local consultation process was closely coordinated with existing Kosrae state law regarding review of impacts on cultural resources.

In Pohnpei State in the Federated States of Micronesia, no separate ethnographic study was completed, but the archeological study included a major ethnographic element, and was directed by Micronesia's first Ph.D. archeologist, Rufino Mauricio. The study focused on Salapwuk, an interior area of great importance in Pohnpeian oral history and traditional religion. Through extensive oral historical work and field survey, despite very difficult terrain, the survey team documented 41 locations of historic and cultural importance, while obtaining considerable information on local beliefs about the ownership and protection of such resources, and about potential threats to their integrity. Pohnpeian Historic Preservation Office staff were trained in ethnographic and archeological survey methods, and appropriate ways of consulting with local cultural authorities were outlined in the survey report.

In Chúúk State in the Federated States of Micronesia, archeological and ethnographic surveys were performed in Pwené village on Tonowas Island, where the state government hopes to establish a historical park. The archeological survey identified a wide range of World War II-era Japanese structures and other facilities, as well as two sites that figure in the island's traditional oral history. The ethnographic study emphasized determining what activities on the land the local people regarded as important, so that these perceptions could be integrated into park planning for interpretation and use. A model consultation process emphasizing the review of impacts on cultural resources in consultation with local political and traditional authorities was developed.

A separate project in Chúúk addressed the famous "Underwater Fleet" of Japanese ships sunk in World War II's Operation Hailstorm. Recommendations were developed for management of this resource — world renowned as a recreational diving site — and a videotape was produced interpreting it and encouraging the preservation of its fragile components.

In Yap State in the Federated States of Micronesia, the archeological pilot project was a survey of Gachlaw village in Gilmon Municipality, a traditionally low-ranking inland village representing a kind

of area not previously given much attention by archeologists in Yap. Although oral history suggested that only seven house sites would be found in Gachlaw, the survey documented 41 separate sites including house platforms, a meeting house ruin, and a cemetery. Evidence of recent unauthorized archeological excavations was also observed, together with indications that U.S. military Civic Action Teams have been conducting construction projects that have damaged historic properties.

The ethnographic study on Yap was developed and carried out by the Yap Cultural Inventory Group, a nonprofit organization made up of teachers, local scholars, and government officials dedicated to studying cultural change and helping the Yapese people control such change. The study documented public attitudes toward change in a variety of cultural institutions, and developed a model consultation process to be used whenever a project might result in cultural change or impacts on cultural resources. The process describes how to identify those who should be consulted, how to conduct consultation, and how to settle disputes.

In Palau the archeological study had three goals: to compile standardized information on all recorded archeological sites for Palau's component of the Micronesian Resources Study database; to develop recommendations for making informed decisions about cultural resources; and to conduct limited survey fieldwork in the states of Ngatpang and Ngeremlengui. Seven hundred and eighty archeological sites were entered in the database, and recommendations were developed for each of Palau's 16 states, in each case describing what is known about the state's archeological resources, recommending how incomplete information can be supplemented, and providing management recommendations.

The ethnographic study in Palau had three goals: to translate into English a study of Palau's history and culture written by Palau's National Treasures, a group of traditional historians; to conduct original research in Ngatpang and Ngeremlengui; and to prepare a local consultation process. The translation represents a consensus of Palauan elders about many of the cultural concerns around which Palauan society is organized. The local consultation process identifies a range of resource types about which information should be gathered and concerns addressed when planning a project in Palau.

The Consultation Processes

The local consultation processes were an especially important part of the Micronesian Resources Study, since they are designed to ensure that local Micronesian communities and individuals are given the opportunity to affect United States and Micronesian governmental actions that can affect their cultural resources. The processes designed expectably vary from island group to island group.

In the Republic of the Marshall Islands, where the Historic Preservation Office is assigned considerable authority by statute, the local consultation process emphasizes the Historic Preservation Office's role in mediating conflicts between local cultural interests and the interests of project proponents.

In Kosrae, which also has a strong historic preservation law focussing on the authorities of the Kosrae Museum, the local consultation process emphasizes the development of a network of local experts who can advise the Museum about cultural concerns.

In Pohnpei, the pilot project report warns that some cultural resources can be perceived to have such power that their disturbance can cause profound community disruption. It recommends ways to ensure that culturally appropriate authorities are consulted in planning any project that might result in such disturbance.

In Chuúuk, the local consultation process is based on the premise that procedures must be consistent with traditional ways of preserving cultural resources. It defines a step-by-step procedure for identifying and resolving conflicts between development and cultural resource interests in a manner consistent with traditional systems of dispute resolution.

In Yap, the Cultural Inventory Group proposed that the State Office of Planning and Budget be charged with the conduct of local consultation among landowners, traditional chiefs, and the government. These groups are not easily defined, because land is held in a variety of ways and there are several levels of chieftainship. The local consultation process spells out ways to accommodate this complexity.

In Palau, the local consultation process uses the U.S. Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Guidelines for Historic Preservation Planning as an organizing tool, identifies techniques for identifying and resolving disputes, and recommends mediation where necessary to bring conflicts to resolution.

Although there are differences among the consultation processes, all share certain commonalities.

1. Local communities must be consulted early in project planning.
2. Consultation should employ approaches that are consistent with local cultural values, beliefs, and etiquette.
3. Local people should be helped to understand what their options are.
4. An appropriately empowered government entity should initiate consultation in accordance with written procedures.

Recommendations to the U.S. Government

The National Park Service. Based on the results of the Micronesian Resources Study, and as appropriations permit, the National Park Service will do the following.

1. Use the local consultation processes developed by the Study to help the Historic Preservation Officers establish historic preservation priorities and implement historic preservation programs.
2. Provide further training in database use and maintenance to Historic Preservation Officers and their staff, and other potential users.
3. Help Historic Preservation Officers establish links between their databases and governmental systems of planning, land use and regulation.
4. Conduct focused interdisciplinary studies to identify and evaluate Micronesian historic properties and cultural traditions.
5. Use the results of the Study to carry out responsibilities assigned to the National Park Service by the 1992 amendments to the National Historic Preservation Act.

The Advisory Council On Historic Preservation. The Advisory Council on Historic Preservation should address specifically how Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act should be implemented in Micronesia, with reference to the local consultation processes defined by the Micronesian Resources Study.

Other Federal Agencies: Other Federal agencies should use the results of the Micronesian Resources Study, including the local consultation processes, to ensure that their planning systems are sensitive to the area's cultural resources.

Congress. Congress can help preserve Micronesia's cultural resources in the following ways.

1. Encourage the Micronesian governments to address the preservation and wise use of cultural resources in their economic development planning under the Compacts of Free Association.
2. Consider appropriating the funds necessary to complete the Micronesian Resources Study database and to link it to governmental planning systems.
3. Consider helping the Micronesian Endowment for Historic Preservation establish an endowment fund to support preservation of cultural resources.

Recommendations to the Micronesian Governments

1. Consider and make wise use of cultural resources in economic development.
2. Increase support for the Micronesian Historic Preservation Office Programs.
3. The Micronesian governments should help develop the Micronesian Resources Study database into an effective planning tool, and ensure that cultural resources are appropriately considered in all types of planning.
4. The Micronesian governments should consider collective and individual support for the Micronesian Endowment for Historic Preservation through direct financial contributions,

assistance in fund-raising, and permitting its directors, the Micronesian Historic Preservation Officers, to draw upon governmental resources in carrying out their work with the Endowment.

Conclusion

The Micronesian Resources Study has been one small part in the program of cooperation in cultural resource management that has been carried out by the United States and the Micronesian governments since the mid-1970s. Building on the results of the Micronesian Resources Study, the United States and the Micronesian governments can realize the goal of balancing tradition and change through preservation programs that protect and enhance Micronesian cultural traditions.

PHILIPPINE SEA

MARSHALL ISLANDS

Q **Magnum**
INDONESIA

PAPUA NEW GUINEA

KOSRAE

PONAPE

KIRIBATI

NAUPRA[®]

PART

Introduction

From the end of World War II until the 1980s, the Micronesian islands that now comprise the Republic of the Marshall Islands, the Republic of Palau, and the Federated States of Micronesia (Map 1) were administered under

United Nations Trusteeship by the United States as the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.¹ As the three new nations organized their governments during the 1970s and 1980s, the U.S. worked with them to conclude the trusteeship and establish a new relationship of free association. Compacts of Free Association have been executed with the Republic of the Marshall Islands and the Federated States of Micronesia establishing them as self-governing nations with the right to conduct foreign affairs in their own name. Both are now members of the United Nations. The government of the United States and the government of the Republic of Palau have concluded a Compact of Free Association which was approved by the U.S. Congress and approved by Palau in a referendum held in November 1993.²

The people of Micronesia have long and distinguished histories, and sophisticated cultural systems and traditions. During the period of the trusteeship, the U.S. undertook measures to protect and enhance the traditional cultures of Micronesia as well as the historic sites, buildings, structures and objects reflecting those cultures. Notable among these measures was a 1974 amendment to the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966,

extending its terms to the Trust Territory.³ In the 1970s and 1980s, under the authority of National Historic Preservation Act, historic preservation programs were established in each island group, under the leadership of Micronesian Historic Preservation Officers.

Since the early 1980s, the National Park Service has worked with the Micronesian Historic Preservation Officers to strengthen their programs in preparation for a higher level of independence after the fifteen-year period of the Compacts of Free Association expires in 2001 A.D.⁴ The Historic Preservation Officers, for their part, have organized



Entrik Panuel of Salapwuk assists in mapping site PoD24-36. Local involvement in field research was one of the objectives of the Micronesian Resources Study. (photograph by William Ayres and Rufino Mauricio, 1989)

a non-profit corporation called the Micronesian Endowment for Historic Preservation (the Endowment), for the purpose of advancing historic and cultural preservation throughout the Micronesian area.

The Mandate

In 1986, further implementing the intent of the Compacts, Congress directed the National Park Service to:

conduct, upon requests of Palau, the Federated States of Micronesia, or the Marshall Islands, and through the Director of the National Park Service, a comprehensive inventory and study of the most unique and significant natural, historical, cultural, and recreational resources of Palau, the Federated States of Micronesia or the Marshall Islands. Areas or sites exhibiting such qualities shall be described and evaluated with the objective of the preservation of their values and their careful use and appreciation by the public, along with a determination of their potential for

attracting tourism. Alternative methodologies for such preservation and use shall be identified and evaluated; and authorities needed to properly protect and allow for public use and appreciation shall be identified and discussed. Such inventory and study shall be conducted in full cooperation and consultation with affected governmental officials and the interested public. A full report on such inventory and study shall be transmitted to Palau or the Federated States of Micronesia or the Marshall Islands, the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs of the United States House of Representatives and the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources of the United States Senate no later than two complete calendar years after the date of enactment of this joint resolution. The inventory and study shall also identify areas or sites which, if they were located in the United States, would qualify to be listed on the Registry of Natural Landmarks and the National Register of Historic Places.⁵

Two years later, Congress appropriated \$750,000 from the Historic Preservation Fund created pursuant to the National Historic Preservation Act, to enable the National Park Service to initiate this study. The study was called the Micronesian Resources Study, and this report summarizes its results.

Properties Eligible for the National Register of Natural Landmarks and the National Register of Historic Places

In directing the National Park Service to conduct the Micronesian Resources Study, Congress indicated that the Study "also identify areas or sites which, if they were located in the United States, would qualify to be listed on the Registry of Natural Landmarks and the National Register of Historic Places." Funding for the Study was subsequently appropriated from the Historic Preservation Fund, however, these funds could be used only to advance the purposes of the National Historic Preservation Act, which authorizes the National Register of



The Micronesian Resources Study is notable in that the ethnographic teams and archeological teams worked together to develop a comprehensive understanding of cultural resources. Here, Micronesian Resources Study archeologist Marilyn Swift works with the ethnographic video crew who document the archeological feature while assisting to interpret its significance in Kosraean culture. From left to right, Marilyn Swift, Kerrik Benjamin, Berlin Sigrab, and Kemwel Tiltar. (photograph by Allan Burns, 1989)

Historic Places. Consequently, the National Park Service gave highest priority to the identification of significant historic places and addressed natural resources only as they relate to the cultural significance of historic properties.

However, natural and cultural resources in Micronesia are closely linked, and many of the areas investigated by the Study are of clear natural as well as cultural significance. The Salapwuk area of Pohnpei, for example, is such a place. Within this area, features of the natural environment are invested with great cultural importance by traditions, and the government of Pohnpei is currently working on plans to protect it. Fishing grounds, taro swamps, rock outcrops, mountain peaks, and reef areas identified during the Study are other examples of natural resources with important cultural value to the people of Micronesia.

All of the historic places on which the Study focused, and virtually all those properties included on the database developed by the Study, would be eligible for the National Register of Historic Places if they were located in the United States, and such properties are treated as eligible for the National Register by the National Park Service and the Micronesian Historic Preservation Officers in administering their historic preservation programs.

However, the Study has by no means identified all those areas in Micronesia that would be eligible for the National Register if they were in the United States. Identifying such properties is a long-term effort, which would require many years of work by the Micronesian Historic Preservation Officers, the National Park Service, and cooperating agencies and institutions. However, the Study has provided a basis for identifying the categories of properties that would be eligible for the National Register if they were in the United States, and whose preservation deserve to be considered in planning. These categories include the following.

- prehistoric and early historic residences, ceremonial and burial sites (archeological sites)
- locations of natural features (e.g., rocks, groves of trees, waterfalls) that figure in tradition or that traditionally have supernatural power



Micronesian Resources Study Planning Team. Left to right. Teddy John, then President, Micronesian Endowment for Historic Preservation and Historic Preservation Officer, Kosrae State, Federated States of Micronesia; Patricia Parker, National Park Service Liaison Officer for the Micronesia Resources Study; Kimberly Kileng, then Historic Preservation Officer, Federated States of Micronesia; Andrew Kugfas, Historic Preservation Officer, Yap State, Federated States of Micronesia; Camarillo Akapito, then Historic Preservation Officer, Truk State, Federated States of Micronesia; Michael Evans, Project Director, Micronesia Resources Study; Abacca Anjain, then Historic Preservation Officer, Republic of the Marshall Islands; Wagner Lawrence, then Historic Preservation Officer, Pohnpei State, Federated States of Micronesia; and, Gerald Knight, then Executive Director, Micronesian Endowment for Historic Preservation.

- sites and structures dating from the Spanish, German, and Japanese periods
- World War II properties
- terrestrial, reef, and lagoon areas important to traditional subsistence activities (plant harvesting areas, fishing areas, taro patches)

The Study also helped show the kinds of studies necessary to identify such resources which include the following.

- studies of background history, ethnohistory, and ethnographic documents, including administrative records and not-yet-translated Spanish, German, and Japanese documents
- ethnographic field studies and interviews
- consultation with local cultural committees and with local communities
- archeological surveys
- studies of military architecture and sites
- studies of Micronesian, Spanish, German, and Japanese architecture and designed landscapes

- documentation of properties and property use in both paper and non-paper media (e.g., photographs, videotape, audiotape)

Such studies should be carried out in a systematic, coordinated manner, by the Micronesian Historic Preservation Officers. The results should be integrated into the Micronesian Resources Study's database. The database, in turn, should periodically be upgraded as technology improves.

Historic Preservation from a Micronesian Perspective

People in Micronesia are deeply concerned about preserving their cultural integrity, and as a result they tend to strongly support historic preservation programs. However, Micronesians define historic preservation differently than is traditional among Euroamericans and Europeans, and in a manner not unlike many Native American groups.⁶ In Micronesia, historic preservation involves more than historic places; it includes oral history and oral literature, art forms, music, dance, ceremonies, and perhaps most importantly, traditional values and beliefs. Historic places are important to Micronesian people largely because they are physical links to traditional beliefs, traditional forms of social and political integration, and traditional moral values. Values and traditions are as important as historic places, and are cherished whether they have a physical, real property referent or not.

Recognizing this fact, the Micronesian Resources Study was designed to address two separate though related kinds of historic and cultural resources: archeological and ethnographic. The archeological resources were represented by historic real property: districts, sites, buildings, structures and objects important in the history of Micronesia or a particular island group. These resources were referred to in shorthand as "archeological," because archeological expertise was usually appropriate to their definition and evaluation, even when the properties involved were historic structures, not the prehistoric sites most archeologists are accustomed to study. Ethnographic resources included the traditions and values of the people of the various island groups. These resources were referred to as "ethno-

graphic," because the skills of an ethnographer — a cultural anthropologist trained to observe and understand living cultural systems — were needed to define and describe them. Since the traditional values of each society define appropriate means of social interaction within it, the ethnographers were also assigned to develop local consultation systems.

The Role of the Micronesian Endowment for Historic Preservation

In order to ensure that the Study would best serve Micronesian resources and society, as well as enhance the capabilities of Micronesian government programs, the National Park Service entered into an agreement with the Endowment under which the Endowment would coordinate the Study on behalf of the National Park Service, with National Park Service oversight and assistance.

Conducting the Micronesian Resources Study

To initiate the Study, the National Park Service and the Micronesian Endowment for Historic Preservation formally agreed on a written statement of approach. Then the National Park Service assigned a Project Liaison Officer to oversee the Endowment's work. The Service also transferred the funds appropriated for the Study to the Historic Preservation Offices of the Republic of the Marshall Islands and the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands to administer on behalf of the National Park Service and the Endowment. The Endowment then contracted with a Project Director, Dr. Michael J. Evans, to oversee the whole project.

The Project Director and the National Park Service Project Liaison Officer consulted on-site with the Micronesian Historic Preservation Officers and, through them, with agency officials whose responsibilities might engage them with the Study or its products. Information from these consultations was used to design specific scopes of work for each of the Study's archeological and ethnographic components. Contracts were made separately with academic institutions and individuals and the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands to carry out different aspects of the Study, under the

supervision of the Project Director with oversight by the Endowment and the National Park Service.

The Micronesian Resources Study began in June, 1988, and continued for 18 months. Coordinated by the Endowment with National Park Service oversight, it involved 17 scholars from 11 institutions of higher learning in Micronesia, the United States, and Australia (See Table 1). This report describes the Study, outlines its results, and offers recommendations to the Congress of the United States and the governments of the Republic of Palau, the Republic of the Marshall Islands, and the Federated States of Micronesia.

Objectives of the Study

Databases for Planning

The long-term intent of the Micronesian Resources Study was to provide the Micronesian governments with information that would permit them to plan and carry out economic development, tourism, and other programs in a manner that would make wise use of, and protect, Micronesia's historical, cultural, and natural resources. Accordingly, one of the principal objectives of the Study was to create a readily accessible database for such information.

It was obvious, however, that available funding was insufficient to compile all the information useful in making planning decisions, even if the Study were strictly limited to historic and cultural resources. Thus a major focus of the Study was on creating a database management system that could handle such information, training people in the Historic Preservation Offices to operate the system, and placing initial information in the system. More information could then be added in coming years as the result of extensions of the Study or of other projects.

Pilot Studies Responsive to Local Needs

In addition to a database management system, it was clear that mechanisms were needed for resource identification and management consistent with the needs of the respective governments and with the cultural systems of the island groups that make up the three Micronesian nations. To address this need, the Study also focused on conducting pilot studies in each major island group.



The Micronesian Resources Study emphasized consultation with local decision-makers and an inter-disciplinary approach to project planning and data-gathering. Here, the Micronesian Resources Study ethnographer and archeological team meet with Murjel Hermios, irooj laplap of Maloelap and the northern atolls of the Ralik chain, Maloelap Senator Lomes Makay, and Alfred Capelle of the Alele Museum, at the public library/Alele Museum on Majuro, Marshall Islands. (photograph by Lin Poyer, 1989)

Research Venues Defined by Local Priorities

Research venues were defined based on the consultations described above (see Conducting the Micronesian Resources Study). These areas were generally previously unstudied and slated for economic development or tourism projects. Micronesian officials were interested in defining the historic properties and cultural traditions associated with these areas for immediate planning purposes.

Research Designs Reflecting Micronesian Perspectives

The integral relationship described above between historic properties to be identified by the Study's archeologists and the cultural traditions to be identified by the Study's ethnologists made an interdisciplinary team approach necessary. Whenever possible, the archeological and ethnographic researchers were in the field at the same time. In cases where that was not possible, the teams communicated by mail or telephone.

Before beginning fieldwork, ethnographers were required to develop a typology of cultural attributes. This included all aspects of local culture, tradition,



Members of the Kosrae ethnographic video team also served as crew for a video presentation on the historic preservation and cultural programs of all of the nations and states participating in the Micronesian Resources Study. Here video crew members Kerrik Benjamin and Kemwel Tilwas accompany Chüükesse navigators on a traditional sailing canoe (waa seres) in Chüük lagoon. While paddling canoes (waa fetün) like the one shown on page ii of this publication are still fairly common in Chüük lagoon, sailing canoes capable of sailing great distances over open ocean are rare, and are usually made by master builders in the outer islands of Chüük. (photograph by Allan Burns, 1989)

arts, crafts, social institutions, forms of expression, and modes of social interaction based on the standards of the Human Relations Area Files, an internationally recognized system of organizing such data.⁷ The typology was critical to the ethnographic research designs as it defined the scope of what was to be identified and documented. In order to make sure that information was gathered on what the local people thought were important cultural attributes, the typology was field tested and modified at the onset of fieldwork. The typology was then used to structure the rest of the ethnographic fieldwork.

Training for Micronesian Historic Preservation Officers

Each of the ethnographic researchers was required to develop a training component on the identification, documentation, and enhancement of the traditional culture of the island on which they were to conduct their research. Training by Study ethnographers included fieldwork techniques such as interview methods, written and audio-visual documentation, enhancement through festivals and cele-

brations, and curation and management of data collections of many types (photographs, interview schedules, videotape, slides, transcripts). Each of the archeologists was required to develop a training component on archeological survey techniques. This training was designed to augment an archeological survey course taught in the summer of 1988 by the Historic Preservation Office of the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands. Training components were developed in consultation with the appropriate Micronesian Historic Preservation Officer and the other field research team.

Model Local Consultation Processes for Community Participation

In order to ensure that decisions about historic and cultural resources will be made in consultation with local people and groups, contractors were tasked to describe model consultation processes showing how to approach local leaders in a culturally appropriate manner. These processes were themselves to be designed in consultation with the people of the respective island groups, their traditional authorities, and their elected governments.

Public Education to Protect Micronesian Historical and Cultural Resources

The cultural and historical resources of Micronesia are not well publicized in Micronesia itself, or to tourists and others who come to Micronesia for business or pleasure. In an effort to publicize their work, the Micronesian Endowment for Historic Preservation decided to make a videotape presentation for use by the public, school children and tourists. The videotape introduces each of the Micronesian Historic Preservation Officers and their programs and illustrates a broad variety of Micronesian places and cultural traditions. The 42-minute video, *"Yesterday and Tomorrow: Historic Preservation in Micronesia"* is available from the Micronesian Endowment for Historic Preservation. In Chüük, the famous Japanese underwater fleet is threatened by looters, vandals, and boaters dropping anchor. A 20-minute videotape produced by the Study outlines the history of this unique resource and shows how it can be harmed by those who visit it and tells how divers can help protect it. This video,

"Truk Lagoon: Underwater Museum" is available from the Chúiuk Historic Preservation Office.⁸

Endnotes

- ¹ The Northern Mariana Islands were also part of the Trust Territory until they assumed Commonwealth status in 1977.
- ² *Statement by Joint Leadership on Compact Ratification*, Office of the President, Republic of Palau (Nakamura et.al. 1993).
- ³ Section 101(b) of the National Historic Preservation Act (16 U.S.C. 470) directs the Secretary of the Interior to administer a program of grants-in-aid to State Historic Preservation Offices to further the purposes of the Act. The Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands was considered a "State" eligible to receive Historic Preservation Fund grants authorized by the Act. Section 105(l) of Public Law 99-239 approving the Compacts of Free Association between the United States and the Federated States of Micronesia and the Republic of the Marshall Islands stipulated that the grant programs under the Act continue to apply in the same manner and to the same extent as they did prior to the approval of the Compacts. Section 102(h) of Public Law 99-658 approving the Compact of Association between the United States and the Republic of Palau extends Section 105(l) of P.L. 99-239 to Palau.
- ⁴ Section 105(l) of U.S. Public Law 99-238 approving the Compacts of Free Association between the United States and the Federated States of Micronesia and the Republic of the Marshall Islands stipulates that the grant programs authorized by the U.S. National Historic Preservation Act shall continue to apply in the same manner and to the same extent as they did in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands prior to the approval of the Compacts of Free Association. Section 102(b) of U.S. Public Law 99-658 approving the Compact of Free Association between the United States and Palau stipulates that Section 105(l) of U.S. Public Law 99-238 applies to the Republic of Palau. The Compact of Free Association between the United States and Palau presumably will conclude 15 years after the date of final action.
- ⁵ Section 104(b) of Public Law 99-658, approving the Compact of Free Association between the U.S. and the Republic of Palau.
- ⁶ See Parker, Patricia, *Keepers of the Treasures—Protecting Historic Properties and Cultural Traditions on Indian Lands*, National Park Service, Interagency Resources Division, Washington, DC, 1990.
- ⁷ Murdock, George Peter, *Outline of Cultural Materials*, New Haven: Human Relations Area Files Cross Cultural Files 1982.
- ⁸ In 1990, the state of Truk officially changed its name to Chúiuk, the traditional name for Truk Lagoon meaning "mountain" referring to Chúiuk's high volcanic mountains. "Truk" was a 19th century German rendition of *Chúiuk*.

Table 1. Micronesian Resources

Federated States of Micronesia

Teddy John, Historic Preservation Officer

Kosrae State	Pohnpei State	Chúuk State	Yap State
<p>Archeology</p> <p>Marilyn K. Swift, Randy A. Harper, and J. Stephen Athens International Archaeological Research Institute, Inc. Honolulu, Hawaii</p> <p>Kosrae Historic Preservation Office Assistance Berlin Sighah, <i>Acting Historic Preservation Officer</i> Stanton Andrew, Killin Killin, Nena Lono</p> <p>Assisted by: Palik Andrew, Thurston Edmond, Nena George, Palikkun Sighah, Conrad Waguk, and Saveton Waguk</p> <p>Ethnography</p> <p>Allan F. Burns Department of Anthropology University of Florida Gainesville, Florida</p> <p>Kosrae Historic Preservation Office Assistance Berlin Sighah, <i>Acting Historic Preservation Officer</i> Kerick Benjamin, Kemwel Tilfas, and Thompson Sibu</p>	<p>Archeology</p> <p>William S. Ayres and Rufino Mauricio Department of Anthropology University of Oregon Eugene, Oregon</p> <p>Pohnpei Historic Preservation Office Assistance Emensio Eperiam, <i>Historic Preservation Officer</i> Melsohr Kilmete, Reti Lawrence</p> <p>Assisted by: Masao Hadley, Kahpiriel Washington, and Enrik Panuel</p> <p>Ethnography</p> <p>Dr. Michael J. Evans Department of Anthropology University of Florida Gainesville, Florida</p> <p>Pohnpei Historic Preservation Office Assistance Emensio Eperiam, <i>Historic Preservation Officer</i></p> <p>Assisted by: Hentrick Panuel of Salapwuk, Pohnpei</p>	<p>Archeology</p> <p>John Craib University of Auckland Auckland, Australia</p> <p>Chúuk Historic Preservation Office Assistance Kayo Noket, <i>Acting Historic Preservation Officer</i> Camarillo Akapito</p> <p>Ethnography</p> <p>John A. Young, Nancy R. Rosenberger, and Joe R. Harding Department of Anthropology Oregon State University Corvallis, Oregon</p> <p>Chúuk Historic Preservation Office Assistance Kayo Noket, <i>Acting Preservation Officer</i> Camarillo Akapito</p> <p>Assisted by: Innocente Oneisom, Ansa Phillip, Atenis Pilimon, Nancy Sakios Phillip, Rufes Sakios, and Siniar Weong</p> <p>Underwater Fleet</p> <p>Francis X. Hezel, S.J., Micronesian Seminar, Tunnuk, Chúuk Clark Graham, Micronesia Aquatics, Inc., Moen, Chúuk</p> <p>Assisted by: Michiosy Rudolph, Tanio Rudolph, Arimichi Rudolph, Tanimoto Tipekis, and Patrick Pitz</p>	<p>Archeology</p> <p>William H. Adams, Sarah H. Campbell and Richard E. Ross Department of Anthropology Oregon State University Corvallis, Oregon</p> <p>Yap Historic Preservation Office Assistance Andrew Kugfas, <i>Historic Preservation Officer</i> Andrew Figirmad</p> <p>Assisted by: Louis Kenfel, Peter Fenugachal, Jose Boyow, Vincent Ruetathin, Salvador Yalon, Steven Gaamew, Mark Mathouw, Fynatius Kajlanug, Alosius Figermow, Prisca Puqurwag, Elizabeth Gangir, Helen Fagaltinag, Marita Anefal, Augustina Kugfel, Santos Mangthin and Elizabeth Bury</p> <p>Ethnography</p> <p>Yap Cultural Inventory Group: Gilinifrad Lukubyad, President, Sister Margaret Mary Margou, Nik Figirlaarwon, Carmen Chigiy, Hilary Tacheliol, Rosa Tacheliol, Raphaella Tinan, Sister Joanne McMahon, Fidelis Thiyer, Senator Tony Gannangyan (with Elizabeth Bury and Michael J. Evans)</p> <p>Yap Historic Preservation Office Assistance Andrew Kugfas, <i>Historic Preservation Officer</i></p> <p>Assisted by: John Ranganbay</p>

Study Research Teams

Republic of the Marshall Islands

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Carmen Bigler,
Historic Preservation Officer

Alele Museum Assistance

Alfred Capelle, Carol Curtis, Amram
Enos, Kanlei Amelij, and Timius
Lemeto

Assisted by:

Illiam Tartios and Iosep Lapan of
Taroa

Republic of Palau

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Vince Blaiyok, Walter Metes, Thomas Techur,
Jeffrey Olgeriil, Carley Gustav, Naomi Ueki

Assisted by:

Techidong Rebluud,
Chairman, Ngatpang State Cultural Committee,
Rechebeb Sulial,
Chairman, Ngeremlengui State Cultural
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Palau Historic Preservation Office Assistance

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Jeffrey Olegeriil, Dave Orak, Antonino
Kloulechad, Kautechang Vince Blaiyok,
Walter Metes.

Assisted by:

Echol Sisior, Pasqual Ongos, Ucheldikes
Ngingeterang Iechand, Techidong Rebluud,
Belau Skebong, and Fred Skebong.

"Yesterday and Tomorrow— Historic Preservation In Micronesia" Videotape

Video Production

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Kosrae Historic Preservation Office Assistance

Berlin Sigrah,
Acting Historic Preservation Officer
Kerick Benjamin and Kemwel Tilfas

Project Director

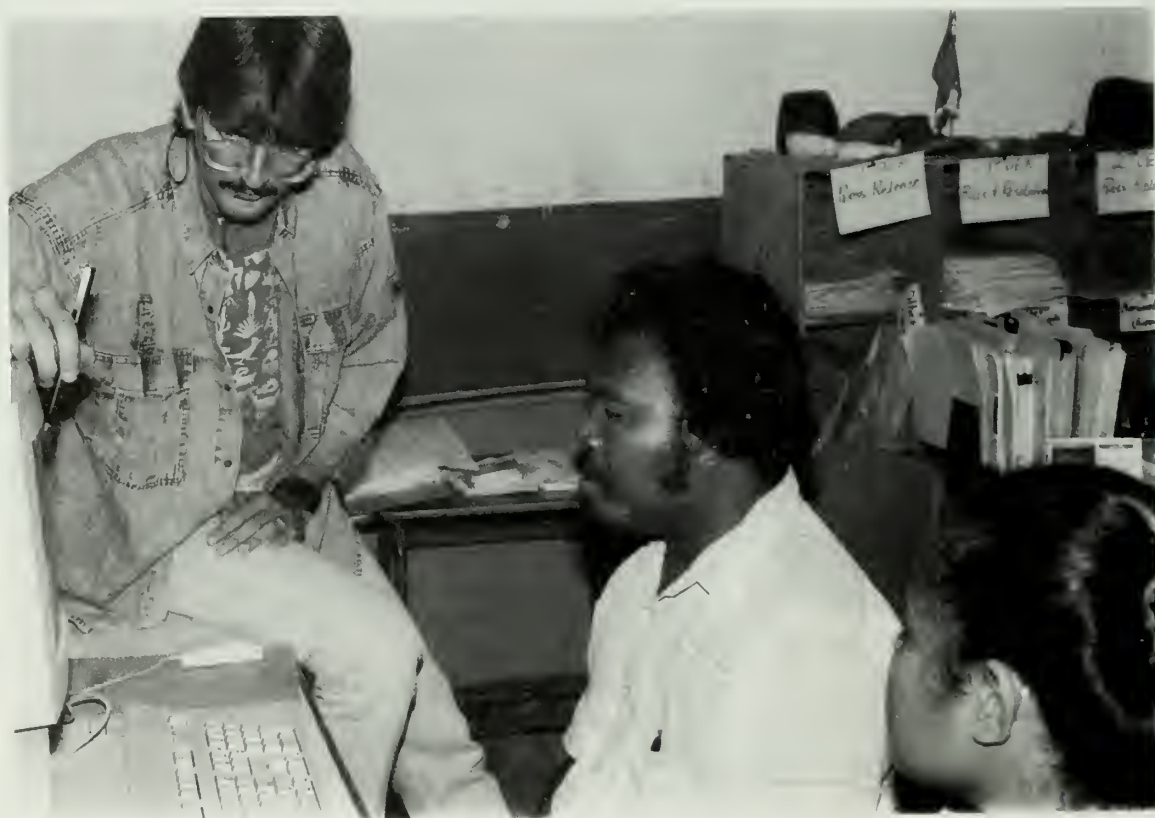
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Financial Management Officers

Michael Fleming
Historic Preservation Officer
Scott Russell
Deputy Historic Preservation Officer
Department of Community and
Cultural Affairs
Commonwealth of the Northern
Mariana Islands



Micronesian Resources Study Project Director, Michael J. Evans, trains Dave Orak and Carley Gustav in the use of the computer and the project's database. This training took place at the Palau Historic Preservation Office, Division of Cultural Affairs, Koror, Palau. (photograph by Brian Butler and David Snyder, 1989)

PART

2

Results of the Study — The Database

The Micronesian Resources Study database was designed to run on Apple Macintosh computers, which all of the Micronesian governments had acquired or were acquiring as their basic computer hardware at the time of the study. The database was designed to be extremely interactive and “user friendly.”¹ It incorporated a previously established system for recording historic properties developed by the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands and adopted by the other Historic Preservation Officers. The database was also designed to record ethnographic information following the standards of the Human Relations Area Files, an internationally recognized system of archiving and accessing such data.

The database for each island group consists of four parts: archeological site records, ethnography, ethnomusicology, and ethnobotany. The first contains standardized records of historic and prehistoric sites, districts, buildings, structures, and objects. The second contains information on traditions, customs, social organization, and other aspects of traditional and contemporary culture. The third contains information on traditional music, while the fourth contains information on traditional uses of plants.

The content of the database varies from island group to island group, depending on the work that was feasible at the time of the Study. In most areas a large percentage of archeological site records have been placed in the database, together with a substantial body of ethnographic data, though in no area have all such data been entered. Ethnomusicological and ethnobotanical data are far

less heavily represented. In most areas maps with links to information on survey work performed and resource locations have not yet been entered into the system. This deficiency, which resulted from a variety of unanticipated difficulties, is a serious one, since such data are of prime importance for planning.

Linkage of the database with Micronesian planning systems is desirable to ensure that cultural resources are considered when government agencies, or others subject to government review and regulation, plan activities that might affect such resources. For example, a government agency planning to build a road or permit construction of a hotel should be able to consult the database to determine what is known about cultural resources in the area, what the agency should do to identify any resources not yet known, and what it should do to ensure that cultural resources are protected to the extent feasible as planning for the project proceeds. Time, funding, and in some cases, the undeveloped state of relationships between the Historic Preservation Office and planning entities made it impossible to realize the goal of establishing these important linkages.

Endnotes

- ¹ Project Director, Dr. Michael J. Evans, developed a user's manual to supplement on-site training conducted during the project. The manual, *Micronesian Resources Study Cultural Resources Database* (Evans 1990a), is available from the Micronesian Endowment for Historic Preservation.



Map 2.

PART

3

Results of the Study — The Pilot Studies

Republic of the Marshall Islands: Taroa in Maloelap Atoll



he Republic of the Marshall Islands consists entirely of low coral islands, atolls and reef (Map 2). Maloelap Atoll, 35 minutes by air north of Majuro, capital of the Republic of the Marshall Islands, was selected by the Marshall Islands Historic Preservation Officer as the site for pilot studies in both archeology and ethnography. The atoll contains some sixty islands and is 32 miles long by 13 miles wide (Map 3). The studies focused on the island of Taroa (Map 4), the new atoll capital. Selection of Taroa as the atoll capital will bring increased population and more intensive use of natural resources.

Archeological Survey on Taroa

William H. Adams, Richard E. Ross, and Elizabeth L. Krause from Oregon State University conducted the archeological survey of Taroa and the archeological training of staff from the Historic Preservation Office and Alele Museum. The following discussion is based upon their report, *Archaeological Survey of Taroa Island, Maloelap Atoll, Republic of the Marshall Islands* (Adams, Ross, and Krause 1990).

The archeological study was designed to identify and evaluate historic and prehistoric resources on the island, and to provide training in archeological survey methods for the Historic Preservation Office

staff. Primary attention was given to sites and structures mentioned in the island's oral history, and to properties associated with intensive use of the island during World War II.

Significant locations identified by the archeological study included the following.

- the Irooj's house, home of the island chief (Irooj) prior to World War II
- the Irooj's cemetery, where the Irooj and others were buried
- the Fort, constructed during inter-island wars in the nineteenth century
- two sites associated in Taroa's oral tradition with supernatural spirits
- the be-heading place, said to be a location where Japanese military personnel executed Marshallese, American, and other prisoners
- the Kilinge site, associated with a particularly dangerous supernatural spirit
- the sites of two historic stores important on the island in the years preceding World War II
- the complex of Japanese military facilities that covers much of the island

The complex of Japanese military facilities is still an impressive reminder of World War II. It includes roads, wrecked vehicles and watercraft, a wharf, airfields, wrecked aircraft, hangars, fighter revetments, fuel, food and water storage facilities, maintenance facilities, barracks, antiaircraft guns, pill boxes, blockhouses, magazines, telephone and



Map 3. Maloelap Atoll. Adapted from Naval Analysis Division, 1947:6.

radio facilities, and the remains of an electrical system.

Threats to Archeological Properties on Taroa

Archeological resources on Taroa were found to be threatened by the recycling and reuse of military structures, relic collecting, ordnance disposal, removal of human remains by those searching for the remains of military casualties, children playing in ruins, and deterioration through time.

Recycling has declined as a major threat to buildings in recent years, as most reusable material has already been removed. Relic collecting is a continuing problem, and is a threat not only to historic

resources but to living people, as many of the relics scattered over Taroa are explosive ordnance.

Ordnance removal has done serious damage to historic structures and sites in the past, and will continue to do so as old ordnance decays and becomes impossible to relocate without danger of explosion. Where ordnance is exploded in place, of course, any historic property in the vicinity is likely to be damaged. As recently as the mid-1980s a considerable amount of bulldozing was carried out on the island to clear ordnance; this did serious damage to historic properties.

Recovery of human remains thought to represent Japanese military casualties has been a preoccupation of many Japanese veterans' organizations



Japanese radio communications building. The second story houses Taroa's radio and is used for Protestant church services and for women's weaving. (photograph by Lin Poyer, 1989)

throughout Micronesia since the end of World War II. Searchers for such remains come to Taroa and to other Micronesian islands both as individuals and in organized groups, with and without government sanction. Both they and Marshallese whom they pay to recover bones have done considerable damage to historic sites while digging or otherwise seeking human remains.

Children playing in ruins have removed

and broken artifacts, knocked down structural elements, and covered the walls of structures with graffiti. Finally, with the simple passage of time in the salt air, concrete buildings and metal structures alike are deteriorating and collapsing.

Archeological Training

The archeological team was assisted for seven days by Dr. Dirk Spennemann from the Marshall Islands Historic Preservation Office. Mr. Amram Enos from the Alele Museum in Majuro participated in the fieldwork for 20 days, and received training in pedestrian survey, use of Brunton compass for setting in baselines, use of the 35 mm camera, mapping of large areas, mapping of individual sites, and field recording of site information.

Documenting Taroa's Cultural Traditions

Lin Poyer conducted the ethnographic survey of Taroa and the training in ethnographic documenta-



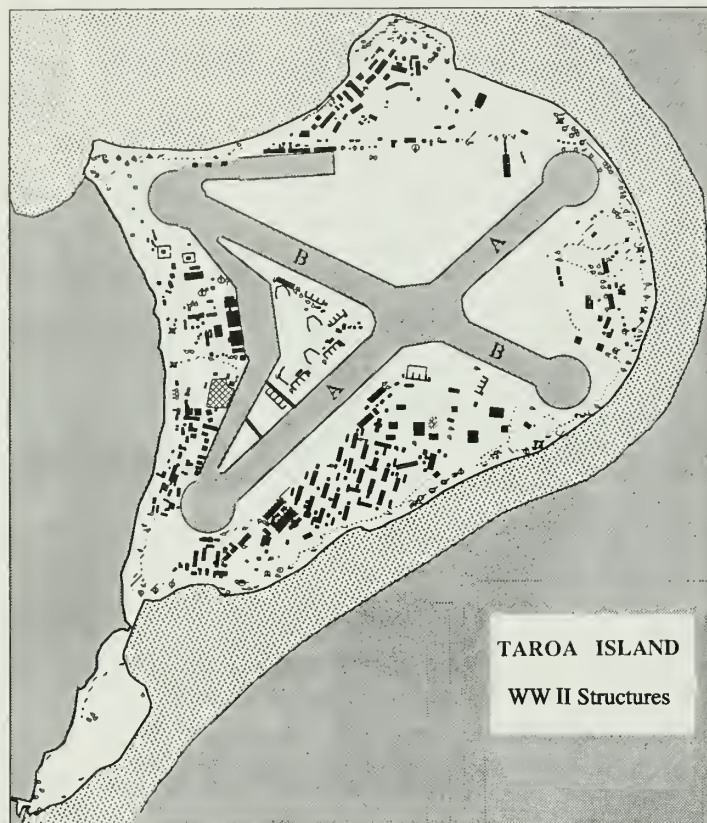
Timius Lemeto videotapes weaving one of the many kinds of Marshallese baskets in the Japanese radio communication building. (photograph by Lin Poyer, 1989)

tion techniques of the staff from the Historic Preservation Office and the Alele Museum. The following discussion is based upon her report, *Final Report, Micronesian Resources Study, Republic of the Marshall Islands, Ethnography Component* (Poyer 1990).

The ethnographic component was aimed at collecting oral historical and documentary data on the



The Micronesian Resources Study archeological team from Oregon State University confers with Illium Tartios over a map of Taroa during World War II. Left to right are William Adams, Richard Ross, Elizabeth Krause, and Illium Tartios. (photograph by Lin Poyer, 1989)



Map 4. Taroa Island.

island's history and traditional culture, at training Historic Preservation Office staff in the collection and use of ethnographic and ethnohistorical data, and at developing a local consultation process. Multimedia documentation of Taroa included video and audio recording, still photography, and written notes. Training for Historic Preservation Office staff and the staff of the Alele Museum was provided in documentation and cultural resources planning and management.

The ethnographic team conducted two field sessions, one at the same time as the archeology field session.

Traditional Uses of Natural Resources

The ethnographic study collected detailed information on the traditional uses of natural resources.

Four locations in the lagoon were identified as excellent fishing areas, and 31 different fishing

methods were described. At least 87 different species of fish are commonly caught by the island's fishermen. Fishing is generally regarded by the people of Taroa as men's work, but children of both sexes also fish. Other valued marine resources are lobsters and coconut crabs. Fish are eaten locally and transported to Majuro for sale.

Land animals commonly eaten include domestic chickens and pigs, and wild birds. The ethnographic study collected substantial information on methods of hunting and trapping wild birds, which are used both for food and for medicinal purposes.

Traditionally used plant resources on Taroa were substantially reduced by the extensive disturbance of the island during World War II, but the ethnographic study documented the use of some 32 medicinal plants as well as food plants and plants used in the construction of houses, tools, and canoes.

The ethnographic study also documented characteristic forms of household organization, and such crafts as the weaving of mats and baskets, both for domestic use and for sale.

Training in Ethnographic Documentation

Marshall Islands Historic Preservation Office and Alele Museum staff were trained to organize and conduct field research. Six staff members participated in the fieldwork sessions on Taroa, in which



Japanese shore gun, northwest Taroa, Malelop Atoll, Marshalls Islands. To the left is a Japanese-era pier, and to the right are masts of a sunken Japanese ship. (photograph by Lin Poyer, 1989)



mmram Enos of the Micronesian Resources Study Marshall Islands ethnographic documentation team videotapes the butchering of a sea turtle on Taroa atoll, Marshall Islands. The meat will be sold in Majuro; the eggs will be eaten. (photograph by Lin Poyer, 1989)

they learned to use video-recorders and 35 mm cameras. For six weeks following the fieldwork they received training in managing ethnographic data and in indexing audiovisual material. Two senior staff members from the Alele Museum, Mr. Alfred Capelle and Ms. Carol Curtis, participated in the fieldwork for a week. Their knowledge of Marshallese language and culture greatly enhanced their roles on the fieldwork team. Training for the video staff concentrated on the broad goals of ethnographic research, and on how to record in natural settings. Three residents of Taroa assisted in data collection, transcription, and translation.

Model Local Consultation Process

The model consultation process developed through the ethnographic study focuses on a series of meetings designed to build consensus about how cultural resources should be managed. The structure of the meetings reflect Marshallese attitudes toward cultural resources and the local organization of decision-making based on traditional land rights as well as levels of government administration. Meetings can take place at three levels: the level of the individual island, the level of the atoll, and the national level. Such meetings would be held each time a proposed action might affect cultural resources, and

should seek to achieve consensus about what would be done to reduce or minimize damage.

Recommendations

Recommendations to the Republic of the Marshall Islands resulting from the studies included the following.

- Establish a systematic method for recording and evaluating the most significant cultural resources for all atolls and islands.
- Establish a legal foundation for the work of the Historic Preservation Office, and enlarge and diversify its efforts to ensure that its voice is heard and heeded in public and private activities affecting cultural resources.
- Establish an organized program of support for intangible cultural resources.
- Establish a Board of Preservation, Tourism and Development.
- Develop a program for the preservation and interpretation of historic places that includes the following.
 - clearing and interpreting ruins
 - preserving traditional sites
 - protecting culturally important plants, and



Nellie Leskop views herself on videotape as Timius Lemeto of the Marshalls ethnographic video team looks on. (photograph by Lin Poyer, 1989)



Carol Curtis of the Alele Museum on Majuro, conducts an interview on Taroo atoll, Marshall Islands. (photograph by Lin Poyer, 1989)

developing interpretive paths focussing on different kinds of historic resources such as the pre-World War II village, runways and wrecked aircraft, and places associated with supernatural spirits.

- Establish a tourist information center and museum.
- View the village itself as a living museum of Marshallese culture, and regulate tourist access to it.
- Build a limited number of guest houses.
- Organize and regulate the tourist industry, in cooperation with the airline, as an island cooperative.
- Develop a curriculum package for the school.
- Keep accommodations for tourists safe and simple.

Pilot Studies in the Federated States of Micronesia

In the Federated States of Micronesia, the pilot studies address archeological sites and places significant in oral traditions. They also address "cultural attributes," a term taken from the Federated States of Micronesia Historic Preservation Act. Section

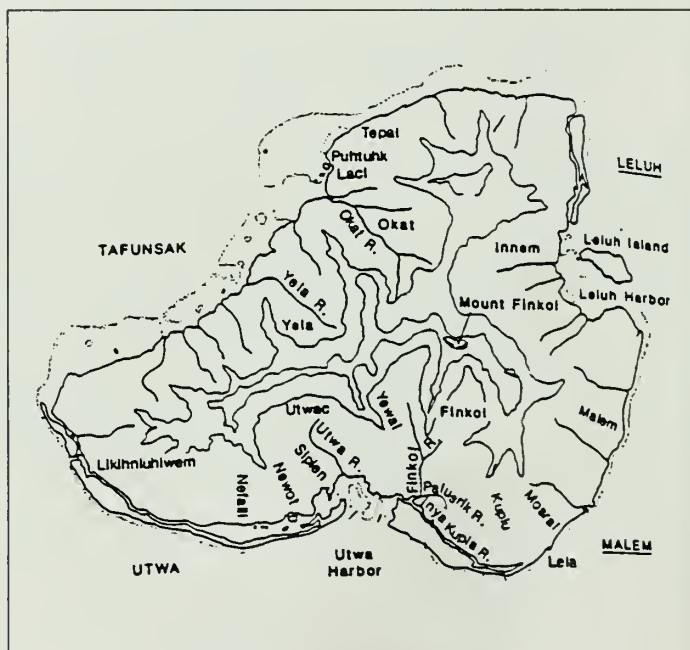
102 of Federated States of Micronesia Public Law 1-48 defines cultural attributes as "all aspects of local culture, tradition, arts, crafts, all social institutions, forms of expression, and modes of interaction."¹

Kosrae State, Federated States of Micronesia

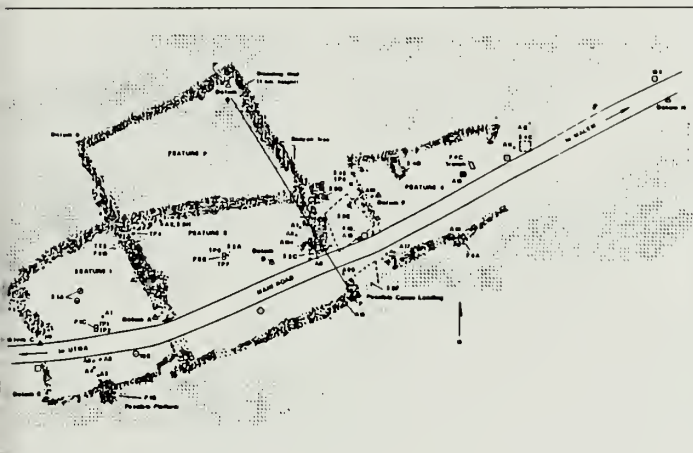
Archeological Survey in the Malem Municipality, Kosrae

On Kosrae (Map 5) a single-island State in the Federated States of Micronesia, Marilyn K. Swift, Randy A. Harper, and J. Stephen Athens conducted the archeological survey of the Lela and Mosral in Malem Municipality, Kosrae. They also conducted training in archeological survey and small-scale excavation techniques. The following discussion is based upon their report, *Studies in the Prehistory of Malem Municipality, Kosrae Archeology, Micronesia Resources Study* (Swift, Harper, and Athens 1990).

The pilot project was a survey of prehistoric and historic archeological sites in the previously unsurveyed Mosral area of Malem Municipality, one of four municipalities on the island. The project area



Map 5. Kosrae.



Map 6. Lela Ruins.

was patterned after the shape of a traditional *facl*, or land unit stretching from the reef to the mountain top. Special attention was given to Lela, a complex of ruins that figures in important Kosraean oral traditions.² One of the major purposes of the project was to provide training in archeological survey and small-scale excavation methods to Historic Preservation Office staff and others. A videotape was produced illustrating archeological work in the Lela ruins. This was done by the Kosrae ethnographic staff who were being trained concurrently by the ethnographic team.

The ruins proved to be quite extensive (Map 6), consisting of a series of stone-walled compounds. In oral tradition, the site was one of the residences of the Low Chiefs, who provided food and other goods to the High Chiefs at Leluh, the ancient capital. Test excavations provided considerable information on the site's stratigraphy, and yielded samples for radiocarbon dating. Analysis of these samples suggested that the site was occupied between the early 17th and early 19th centuries A.D. There was evidence to suggest earlier occupation, but its investigation would have required much more excavation than the project could afford.

The other archeological site recorded during survey was referred to as Mosral Wan No. 1. This small residential site consists of a single stone-walled enclosure. Radiocarbon age analysis of charcoal from test excavations at Mosral Wan suggests that

the site was occupied as early as the fifteenth century A.D.

Archeological Training

Historic Preservation Office staff were trained as members of the survey team in reading of topographic maps, compass use, preparation of sketch and scaled maps, transit operation, preparation of site record forms, photography, field survey techniques, test excavation techniques, documentation, significance evaluation, and community interface.

Because Lela is mentioned in oral tradition, its use as a training site facilitated cooperative efforts between the archeological team and the ethnographic team. An oral history interview was conducted with a local expert at the Lela site. The interview was video and audio recorded by the Kosraean ethnographic team. The interview will supplement the archeological record and will be integrated into the database for the project.

Documenting Kosrae's Cultural Traditions

Allan F. Burns and Alan Saperstein of the University of Florida conducted ethnographic survey and training in ethnographic documentation on Kosrae. The following discussion is based upon their report, *Kosrae Ethnography Project: Final Report* (Burns 1990b).



Micronesian Resources Study Kosrae ethnographic video crew. Kemwel Tilfas, Kerrik Benjamin, Alan Saperstein, Berlin Sigrah, and Alan Burns. (photograph by Allan Burns, 1989)



Sarah Nena demonstrates funeral mat weaving at her home in Lela Village. (photograph by Allan Burns, 1989)

The Kosrae Historic Preservation Office has long sought to establish a program to document its cultural traditions. In 1987, the Kosrae Historic Preservation Officer led the Kosraean delegation to the South Pacific Arts Festival in Australia, which strengthened his commitment to protecting Kosrae's living cultural traditions through presentation and documentation. The ethnographic component was designed to teach Historic Preservation staff how to design a program to identify, document with videotape and still photography, and manage the documentary records of modern Kosraean traditional culture.

Training in Ethnographic Video Documentation

The ethnographic pilot project on Kosrae was a month-long fieldwork program featuring intensive training in note-taking, audio-taping, photography, and using video recorders to begin a cultural heritage inventory. The ethnographers began with a week-long ethnographic video workshop. This was followed by videotaping in the field and practice developing records necessary to manage the inventory. Preliminary training was given in video editing, and the participants learned to transcribe audio recordings and to copy all field materials. The ethnographers emphasized the need to divide the work

into the process of recording and the process of presenting and use by the community.

Products of the work included a full report, a workbook for use in further videotape training, and twenty-two videotapes, copies of which were filed with the Kosrae Museum. Twenty-one of the tapes deal with specific topics such as canoe making, weaving, preparation of traditional medicine, and Liberation Day activities. A rough-cut of the tapes was made into a 45 minute film, "*Srakna an Kosrae*" ("Always Kosrae") (Burns 1990c) which was shown at the Kosrae Museum of History and culture and in other locations to several hundred people.

Importantly, the project developed an overall cultural heritage inventory plan for use by the Kosrae ethnographic team as their program develops.

Additional training of the Kosrae Historic Preservation Staff during the Micronesia Resources Study included production of a 45 minute video program, *Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow*, on historic preservation in Micronesia that the Kosrae team made in 1990 (Burns 1990a).

Model Local Consultation Process

Kosrae State law ³ establishes the responsibilities of the Historic Preservation Officer. The local consultation processes recommended by the Micronesia Resources Study are coordinated with



Kerrik Benjamin transcribes audiotape from the Micronesia Resources Study Kosrae ethnographic project at the Kosrae Museum of History and Culture. (photograph by Allan Burns, 1989)



The Kosrae Ethnographic video crew documents construction of an outrigger canoe. From left, crew member Kerrik Benjamin, master-builder Nena Williams, and crew member Kemwel Tilfas. (photograph by Allan Burns, 1989)

the provisions of the Kosrae Historic Preservation Act. Two consultation procedures were recommended for activities that may impact the cultural attributes of Kosrae. In the case of activities that would have little effect, the responsible agency would discuss the activity with the Historic Preservation Officer, who would then assign the case to a staff member. That individual would then contact local expert(s) to discuss the project. A simple memorandum containing the Historic Preservation Officer's assessment and recommendation would be prepared and sent to the responsible agency. A more detailed process is recommended for activities that potentially have great impact upon Kosrae's cultural attributes. In such cases, formal consultations between the agency and the Historic Preservation Office and on-site consultations with local experts are required.

Recommendations for the Protection and Use of Kosrae's Historic Properties and Cultural Traditions

Recommendations to Kosrae State resulting from the studies included the following.

- Adopt and make use of a local consultation process (See Part 5).
- Provide training in traditional cultural heritage, ethnography, and folklore.

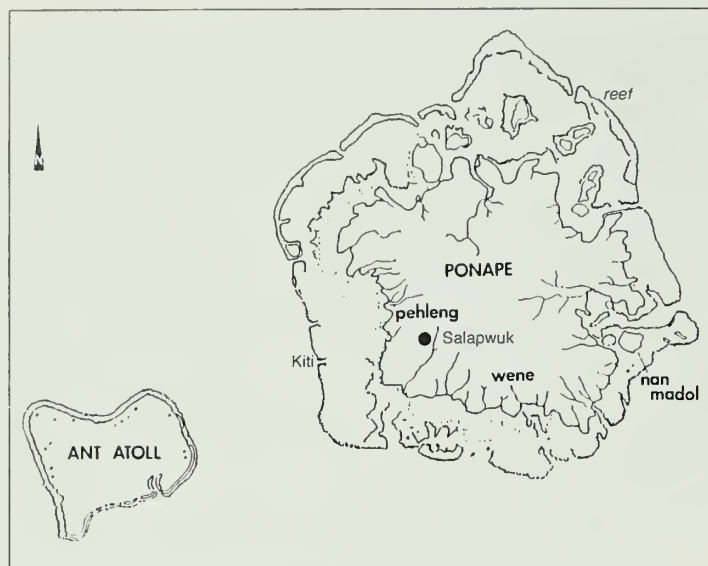
- Employ a standard procedure for identifying, evaluating, and managing historic places affected by construction and other programs.
- Designate the Kosrae Museum of History and Culture as a training center for ethnographic video in Micronesia.
- Train video staff in editing procedures.
- Hire a female ethnographer/videographer for the museum, who can work with the women of the community.
- Expand the museum into a second building.
- Review and update existing files on archeological sites.
- Obtain the equipment needed to conduct in-house historic properties surveys.
- Execute and implement cooperative agreements between the Historic Preservation Office and other Kosrae government agencies.
- Expand museum outreach programs, and improve community relations generally.

Pohnpei State, Federated States of Micronesia

Archeological and Ethnographic Studies in Salapwuk, Kiti District

William S. Ayres and Rufino Mauricio of the University of Oregon conducted the archeological survey of Salapwuk and the archeological training of Historic Preservation Office staff. The following discussion is based upon their report, *Salapwuk Archaeology: 1989 Survey of Historic and Cultural Resources of Pohnpei State* (Ayres and Mauricio 1990).

On Pohnpei Island (Map 7), Capital of Pohnpei State and the Federated States of Micronesia, the pilot archeological project was designed to supplement previous archeological work, most of which had concentrated on the ancient city of Nan Madol, on other areas along the shore, and on river valleys near the shore. The study focused on a remote interior part of the island called Salapwuk, to provide baseline data on Pohnpei's prehistoric and historic



Map 7. Pohnpei and Ant Atoll showing location of Salapwuk Survey.

resources in relatively unstudied ecological contexts. The survey area was being considered as a possible location for a hydroelectric project, thus information on its cultural and historical resources would be immediately useful to local officials.

Time and budget constraints made it impossible to complete a separate ethnographic pilot study on Pohnpei.⁴ However, the archeological pilot project was carried out under the direction of Micronesia's first Ph.D. archeologist, Rufino Mauricio, a Pohnpeian.⁵ His work stressed the need to consider Pohnpeian archeological sites and other cultural resources in the context of local tradition and values. To that end, the archeological team conducted ethnographic fieldwork to (1) establish a framework for social interaction during the archeological project, (2) acquire information on contemporary settlement and subsistence, and, (3) record oral history related to specific archeological sites or natural features which have significance as cultural landmarks. These landmarks are often natural features such as rocks, pools, ridges, or mountains associated with oral traditions. Appropriately, the archeological study had as one of its goals "to help institutionalize in the Pohnpei Historic Preservation Office, a process for the collection, analysis, and documenta-

tion of oral tradition related to prehistoric and historic archeological sites" (Ayres and Mauricio 1990: 1-2).

The research team was assisted by two of no more than 10 remaining Pohnpeians who possess great knowledge of the natural history of Pohnpei's interior. These men, Melsohr Kilmete and Kahpiriel Washington, were trained by two "forest experts" from the eastern part of Kiti. Mr. Washington is a resident of the project area, and possesses detailed knowledge of the unmarked forest trails, streams, mountains, rivers, valleys, ridges, vegetation, and soil.

The study included visits to the twenty households making up the core of the community. During these visits, a questionnaire in the Pohnpeian language was used to elicit information about attitudes toward historic places. The interviews revealed that Pohnpeians in Salapwuk strongly believe that ancient places have supernatural power and should be carefully handled. Although the resulting sample is quite small, it indicates that local people want to preserve, clear for visibility, and exhibit the remains of their past, provided they can avoid being cursed by ghosts if they do so.



These massive boulders form the northern-most portion of the Rakuh Hill retaining wall. (photograph by William Ayres and Rufino Mauricio, 1989)



Simako Immanuel sits on the east wall of Nankaio house platform. (photograph by William Ayres and Rufino Mauricio, 1989)

Interviews also documented a strong local belief in the right of ownership not only over the land itself but over its cultural resources, the physical remains of these resources, and the knowledge and history of these resources. As in other parts of Micronesia, Pohnpeian custom requires some degree of secrecy when it comes to revealing traditional knowledge.

The ethnographic work of the archeological team was particularly appropriate to the project area as Salapwuk is one of the most sacred places in Pohnpei and figures prominently in oral tradition. It is considered to be the first solid land created to form the island. Salapwuk is also the seat of the highest order of priests. Informants from Salapwuk believe that the first legitimization of mwar, the title system of Pohnpei, took place at Salapwuk and that it was at Salapwuk that the high priestly title, Soumweng Leng, was bestowed by the deity Nahnsapwe at the Sokosoken Leng site. Salapwuk was an autonomous region ruled by the High Priest Soumw until the reign of the Nahnmwarki Paul of Kiti in the first part of the twentieth century when it became a section, or kousapw, of Kiti.

Despite the extremely difficult terrain, incorrect place names on available topographic maps, and boundary problems, the archeological team recorded a total of forty-one locations of historic and cultural

importance in Salapwuk. These included large and small, simple and complicated groups of prehistoric structures and sites, as well as natural features of traditional cultural importance, for example boulders and rock outcroppings that figure in traditional history. Most of the sites were stone architectural sites, earth construction sites, and traditional landmarks.

Particularly interesting was an unusual type of site with apparent agricultural and ritual functions. Certain mounds or trenches found in the area are referred to as "paths." These "paths" are always oriented toward areas known as Mwasangap, a term referring to an area rich with plant life. Mwasangap occur where winds from the sea blow into lower valley systems bounded by mountains. A circulation system is set up that allows for the continuous pollinization of plants, and in such areas the breadfruit season is often continuous. Pohnpeians identify the circulation system in a mwasangap by the circular patterns of the frigate birds that ride the high winds on outstretched wings.

Threats to Archeological Properties in Salapwuk, Pohnpei

The most important threats to archeological sites in the Salapwuk area are homesteading, hotel and road construction, erosion of trails, and the re-



A kuruma, or cart, pulled by water buffalo being loaded at Koapinpil household. This is an important means of transportation in Salapwuk. (photograph by William Ayres and Rufino Mauricio, 1989)

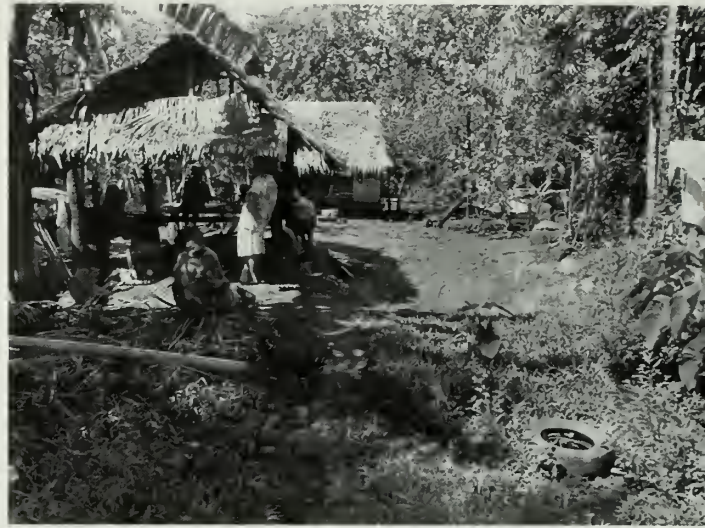
use of stone materials from old sites for new construction such as house foundations. The last is particularly problematic in Salapwuk because few stone suitable for house foundations are available other than those found in archeological sites.

Archeological Training

Like other Study projects, the archeological survey was also designed to train Historic Preservation Office staff. Field training was conducted as part of the process of identifying and recording sites in Salapwuk. Special emphasis was given to those topics most unfamiliar to the participants, for example, map reading, orienting maps with the aid of a compass, and plotting the location of sites on topographic maps. Community members assisting with the archeological team participated in the training.

Model Local Consultation Process

Careful attention to the concerns of local people for their ownership of historic places, the power of such places, and the need for stewardship of that power, resulted in development of a model survey strategy that is effective and culturally appropriate in Pohnpei. In Pohnpei, as in other parts of Micronesia, members of a community own not only the land on which cultural resources are situated,



The Pohnmoaloawoa family cook house and dwelling (imwalap). Kahpirie Washington, an expert forest guide who also knows the cultural and historical significance of Salapwuk, assisted the archeological/ethnographic field team. Here he consults with Adehla Immanuel and family. (photograph by William Ayres and Rufino Mauricio, 1989)

but the history and traditions surrounding such resources. Outsiders, whether foreign or Pohnpeian, do not have an automatic right to investigate those resources or traditions. Permission must be sought from knowledgeable senior members of the community.

The archeological team sought permission to learn about the land of Salapwuk in general, the cultural resources of the community, and the traditions and knowledge associated with them from appropriate community members. When such permission is granted, it is often accompanied by instructions and teachings of appropriate behaviors toward the resources, and in some cases, protective sacred formulae to be conducted when visiting particular resources.

Respecting these concerns, the work of the archeological team was conducted and guided by a constant permission-consultation process.

The study of most of the sites we recorded in Salapwuk was made possible through this approach. When arranged properly, this approach...is not only efficient but culturally appropriate for Pohnpei State. We strongly



Lehn Produuk, "Mooring Pool," plays a significant role in the the cultural traditions of Pohnpei. (photograph by William Ayres and Rufino Mauricio, 1989)



ihm en Salapwuk, "Pail of Salapwuk." The symbolism associated with this deeply weathered vesicular basalt boulder relates to the initial settlement of Pohnpei island and the Salapwuk plateau. (photograph by William Ayres and Rufino Mauricio, 1989)

recommend that every ... archeological study begin with this approach....(Ayres and Mauricio 1990: 38).

The recommendations of the archeologists are equally applicable to the planning of any kind of project on Pohnpei. Planning should always include early, respectful consultation with traditional landowners and other appropriate community members, whose permission should be sought before field study, e.g., engineering or geological surveys). The teachings and instructions of the community should be carefully followed as planning proceeds.

Recommendations for the Protection and Use of Pohnpei's Historic Properties and Cultural Traditions

Recommendations to Pohnpei State from the archeological team included the following:

- Establish an historic preservation public education program. Stress community education regarding the preservation legislation of Pohnpei State and the Federated States of Micronesia.
- Integrate preservation goals and the use of historic and cultural resources into the State's tourism program.
- Establish formal mechanisms for recording and evaluating all kinds of cultural resources, including historic properties and cultural attributes like traditions and lifeways.
- Translate elements of a recent National Park Service publication regarding traditional cultural properties⁶ into Pohnpeian for discussion and adaptation.
- Document Pohnpeian place names and associated traditions.
- Clarify requirements for the conduct of archeological research.
- Employ a systematic set of recommendations for the protection and use of historic and cultural resources for incorporation into the Historic Preservation Officer's computerized database, in decision-making about treatment of cultural resources.
- Develop or enhance systems to ensure that the effects of homesteading, hotel construction, road construction, erosion, and reuse of stone building materials on historic places are recognized and controlled.

Chúúk State, Federated States of Micronesia⁷

In Chúúk State, pilot studies in archeology and ethnography focused on the village of Pwené, on Tonowas (Dublon) Island (Map 8). This location was chosen because the Chúúk State Government is entertaining plans for state park development there. The Nangko peninsula, on which Pwené is situated, was heavily developed by Japan prior to and during World War II, when Tonowas was the administrative center of Japan's important naval base at Chúúk.

Archeological Survey in Pwené Village, Tonowas Island

John L. Craib conducted the archeological survey of Pwené village on Dublon Island in Chúúk and the archeological training for Chúúk Historic Preservation Office staff. The following discussion is based upon his report, *An Intensive Archeological Survey of Pwené Village, Dublon, Truk State, Federated States of Micronesia* (Craib 1990).

The archeological project on Pwené involved a field survey of some 250 acres, covering all of the major landforms — mountain summits, slopes, coastal flats, and reefs. Nearly all the forty archeo-

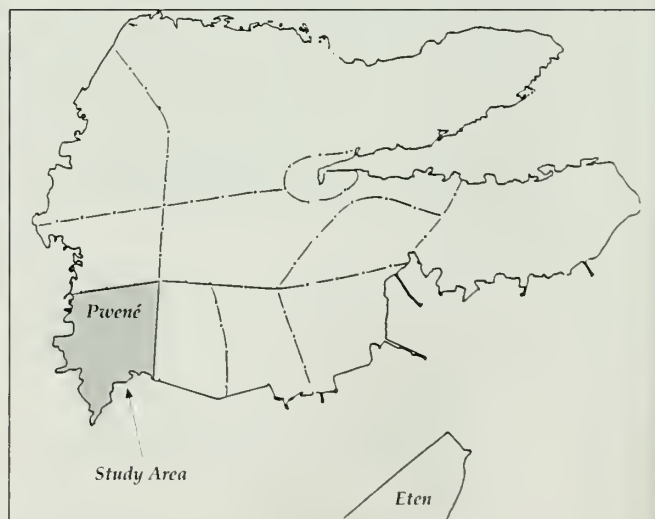


Coconut trees frame Mt. Tonomwáán above Pwené. (photograph by John Young, Nancy Rosenberger, and Joe Harding, 1989)

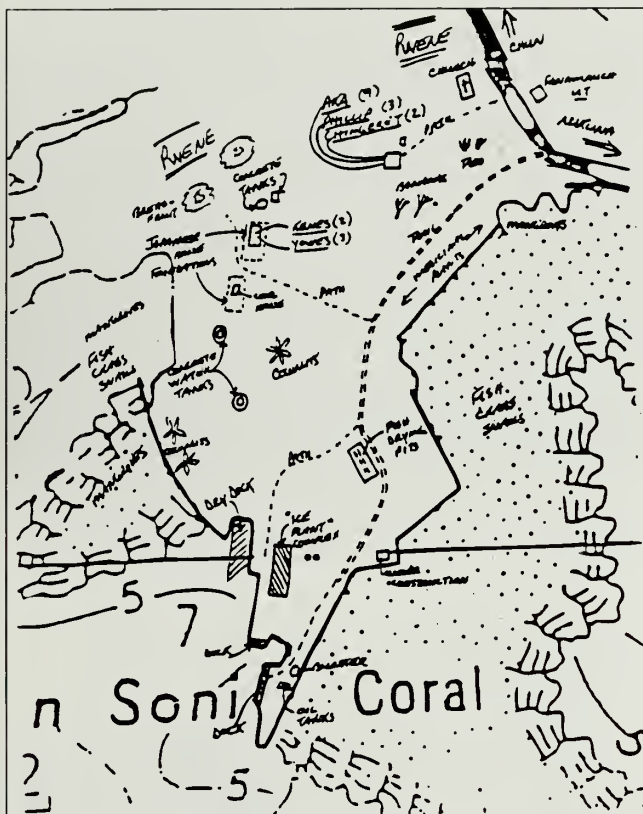
logical sites recorded had been constructed during the Japanese period (1914-1945), though a few rock walls found on the hill slopes may have been of pre-historic or early historic Chúúkese origin. The Japanese period sites were all found to be associated with a shipyard and fish processing plant that operated in Pwené. They included an ice-making plant, a fish processing plant, dry dock facility, searchlight tower, and gun emplacements. The ice-making plant was identified as having particular interest, with potential for use as a museum. Two sites were iden-



Meeting house, or wuut, at right, and dwelling, left, of Samuel Irons, paramount chief of Dublon, in Chun, bordering Pwené. Left to right are Rufus Sokios, who proposed a state park at Nanko, Kayo Noket of the Chúúk Historic Preservation Office, Innocente Oneisom, and an unidentified Chúúkese interpreter/onlooker. (photograph by John Young, Nancy Rosenberger, and Joe Harding, 1989)



Map 8. Tonowas Island Chúúk Lagoon.



Field notes of Pwené incorporating census information, references to Japanese-era activities, Japanese ruins, and other landmarks.

tified that figure in the cultural traditions of Pwené, through association with oral historical accounts about the origins of the village and its people. Neither of these sites contains evidence of human use or modification recognizable by non-Chúúkes, but that does not affect their significance to the people of the village. Several test pits were excavated on the shore, but yielded no cultural materials.

Training in Archeological Survey

The Chúúk Historic Preservation Office was in a period of transition during the archeological survey. The Acting Historic Preservation Officer participated in the survey as his schedule permitted. The field crew received on-the-job training. They learned how to identify sites from surface indicators, proper clearing, recording, mapping, and photographing, and subsurface testing techniques.

Ethnographic Survey

John A. Young, Nancy R. Rosenberger, and Joe R. Harding conducted ethnographic survey and training in Pwené village, Dublon Island, Chúúk. The following discussion is based on their report, *Micronesian Resources Study: Ethnography of Truk* (Young, Rosenberger and Harding 1990).

The ethnographic project in Pwené sought to record the traditional history of the village and to record traditional and contemporary systems of land use, resource use, and maintenance of social integration. This information was used to develop a preliminary list of cultural attributes that should be considered in planning decisions, and recommendations for a local consultation process to ensure that they are considered.

Significant cultural attributes included the following.

- The etereges and the éfékúr. The matrilineage (etereges) and lineages (éfékúr) related to the matrilineage through marriages of its women to men from other lineages constitute the fundamental structure of Chúúkes social organization.



Nancy Rosenberger takes notes on a wahsing and bathing pool just off the road approaching Chun. Nieitup, a female mountain spirit, stepped into this pool on the way from the ocean to her mountain habitat and made the water salty. (photograph by John Young, Nancy Rosenberger, and Joe Harding, 1989)



A bathing and washing place, or nenniyeen tuutu, in Pwené. The woman is using a stick to beat the dirt out of the clothes. (photograph by John Young, Nancy Rosenberger, and Joe Harding, 1989)

- Practices of land use and land tenure. These are extremely complex. The orderly passage of land title from one generation to another through the traditional system is fundamental to maintaining the integrity of Chuukese society.
- Associations with places that figure in tradition. Much of the traditional history of Chuuk is linked with places that appear in traditions or metaphors about the proper organization of society. These places may or may not show evidence of any sort of human activity, yet their protection is an important part of maintaining Chuukese culture.
- Itang. Itang is a secret language rich in metaphor that is used by specially trained practitioners to embody and impart knowledge of history, religion, crafts, proper use of natural resources, warfare, navigation, and life in general. Itang is one of Chuuk's most unique, centrally important, and fragile cultural attributes.
- Customary rituals. Customary rituals, such as the presentation of first fruits to the head of the village's highest ranking lineage when the breadfruit season begins, customs associated

with women's fishing, funeral taboos, prohibited foods, and the celebration of birth are all important in maintaining the basic character of Chuukese life.

- The village church. The church is an important center of community life and the point around which many social activities are organized.

Since the Chuukese government was considering developing a park in the village of Pwené, special attention was given to collecting information that might relate positively to park development. Those interviewed in the village were asked to rank a number of activities carried out on the land of the village along a scale ranging from very important to not important. The activities that were almost invariably identified as very important were the following.

- gathering firewood
- fishing on the reef
- gathering copra
- gathering breadfruit
- digging taro
- obtaining medicinal plants

In contrast, the activity "tourists relaxing and eating" was rated "not important" by the great majority of respondents. This suggests at least two things: that the local residents have not yet assimilated the idea of developing the area as a park, and that traditional uses of the land remain very important to them and need to be accommodated in park



Path through Nanko peninsula. Japanese shrine was located on the left of the largest palm tree. Fish drying racks are still present on the right side forward. In the background is Mt. Tonomwaan, "head of man." (photograph by John Young, Nancy Rosenberger, and Joe Harding, 1989)



A Chúiukese woman carries harvested wooden poles, an important resource in this area. (photograph by John Young, Nancy Rosenberger, and Joe Harding, 1989)

planning. Asked about what might be done to make the park a success, respondents identified the following activities as important.

- clearing vegetation so that people can see historic sites and structures
- having handicrafts available for tourists to buy
- having traditional foods, such as coconut, for tourists to buy
- having security for the protection of tourists, and,
- having security to prevent mischief and stealing.

More detailed interviews, with results broken down by age, sex, and other factors, produced a number of other recommendations relevant to park development, and identified specific resources (e.g., particular kinds of plants) that should be protected during such development.

Training in Ethnographic Survey

The ethnographic team provided training in planning and conducting ethnographic interviews to representatives of the Chúiuk Historic Preservation Office, the Micronesia Seminar (a local Catholic research and community service organization), and members of the Pwené community.

While this training was limited, the ethnographic team recommended that the Historic Preservation Officer establish and train a network of assistants in preparation for future development projects. During week-long training sessions, these assistants would learn about the goals of historic preservation and how to plan and conduct interviews. Interviews with people in the community would yield lists of places, plants, marine resources, and traditional beliefs and practices valued by the community. These lists, to be shared with the Historic Preservation Office, would provide important baseline information useful in planning projects.

Model Local Consultation Process

1. The Historic Preservation Officer must review proposals from individuals, private businesses, or government agencies for all projects that may impact cultural traditions and practices. Proposals must be detailed enough to allow the Historic Preservation Officer to identify the potential impact area and determine the type and scope of work needed to assess project impacts.
2. Permission for impact assessment must be requested from the island paramount chief and local elected officials (mayor, magis-



Ansa Philip, consultant to the ethnographic team in Chúiuk, holds an wunong, or feast bowl at Pwené. Bowls like this were used in the "first fruits" ceremonies in which tribute was paid to chiefs and clan leaders. (photograph by John Young, Nancy Rosenberger, and Joe Harding, 1989)



This Chuukese man points out nuk, a parasitic plant with a long, banana-like leaf. It is used to make an atuwtot preparation for treatment of spirit possession by land spirits. (photograph by John Young, Nancy Rosenberger, and Joe Harding, 1989)

trate, village chief) as appropriate.

Permission must also be sought from landowners either directly by the fieldworker, or through appropriate local officials.

3. Fieldwork should be supervised by trained individuals, and should include visiting important locations as part of the interview process. Systematic ethnographic inter-



A Chuukese girl examines a ladder leading into a Japanese bunker at Pwené near an old hearth, or fanang. (photograph by John Young, Nancy Rosenberger, and Joe Harding, 1989)

views should be conducted with open-ended questions, not leading questions. Chuukese rules of respect prohibit speaking out in front of those of higher status, so fieldworkers cannot rely on group meetings as a means to gather all information needed. Therefore a representative sample of all demographic categories—old and young, male and female, and important social categories should be interviewed.

4. The field team must send a full report to the Historic Preservation Officer who reviews it.
5. In addition to the technical report provided to the Historic Preservation Officer, contractors must be required to produce a "community report," in which all findings are presented in an easy-to-read, nontechnical manner. Two versions of this report, one in English and one in Chuukese, should be filed at the Historic Preservation Office. Copies must be given to the community, whose leaders then discuss its findings and recommendations.
6. Based on the Historic Preservation Officer's review and the conclusions of the affected community, the Historic Preservation Officer recommends appropriate actions regarding the project such as termination, proceed as planned, or proceed with modifications.
7. Information gained from historic preservation projects should be brought to the attention of the general public through the schools and local media.

Recommendations for the Protection and Use of Chuuk's Historic Properties and Cultural Traditions

Recommendations to Chuuk State resulting from the studies included the following.

- Establish a permanent, trained staff for the Chuuk Historic Preservation Office.
- Design the park to include the point of the Nanko peninsula, the harbor and dock area, and the ice plant. Re-use the historic ice plant as a museum, but with part of it left in its cur-



Rocklined underground pit (nenniyen épwét) used to preserve breadfruit. (photograph by John Young, Nancy Rosenberger, and Joe Harding, 1989)

rent bombed-out and overgrown condition. Use the park to interpret and assert the importance of traditional Chúúkese values and identity. Use the park's interpretive program to support, not compete with, the itang system of preserving and passing on important historical knowledge and skills. Ensure that the park coordinator is derived from a local kin group. Provide appropriate security for historic properties and exhibits in the park.

- Develop an oral history program to document life in Chúúk during the Japanese occupation. Information gained could be used to interpret the park at Nanko and in other areas of Chúúk influenced by the Japanese occupation.
- Coordinate development projects to minimize land disputes, destruction of valued resources, and social impacts. Conduct sociocultural impact studies prior to development projects.
- Prohibit relic collecting. Establish systems for dealing with artifact discoveries and discoveries of human remains.
- Provide protection to sites traditionally associated with spirits, and to culturally important plants.
- Implement a tourist management plan that minimizes the social impacts of increased

tourism on the people of Tonowas and its cultural resources.

- Establish a program to educate the public about the importance of preserving Chúúk's natural and cultural resources.

Chúúk's Underwater Museum — The Sunken Japanese Ships

In addition to the standard pilot projects in archeology and ethnography, a special project was undertaken in Chúúk to document the "underwater fleet," a resource of great interest to historians, archeologists, recreational divers, and marine biologists alike. The underwater fleet project resulted in a detailed report on the fleet's history, *Truk's Underwater Museum — A Report on the Sunken Japanese Ships* (Hezel and Graham, 1989), a map of wreck locations (Map 9), extensive photographic documentation, and an edited 30-minute videotape, *"Truk Lagoon: Underwater Museum"* (Graham 1990).

The "underwater museum" is made up of the flotilla of Japanese merchantmen and warships sent



Map 9. Truk Lagoon, map of known shipwrecks.



Japanese communication headquarters, heavily reinforced, near a cement airfield and currently occupied by a Chuukese family. (photograph by John Young, Nancy Rosenberger, and Joe Harding, 1989)

to the bottom of Chuuk Lagoon by Allied bombing raids during World War II, particularly two carrier-based air assaults during the early months of 1944. For 25 years the sunken fleet lay undisturbed while a myriad of lifeforms attached themselves to the ships making an undersea garden of undescrivable beauty. However, the last two decades have brought divers from around the world to visit this world-class diving site.

Increasing tourism is an economic development goal in all of the Federated States of Micronesia, and the sunken fleet is the most spectacular tourist attraction in Chuuk. Interest in the fleet supports several local dive companies and brings tourist dollars to hotels and restaurants. However, the fleet is a victim of the acclaim it has received and this valuable resource is rapidly being destroyed.

At the same time that the fleet was discovered by tourists, Chuukese fisherman also discovered that the fleet held a lucrative resource for them. The ordinance in the shells and mines on the ships is taken to be made into charges for dynamiting fish, which, while illegal, is practiced regularly.

Damage to the Sunken Ships

Some damage to the ships has been caused by natural forces—rot, rust, decay from the sea environment—and by typhoons that wreak havoc in the Chuuk's lagoon as well as her islands. However, most of the damage is done by careless and

unscrupulous divers. Examples of such damage to the underwater fleet include the following.

- Boat anchors have destroyed the smokestack of the *Fujikawa Maru*, the mast of the *Fujikawa*, and most likely, the bridge of the *Fumitsuki*.
- Dynamiting in the vicinity of the *Fujikawa Maru* caused the collapse of her forward mast, bowgun turret, and bulkheads below the bowgun turret.
- The mast of the *Sankisan* was clipped off when struck by a large boat approaching to photograph it.
- Looters have removed many of the most striking objects on the ships — ship's wheels, brass lanterns, porcelain serving platters, crystal glasses, silverware, cooking pots, machine guns, deer antlers, and hundreds of other items.
- Dynamiters have taken 30-50 6 inch shells from the *Fujikawa* and the all the mines from the *Nippo*.

"Chuuk's Underwater Museum" — An Educational Videotape

The videotape project was conducted by a team of divers and historians dedicated to the protection of the sunken fleet. While many films have been made of the fleet, this project was specifically designed to document the damage suffered by the fleet during the last 20 years—damage that is increasing at an alarming rate. The goal of the project is to educate the people of Chuuk and foreign divers of the importance of the sunken fleet, how the fleet is being destroyed by carelessness, looting and vandalism, and how they can help protect it.

Legislative Protection for the Sunken Ships

The Chuuk legislature enacted a law in 1971 designating all the Japanese ships and other objects sunk within the lagoon as a district (now State) monument. The law was amended in 1974 to include all offshore wrecks lying below the high water mark as part of the monument. In 1980, the law was further amended to require that all divers be accompanied by a licensed dive guide.⁸ However, for a

variety of reasons, this legislation has been difficult to enforce.

Recommendations for Protecting the Sunken Ships

- The Chúiuk State government should vest authority in a single agency for enforcing legislation protecting the wrecks.
- The designated agency should provide training for its personnel in diving safety procedures, shipwreck legislation, and conservation concerns. This could be done with present local resources.
- Once regular surveillance is established, buoys should be set up over the wrecks, and, because this is tourism-related, funds from development money available under the Compact of Free Association should be used to maintain them. This will allow boats to tie up to the buoys rather than drop anchor over the wrecks.
- Renew efforts to police the lagoon in search of dynamiters.
- Prepare a brochure for divers to introduce the shipwrecks and laws for their protection. This could be done by the Chúiuk Visitors Bureau with the assistance of local dive guides.
- Create a display on the Underwater Museum at the airport emphasizing the historical significance of the fleet.
- Educate the people of Chúiuk regarding the value of the underwater fleet and what they can do to protect it. Radio programs and a videotape in the Chúiukese language would be good educational tools.

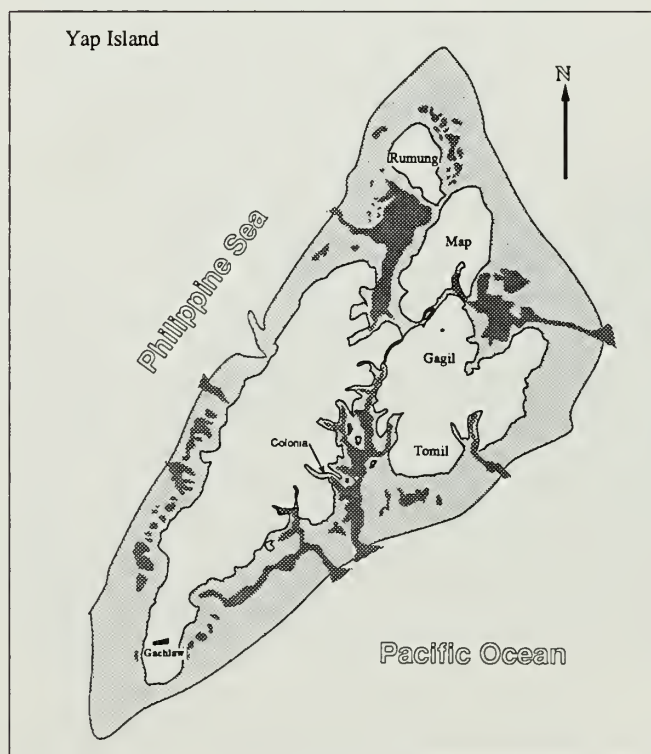
Yap State, Federated States of Micronesia

In Yap (Map 10), archeological work was carried out in the previously unresearched area of Yap Proper (the main island of Yap, excluding the outer islands that are part of Yap State). Ethnographic survey and analysis was conducted in ten villages on Yap Proper overseen by a previously existing local

group, the Yap Cultural Inventory Group, organized to identify cultural changes in Yap and evaluate how Yapese traditions are being affected by such changes.

Archeological Survey

In Yap State, the archeological study was conducted by William H. Adams, Sarah K. Campbell, and Richard E. Ross. The following summary is based on their report, *Archaeological Survey of Gachlaw Village, Gilmon Municipality, Yap, Federated States of Micronesia* (Adams, Campbell, and Ross, 1990). The archeological survey was designed to locate and map sites in an area known as the Southern Plateau. The survey concentrated on the traditionally low-ranking village of Gachlaw. Since most archeological work had focused on high or middle caste villages on the coastal margin, the pilot study was designed to provide baseline archeological data on a previously unresearched social caste located inland from the sea. Because of its small size, Gachlaw seemed well suited as a training site and a



Map 10. Yap Island, Federated States of Micronesia.



Tomil Pebai. This is a traditional structure called a pebai, built with non-traditional materials. The walls are of concrete block, the floor concrete. The Yap Cultral Inventory Group found that the structure itself has no traditional importance to Yapese. Non-Yapese may find it surprising that the Yap Cultural Inventory Group found that the site of this pebai, a stone platform lined with Yapese rhuul or "money" is of no traditional importance to Yapese. (photograph, Yap Culture Inventory Group, 1989)

location in which to establish field methods and recording systems for a specific type of terrain.

The archeological study was carried out in close cooperation with the residents of the village, who still live in the vicinity though not on the original village site. Systematic archeological survey was combined with on-site consultation with and participation by the residents. The result was a rich portrait of the village's traditional history as well as its archeological resources.

Preliminary oral historical research indicated the presence of only seven houses. However, after the heavy brush was cleared, at least 35 house platforms were revealed. These were mapped as part of the project, and many were linked through oral history to present-day families.

Forty-one separate sites were recorded, made up of historic house platforms, a meeting house ruin, the remains of a men's house, a resting area, and a cemetery. The village had been significantly impacted by Japanese military development during World War II, and the survey recorded evidence of bunkers, tunnels, defensive positions, and evidence of Japanese occupation of houses in the village. No test pits were excavated.

Threats to Archeological Properties

Interestingly, the surveyors also stumbled upon evidence of recent, but unreported, archeological excavations. Local residents said these had been done by a Japanese archeologist, but the Historic Preservation Officer had no record that a research permit had been applied for to do the work. The survey also revealed evidence that both Yap State agencies and U.S. military Civic Action Teams are doing construction work that could damage historic properties, without prior identification of such properties and without taking steps for their protection.

Archeological Training

Andrew Figirmad, on the staff of the Yap Historic Preservation Office received training in archeological survey methods, recording and mapping.

Documenting Yap's Cultural Traditions

The ethnographic component of the Yap project was conceived by the Yap Cultural Inventory Group (YCIG), a nonprofit Yapese organization made up of teachers, local scholars, and government officials. The following summary is based upon their report, *Report on the Yap Cultural Inventory Project, Micronesian Resources Study* (Yap Cultural Inventory Group 1990).⁹ The purpose of the YCIG is to study cultural change on Yap. It developed as an organization from a discussion group formed in 1987 following a conference sponsored by the Micronesian Seminar, a Catholic research and community service organization. The group knew that some of these changes are apparent and are recognized by the Yapese people. But the group also thought that other changes are less apparent and are happening unconsciously—without the Yapese people's understanding them or their potential effects on their culture.

The discussion group, and later the YCIG, sought to increase the ability of the Yapese people, and their traditional Councils and government, to control cultural change. They sought to identify changes in key cultural attributes, and then to communicate their findings and recommendations to appropriate officials. The Micronesian Resources Study provided the YCIG with the opportunity to



A men's house in the village of Adubwee, Weloy municipality. This structure is the pride of the village. It is built entirely of traditional materials on a stone platform at a site with great traditional significance. Yapese value the "sense of oneness with the environment" that this highly developed form of architecture conveys. (photograph, Yap Culture Inventory Group, 1989)

begin this effort on Yap Proper, the three high islands of Yap. The YCIG hopes to continue its efforts in the future both on Yap Proper and in the outer islands.

The pilot project had four goals: preparing an inventory of significant cultural attributes, training Historic Preservation Office staff, creating a model local consultation process to be used when traditional cultural attributes are threatened, and providing recommendations for the use and protection of cultural resources.

The ethnographic study was based largely on interviews with a non-random sample of individuals chosen from different parts of Yap, representing various age groups and both sexes, and derived from low and high castes. Participants were asked what they thought about topics like the following within the context of changing times.

- Dance
- Traditional clothing
- Yapese money
- Canoes
- Reef ownership
- Sacred/Contamination ideology

- Teaching traditional skills
- Traditional calendar
- Communications channels
- Betelnut chewing
- General feelings about cultural change

Training in Ethnographic Survey

The ethnographic survey provided training opportunities for the Historic Preservation Office and the Yapese field researchers in interviewing techniques, data gathering, photographic documentation, and data collection management. This core of trained Yapese field researchers is a foundation for the continued study of cultural change in Yap by Yapese.

Model Local Consultation Process

The YCIG developed a model consultation process to ensure that those to be affected by a development project will be given the opportunity to voice their concerns while proposed projects are in the early planning phases. The YCIG recommends that through the consultation process:

...affected individuals have some say in what happens to them, their island, and their



These young men are performing a traditional men's line dance at the opening of the Yap Garment factory. The factory and its employees are of foreign origin. To the Yap Cultural Inventory Group, this seemed a somewhat inappropriate context for traditional dress and ceremony. (photograph, Yap Culture Inventory Group, 1989)



A traditional dance floor in Balabat village, Rull municipality. It is now paved and part of Yap's system of roads. The Yap Culture and Inventory Group reports, "It has lost its importance as a dancing ground and is becoming (part of) the super-highway of Balabat, Rull." (photograph, Yap Culture Inventory Group, 1989)

culture; the developer is given the chance to gauge what the public's reaction will be, and to preview possible problems before making large financial investments (Yap Cultural Inventory Group 1990: 10).

The YCIG recommended that the local consultation process be administered by the Yap State Office of Planning under the authority of the Governor of Yap State. The local consultation process would be triggered by any proposal that would do any of the following.

- Employ more than 10 persons who are not Federated States of Micronesia citizens who will reside on Yap Proper for more than 30 days.
- Provide more than 10 new jobs on Yap Proper.
- Use one-half acre or more of private or government land.
- Create smells, noises, or sights that will have a significant impact on its neighbors, including blocking their view.
- Significantly impact commonly used environments, such as reef, streams, and groundwater.

- Expend more than \$50,000.
- Encourage an increase in non-Yapese visitors to any area of the island, reef, or ocean (YCIG 1990:10).

The local consultation process describes how to identify groups and individuals who should be consulted, including groups associated with the landholder, the traditional chiefs, and the government. Guidelines are provided for culturally sensitive consultation with Yapese people and for settling disputes.

Recommendations for the Protection and Use of Yap's Historic Properties and Cultural Traditions

Recommendations to the Yap State Government resulting from the archeological and ethnographic studies included the following.

- Retain the traditional system of landownership, which tends to preserve the land and its resources from hasty development.
- Ensure that archeologists and other researchers are governed by research permits.
- Copy and file unpublished reports of archeological and other studies for future reference.
- Obtain copies of World War II intelligence documents and photographs as part of the database.



This dancing ground in Gall village in Konifay municipality is still used today. It retains its significance to the villagers. (photograph, Yap Culture Inventory Group, 1989)



The Yap Culture and Inventory Group chose this photograph to illustrate visually the contrasts between the old and new ways of thinking and values. In the background is an 18-foot fiberglass boat; in the foreground a two-man paddling canoe used today within the lagoon of Yap Proper. (photograph, Yap Culture Inventory Group, 1989)

- Develop a mechanism within the State government to notify the Historic Preservation Office of actions that might affect historic places, so that something can be done to minimize damage.
- Encourage the practice of traditional dance.
- Encourage the production and wearing of traditional attire, particularly on special occasions.
- Provide incentives for the construction of traditional buildings, including an apprenticeship program.
- Undertake a systematic survey of stone structures.
- Establish a registry of stone money.
- Provide incentives for the construction and use of traditional canoes.
- Encourage a revival of traditional pottery making.
- Revive a food market to encourage people to grow and consume traditional foods.
- Create a fishing rights committee in each municipality to coordinate actions designed to protect marine resources of traditional importance from over-fishing and other misuse.

- Teach school children and others about traditional ranking systems, even though some traditions of ranking may be inconsistent with contemporary values.
- Encourage reasoned decisions about which such traditions should be retained, and at least ensure that knowledge of such traditions is not lost.
- Take action to encourage limiting family size, and to otherwise support families, in the face of breakdown in traditional family organization and traditional controls over sexual activity.
- Expand education about Yapese culture and tradition in the schools; translate anthropological documents into Yapese.
- Take steps to protect grave sites and the sanctity of funerals.
- Identify and protect important traditional religious sites.
- Promote open discussion of the benefits and risks of traditional Yapese medicine vis-a-vis western medical practices, to encourage mutually supportive work that will promote the proper use of medicine, whether modern or traditional.

Republic of Palau

In the Republic of Palau (Map 11), field research by the archeological team and project ethnographer was conducted in two previously unresearched States on Babeldaob Island, Ngatpang and Ngeremlengui. Other project activities were conducted on a Palau national level.

Archeological Survey in Ngatpang and Ngeremlengui States on Babeldaob Island

The archeological component of the Micronesian Resources Study was conducted by Dr. David Snyder and Dr. Brian M. Butler from the Center for Archaeological Investigations, Southern Illinois University at Carbondale. The following summary is based on their report, *Archaeology and Historic Preservation in Palau: The Micronesian Resources Study Project* (Snyder and Butler 1990).



Map 11. Republic of Palau.

The archeological pilot study had three goals. The primary goal was to compile in Palau's portion of the Micronesian Resources Study database standardized information on all recorded historic and prehistoric archeological sites. The second goal was to develop guidelines and recommendations to help the Historic Preservation Officer make informed decisions about cultural resources. The third goal was to conduct limited field survey in the States of Ngatpang and Ngeremlengui.

Palau's Archeological Database

Approximately 780 archeological sites were entered in the database, providing a rich body of information for use in planning and research alike.

The archeological team provided comments on the database system and identified some difficulties in its use.

Archeological Survey in Ngatpang and Ngeremlengui States

Field survey in Ngatpang focused on Ngimis village, sometimes referred to as Old Ngatpang. Three major research concerns served to integrate the goals of the archeological project with the field survey: (1) settlement pattern in traditional villages, many of which were abandoned during the depopulation of the 19th century; (2) age and functional nature of Palau's terrace systems; and, (3) search for rare, stratified, and datable archeological sites.

Previous ethnographic and archeological research had identified Ngimis village as an area of high archeological potential, but no modern systematic survey had previously been done in the vicinity. In order to be as thorough as possible, intentional efforts were made throughout the survey to investigate areas where sites were not known to local residents and where soil conditions and terrain were such that sites were not expected. The survey documented twelve prehistoric and historic sites in Ngimis, and fourteen in other Ngatpang villages. Site types recorded included traditional villages, terraced hills (a distinctive and rather enigmatic feature of the prehistoric Palauan landscape), taro swamp gardens, and Japanese period sites, including a pineapple plantation and World War II fortifications.

Oral historical data was collected on most of the sites recorded. Information linking traditional village sites with local traditions and historical and mythical events was recorded wherever possible.

In Ngeremlengui, the survey emphasized Ngermeskang Village, where eleven sites were identified. Thirty-five other historic and prehistoric sites were recorded elsewhere in the State. Prehistoric terraces are particularly widespread in and around Ngermeskang.

Training in Archeological Survey

The archeological team spent more than 60 hours in training sessions and meetings with the staff of the Division of Cultural Affairs.

Recommendations for the Protection and Use of Palau's Historic Properties

The guidelines developed for the Historic Preservation Office provide guidance in using the database, evaluating the significance of archeological sites, consulting with local people about the treatment of such sites and other resources, and integrating consideration of archeological sites into project planning processes. The guidelines also include an overview of Palauan prehistory and history that helps put archeological sites in historic context. Finally, they provide detailed recommendations for each of Palau's 16 States, in each case briefly describing what is known about the State's cultural resources and recommending how incomplete information can be supplemented and how known and likely resources can be managed.

Documenting Palau's Cultural Traditions

The ethnographic component of the Palau pilot study also had three goals. The first was to translate into English the first volume of a study of Palau's history and culture written by Palau's National Treasures, a group of historians selected by their States and sanctioned by the Republic's President to record rapidly disappearing cultural knowledge.

DeVerne Reed Smith produced the translation, and the summary below is based on her report, *Rechoudel* (Society of Historians 1990). The second goal was to conduct original research to identify tangible and intangible cultural resources types in Ngatpang and Ngeremlengui. The third goal was to draft a local consultation process. Ethnographic research and the local consultation process were prepared by DeVerne Reed Smith and the summary below is based on her report, *Recommendations for the Preservation of Historic and Cultural Resources in Palau* (Smith 1990).



Walter R. Metes, staff of the Palau National Register, Division of Cultural Affairs, monitors construction at the Micronesian Occupational College in Koror. Monitoring of construction is an important activity of the Palau Historic Preservation Office. (photograph by Brian Butler and David Snyder, 1989)

Traditional Principles and Laws of Palau—Volume One

The translation element of the project produced a 75-page manuscript that discusses such topics as the following.

- how individuals are appointed to titled positions in Palau's hierarchical society
- how the government was traditionally organized
- traditional criminal law
- traditional laws governing marriage
- traditional death and funeral practices
- traditional means of settling estates
- the art of wood carving
- traditional medicine and therapy



Brian Butler trains Palau Historic Preservation Staff in the use of the SGS map coordinate system. Left to right are Antonio Kloulechad, Walter R. Metes, Brian M. Butler, Dave Orak, and Kautechang V. Aiyoik. (photograph by Brian Butler and David Snyder, 1989)

- traditional religion
- traditional systems of education
- stories with moral lessons

This volume describes, probably for the first time in writing by Palauans, many of the cultural concepts around which Palauan society is organized.

The book represents the consensus of elders representing all the States in Palau in the 1980s.

Establish Cultural Typology for Planning

Based on the translation, background research, and fieldwork, a detailed typology of tangible and intangible cultural resources was developed, suitable for incorporation into the database. Thirty-four broad classes of resources were defined, ranging from place names to exchange principles, from architecture and

stonework to types of food, from parenthood to systems of knowledge. Within each class a number of more specific resource types were grouped, and details were provided on as many as time and funding allowed. For example, within the general category "Systems of Knowledge," the following more specific types of knowledge were defined:

- Palauan calendar/seasons
- astronomy/navigation
- Palauan systems of counting
- units of measure
- Kelulau (the Whispered Policies and Principles)

- specialists
- stories and legends
- traditional education

Within this category, information could be entered into the database in the time available for the work only on the calendar and seasons, specialists, and stories and legends.

The ethnographer outlined a pilot project that shows how Palauans can use the typology as a research tool to learn the history of their communities.

Recommendations for the Protection and Use of Palau's Cultural Resources

Recommendations to the government of the Republic of Palau resulting from the Study included the following.

- Establish systems to ensure that research dealing with cultural resources is done in a culturally sensitive manner.
- Undertake an ongoing national research project to gain an improved understanding of Palau's cultural resources and to disseminate that understanding to the people.
- Ensure that appropriate surveys are done during the early stages of development planning to identify cultural resources that may be affected.
- Establish well-understood standards for different kinds and levels of cultural resource survey.
- Establish preservation planning and protective systems at the national and State levels.
- Make effective use of the database early in planning any project.
- Be alert to the indirect impacts of development, as well as to direct impacts.
- Create staff positions in the Division of Cultural Affairs for a professionally trained ethnographer and assistant ethnographers.
- Integrate the collection of oral histories with the on-going archeological survey program. Train individuals in each of the States to devel-



John Tamangrow, Mers Rebluud, Calabam Rebluud, and Techidong Rebluud map the stone features of the Ngimis Village site. (photograph by Brian Butler and David Snyder, 1989)

- Improve communication between the Division of Cultural Affairs national office and the cultural committees in the States.
- Establish on-going cultural heritage programs in each of the States.
- Strengthen and broaden the oral history program, beginning with those over eighty or eighty-five years of age, as the knowledge they have of traditional times, the Japanese period, World War II and more recent changes, is irreplaceable.

Endnotes

- ¹ Federated States of Micronesia Public Law 1-48 of 1979 was incorporated into the Federated States of Micronesia (26 FSMC Sections 101-402) and provides for the preservation of cultures, customs, traditions, and historic places within the Federated States of Micronesia.
- ² Not to be confused with Leluh, the ancient capital of Kosrae, whose ruins lie on an artificial islet within the modern capital area, and which have been developed to some extent as an interpretive area.
- ³ Kosrae State Code, Title 14
- ⁴ A separate ethnographic project was planned and begun by Project Director, Michael J. Evans. Dr. Evans worked with local experts to identify fish and plant resources important to the people of Salapwuk. Complications with other aspects of the Study prevented Dr. Evans from completing the ethnographic project on Pohnpei. A preliminary report on his research, *The Pohnpei Ethnography Project* (Evans 1990b), is available from the Pohnpei Historic Preservation Office.
- ⁵ At the time of this research, Dr. Mauricio was a Ph.D. candidate at the University of Oregon. He received his doctorate in July, 1993.
- ⁶ Patricia L. Parker and Thomas F. King, *National Register Bulletin* 38, "Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Traditional Cultural Properties," National Park Service, 1990.
- ⁷ In 1990, the state of Truk officially changed its name to Chúiúk, the traditional name for the island group meaning "mountain" after Chúiúk's high volcanic islands. "Truk" was a 19th century German rendition of *Chúiúk*.
- ⁸ Truk District Law No. 21-5 designated "all the Japanese ships and other objects sunk within Truk Lagoon as the Truk Lagoon District Moument." Permits were required in order to dive on the wrecks, and penalties of up to \$1,000 and/or 6 months in jail were authorized for those who, without proper permission, "remove, appropriate, damage, or destroy the wrecks or any object on them."
- ⁹ Elizabeth Bury served as the Yap Culture and Inventory Group (YCIG) Field Research Director with supervision from Andrew Kugfas, Yap Historic Preservation Officer and the YCIG. After Ms. Bury's departure from Yap, Project Director Michael J. Evans conducted further analysis on her data and drafted the final report in consultation with the YCIG.



The Micronesia Resources Study video team members Bruce Dalusio and Kerrik Benjamin are shown stone money in Yap by Yap Historic Preservation Officer, Andrew Kufas. (photograph by Allan Burns, 1989)

PART 4

RESULTS OF THE STUDY—THE PRESERVATION VIDEO- TAPE PRESENTATION



As the Micronesian Resources Study progressed, it became clear that throughout Micronesia public appreciation for cultural resources was a key to their successful identification and management. At the same time, the need was apparent to help outside parties, including non-Micronesian government decision-makers and business leaders, better understand the resources that their political, economic, and even recreational decisions might affect.

A videotape on Micronesian cultural resources and the importance of preserving them was made to meet this need. The video presentation, "*Yesterday and Tomorrow: Historic Preservation in Micronesia*," was produced by Dr. Allan Burns and Bruce Dalusio from the University of Florida. This summary is based on Dr. Burns' report, *Yesterday and Tomorrow: Historic Preservation in Micronesia* (Burns 1990d). Burns and Dalusio were assisted by two staff members from the Kosrae Historic Preservation Office who had participated in the successful ethnographic video project in 1989 (see above). Mr. Kemwel Tilfas and Kerick Benjamin served as part of the ethnographic video team in the four States of Micronesia (Yap, Kosrae, Chuuk, and Pohnpei) and in the Republic of Palau and the Republic of the Marshall Islands.

The video program begins with a montage of scenes from the sites where videotaping was done. After an introduction to the idea of protecting his-

toric places and cultural traditions, the program moves to each of the six locations where the Micronesian Historic Preservation Officers and other members of the community present key preservation issues that they face. *Yesterday and Tomorrow: Historic Preservation in Micronesia* is available from the Micronesian Endowment for Historic Preservation.



Kemwel Tilfas edits a videotape presentation "*Yesterday and Tomorrow: Historic Preservation in Micronesia*" at the Kosrae Museum of History and Culture. (photograph by Allan Burns, 1989)



Roofing thatch-making contest, Liberation days in Kosrae. Kosraeans promote and maintain a wide variety of cultural traditions during this annual celebration. (photograph by Allan Burns, 1989)

PART

5

Results of the Study — The Model Local Consultation Processes



Although many of Micronesia's historic resources are important to international scholarship or remind us of events significant to the entire world, most are of greatest value to the people of Micronesia themselves.

To identify, evaluate, and manage such resources the people who value them must be consulted. For this reason, a major component of the Micronesian Resources Study was the development of local consultation processes. Consultation systems must be sensitive to the cultural values of the people consulted, and be consistent with their decision-making mechanisms. Standard procedures employed in the United States to provide public participation in decision-making, such as formal public hearings, may be entirely ineffective and inappropriate in a Micronesian village. To ensure that the consultation processes developed were as appropriate as possible for each island group, cultural anthropologists developed model processes in consultation with local people, as part of the ethnographic pilot project in each island group.

Model Local Consultation Processes in the Republic of the Marshall Islands

In the Marshall Islands, an important distinction between sacred and secular properties had to be recognized in designing a local consultation process. Tabu areas, burial places, and places associated with spirits are viewed as having supernatural power that

can be damaging to an individual or the community if not respected. Knowledge of such places rests with lineage heads responsible for the lands on which they lie, so it is vital that such individuals be consulted when planning any action that might affect such places. Secular historic properties, on the other hand, such as World War II properties and some archeological sites, may not be viewed by local people as having cultural value at all, so if these are to be considered in planning, the government must employ an outside perspective rather than relying on local people to identify them and advise about their treatment. Both kinds of resources are worthy of consideration: the sacred because of the power and importance that local people believe them to have, the secular because of their contemporary importance to scholarship and tourism and their potential value to future generations of Marshallese.

Another important factor in designing a local consultation process in the Marshall Islands is the division of political authority on each island between traditional lineage heads and the Local Government Councils established under the Trust Territory Government in the 1960s. The Local Government Councils are still developing as political institutions, with rather uncertain authority, particularly in matters regarding land, while the traditional system vests major authority in lineage heads for land-management matters. The national government itself is becoming steadily more influential in local decision-making as well.



Sahwartik Falls drop into the Sahwar gorge dug by the legendary brothers Mwohnmwur and Sarapwahu. (photograph by William Ayres and Rufino Mauricio, 1989)

Taking these factors into account, the local consultation process designed for the Republic of the Marshall Islands envisions the National Historic Preservation Office providing guidance and aid to local traditional authorities in the management of cultural resources. The Historic Preservation Office will also facilitate review of actions that might affect such resources. The Historic Preservation Officer would first consult with traditional authorities to identify and evaluate potentially affected resources. The traditional authorities would then consult with potentially affect-

ed property owners, possibly with Historic Preservation Office participation, and would notify the Local Government Council. Further meetings would then be held as needed among traditional leaders, the Local Government Council, the Historic Preservation Office, and the public until consensus is reached or until it became clear that agreement could not be achieved. In the latter case the matter would be resolved and a final decision made in accordance with whatever national administrative process governed the proposed action. Where other national government agencies are involved, the process provides for their participation as well.

Recommendations are included for specific culturally sensitive means of consultation, systems for handling situations where responsible leaders cannot easily be brought together for meetings, and meth-

ods of record-keeping. Generally speaking, the local consultation process focusses on local traditional leaders, Local Government Councils, landowners, the Historic Preservation Office, and other involved agencies. It also allows for special situations in which others would have to be brought into the process. These situations include those where the resources involved are not perceived locally as being important, as with many World War II resources, those in which the resource is owned by a church or a similar institution, and those in which the resource is important to a minority group.

Finally, the consultation process recognizes that not all activities damaging to cultural resources are clearly subject to national government review. It also recognizes that activities legally subject to review are not necessarily reported to relevant authorities. An avenue of complaint for concerned local people widely disseminated through the education system, is recommended. Such a mechanism would make it possible for those concerned with the preservation of Marshallese culture to monitor decision-makers and ensure that potentially damaging actions are brought into the consultation process.

Model Local Consultation Processes in the Federated States of Micronesia

Kosrae

On Kosrae, the local consultation process builds on existing procedure for the preparation and review of archeological impact statements. Two somewhat different procedures are proposed: one dealing with minor activities, the other for major projects. Both procedures are to be administered by the Kosrae Museum of History and Culture. The first procedure involves a verbal review of proposed activities, through consultation among project proponents, Museum staff, and local resource people. It is designed for use when, for example, a new community or school program is being developed that promotes traditional Kosraean culture. The second, more systematic, procedure involves preparation of "cultural impact statements" whenever activities are planned that can affect such resources as fishing grounds, farming areas, villages, ruins, sacred loca-

tions, and traditional places, or that can affect the practice of culture itself, for example through school curricula.

It is recommended that the Kosrae Museum identify local experts in thirteen different fields, ranging from ecology and economy as traditionally defined, to health and expressive culture. These local experts are to be key participants in the consultation process. When a minor project needs to be reviewed, the proponent agency staff is to discuss it with museum staff. The museum staff in turn consult relevant local experts and provide a brief report with recommendations to the proponent agency. For an activity requiring a cultural impact statement, the proponent agency would provide the Museum a description of the proposed activity and its justification. The Museum would use this material in consultation with local experts. The Museum would also review its own database, meet with appropriate parties, and conduct fieldwork as needed, leading to preparation of a report with detailed recommendations. The Museum would then negotiate with the proponent agency to seek agreement on a course of action. If agreement is not forthcoming, arbitration would be provided at a higher governmental level.

Pohnpei

On Pohnpei, the failure to complete the ethnographic pilot project resulted in a failure to develop recommendations for a local consultation process. Those responsible for the archeological project, however, did develop recommendations, based on their own consultation with local people, that can be used to develop such a process. The archeologists recommended that a number of concepts in the historic preservation laws of Pohnpei and the Federated States be explained to local people. To assist in such explanation, they suggested that portions of a recent National Park Service publication dealing with "traditional cultural properties"¹ be translated into Pohnpeian. They stressed the critical importance of addressing oral tradition, social organization, arts, technology, subsistence, and belief systems as cultural resources which are owned by individuals, groups, and communities.

They proposed that traditional Pohnpeian understanding of ownership be studied in greater detail. Traditional forms of ownership, and of decision-making about property and other resources, may provide some of the best available protection for cultural resources, provided those with authority over decision-making fully understand their options when confronted with an opportunity to develop land, embrace or reject a cultural change, or otherwise deal with an action that may affect cultural resources.

The Pohnpei Historic Preservation Office can play an important role in interaction with traditional landowners and decision-makers, somewhat like the one assigned the Historic Preservation Office in the Marshall Islands and the Museum on Kosrae.

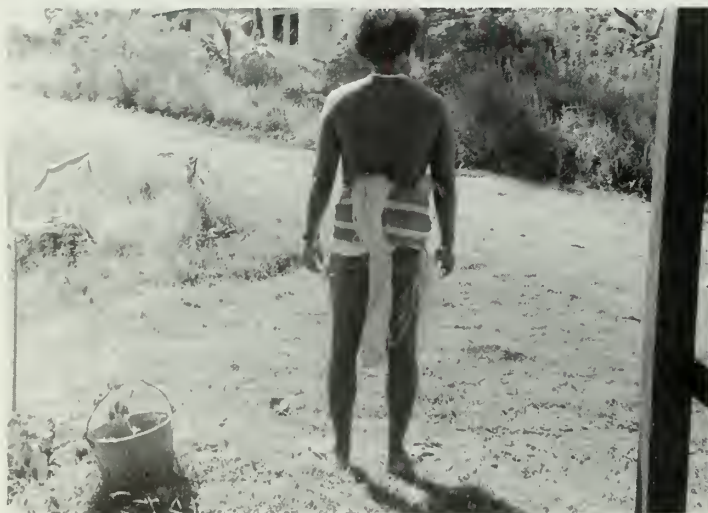
The review process undertaken by the archeological pilot project itself may provide a good model for a local consultation process. A wide range of national, State, and local officials were consulted in planning the project, and consultation occurred on a daily basis with landowners and residents. The study illustrated the importance of ongoing consultation during the planning of any project that may affect cultural resources.



Thúukese children gather sticks for firewood. (photograph by John Young, Nancy Rosenberger, and Joe Harding, 1989)

In Salapwuk, where much of the archaeological resources are considered sacred and taboo by the community members, community decisions about the...handling of such resources can easily change overnight. When community crises such as death, injury, flooding, or other misfortunes coincidentally occurred during the examination and recording of sacred sites, our group immediately became the potential culprit. We did encounter several situations where our research was blamed for community crises. Mainly for this reason, the constant permission consultation was necessary to ensure a good working relationship between us and the community. (Ayres and Mauricio 1990: 110)

What applies to an archeological survey applies at least as well to construction of a road, development of a new agricultural program, building a hotel, or changing a school curriculum. A definite system for orderly, ongoing, local consultation is needed on Pohnpei, but the Study was only able to define what some components of such a system might be. Much more work is needed to establish the system itself.



This young Yapese man conveys a sense of confidence and firm sense of identity. (photograph, Yap Culture and Inventory Group, 1989)

Chúúk

The local consultation process developed in Chúúk is based on the premise that historic preservation procedures must be consistent with traditional ways of preserving cultural resources, such as the passage of traditional knowledge from elder cultural practitioners (itang) to apprentices, and the curation of valued artifacts in the home. The first step in the process would be for the proponent of an action that has the potential to affect cultural resources to submit a proposal to the Historic Preservation Office. The Historic Preservation Office would ensure its completeness and then develop a scope of work for identification of cultural resources and consultation about how to address them. Those responsible for conducting this work, usually government agency staff or contractors in cooperation with the Historic Preservation Office, would then seek permission from both the relevant island paramount chief and the elected magistrate to carry out the needed studies and consultations.

Once this permission is granted, the potentially affected community would be approached through its leadership, recognizing that the real leadership of a given community may or may not be its officially appointed chief. The actual fieldwork needed would vary depending on the scope of the action being reviewed and its likely impacts. It would be especially important to ensure that representatives of all relevant demographic categories be interviewed. Chúúk's matrilineal kinship system, which results in men with rights to the resources of one village living elsewhere with their wives' families, means that studies of a single action's effects might require the conduct of interviews in multiple locations.

The result of the studies and consultations would be a report to the Historic Preservation Office and the project proponent, outlining the likely effects of the action with recommendations for how to handle them. The Historic Preservation Office would review this report with appropriate outside experts as needed, would have the authority to approve it, propose changes in it, or disapprove the proposed action. Upon approval, further consultation might be necessary at the local level to seek a

final decision and determine how the report's recommendations would be implemented.

In the event of a dispute over whether and how to proceed with the action, a variety of authorities could be turned to depending on the nature of the dispute. If it was felt that the consultation process had not been properly carried out, the Historic Preservation Office might be the one to resolve the dispute. If the dispute involved such cultural matters as protocol, etiquette, or land claims, traditional leaders might be the ones to resolve it. If the matter was of an economic nature, the Island Council might take responsibility, since this Council's authority focusses on public security, taxes, and economic development.

Yap

In Yap, the Yap Cultural Inventory Group proposed that the State Office of Planning and Budget be charged with conduct of the local consultation process, and established a set of criteria for use in determining when an action should be subjected to review. The Group proposed that review be done of any project or other activity that would employ more than ten non-Federated States of Micronesia citizens for more than thirty days, provide more than ten new jobs on Yap, use one-half acre or more of land, create smells, noises or sights that might have impacts, affect commonly used environments such as the reef, cost more than \$50,000, or increase the number of non-Yapese visitors to an area.

The process envisions consulting three main groups during review of a project: landholders, traditional chiefs, and the government of Yap. These groups are not easily defined and bounded. As land in Yap is not held in fee simple, a landholder is not a landowner, but essentially the land's custodian, holding the land in trust from his or her ancestors, for his or her descendants, with responsibilities to his or her kinship group. The landholder also does not necessarily reside on or near the land; in many cases low caste families reside as tenants on land held by high caste individuals. Besides consulting with those whose land would actually be used for a project, planners should also consult with all those whose

land or use of land might be affected directly or indirectly by the project.

There are five different hierarchical bodies associated with traditional chiefs who may have authority with respect to a project. Village chiefs, and often village councils, should be consulted with regard to each project, and municipal chiefs and councils must be consulted in many cases. The Council of Pilung, made up of representatives of the highest chiefs in Yap's ten municipalities, must be notified of all major projects. Yap State government agencies that may have to be consulted, in addition to the Historic Preservation Office, include the Environmental Protection Agency, the Department of Health Services, the Department of Education, the Office of Public Utilities and Contracts, the Department of Resources and Development, the Office of the Governor, and selected committees of the Legislature.

Consultation should begin with an introductory meeting, organized with the understanding that in Yap it is impolite to "get straight to business." Once the consulting parties have gotten to know one another, plans for the project should be presented, and the group being consulted should be given time to think the matter over. At the end of this consideration period the project proponent should contact the group again and ask for a decision. The process envisions four possible decisions: approve, disapprove, wish to negotiate changes, and need more information. Any of the groups consulted should have the ability to disapprove the project, leading to its cancellation. The process provides for dispute resolution by negotiation among the parties and the exchange of traditional Yapese valuables in culturally appropriate ways, with mediation by traditional chiefs and others if needed. If this fails to resolve the dispute, it may be taken to appropriate councils or, where necessary, to court. An exception to this process is made for disputes involving historic properties, which are to be mediated by the Governor.

Model Consultation Process in the Republic of Palau

In Palau, the local consultation process employed the U.S. Secretary of the Interior's

Standards and Guidelines for Historic Preservation Planning as an organizational tool. It suggests that the Division of Cultural Affairs (the Historic Preservation Office) take a leading role in consulting with local interests to define cultural contexts important to local communities. A series of recommendations is offered for improving relationships between the Historic Preservation Office and local communities.

With respect to a particular undertaking, a variety of interests both inside and outside the community should be consulted, including those who will be affected, others who have worked in the area, and professionals with relevant expertise. Particular attention should be given to the Historic Preservation Office's own Board of Advisors, to national and State bodies of traditional leaders, and to State cultural committees. Interviews with local authorities should be conducted close to the project site, with frequent revisiting to jog people's memories of what might be culturally important about the site. Where feasible, participant observation — in which the observer participates in the life of the community for a time — should be employed. The results of consultation should be committed to written form, taking care to ensure that the written record will survive in Palau's heat and humidity. Where disputes occur about how a matter should be resolved, every effort should be made to resolve them in public to minimize gossip. Mediators should be used where necessary to bring conflicts to resolution.

Differences and Commonalities

The many differences among the Local Consultation Processes reflect the cultural and administrative differences among the Micronesian nations and States. Thus, in the Marshall Islands the relationships between traditional lineage heads and the Local Government Councils is important in structuring the consultation process, while in Kosrae the recommended process builds on a system already in place for reviewing archeological impact statements. In Chuuk, itang are key parties to be consulted, while in Yap consultation must be struc-

tured with respect to the State's complex hierarchical chieftainship structure.

It would be inappropriate and fruitless to employ a uniform consultation process in planning activities throughout Micronesia, or even throughout a multi-cultural nation like the Federated States of Micronesia. Consultation systems must be tailored to the cultural norms and administrative structures of each island and island group.

However, there are also many commonalities among the model Local Consultation Processes, and these reveal the basic principles that should guide any such process in Micronesia.

- Local communities must be consulted *early* in planning any project.
- Consultation should employ approaches that are consistent with local cultural values, beliefs, and etiquette.
- Local people should be helped to understand clearly what their options are. They should be helped to understand, and assisted in negotiating, changes in proposed projects.
- An appropriately empowered government entity, in most cases the Historic Preservation Officer, should coordinate consultation in accordance with written procedures.

Endnotes

- ¹ Patricia L. Parker and Thomas F. King, *National Register Bulletin* 38, "Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Traditional Cultural Properties," Patricia L. Parker and Thomas F. King, National Park Service 1990.

PART



Further Actions by the U.S. Government

Actions Planned by the National Park Service

As appropriations permit, the National Park Service will do the following.

1. **Use the local consultation processes developed by the Study to help the Historic Preservation Officers establish historic preservation priorities and implement historic preservation programs.** Using these consultation processes is critical to building grass-roots support for historic preservation programs in Micronesia. Using them will also ensure that the Micronesian Historic Preservation Office programs, and National Park Service activities with respect to these programs, are sensitive to each island group's unique cultural values and systems of communication.
2. **Provide further training in database use and maintenance to Historic Preservation Officers and their staff, and other potential users.** Provide further training in other aspects of historic preservation to Historic Preservation Officers and staff. The Study revealed a significant need for training in archeological and ethnographic fieldwork, oral historical recording, archives management, and coordination with planning and economic devel-

opment, which can be met only through on-going training of key personnel.

3. **Help Historic Preservation Officers establish links between their databases and governmental systems of planning, land use and regulation.** The computerized databases established by the Study vary in quality and completeness from island group to island group. More work is needed to make them all fully functional. Perhaps the most important need is to establish effective links to the planning and review of land use projects and other activities that may affect cultural resources. Ideally, a planner should be able to query the database about a given community or parcel of land and obtain information on that area's known and likely cultural resources. The planner should also be able to find standards and guidelines for consultation, for completing the identification and evaluation of potentially affected resources, and for treatment of each kind of resource likely to occur in the area. Such a system is within the capacity of currently available technology, but was beyond the scope of the Study.
4. **Conduct focused interdisciplinary studies to identify and evaluate Micronesian historic properties and cultural traditions.** The complete identification of all



Contemporary Kosraean structure. (photograph by Allan Burns, 1989)

cultural resources in Micronesia is a goal that will probably never be fully realized. However, a series of well-planned, focussed, interdisciplinary studies would go far toward improving the ability of Micronesian preservation officials to predict what resources are likely to be affected by government decisions about land use, education, and other aspects of public policy. These studies should be designed to accomplish the following.

- Address areas representative of the range of environmental zones of the island group in which they are conducted in order to maximize predictive value.
 - Involve the closely coordinated efforts of historians, cultural anthropologists, folklife specialists and archeologists.
 - Employ and train local people.
 - Be carried out in full coordination with the Micronesian Historic Preservation Officers, and in accordance with appropriate local consultation processes.
 - Address resources that, were they located in the United States, might be eligible for the National Register of Historic Places, and other resources of cultural significance (oral history, oral literature, ceremony, dance, music, and other traditional art forms).
- Be directed at collecting information from Micronesians 80 to 85 years of age who know about traditional resource management techniques and other information that may be lost with their passing.
 - Be made widely known and broadly accessible to the Micronesian people through frequent media coverage.
 - With reference to archeology, be designed as basic scientific studies to establish prehistoric and historic chronologies.
 - Address the other kinds of resources listed in the 1988 legislation. Since Historic Preservation Fund was used to support the Micronesian Resources Study, the Study's attention has necessarily focused on cultural resources. The other classes of resources listed in the 1988 legislation—natural and recreational, and specifically areas that would, were they located in the United States, be eligible for inclusion on the National Registry of Natural Landmarks, have yet to be explicitly addressed. Identifying such resources would be a worthy undertaking, which should be coordinated with the ongoing identification of cultural resources.
5. **Use the results of the Study to carry out responsibilities assigned to the National Park Service by the 1992 amendments to the National Historic Preservation Act.** In amending the Act, Congress clarified that the programs for State Historic Preservation Offices authorized by the U.S. National Historic Preservation Act apply to the Freely Associated States of Micronesia. In revising guidelines for implementing Section 110 of the National Historic Preservation Act, the National

Park Service will include specific guidance for U.S. agency programs in Micronesia. The National Park Service will also be sensitive to the special needs of the Freely Associated States of Micronesia in carrying out its responsibilities under Section 112 of the National Historic Preservation Act, which directs the Secretary of Interior to promulgate regulations requiring U.S. Federal agencies to conduct preservation work according to professional standards.

Recommendations to the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation

The 1992 amendments to the National Historic Preservation Act clarified that Section 106 of the Act applies in the Freely Associated States of Micronesia, and included other changes that will require revisions in the Section 106 implementation regulations of the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation. As the Council revises its regulations (36 CFR Part 800), the National Park Service recommends that it address specifically how Section 106 should be complied with in the Freely Associated States, and that in doing so, it should consider the results of the Micronesia Resources Study, including the recommended local consultation processes.

Recommendations to Other U.S. Agencies

Many U.S. Federal agencies are active in Micronesia, and many have the potential to affect cultural resources, either directly or through the influence they may have on the policies and programs of the Micronesian governments. At present, despite the clarifications offered by the 1992 amendments to the National Historic Preservation Act, there remains some confusion among Federal agencies about their historic preservation responsibilities in Micronesia. There is even greater uncertainty about Federal agency responsibilities towards resources that are not historic properties, such as skills, traditions, and lifeways. U.S. agencies operating in Micronesia should use the results of the Micronesia Resources Study, including the local consultation processes, to ensure that their systems of planning, assistance, and regulation in Micronesia

are sensitive to the area's cultural resources and provide properly for their identification and protection.

Recommendations to the U.S. Congress

One of the continuing problems that plagues U.S. efforts to help the Micronesian governments promote economic development is that development projects and programs can have unintended negative impacts on Micronesian cultural resources. Roads built by Civic Action Teams or with U.S. financial assistance can destroy archeological sites and traditional structures. Economic development programs assisted by the U.S. can undermine traditional cultural values and subsistence systems. Even educational assistance can have negative effects on family structure and knowledge of traditional lifeways. Congress can help address these inevitable conflicts by encouraging the Micronesian governments to address preservation and wise use of cultural resources, and use of the local consultation processes developed through the Micronesia Resources Study, in their economic development planning under the Compacts of Free Association.

Congress may also wish to consider appropriating the funds necessary to complete the Micronesia Resources Study Database, to link it with the planning systems of the Micronesian governments, and



Footraces have been popular in Micronesia since the Japanese occupation. The "oldest women in Kosrae" race at the 1989 Liberation Day celebration. (photograph by Allan Burns, 1989)

to carry out the other activities proposed by the National Park Service, above.

Congress may also wish to consider helping the Micronesian Endowment for Historic Preservation coordinate historic preservation and cultural conservation activities. The Micronesian Endowment for Historic Preservation is designed to provide an ongoing, non-governmental source of funding and expertise in historic preservation and other aspects

of cultural resource management. The Endowment is seeking to establish an initial endowment fund of \$2 million to accomplish this purpose.

Congress may wish to consider assisting the Endowment in this effort, by appropriating a contribution to the fund via the National Park Service, by enacting a resolution encouraging non-governmental sources to contribute to the fund, or by doing both.



Contemporary Kosraean structure. (photograph by Allan Burns, 1989)

PART 7

Recommendations to the Governments of the Freely Associated States of Micronesia

Recommendations

Recommendations to each of the Micronesian national governments, and to the State governments of Kosrae, Pohnpei, Chúiuk and Yap have been presented in earlier parts of this report. In general, the National Park Service recommends the following to all Micronesian governments.

1. **Consider and make wise use of cultural resources in economic development.** Cultural resources are among the keys to any society's maintenance of its identity in the face of change, and in many instances they can be economic assets as well. Ill-considered alterations of such resources in the interests of economic development can have profound impacts on society and on economic development. Destroying a historic or prehistoric ruin to make way for an airport, a government center or a sewage treatment plant makes it impossible to develop and use the ruin as a tourist attraction or as an educational resource. Allowing a traditional dance form to die out or an ancient story to be lost to memory not only diminishes the culture but removes the dance or story from the collection of characteristics that makes an island unique and appealing to outside investors.

It is strongly recommended, therefore, that the Micronesian governments give systematic, detailed consideration to cultural resources in economic development planning. Activities that could impact such resources should be carefully planned to ensure that resources subject to impact are identified, considered, and if possible, protected. At the same time, cultural resources should be used to advance economic development, as long as such uses are respectful and consistent with their preservation.

2. **Increase support for the Micronesian Historic Preservation Office Programs.** Support for the Micronesian Historic Preservation Officers is variable across Micronesia. The National Park Service recommends that the Micronesian governments give full, effective support to their Historic Preservation Officers. Historic Preservation Officers should occupy positions in each government that allow them to influence planning and other key government operations. They should be given access to appropriate training and Historic Preservation Officer should be given effective levels of staff and other support.
3. **The Micronesian governments should help develop the Micronesian Resources Study database into an effective planning tool, and ensure that cultural**

resources are appropriately considered in all types of planning. The local consultation processes described by the Study should be used in planning government-sponsored and government-regulated construction, land use, and other projects. At the same time, the Micronesian governments should ensure that international standards for the protection and use of cultural resources are adhered to, even when such resources are not of immediate concern to local people. Micronesian cultural resources have great value to international scholarship and to the people of the world in general. These values, as well as local values, should be recognized and considered.

4. The Micronesian governments should consider collective and individual support for the Micronesian Endowment for Historic Preservation through direct financial contributions, assistance in

fund-raising, and permitting its directors, the Micronesian Historic Preservation Officers, to draw upon appropriate governmental resources in carrying out their work with the Endowment.

Conclusion

The Micronesian Resources Study has been one small part in the program of cooperation in cultural resource management that has been carried out by the United States and the Micronesian governments since the mid-1970s. Building on the results of the Micronesian Resources Study, the United States and the Micronesian governments can realize the goal of balancing tradition and change through preservation programs that protect and enhance Micronesian cultural traditions.



Japanese aircraft on Taroa, Malelop Atoll, Marshalls Island. (photograph by Lin Poyer, 1989)

PART

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Contemporary Kosraean structure. (photograph by Allan Burns, 1989)



**UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE
INTERAGENCY RESOURCES DIVISION
PRESERVATION PLANNING BRANCH**