

THESIS

“WE FLOW LIKE WATER”: CONTEMPORARY LIVELIHOODS AND THE
PARTITIONING OF THE SELF AMONG THE CHAMORRO OF GUAM

Submitted by

Jonathan Fanning

Department of Anthropology

In partial fulfillment of the requirements

For the Degree of Master of Arts

Colorado State University

Fort Collins, Colorado

Spring, 2015

Master's Committee:

Advisor: Jeffrey Snodgrass

Ann Magennis

Michael Gavin

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ABSTRACT

“WE FLOW LIKE WATER”: CONTEMPORARY LIVELIHOODS AND THE PARTITIONING OF THE SELF AMONG THE CHAMORRO OF GUAM

The Chamorros of Guam have experienced colonially-influenced change on spatial and temporal scales for nearly four-hundred and fifty years. They are continuously redefining their identity with respect to these changes, and within the power related discourses of colonialism. The adoption of a colonial understanding of “tradition” has alienated Chamorro from their perception of indigenous identity. A difference between a contemporary “livelihood” and a more traditional “way of life” is apparent, also considered to be a conflict between how a Chamorro “must” behave versus how a Chamorro “ought” to behave to maintain an indigenous identity. Lack of agency, the rise of individualism, and the institutionalization of Chamorro culture have compartmentalized Chamorro identity, and forced contemporary Chamorro to abandon that which is “traditional” in order to engage with a modern world.

This thesis explores these phenomena through a mixed-methods lens, employing participant observation, semi-structured, qualitative interviews, and surveys to explore the domains in which Chamorro draw meaning and personal and cultural identity. The village of Umatac, on the southern-end of Guam, is used as a study population, as the issue of identity formation and remaking is explored through the theoretical perspectives of cognitive anthropology, discursive formation, and place attachment.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

As is the case with most acknowledgements, the sheer number of people I would need to thank could extend for pages. So first, to those who are omitted: an *enormous* thank you. Do not consider your omission as my lack of appreciation, but rather a practical consideration of space.

In Colorado, thank you first and foremost to M.M., without whom this project never would have started. I am still flabbergasted by your kindness. Thank you as well to my committee for the continuous advice and patience prior to, while in, and after my fieldwork. It was *much* appreciated. As well, thank you to my fellow graduate students, Josh, Kyle, Max, Aaron, Andrew, and Kristen in particular for the discussion, beer, and laughs that helped me maintain my sanity. I am also indebted to the AGSS for their financial support and the Anthropology Department in general for their perpetual kindness and openness. Finally, because a dedication still doesn't seem enough, thank you to Gregory for all the advice throughout, and to my parents for all of their support: emotional, financial, and grammatical. This project would be nowhere without you.

In Guam, first a thank you to David Atienza for responding to my lost, initial emails and directing me where I needed to go. I am forever indebted to Joe Quinata and the staff of the Guam Preservation Trust for all of their kindness, and going above and beyond to make this project a success. In Umatac, thanks to all the residents for being so open and willing to share, but particularly Fred and Celia for taking my idealized project and turning it into a reality. Finally, to the entire Calvo Clan, particularly Nicole, from the bottom of my heart, I have never been more grateful and overwhelmed by a family's kindness. This project owes everything to you. Willow, you're the best "sistuh" a boy could ask for. See you again soon.

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to Gregory, for finding a lost boy and inspiring his passion.
And to my parents, Dave and Carol, whose continuous love and support allow me to pursue it.

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CHAPTER 1- INTRODUCTION

“Do you sing often?”

“No! No. I never sing.” He responds, confused.

“No?” I ask. I have often seen him singing passionately and enthusiastically during Mass.

“Oh! You mean in church? Yes. I do sing in there. In there... I don’t know. In there it’s for the Lord, you know?”

We speak of the friend who introduced us at Mass several weeks ago. She spends most of her time in the north. “It’s easy for them to come down here,” he says, “for me... going up there... It’s hard. The activity. I have to get up. I have to get dressed... I don’t... I’d rather stay home... Unless it’s for church! That... That’s my life, you know?”

(Excerpt from fieldnotes 10/08/14)

An individual’s perception of personal identity is essential to cultural integrity and well-being (Bandura, 2001). The experience of a contemporary Chamorro on Guam is one of negotiation between personal, community, and colonial influences that impact each individual’s perception of identity. The vignette above serves to both place the reader within the social environments in which these negotiations occur, as well as encapsulate many of the themes that will be prevalent throughout an exploration of those motifs within this work: the activities Chamorro engage in that give meaning to their lives, the closely-related and connected communities in which individuals engage with and negotiate their personal and community identity, and most importantly the ways in which Chamorros frame the domains of contemporary livelihood and traditional way of life. Central to these issues are the role of agency, rise of individualism, and institutionalization of knowledge that have accompanied the rapid development of Guam following World War II, and the ways in which these factors have brought into question the moral framework of “what it means to be Chamorro.”

The island of Guam is the southern-most and largest of the Mariana Island chain in the Pacific. Despite its geographically isolated position within the large, blue emptiness of the surrounding ocean, it has served as the physical setting for geopolitical power struggles between Austronesian, European, Asian, and American peoples for centuries (Rogers, 1995). Its physical location places it at the conflux of currents that have drawn explorers to its coasts since vessels

were capable of searching the vast expanse of ocean around it, and its position at 13.5⁰ N, 144.8⁰ E latitude and longitude has long left an impression on governments of its strategic importance in engaging commercially, diplomatically or offensively with the entire Asian-Pacific region (Monnig, 2007). Today, its historic and contemporary circumstances make it an ideal location for the study of cultural diffusion, adaptation, and acculturation.

Guam was first populated by Austronesian peoples over 3,500 years ago, and a semi-complex society developed and became the resident, indigenous Chamorro population present at the time of European contact. Ferdinand Magellan first identified the island for the Spanish Crown during his circumnavigation of the globe in 1521, and recognizing the strategic significance for the development of their galleon trade, the Spanish laid claim to the island and established their first colony in 1668. Following several hundred years of Spanish rule, the United States, similarly recognizing its strategic significance in the Pacific, annexed the island following the Spanish-American War in 1898. Additionally, the island was briefly occupied by the Japanese during World War II, before being reclaimed and assuming its present status as an official, unincorporated territory of the United States.

The indigenous Chamorros of Guam have been continuously redefining their own personal and cultural identity in the context of these colonial activities (Monnig, 2007). Beginning with the Spanish *reducción*, wherein Chamorros were forcibly relocated to urban centers in order to facilitate colonial acculturation (Rogers, 1995), the peoples of Guam have been subjected to a colonial discourse of power (Foucault, 1980) that sought to partition and define the “Chamorro” elements of their daily lives and replace them with a contemporary, colonial definition of “civilized.” Principally assaulted during this initial period of colonization were any public displays of Chamorro culture, leaving subsequent generations without many of

the oral customs their ancestors practiced including dance, war, and ancestor veneration (Cunningham, 1992). In addition, Chamorros were allowed “ranches” outside of their urban residences in order to construct and maintain newly introduced, subsistence agricultural practices that supported the population. As a result, Chamorros used their ranches as places where they could privately maintain traditional cultural practices and created an attachment to landscape and particular places as symbolic preservers of culturally-salient traditions. Within the context of colonial discourse and hegemonic power dispersion, racially-motivated and denigrating discourses began to emerge that artificially created a dichotomy between “traditional pureness” and “contemporary hybridity” in order to justify further colonial intrusion on Chamorro land and practices (Monnig, 2007). Importantly, these definitions of “traditional” versus “contemporary” remain fixed and unchanging, despite the fluid and ongoing process of identity creation for individual Chamorros.

United States colonial policy following the annexation of Guam in 1898 had a similar goal of separating Chamorro from a colonially-imposed definition of “traditional” identity in order to fully incorporate Chamorro into a Western-American ideal of contemporary society (Hattori, 2004). The introduction of a wage-labor economy and a policy of forced incorporation within the American system of governing have similarly led to the embodiment of colonial definitions surrounding “traditional Chamorro” components of a Chamorro’s lifeway and more “Western-Americanized” components, the former of which were actively depreciated, and the latter of which became associated with success and prosperity (Monnig, 2007). As such, what was once a primarily racially-based discourse surrounding cultural purity and hybridity has now become one wherein contemporary “livelihoods” partition Chamorros from their authentic, traditional “way of life.” Americanization following World War II continues to force hegemonic

colonial values on contemporary Chamorros, and the rapid growth in investment and development on the island have created swiftly changing life circumstances for those currently living on the island. The specifics of each historical period as they apply to this work are discussed throughout Chapter 2.

The third chapter of this thesis is an extensive literature review of the theoretical frameworks that were chosen to explore the Chamorro and their lifeways within this particular thesis. Given the historical and socio-political forces at work throughout the history of the Chamorro, when constructing a project I decided to pursue three major means of inquiry: cognitive theory and the mental schemata and frameworks used to construct an individual's identity, the use of discourses of power and how these are constructed and disseminated throughout groups of people, and finally place attachment and the role it can play in the construction, maintenance, and adaptation of an individual's personal and cultural identity. I used these particular theoretical approaches in order to come up with the best, most encompassing answer to the central question of this work: how have livelihood and environmental changes impacted the cultural adaptation and well-being of Chamorro on Guam?

Fieldwork for this project included a fourteen week ethnographic study on Guam, and is covered in depth in Chapter 4. In short, the project included a three-week stay with a Chamorro family in Agaña Heights, a centrally-located hamlet on Guam, followed by a ten-week stay in Umatac, on the southern end of the island. Participant observation and ethnographic fieldnotes of Chamorros engaged in various life tasks through the first six weeks of study led to an initial formation of important themes surrounding Chamorro identity formation, and were subsequently followed up with seventeen semi-structured, recorded interviews of Chamorro residents of Umatac. Interviews included seven women and ten men, ranging in age from fifteen to seventy-

one, and lasting between forty-five minutes and two and a half hours. Finally, a ninety-seven question survey was developed and filled out by fifty-five Chamorros in order to quantitatively explore issues surrounding the division of contemporary livelihoods and traditional way of life. The survey contained the Cohen Perceived Stress Scale (Cohen *et al.*, 1983) in order to determine the subjective well-being of respondents.

Findings from fieldwork indicate that Chamorros today embody a partitioned identity. Informed by a lingering, archaic, and colonially imposed definition of what makes someone a “traditional Chamorro,” contemporary individuals divide their identity into one “self” that functions in a “traditional, cultural” context, and one that functions in a “Western-Americanized” context. Furthermore, a colonial discourse and the definitions surrounding “traditional, cultural” components of a Chamorro’s identity are fixed and static, leading many Chamorros to conclude that they have become “less Chamorro” and no longer fit perfectly in either context, a source of stress and decreased well-being.

Chapter 5 endeavors to introduce many of the issues and arguments raised by Chamorro informants from my own perspective, and place many of the themes addressed in Chapters 6 and 7 into a more holistic context, tying it back to the literature discussed in Chapters 2 and 3. Specifically, I introduce the ways in which Chamorros partition their identity into a contemporary, “livelihood” component, and a traditional, “way of life” component. This is particularly observable in three different and often identified cornerstones of Chamorro culture: respect for elders, family values, and language. Each of these issues is explored in detail. As well, in Chapter 5 I further explore the role power dynamics and colonial and racial discourse, first identified by Monnig (2007), have played in shaping the language concerning values associated with livelihood and way of life choices.

Chapter 5 concludes by examining two different ways in which contemporary Chamorros resist these imposed power dynamics that define their identity, particularly through the role of place attachment. Specifically, I'll argue Umatac represents a physical and symbolic space which Chamorros engage with, and reinforce the values of their "traditional, cultural" self. Nearly devoid of economic development or opportunity—concepts associated with a "Western-Americanized" world—Umatac has become a symbolic source of cultural integrity to its Chamorro residents, and to a lesser extent, Chamorros across Guam. For the residents who live within the village, leaving the village in order to engage with their occupation or to purchase goods to support their family represents a very real separation from their "traditional" way of life, and time-spent or activities-completed within the borders of Umatac are seen as consistent with a "traditional, cultural" life. In this way, "Chamorro tradition" is continuously reinvented within the colonial discourse within which contemporary Chamorros operate (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1983; Latour, 2004).

Secondly, I'll explore the role alternative narratives play in the construction of a concept of Chamorro identity, and the appeal of particular alternative narratives that contradict Western-American dogma as rallying points of Chamorro identity. These alternative truths allow groups of Chamorro to reclaim some agency in their own identity creation, if only as members of a group that hold a cognitive representation in opposition to a colonially-imparted truth. Again, I will explore the roles that natural resources and place attachment play in the construction of these truths, acting as physical realities that culture-specific lessons can be embedded within, and which are at risk of disappearing as resource loss and climate change negatively impact the availability of each.

Chapter 6 explores this partitioned identity from the perspective of the informants interviewed throughout the semi-structured interview portion of fieldwork. Essential to this artificial partition of identity are three key variables that the Chamorros identified: an external locus of control, the institutionalization of knowledge, and the rise of individualism. As well, explored in Chapter 6 is the way Chamorro frame these issues for themselves, steeping issues of their traditional way of life and livelihood in moral frameworks that separate how a Chamorro “ought” to behave from how a Chamorro “must” behave, respectively. I argue that there is still a near-universally perceived way a Chamorro “ought” to behave that continues to transcend generations, however, generational differences emerge between Chamorro elders who still view these moral frameworks as absolutes, whereas Chamorro youth must now balance the practical realities and importance of contemporary livelihoods within these moral frameworks, making the way a Chamorro “ought” to behave a moral relative, which one should strive to achieve, but must be sacrificed at times in order to survive in the modern world.

Throughout Chapter 6, I argue the most damaging environmental factor impacting a Chamorro’s diminishing sense of “traditional, cultural” self is the perceived external factors that contribute to an individual’s identity, and the lack of agency many Chamorro feel with respect to determining what elements of their lifeway fall into either category. Recent efforts to institutionalize and document Chamorro culture from institutions in a position of power, such as university academics or government bureaucracies seeking to better understand Chamorros, have further reduced “Chamorro culture” to fixed representations that do not accurately reflect contemporary contexts and remove Chamorros from the capacity to define their own culture. Finally, the increase of socio-economic capacity of many Chamorro has created a perception of the younger generation as more detached from the familial bonds and interdependent interactions

that are often cited as representative of the purpose and importance of Chamorro culture. Either because a family feels less capable of supporting particular constituent individuals, or particular individuals no longer feel as connected to their familial kinship networks for support, it is nearly universally perceived that the fabric of what serves as the foundation for perpetuating Chamorro cultural values is beginning to fray. Chamorros today come to terms with their own identity without the same social-support networks that previous generations relied on, and this phenomenon has created an ambiguous, incomplete Chamorro identity for contemporary individuals.

Chapter 7 provides statistical support for these narrative depictions of change and loss through the use of cultural consensus theory (Weller, 2007). Analysis of the data provides correlative support for the idea that a consensus model of how a Chamorro “ought” to behave still exists, but is being degraded in younger generations who now must consider the moral value of maintaining cultural traditions in a contemporary context of shifting livelihood pressures. Thus, consensus analysis reveals a declining consensus view of moral absolutes that comprise a Chamorro identity.

Chapter 8 concludes the thesis by once again placing the reader in the social environment in which Chamorros engage with and negotiate their own identity, before briefly exploring local institutions in Umatac currently working to reclaim agency over Chamorro cultural definitions and maintain their cultural integrity moving forward. Particular emphasis is placed on the role community members play in the maintenance of a community identity that positively impacts the individuals associated with it, as well as organizations such as the *Humätak* Community Foundation and the work they are doing to place Chamorro cultural values in a contemporary context.

The myriad factors contributing to Chamorro identity formation in the contemporary world are extraordinarily varied and complex. The purpose of this work, therefore, is more to introduce the reader to a small portion of major contributing factors, and give voice to the many Chamorro who were kind enough to welcome me into their homes, work, and lives. It is through their voices that I ultimately drew my inspiration. The Chamorro are a colonized people, perpetually having to negotiate and identify their cultural heritage with respect to a Western, colonial power dynamic that raises questions of “authenticity” and “purity” on a daily basis. I therefore choose to conclude this chapter in the same way that it began, exploring the larger, overarching themes of this relationship through the voice of an informant, poignantly describing Chamorro health issues with respect to the larger political pressures associated with contemporary living:

Western Civilization came upon us way earlier than it came upon the United States of America... And so it's not something that we are forced (to choose) or not. You know... Just like water, it's going to impact how we flow, who we are. Whatever it is and whatever the future holds for us... We can't tell the United States to undue the Western lifestyle that we have today, but you know what? It's not the same that (they) have. It's a Chamorro-Western lifestyle... I'm amazed at what we're able to do here, and you cannot compare it to anywhere else. Guam is very unique. But... I'm worried about the future of Guam and how that's going to impact the family. I'm worried about these laws that are going to multiply. It's going to further dissect... every strand of every fabric of our society, of our people, of who we are. And they're going to dissect that and they're going to place control over all of those. That's what I'm worried about. You know, just like water. Just like water... You put lots of sugar in, we'll be diabetic. You put salt and we'll have high blood pressure. We flow like water.

CHAPTER 2- HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

2.1 Introduction

Despite its relatively inauspicious size, Guam has been the center of geopolitical conflict for nearly four and a half centuries. The island is positioned in line with the northeast trade winds that seasonally blow through the region, and next to the north equatorial ocean current that consistently flows westward across the Pacific (Rogers, 1995). It is these forces which undoubtedly guided the earliest settlers to the island, and certainly guided Ferdinand Magellan and his men to the island to plant the seeds of lasting conflict. This conflict and its resulting impact on the local residents has left an enduring legacy of historical trauma (Pier, 1998) as well as narratives surrounding the authenticity of contemporary Chamorro, and it is necessary to spend some time exploring this history in relative depth in order to place the discussion of Chamorro identity in its proper context. This is not meant as an exhaustive description of the chronological history of Guam, but rather serves to place the reader in a position where he or she feels relatively comfortable with the major historical events informing the Chamorro worldview, as well as establishing the major events impacting Chamorro livelihood which will be cited throughout the analysis portion of this thesis.

2.2 Pre-contact Chamorro

Archeological evidence suggests that Austronesian peoples first populated Guam nearly 3500 years ago, although there is lingering uncertainty over whether Guam was the first of the Mariana Islands populated, or whether islands to the north were discovered and then the populations spread southward (Cunningham, 1992). In any case, small groups of peoples

migrating out over the Pacific in outrigger canoes began populating each of the Micronesian islands and linguistically diversifying into the unique Palauan, Yapese, and Chamorro cultures, the latter of which occupied the islands of the Mariana archipelago.

Accounts of the culture that existed prior to European contact are based mostly on limited archeological findings and interpretations, and comparisons to similar Pacific cultures. This is primarily because the Chamorro language up until recently was exclusively oral, and no written records from the Chamorro themselves were created, save for a few hieroglyphics scattered throughout the island's cave system (Cunningham, 1992). The limited written accounts and depictions of Chamorro, therefore, rely primarily on second person narratives from the first Spanish colonials who occupied the island, and are significantly impacted by the missionary zealotry that many of these early Spanish colonists possessed. It is generally accepted that a matrilineal, semi-class based society developed on the island, with several tribes—developed primarily through clan affiliation—occupying different parts of the island, and relying on trade and a reciprocal exchange economy between the other Mariana Islands, primarily in shells and pottery (Thompson, 1947). Class divisions relied primarily on physical location, with the higher class (*chamorri*) generally located closer to the rich bounty of the sea, and a lower class (*mamahlaho*) occupying plots of land further into the jungle. It is also known that ancient Chamorros practiced ancestor veneration, often burying their dead relatives directly under their houses, and using their bones and skulls to produce weapons.

Perhaps the most compelling description of the Chamorro way of life was narrated by Frey Juan Pobre de Zamora, who was shipwrecked off of the coast of Rota (directly to the north of Guam) in 1602 and spent seven months living among the Chamorro. His writings are filled with admiration for the behaviors he observed, such as:

...So strong are the bonds among friends that they have a say in everything they do, or do not do. When they meet, they embrace and walk about the village arm in arm... Boys make compacts with one another, and promise eternal friendship... quite contrary to the pitiful and miserable custom that is found in many places in Europe, which is to be regretted, especially among Christians. (Driver, 1989, 16)

... They are naturally kind to one another... They are so peace-loving that, during all the time I have spent with them, as an eyewitness, I have never seen the people of any village quarrel amongst themselves... Indeed these are such peace-loving people that I hardly know what to say when I see so much of it among savages, yet so little among Christians. (Driver, 1989, 14)

It is within these narratives that the mythos of the Ancient Chamorro is created. As they are now conceptualized and described by authors (Cunningham, 1992; Rogers, 1995; Thompson, 1947), pre-contact ancestors are pronounced as “tall,” “healthy,” “peaceful,” “in tune with the natural world,” and absorbed in positive attributes still ascribed to contemporary Chamorro such as being unquestioningly respectful to elders, family-oriented, and with a fierce sense of interdependence to their communities (*inafa ‘maolek*). I bring them up now, not to question the accuracy of the assertions, but rather to point out that contemporary Chamorro embody a sense of their ancestors as possessing each of these qualities, and each is associated with issues of Chamorro authenticity, and traditional pureness that living Chamorro today compare themselves with as they search for their own indigenous identity (Monnig, 2007). Many of the Chamorro I spoke with had very romantic notions of their ancestors, one describing them as “seven-feet tall with incredible strength” (fieldnotes, 10/30/14), and others consistently cited their strength, ingenuity, and courage. While each of these characteristics may have been true, they have always served a more symbolic purpose, as Chamorros attempt to construct a history devoid of colonial influence and bias.

2.3 Spanish Occupation

The necessity for such symbolic reconstructions of history is present because of the events following March 6, 1521. On that date, Ferdinand Magellan and his crew made contact with the Chamorro on Guam as he followed ocean currents across the Pacific in the first circumnavigation of the globe (Rogers, 1995). The Chamorros rode out to meet the Spanish, bringing gifts of food and supplies, and initially the interaction was cordial. However, following their own culturally understood perception of reciprocal exchange, the Chamorros began to remove objects from the ship, particularly iron, and return to shore. The Spanish, in their turn, interpreted this as pilfering and theft and followed the Chamorros to shore, opened fire on the curious residents, ransacked several homes of any available provisions, burned down a village, and sailed on, most damagingly rechristening the Marianas *Islas de los Ladrones*, Islands of the Thieves, which became their official name on published maps until 1688.

Following this inauspicious initial interaction, exchanges between the Chamorro and Spanish galleons completing Pacific crossings became more common and friendly, involving the trade of fruit and fish for iron, and in 1565 Miguel Lopez de Legazpi officially claimed Guam for Philip II and the Spanish Crown (Rogers, 1995). Just over one-hundred years later, in 1668, Father Diego Luís de San Vitores arrived on the island and established the first permanent Spanish colony with the purpose of saving the souls of the Chamorro.

2.3.1 Spanish *Reducción*

The first Spanish missionaries on Guam experienced relative success in the conversion of Chamorro natives (Rogers, 1995). Things quickly turned sour, however, as pockets of Chamorro resistance began to spring up around the island, and within a few months this resistance turned violent. Father San Vitores very quickly established an armed militia to enforce his will and

defend his faith, and established the groundwork for the *reducción*, a program of forced urbanization and centralization of the Chamorros of all the Marianas around several constructed churches on Guam in order to aid in the conversion of the Chamorro, before being martyred in 1672. Following his death, the Spanish significantly increased their military presence on the island and conflicts with the Chamorro intensified, as well, disease began to ravage the population, and between 1668 and 1710 the two combined to reduce an estimated population of 40,000 Chamorro to only 3,539 in the first, official Spanish census on the island (Hezel, 1982).

The “near extinction” of the Chamorro (Blaz, 1998), in combination with Spanish missionary policies that limited the practice of any Chamorro custom that seemed to contradict Catholic doctrine, dramatically reshaped Chamorro culture. Lost are any of the ways Chamorros venerated their ancestors, the ways in which they conducted war, the ways they danced, or the ways they worshiped physical sites of spiritual significance (Thompson, 1947). In short, lost is any public display of Chamorro culture that may have been practiced. As well, Laural Anne Monnig (2007) writes extensively about the ways in which the Spanish sought to impose a colonial, racialized worldview that deconstructed notions of Chamorro authenticity and delegitimized Chamorro claims of indigenous purity (discussed more in Chapter 3). Contained within the first Spanish census, and growing with each subsequent edition, were varieties on the term *mestizo*, or only partial-blood Chamorro, “whose cultural and linguistic lives have been extinguished, rendering them ‘inauthentically’ indigenous” (Monnig, 2007, 11).

The Spanish left an enduring legacy on the land and culture of the island. Their governing style remained harsh and abusive to Chamorro persons and culture until well into the 19th century, when it was replaced by what Rodgers (1995, 77) refers to as “government by neglect.” As the galleon trade waned, the Spanish lost interest in their territory, and in 1898 the United

States annexed the territory following the Spanish-American War as part of a larger deal that removed much of the Spanish governance from the islands of the Pacific, and opened up the area to American ambition.

2.3.2 Establishment of the *Lâncho*

The historical focus of the *reducción* often falls on the removal of Chamorros from their ancestral land; however this land was not entirely abandoned. Chamorros could still return at times in order to engage in subsistence agricultural and horticultural practices, largely introduced by the Spanish, and necessary to maintain the existing population (Thompson, 1947). These lands became known as *lânchos*, or ranches, where Chamorros could still engage in traditional practices, speak their native tongue, and otherwise maintain their unique cultural value systems away from the watchful eyes of Spanish missionaries. I draw particular attention to this practice as it represents a very specific example of how Chamorros began to tie their cultural values directly into the land. Today, the ranch represents an “escape from Western influence” (fieldnotes, 9/27/14), a physical setting in which Chamorros can symbolically reconnect with their culture. The role of the ranch, and place attachment in general, in the construction of contemporary Chamorro identity will be expanded on significantly throughout this work.

2.4 American Occupation

2.4.1 Naval Administration, 1898-1941

The United States has always referred to Guam in reference to its strategic military importance in the Pacific (Monnig, 2007). American imperialistic ambitions in the late 19th century led to the annexation of the territory, and the imposition of a naval government, run by an appointed Navy Governor. The *Insular Cases*—a series of Supreme Court decisions that were

ruled on in 1901 to determine governance on the territories acquired following the Spanish-American War—determined that while American citizenship ought to be granted to the inhabitants of the island, they lacked the capacity to fully understand and enact their own democracies, and therefore were not granted full constitutional rights (Hattori, 2004). Through what could best be described as misplaced magnanimity, then President McKinley instructed the US Navy that their mission, with respect to the Chamorro, was one of “benevolent assimilation” (Hattori, 2004, 22). The reality of this statement, as described by Anne Perez Hattori (2004) in her extensive analysis of the history of Naval Administration in *Colonial Dis-Ease*, was to create an overly paternalistic attitude toward the Chamorro, which generalized their condition as “primitive” and “sick,” a condition that required modern, Western intervention to survive.

Navy policy, particularly with respect to health measures “challenged Chamorro notions and definitions of authority, tradition, and modernity in ways that typically privileged the navy’s medical core” (Hattori, 2004, 192), and reinforced the language of authenticity and tradition that had first been introduced by the Spanish and served to delegitimize Chamorro claims to their own well-being, self, and land (Monnig, 2007). Beyond the Navy’s paternalistic attitude with respect to health policy, Hattori (2004) also argues that naval policies promoted American social values such as individualism and activism, which significantly clashed with Chamorro concepts of interdependence and familial obligation.

2.4.2 Japanese Occupation, 1941-1944

Concurrent with the attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7th, 1941, the Japanese sought to consolidate their power in the Pacific, and invaded Guam. An air invasion drove many Chamorro into the jungle, most notably the residents of Sumay, the second largest city on Guam at the time, who would never again return to their homes (Viernes, 2008). Following several

hours of tepid resistance, the island was officially surrendered, and three years of Japanese occupation began.

The initial intent of the Japanese was to establish a broad enough border around the mainland to prevent bombing runs from the enemy, as well as to unite and reestablish a sense of Asian cultural pride in the region (Higuchi, 2001). Japan viewed themselves as a Mother Body, trying to restore what they perceived as arrested cultural development on the island territories occupied by the United States and Great Britain. This manifested as a requirement of all occupied islands to learn Japanese language, history, and culture. All Chamorro under the age of 31 were required to take Japanese language courses, and initial resistance by Chamorro loyal to the United States was met with violence, torture, and placement in concentration camps (Carano & Sanchez, 1964). As the Japanese war effort began to struggle, the Chamorro were increasingly used as a forced labor source for delivering resources to support the army, and extensive bombing of the island signaled a returning United States force attempting reoccupation (Higuchi, 2001, Thompson, 1947).

It is not my intent to linger on the Japanese occupation of Guam, or to overly vilify their policies, as neither falls directly within the scope of this thesis. Rather, this section serves to introduce the reader to the role the Japanese played in reconstituting Chamorro perspectives on the United States. Following American reoccupation in 1941, Chamorro largely felt a deep sense of gratitude and debt toward the United States for “rescuing” them from the oppressive Japanese regime (Perez, 2004). To this day, the memories of Chamorro elders are filled with powerfully upsetting vignettes of beheadings they witnessed, massacres that occurred in the area, or the extraordinary lengths they went to in order to hide particular behaviors from this new, colonial power (fieldnotes, 9/25/14). To many, they still remember their time in concentration camps

watching the blond, shirtless American marines come over the hill “like Greek gods” to release them from their captivity (fieldnotes, 9/30/14). This deep and abiding sense of gratitude has continued to guide many Chamorro perspectives on the United States and their role on the island, for both good and bad, throughout the changes in government policy following World War II.

The United States government, for its part, responded to the events of the war by reevaluating and strengthening the narrative of Guam as a strategic center point for its continuing operations within the Pacific. Tellingly, at the flag raising ceremony that officially marked Guam’s reincorporation into the United States, Brigadier General Lemuel C. Shepherd, far from acknowledging the importance of reclaiming the only occupied American territory with a population of United States citizens, instead stated, “... Under our flag this island again stands ready to fulfill its destiny as an American fortress in the Pacific” (quoted in Bright, 2014, 182).

2.4.3 American Reoccupation

The United States officially reoccupied the island on July 21st, 1941. Perez (2004) argues that immediately post-World War II, the residents of Guam largely felt indebted to the United States, and the military capitalized on these feelings of indebtedness and patriotism to make large land-grabs and displace many Chamorro from rich farmland in order to expand its naval influence in the area, as well as reinstitute and intensify Chamorro integration into Western systems of thought.

In addition, the influx of a market-based economy on the island has had dramatic impacts on traditional concepts of reciprocity (Iyechad, 2004), and relationships to the natural world (Monson *et al.*, 2003). Iyechad (2004) analyses the use of culturally significant language to argue that cultural meaning has rapidly shifted under economic pressure, and in the context of widespread poverty (Owen, 2010). Specifically, she focuses on the use of the word *chenchulé*, a

term which refers to a ceremonial gift exchange prior to large gatherings such as weddings or funerals. In the past, she argues, *chenchulé* referred to an exchange of intangible aid related to social interaction and aid. Now, the term has taken on new meaning, referring more to monetary exchanges, and can serve as an excuse to avoid social interaction at traditional ceremonies. As well, whereas previously *chenchulé* obligations were perceived to exist among fictive kin (in-laws, godparents), it has increasingly been reserved only for members of a nuclear family, further eroding kinship bonds.

As well, Monson *et al.* (2003) argue that shifting relationships with the natural world are responsible for direct health consequences, as well as negative cultural impacts. Following World War II the Chamorro began to experience a rapid increase in a previously unobserved neurological condition subsequently labeled amyotrophic lateral sclerosis—parkinsonism dementia complex (ALS-PDC). The cause of this disease, the authors argue, is cycad plants on the island which contain a neurotoxin. Investigation by the authors revealed that the toxin was present in a traditional festival dish, a cooked flying fox referred to as *fanihi* that fed on the plant.

The rapid increase in ALS-PDC on the island serves as a direct and visible impact of the adaptation of culture to multiple external factors. Chamorro use *fanihi* as a special dish at culturally-relevant ceremonies, and the hunting and cooking of the flying fox was traditionally accomplished by individuals involved in the ceremonial ritual (Monson *et al.*, 2003). Hunting the flying fox was a complicated and difficult process that required teamwork and had a very low success rate, limiting intake of the toxic meat. However, with the introduction of firearms— forbidden by the Spanish—and a market economy, demand for *fanihi* rose beyond subsistence levels and it became a sellable commodity for hunters. Increases in incidences of ALS-PDC correspond to increases in hunting of the foxes, and incidences of the disease practically

vanished when one of the two subspecies of flying fox on the island was hunted to extinction, and the second nearly so. Similar to the conclusions of Bonaiuto *et al.* (2002) who identify culturally relevant place attachments as a justification for protests or rebellion, Monson *et al.* (2003) identify that the consumption of *fanihi* is so central to Chamorro identity that many individuals will even continue to risk major fines or imprisonment to continue the tradition.

2.4.4 Chamorro Self-Determination

Beginning shortly after World War II, a series of political movements have granted limited self-government to the people of Guam. The Guam Organic Act, passed by the United States legislature in 1950, officially ended Naval Administration on the island, and established a unicameral legislature for the creation of local laws on the island, but still left Guamanians under the overall authority of the United States Congressional legislature, and without the capacity to elect their own governor or receive representation in the national Congress (Rogers, 1995). Guamanians rallied, and in 1968, Congress passed the Elective Governorship Bill for Guam, and Guamanians elected their first Governor in 1971 (Souder-Jaffery, 1987). Following this, in 1972, Guam was additionally granted a non-voting member in the United States House of Representatives.

Self-determination movements and calls for increased self-governance or incorporation into the American political system continue into the present, and grow or suffer from a variety of internal and external factors (Monnig, 2007). It is near-universally agreed upon, however, that United States policy toward the island has remained only reluctant consideration and provision without ultimately compromising the overall authority and mission of the United States Military (Perez, 2004; Rogers, 1995; Souder-Jaffery, 1987). At present, Guam is recognized as an Official, Unincorporated Territory of the United States, meaning it has limited self-governance,

but it is not given voting representation at the federal level, and its residents are subject to legislative rights, rather than constitutional. To Perez (2004), the continued treatment of Guamanian's as undeserving of constitutionally guaranteed rights creates a perception of the Chamorro as a second-class citizen, and leaves them with a culturally ambiguous sense of self. Indeed, Perez (2004) continues to argue for the general feelings of political alienation felt by many Chamorro, and the helplessness they feel in trying to fight against unfavorable government policies. Such a lack of agency, particularly in the context of a growing military presence on the island and subsequent internal displacement, seems to be closely associated with similar feelings of individuals who experienced loss of place attachment (Bonaiuto *et al.*, 2002).

Perez (2004) identifies, and I witnessed it personally from some informants, a very real, embodied understanding of Guamanians, and Chamorro in particular, as second-class citizens; they are meant to appreciate and respect the United States for the freedom it has granted them, while simultaneously being denied full access to that freedom. In later chapters I explore this issue from the perspective of the role it plays in the production and recapitulation of power dynamics between colonizers and colonized, and the ability of Chamorro to claim agency over their own identity.

2.4.5 Development Following World War II

Population estimates directly prior to World War II indicate that Chamorros represented 90% of a total population around 25,000 on Guam (Monnig, 2007). In 1966, after the departure of the massive quantities of Marines stationed on the island, Chamorros represented 51% of the total population of 78,200 (Johnsrud, 1968). Currently, Chamorros only represent roughly 37% percent of the total population of 165,000 (GBSP, 2012).

Similarly, major economic shifts began to occur on the island following World War II. The mostly agrarian, subsistence economy rapidly changed to wage-labor. In the 1960's the military was responsible for 65% of the island's economy, and a fledgling tourism industry, begun in 1967 after the military officially rescinded its wartime authority to refuse civilian visitors to the island, accounted for 30% (GERDT, 2003). Just a decade later, military contributions had dropped to only 20% as tourism became the vital component of the economy and the private sector began to overtake the public sector. In 2013, The Guam Visitors Bureau reported 1.34 million visitors, and \$1.47 billion in sales (GVB, 2013).

These numbers hint at what has been a jarring reality for the Chamorro on Guam since the US military opened up the island to outside investment and visitors; a reality of demographic shifts, massive immigration, and extreme livelihood changes as economic development skyrocketed. As Joe Quinata, Chairman of the Guam Preservation Trust states, "We used to say the national bird of Guam was the (mechanical) crane, because it was all you could see in Tumon" (fieldnotes, 9/23/14). Investment-driven development created massive infrastructure growth in the central part of the island. Tumon Bay became the focal point of tourism. The nature of a typical tourist experience is one of leisure and consumption, with 42.9% of spending directed toward shopping, and 30.8% for lodging (GVB, 2013), and as such the vast majority of this investment went toward developing the urban center of the island, while the peripheries were largely ignored. Accompanying this economic growth was a massive Chamorro diaspora (Perez, 2004), as the island quickly reached its productive capacity, and Chamorro had to look elsewhere for the economic opportunity to support themselves and their family.

It is the impact of this investment and development on the Chamorro who lived and witnessed it, in the context of colonial practices on the island since the Spanish first landed, that

are the focus of this thesis. Each of these historical processes is alive and well in the Chamorro currently living on the island, and contributes in varying and important ways to the construction of each individual's identity and sense of self.

2.5 An Outsider's View of Umatac Today

The historical review above is meant to give the reader contextual support for the current life circumstances of the Chamorro on Guam. The impact of this history, however, cannot fully be expressed through an analysis of academic texts and census data. Particularly in Umatac, where recent development has had dramatic impacts on the physical and symbolic structure of the town and families continuing to live there through the mass population diaspora that began decades prior, history's impact on the village must be *felt*. It is therefore because of this that I introduce Umatac not from an academic framework, but rather a first person narrative. I hope to capture the feelings that I, as an outsider, often felt as I travelled to and from the village, and grew progressively frustrated with (in both myself and others) as I watched other outsiders drive through the village that became increasingly complex and nuanced with time spent in its borders.

A car ride down the western edge of Guam provides the perfect example of the physical and symbolic separation between the central, urban cities of Tumon and Tamuning and the rural, southern end of the island. Marine Corps Drive, a six-lane highway, propels us down a flat, straight path that imposes its will upon the landscape, bulldozed through the surrounding hills and eddies of the land as we leave behind the high-rise hotels and constructed beaches of Tumon Bay. The sea of concrete that borders the road begins to fade as we make our way further south, and as we turn on to Highway 2A at the gate of Naval Base Guam, the road is reduced to four lanes, and green vegetation begins to line the edges.

At Highway 2, the road curves through Agat, compressing into two lanes, and road-wide pot holes become more common. The foliage on either side of the road begins to creep into and over the road, obscuring the views temporarily, before opening up to the greenly vegetated and red, clay hillsides of Mt Lamlam, and the gorgeous vistas of Sella and Cetti bay. The road is no longer flat. It curves and drifts through the hillsides, more at the mercy of the landscape than audaciously plowing through it. The speed limit is mostly ignored now. Locals and tourists alike plummet down hills and brake hard for the sharp curves that navigate the ridgelines between hills. The stark contrast between our current circumstances and Marine Corps Drive leads to the shocking realization that we have traveled for only about half an hour and less than fifteen miles. At these speeds, and distracted by the gorgeous views of mountains and ocean, we may miss the subtle sign indicating that we have entered the borders of Umatac.

Just as easily, we may miss the grass sign indicating we are entering Umatac-proper, but without slowing down the potholes that mark the curve into the main drag through the village which have been there “since ever since” will, at the very least, jar us out of our blissful disengagement. Largely single-story concrete homes line the bumpy road through the village painted in various oranges, purples, and greens, all largely faded through years of sun. Sprinkled throughout the operational concrete homes are empty shells of former residences in various states of disrepair and reclamation by the surrounding jungle, as well as shuttered up varieties either abandoned entirely and awaiting a similar fate, or only used seasonally or on the weekends by residents who work further north and can’t afford the commute. *Sam’s by the Sea* stands as the lone Mom & Pop grocery store serving the village, its perpetually half-empty shelves occupying a similar concrete structure behind the battered remains of Umatac’s former outdoor library.

Tourists rarely stop there or anywhere along this stretch of road. Rather, they only occasionally pull up in front of the yellow-beige, recently refurbished exterior of San Dionisio church which overlooks Umatac Bay and stands in stark contrast to the quiet, rustic condition of the buildings around it. Similarly, they may also briefly stop in the parking lot outside the Mayor's office, directly adjacent to the chipped and faded Magellan Monument and opposite the shuttered and abandoned *Magellan's Landing* store that serve to mark an event of historic significance, but to the unaware traveler now serve more to obscure the view out over Umatac Bay and the larger Pacific Ocean beyond. More likely, people drive past both of these stops, glance curiously upward at the Umatac Bridge that is meant to celebrate the Spanish-Chamorro heritage of the village, but its blue and red spires and arches seem oddly ornate and out of place, and instead proceed up the hill directly after to the National Parks recognized *Fort Nuestra Señora de la Soledad*. From there, the entirety of Umatac Bay can be observed and photographed, as well as the surrounding coastline down to Fuha Rock. The superficial beauty of the place can be briefly remarked on before turning out of the parking lot and continuing south, missing the turn-off to the government subsidized housing that offers residence to the majority of the residents of Umatac, before proceeding to the gorgeous views of aqua-marine waters surrounding Cocos Island and the slightly more developed village of Merizo.

Therein lies Umatac in its present form, its eloquence, character, and charm largely hidden from those passing through who are not informed of its significance. There is little to no economic opportunity in the village. The impacts of development on the community demographics have only come in the form of families abandoning their homes for greater economic opportunity, growing problems of erosion, and a population that is largely absent through most of the day as they commute north for work, errands, and all other necessities of

contemporary living. In our brief drive through the village we have missed the stand just outside the first turn through the village that serves various local fruits or a friendly wave to all the cars that pass, we have missed the abandoned F.Q. Sanchez Elementary School, closed during budget cuts from Guam's Department of Education, despite serving as a center of community cohesion, stripped by vandals of all its copper wiring, and now fading into the jungle behind, we have overlooked the historic significance of the outdoor library and the Magellan Monument, and most importantly we have ignored and neglected the people, the culture.

In this way, Umatac serves as a microcosm for the feelings of many Chamorros on Guam. Steeped in history and significance, the original meeting point of European and Chamorro leaders, center of the Spanish galleon trade and former home of the Spanish Governor, leader of education and religious movements for years, and proud symbol of Chamorro pride and heritage, now largely lost on outsiders due to the rapid pace of outside investment and development they have little to no control over. Umatac, therefore, serves as the subject of this research. Hidden behind its new façade is the complex interplay of sociopolitical and power related discourses that have forced Chamorro to reconsider their identity in the contemporary world, and the voices and lifestyles of its residents can serve as a vehicle to explore the problems and possible solutions to the conditions that have created that external façade.

CHAPTER 3- LITERATURE REVIEW

3.1 Introduction

In his essay, “Stroll through the Worlds of Animals and Men” (1957), Jakob von Uexküll invites his readers to consider an oak tree from the perspectives of all of its potential inhabitants. Each creature bestows upon the tree a “functional tone”: shelter for a fox, a supportive branch for an owl, food resources for a squirrel, hunting grounds for an ant and a suitable reproductive environment for a beetle (Uexküll, 1957, 76-9). The tree does not exist as an objective reality, but is rather given meaning through its various different uses. In contrast, for a man, it may exist as a source of valuable raw material, or for a child it could appear alive and frightening. In this way, von Uexküll argues, humans are unique, in that our perceptions of an object on the landscape are not tied to the direct survival needs of an organism, but are rather limited only by our imaginations. It is by using this thought experiment that we can begin to explore how human beings derive a sense of meaning about objects, situations, and realities we are presented with within our environment. Human beings do not construct an understanding of the world based on objective reality, but rather by virtue of their own conceptions of the possibilities of being (Ingold, 2000).

This construction of meaning is an individual process for each of us, but is informed by culture, “that complex whole which includes knowledge, beliefs, arts, morals, law, customs, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by (a human) as a member of society” (Tylor, 1871, 1) and which develops the rules and structure upon which we cognitively frame, give meaning, and develop motivations and actions toward external circumstances (D’Andrade, 1992). For the Chamorro of Guam, the process of cultural construction and participation occurs in a colonial

environment where meaning is informed by discourses of power that operate on societal and individual levels (Monnig, 2007). These meanings are highly symbolic, but tie themselves to both the social and physical environments in which they are publically negotiated. It is through these definitions and circumstances, therefore, that the theoretical foundation of this thesis is derived in order to explore the role each has played on the contemporary construction and adaptation of Chamorro identity and culture. Its primary components rely on the principles of cognitive theory, discourse, and place attachment, as well as the methods that allow for the exploration of each of those components in a practical environment.

3.2 Cognitive Theory

“Culture” is an oft-cited and rarely critically analyzed component of human experience (Kohrt *et al.*, 2009). In order to understand the myriad and complex ways in which “culture” impacts individuals, their subjective experiences, and subsequent well-being a more functional definition than that originally proposed by Tylor (1871) is necessary. Cognitive theory and cognitive anthropology seek to provide that definition. From a cognitive anthropologist framework, the simplest definition of culture is best expressed as “...a system of beliefs, values, norms, and behaviors that are transmitted through social learning” (Kohrt *et al.*, 2009, 230). Such a definition provides a framework within which the processes of culture transmission and negotiation can be critically assessed, analyzed, and their impacts measured through methodological means. A brief exploration of cognitive theory is therefore necessary to establish the ways in which cultural anthropologists measure and describe culture.

The foundation of cognitive theory was perhaps first laid by Emile Durkheim who proposed that social phenomena could not be explained through the psychological properties of

individuals (1982[1895]). Rather, he proposed a collective consciousness exists that operates according to unique properties and shared representations. These representations allow personal sensory experience to take on collective meaning and mutual understanding (Durkheim, 1976 [1895]). This theory effectively divides a human being into two distinct parts; the first takes in external sensory information, and the second operates independent of that on a cognitive level, sorting the sensory data into socially approved understanding. Durkheim placed significance on the exercise of public ceremonies and rituals which served as indispensable guidelines for the ordering of events in the chronological development of society (Ingold, 1986).

British social anthropologists continued to expand on this division and the mental worlds that human beings construct independent from their experience in it. Mary Douglas aptly concluded that “as perceivers we select from all the stimuli falling on our senses only those that interest us, and our interests are governed by a pattern-making tendency... In a chaos of shifting impressions, each of us constructs a world in which objects have recognizable shapes, are located in depth, and have permanence” (Douglas, 1966, 36). Clifford Geertz further expanded on Durkheim’s ideas with his own symbolic anthropology, arguing that culture “is best seen not as complexes of concrete behavior patterns—customs, usages, traditions, habit clusters—... but as a set of control mechanisms—plans, recipes, rules, instructions—for the governing of behavior (Geertz, 1973, 44). Central to this argument is the idea that cultural symbols are created in public, social environments, rather than private, psychological settings. They exist extra-somatically, in the intersubjective space of social interaction and are used to “impose meaning upon experience” (1973, 44-5). Geertz viewed culture as a relatively unchanging framework of symbolic meanings that directed human feeling and action.

American cultural anthropologists broke from their British colleagues in trying to describe how variation occurs in cultural forms, and the agency an individual has in continuously reshaping and defining culture. Similar to British anthropologists, a separation was drawn between experience and cognition, particularly with Ward Goodenough's definition of culture as "whatever it is one has to know or believe in order to operate in a manner acceptable to [a society's] members" (Cited in D'Andrade, 1984, 89); however Goodenough argued that rather than existing in the extra-somatic space of society, cultural cognition occurred within the minds of individuals in the form of shared schemata. The theory of cognitive anthropology was developed attempting to describe the power of schemata—personal mental representations—on action (Tyler, 1969).

The central purpose of cognitive anthropology is to attempt to explain how individuals organize the chaos of external reality (Tyler, 1969). Largely, cognitive anthropologists argue we organize phenomena into ordered classes or models, which in turn give meaning to actions and perceptions. Quinn and Holland (1987) define cultural models as presupposed, taken for granted models of the world that are widely shared by the members of society and that play an enormous role in their understanding of that world and their behavior in it. D'Andrade (1992) further argues that these models do not merely represent the world, but rather possess motivational force and can shape people's feelings and desires. Strauss (1992) explains this motivational force by arguing that the realm of cognition is inseparable from the realm of affect, thus cultural models represent "thought-feeling" and not the seemingly passive processing of sensory information described by social anthropologists.

Rather than existing extra-somatically, schemata or cultural models are contained within the minds of individuals and publicly shared, negotiated, and developed through societal

participation (D'Andrade, 1992). Bruner (1990) continues, "by virtue of participating in culture, meaning is rendered *public* and *shared*... shared modes of discourse for negotiating differences in meaning and interpretation" (1990, 12-13). Though not universally accepted by cognitive anthropologists, the role of participation and practice within the (social) environment has taken on increased importance to the construction of shared schemata. Bourdieu (1972) has written extensively regarding the generation of *habitus*, or shared understandings of the world that exist in practice. Whereas some cognitive anthropologists might argue that cultural models exist independently of experience, Bourdieu argues that mastery of culture is only accomplished through routinely carrying out specific tasks, in short, being a practitioner, in order to allow an individual to grow comfortable in a particular setting. Lave (1988) expands on this particular view, arguing there is no distinction between thinking and doing, that thought is "embodied and enacted," and cognition is "seamlessly distributed across persons, activity and setting." (1988, 171).

3.3 Discourse, Colonial Power, and "Authenticity"

Embodied cultural meanings, be they Bourdieu's *habitus* (1972) or the shared schema of D'Andrade (1992), continue to share one critical feature; they are public and socially represented and negotiated between individuals, and in effect, do not operate within a vacuum, devoid of the influences of socio-political power structures that compete for influence. They are transmitted through the relationship of shared symbols we refer to as "language," a system of communication laden with cultural values and meaning that produce knowledge. A brief analysis of the relationship between language and knowledge is therefore necessary.

Michel Foucault (1972, 1977, 1980) and related philosophers provide the best analysis of this relationship. The values and meanings underlying language are developed through “discourse,” defined by Stuart Hall as “a group of statements which provide a language for talking about—i.e., a way of representing—a particular kind of knowledge about a topic. When statements about a topic are made within a particular discourse, the discourse makes it possible to construct the topic in a certain way. It also limits the other ways in which the topic can be constructed” (1997, 201). Foucault (1972) refers to this practice of associating statements together as “discursive formation,” the practice of which, as Hall continues, is “the practice of producing *meaning*. Since all social practices entail meaning, all practices have a discursive aspect. Discourse enters into and influences all social practices” (1997, 201-202).

Discursive formation occurs in direct relation to power, and the institutions that best control its production and distribution (Foucault, 1972). Again, Hall sums up this concept most articulately:

Discourses are ways of talking, thinking, or representing a particular subject or topic. They produce meaningful knowledge about that subject. This knowledge influences social practices, and so has real consequences and effects. Discourses are not reducible to class-interests, but always operate in relation to power—they are part of the way power circulates and is contested. The question of whether a discourse is true or false is less important than whether it is effective in practice. When it is effective—organizing and regulating relations of power—it is called a “regime of truth.” (Hall, 1997, 205)

While not ostensibly related to colonialism, Foucault and Hall provide a functional definition of discourse that can be directly applied to the role of colonial power relations in discursive formation between colonizer and colonized (Monnig, 2007). In effect, Monnig draws from Hall (1997) when she states “understanding ‘race’ and ‘colonialism’ as discourses... one can appreciate that discourse is ‘linked to the contestation over power.’ Systems of race and colonialism are at their heart about the struggles over control of power...” (2007, 17).

Monnig's (2007) logic is played out by considering the origin of colonial interactions between peoples. At its most basic, colonialism is the construction of a discourse to differentiate between two peoples. It is a process of "othering" (Said, 1979) that allows for a colonizing peoples to justify their continued incursion onto the lands and livelihoods of a colonized people. This incursion is justified through the development of value-laden statements and defining categories that indicate indigenous practices are fundamentally opposed to the values and benefits of colonized living (Monnig, 2007). It allows both the colonizer and colonized to codify, interpret, and act with respect to indigenous customs and identities, and it creates the points at which resistance to such relations of power can be contested (Foucault, 1980). Indeed, as Foucault states,

... There are no relations of power without resistances; the latter are all the more real and effective because they are formed right at the point where relations of power are exercised; resistance to power does not have to come from elsewhere to be real, nor is it inexorably frustrated through being the compatriot of power. It exists all the more by being in the same place as power; hence, like power, resistance is multiple and can be integrated in global strategies. (Foucault, 1980, 142)

As shown above, Monnig (2007) identifies both "race" and "colonialism" as discourses utilized by colonial powers on Guam. Beginning with the Spanish, these two discourses intertwined to delegitimize Chamorro claims to land and livelihood through the introduction of genetic hybridity and inauthenticity. Monnig (2007) operates under the Wilson and Yellow Bird definition, "Colonization refers to both the formal and informal methods (behaviors, ideologies, institutions, policies and economies) that maintain subjugation or exploitation of Indigenous Peoples, lands and resources. Colonizers engage in this process because it allows them to maintain and/or expand their social, political, and economic power" (2005, 2). She claims that colonial powers on Guam and their "colonial project was and is premised on notions of and practices which structure white superiority over Chamorro inferiority, I suggest Chamorros'

representations of themselves and others were reconfigured within racializing discourses; in other words, meaning systems of the colonizers and the colonized often merged through heterogeneous processes” (Monnig, 2007, 27).

Within this framework, Monnig (2007) argues that this dual use of racialized and colonized discourses constructs the notion of indigenous “authenticity.” She, along with Paige Raibmon, professor of history at the University of British Columbia, argue that authentic group identity is, fundamentally, a racial notion.

The easiest route to maintaining a “distinctiveness” or authentic indigeneity is through demonstrating unique outward physical characteristics—i.e., “ethnic identity”—assumed by outsiders (especially those making decisions about indigenous policies) to be associated with that group. An “Indian” should “look like” an Indian; a Pacific Islander should be recognizable as a Pacific Islander... Therefore, authentic indigeneity was perceived to be bounded, unique, and “traditional” in not only so-called cultural traits, but in their so-called phenotypic representations. (Monnig, 2007, 33)

Hall (1990) continues, arguing that cultural identities do, indeed, have histories, but like everything historical they are continuously reconsidered and adapted to fit the current circumstances of history, culture, and power. Monnig (2007) argues that in this way, “identity” is linked to Foucault’s discursive formation. “Identities are discursive products, and the relative “authenticity” of these identities is also constructed, and thereby not fixed” (Monnig, 2007, 42).

Monnig’s (2007) argument is salient, particularly when engaged in conversations with Chamorro who are attempting to describe to an outsider what it means to be Chamorro (discussed more in Chapter 5). Constructions of Chamorro identity vary widely from individual to individual, but each seem to engage with themes of “tradition,” which are important or relevant to the individual. It is therefore important to briefly explore the role colonial discourse and action has had on indigenous custom and tradition.

3.3.1 The Invention of Tradition

A central component of colonial action and discourse is the creation of categories within which indigenous peoples can identify and claim authenticity (Monnig, 2007). The fixed nature of such categories, however, ultimately leads to their uselessness as tools for effectively allowing contemporary members of a culture to engage with and fully use them as a source of identity. Eric Hobsbawm (1983) goes so far as to argue that the very notion of “tradition” is a recent cultural construct. He identifies “invented traditions,” as “a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behavior by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past” (Hobsbawm, 1983, 1). Traditions, therefore, in order to adhere to their perceived past, either real or invented, follow specific rules of invariance, and “impose *fixed* (normally formalized) practices, such as repetition” (1983, 2; emphasis added). He differentiates “tradition” from “custom,” the latter of which he argues does not preclude innovation and change within certain limits.

Ranger (1983) further explores this topic in the realm of colonial interaction, as he describes the role British administrators played in inventing African traditions. He argues that they systematically sought to codify and promote African “traditions” from previously flexible customs in order to adapt them to British colonial systems of governance, and “modernize” African thought and behavior. In the same way that Monnig (2007) argues that colonial discourse creates the meanings associated with Chamorro authenticity, Ranger argues that “the invented traditions of African societies—whether invented by the Europeans or by the Africans themselves in response—distorted the past but became in themselves realities through which a good deal of colonial encounter was expressed” (1983, 212). He continues,

Custom helped to maintain a sense of identity but it also allowed for an adaptation so spontaneous and natural that it was often unperceived. Moreover, there rarely existed in fact the closed corporate consensual system which came to be accepted as characteristic of 'traditional' Africa. Almost all recent studies of nineteenth-century pre-colonial Africa have emphasized that far from there being a single 'tribal' identity, most Africans moved in and out of multiple identities... These overlapping networks of association and exchange extended over wide areas. Thus the boundaries of the 'tribal' polity and the hierarchies of authority within them did *not* define conceptual horizons of Africans.
(Ranger, 1983, 248)

Van Binsbergen further explores this relationship between colonizer and colonized invention of tradition with respect to the power relations that they sought to serve in African, Chewa tribe identity.

Historians fail to qualify the alleged Chewa homogeneity against the historical evidence of incessant assimilation and dissociation of peripheral groups... They do not differentiate between a seniority system of rulers imposed by the colonial freezing of political dynamics and the pre-colonial competitive, shifting, fluid imbalance of power and influence.
(Quoted in Ranger, 1983, 248)

It is within this same colonial framework that the Chamorro have been subjected to the creation of their indigenous identity (Monnig, 2007). Bereft of a pre-colonial history, a consequence of Spanish colonial practices that eliminated public displays of Chamorro custom, adapted Chamorro linguistic concepts to suit European worldviews, and delegitimized Chamorro claims to land and legitimacy, the Spanish, American, and Japanese administrations that have alleged power on the island have all sought to impose fixed concepts of "Chamorro indigeneity" to serve their own political agendas. These invented traditions, either created by the colonizing power or by the Chamorro themselves were established to symbolize social cohesion, membership within the Chamorro community, or the inculcation of beliefs, value systems, and conventions of behavior that differentiated the Chamorro from their colonial counterparts (Hobsbawm, 1983).

The use of such traditions serves to act as an important component of identity formation for contemporary Chamorro, who can rally around perceived "tradition" to resist the power-

related discourses of authenticity that define their existence as a colonized, indigenous people (Monnig, 2007). As a form of resistance, however, they simultaneously serve to reinforce those same power relations (Foucault, 1980). To better understand the role of “tradition” for the Chamorro, it is important to consider the nature and constituent elements of those traditions. They are drawn from two primary sources, the relationships of individuals to the larger social environment in which Chamorro interact, and the symbolically unchanged home of their ancestors, the physical environment of Guam. These two sources comprise a social and physical environment and “place” to develop a sense of self in relationship to the larger world. Therefore the last constituent element of Chamorro identity formation that must be explored in detail is that of place attachment.

3.4. Place Attachment

The idea that individuals become attached to places and experience negative feelings when removed from them is not recent. Johannes Hofer first coined the medical term *nostalgia* in 1688 to describe a condition of Swiss mercenaries fighting in France who suffered acute bouts of homesickness, which manifested as fainting, high fevers, indigestion, stomach pain and death (Sanchez & Brown, 1994). In the early 20th Century the French philosopher Simone Weil stated that “to be rooted is perhaps the most important and least recognized need of the human soul,” (2001, 43) and similar feelings of loss have long been a part of disaster research, with victims of natural disasters often described as experiencing long-term negative health outcomes related to a loss of sense of place (Brown & Perkins 1992).

The first working definition of place attachment as the “bonding of people to places” was not presented until 1992 by Low and Altman (1992, 2). In the years since, place attachment as an

area of study has developed in many different theoretical, methodological, and applicable ways (Manzo & Devine-Wright, 2014). Each maintains a consistent theme: that places are given meaning by individuals through symbolic understandings about the essence or “content” of a place (Stedman, 2002), and those symbolic meanings are the foundation upon which attachment rests (Stedman, 2008). As well, place attachment operates as a private symbolic construction, but is constantly informed, negotiated, and manipulated by shared cultural meanings and allows individuals, through such negotiations to construct a sense of identity (Taylor, 2005). Displacement, or loss of place attachment, has been shown to have extreme negative health consequences (Rollero & De Piccoli, 2010), whereas positive place attachments can be a source of support and healing (Cox & Holmes, 2000). It is through this theoretical lens that anthropologists, sociologists, and human geographers have begun to measure the potential impacts of livelihood or ecological changes on an individual’s place attachment, and the capacity for adaptation to turmoil.

3.4.1 Development of Place Attachment Theory

Though cognitive anthropology remains a viable theoretical framework, it still fails to entirely explain the transition it supports between perception of raw sensory data and its eventual processing within the mind. Ingold’s critique specifies that “cognitive science assumes a static perceiver who has nothing to go on but transient patterns of sensory information that are, in themselves, quite insufficient to specify the objects and events that gave rise to them” (Ingold, 2000, 166). Ecological psychologists such as Gibson (1979) endeavor to explain how the mind interprets information by arguing that it is an active process dependent on the type of activity in which we are engaged. This reexamines perception from a practical standpoint, biasing sensory information relevant to the specific action the perceiver is engaged in. Reed (1988), Jackson

(1989), and Ingold (1993) have all attempted to expand on Gibson's ideas, and concluded that rather than sensory data being privately stored, interpreted, and then shared as many cognitive anthropologists argue, the social aspect is first realized as fellow participants all engage in activity in a shared environment. Jackson explains "by using one's body in the same way as others in the same environment one finds oneself informed by an understanding which may then be interpreted according to one's own custom or bent, yet which remains grounded in a field of practical activity and thereby remains consonant with the experience of those among whom one has lived" (1989, 135). Culture from this perspective develops and is maintained in relation to both the physical and social environment in which it is situated, making both essential to the functioning individual and a perception of self and others.

Attachment theory focuses on person to person bonding. It argues that individuals have an innate psychological attraction to attachment figures that provide the individual with security and comfort, as well as facilitating their growth (Scannell & Gifford, 2014). Place attachment has shown that individuals experience the same sorts of attachments to places (Altman & Low, 1992). Relph (1976) first argued for this by claiming that to be human "is to live in a world that is filled with significant places: to be human is to have and know *your* place" (Relph, 1976, 1)

Cognitive psychology contributed significantly to the development of place attachment. In an early contribution to the field, Sarbin (1989) described "emplotment." Drawing on cognitive science, he described how stories we tell locate us within symbolic environments and allow us to construct a coherent sense of self. Low (1992) expanded on this by arguing that the process of place-naming creates the symbolic environment in which we are bound to place. Similarly, Taylor (2005) argues that personal constructions of place identity are themselves constantly shaped by wider cultural meanings. Wilson (1988) ascribes even more power to

landscape, arguing that the inscription of objects or features on the landscape with cultural knowledge allows for culture's public transmission. Mutually shared understandings of encoded data represent the public representations of meaning, and the power of place rests in its capacity to situate such information, and be interpreted with direct engagement with the environment (Ingold, 2000). Morgan (2010) seems to support a more ecological psychology-minded interpretation of place attachment through a series of interviews with respondents describing childhood place experience. He describes a pattern of arousal, interaction, and pleasure when engaging with the environment that, through repetition, manifests as a long-term affective bond to the place.

Place attachment has been broken down into a number of different models and iterative components such as place dependence, place identity, and place bonding, each of which attempts to better refine and explain the power of place attachment to provide comfort and a sense of coherence (Lewicka, 2014). Specifically, place attachment has been shown to be strongly associated with maintaining continuity with the past, and historically relevant places are identified as far more personally meaningful than locations deprived of history. Bonaiuto *et al.* (1996) argue for the construction of personal identity in the context of place, claiming "the interpretation of the self would use environmental meanings to symbolize or situate individual identity. Thus one's identity can be partly formed, maintained and transformed in relation to features and uses of everyday environments" (1996, 160). In his early works on the subject, Relph (1976) describes the deepest mode of place experience as existential insideness: "A situation where one feels so completely at home and immersed in place that the importance of that place in the person's everyday life is not usually noticed unless the place dramatically shifts in some way" (cited in Seamon, 2014; 14).

A final, relatively unexplored but growing avenue of place attachment research involves the impact of climate change on people-place relations (Devine-Wright, 2014; Lewicka, 2011b). The loss of place attachment due to creeping environmental change—rather than sudden disaster—has been observed in Detroit with contributing factors such as damage to the environment, sustained job loss, outmigration, and social conflict (Stedman & Ingalls, 2013). Knez (2005) surveyed residents of Gothenburg, Sweden and found that those who disagreed most strongly with the statement “the climate here is like the climate in the environment of my childhood” also displayed weaker attachment to place. This suggests that climate changes in the environment could disrupt connections to both place and history.

Adger *et al.* (2011) further support this claim with their qualitative analysis among communities on Pacific atolls and the Inuit of Alaska. The authors observed climate change negatively impacting traditional knowledge and skills as well as weakening ties to land and sea. Further, managed relocations resulting from climate change-related resource depletion led to loss of cultural diversity and personal suffering. Marshall *et al.* (2007) argue that individuals experiencing strong place attachment are less willing to learn new employment related skills or be willing to relocate, particularly when their agency in such decisions is diminished. Finally, in his critical review of the relevant literature, Devine-Wright (2014) concludes that two open questions remain for future research; first whether place attachments enable or obstruct the ability of individuals to adapt to change, and second how place attachments are embedded within and reflect the politics of place change. The relevancy of this particular research on these two questions will be addressed later in the chapter.

3.4.2. Dwelling

Cognitive anthropologists still struggle with the question of how meaning is created, reproduced, and contested. Di Masso *et al.* (2014) identify the resurgence of embodiment as key to the development of meaningful theory related to the construction of place attachment. Specifically, they indicate that reconceiving place attachment emotions as emergent products of the interplay between bodily practices, material architecture and artifacts, and words that serve to recreate individuals' experience of place. As well, Lewicka (2011) concludes from her exhaustive literature review of place attachment that future research ought to focus more on embodied cognition.

In his early appeal for the use of embodiment as a paradigm for anthropological study, Thomas Csordas (1990), argues that the body should not be considered an object of study, but rather “the body is considered as the *subject* of culture, or in other words as the existential ground of culture” (1990, 5). Csordas sought to eliminate the duality between mind and body, however, Ingold (2000) argues that Csordas' statement only serves to reproduce it by still identifying the body as a separate entity. Rather, Ingold claims, “the process of embodiment is one and the same as the development of that organism in its environment” (Ingold, 2000, 170). It is in an attempt to justify this position that Ingold expands on his concept of dwelling.

Ingold (2000, 192) argues that “a place owes its character to the experiences it affords to those who spend time there... and these, in turn, depend on the kinds of activities in which its inhabitants engage.” Rather than attaching meaningful significance to the world, individuals gather meaning from the landscape. He rejects Tuan's (1974) argument about the environment being a given reality that exists externally and landscape being a cognitive achievement of the mature mind, instead claiming that it creates a false dichotomy between nature and humanity.

Rather, he borrows from Connerton (1989), arguing that embodiment is “a movement of *incorporation* rather than inscription, not a transcribing of form onto material but a movement wherein forms themselves are generated” (Ingold, 2000, 193).

Justification for this position is provided by the works of Gibson (1979) and Bateson (1973), the former of whom sought to eliminate the division between mind and body through a biological analysis of perception. Perception is not the product of a mind, Gibson argued, but rather the total organism as it immerses itself within an environment and experiences sensation from a network of sensory pathways. Each component of this interaction, notably the external environment, is essential to perception, and therefore the mind is not located within the head, but rather within the world. Bateson (1973) expands on this logic by arguing against processing as a refinement of already received data as cognitive anthropologists may see it, but rather a far more intricate system of relations involving multiple sensory pathways continuously responding within an environment. The “dwelling perspective,” therefore, emerges for Ingold (2000), as an active process, rather than reactive, and emerges as a continuous reengagement of various related and inseparable components of an organism and its environment. Shared representations emerge as a result of language, “an embodied knowledge of the world that is already shared thanks to people’s mutual involvement in the tasks of habitation” (Ingold, 2000, 147).

Till (2012) proposes the concept of an *oeuvre* as a metaphor for a community that acts as a living entity whose inhabitants are constantly engaging in acts of place-making. Injury to the system occurs when people and place are separated, preventing the ongoing acts of self-affirmation and identity creation. Fullilove (2014) draws from this metaphor to construct her “Frayed Knot Hypothesis,” or the idea that after long-term, “serial” forced displacement that disrupts place-making, people experience a loss of sense of place. Keith Basso, in an early

description of the meaning of places to the Western Apache seems to agree with Ingold as well, arguing for the study of “the layers of significance with which human beings blanket the environment,” and that researchers should attend to both the semiotic as well as material dimensions of an individual’s relationships with their surroundings (Basso, 1984, 49).

Further, Ingold (2000) identifies a common shortcoming of understandings of culture, claiming it is often defined as “what one needs to know in order to behave as a functioning member of one’s society” (138). He argues this creates a false dichotomy between the acquisition of cultural knowledge and its use. Based in a Western genealogical model of descent—wherein knowledge transmission is limited to genetic contributions of an individual, and the lessons one is able to teach the next generation before passing—this dichotomy artificially separates the intergenerational transmission of knowledge from environmentally situated experience. In short, life is lived in the present, continuously separating itself from the past and artificially considering it frozen and unable to continue contributing to a life-line. As Philippe Descola describes, “the present exists for us only thanks to the inexorable abolition of the past from which it proceeds” (1996, 226). Ingold concludes that Western ideologies consider land and history to be mutually exclusive, while for indigenous communities, “it is in their relationship with the land, in the very business of dwelling, that their history unfolds (Ingold, 2000, 139).

A common guiding principle in place attachment and place-related identity processes is maintaining continuity with the past (Devine-Wright & Lyons, 1997). Individuals are motivated to maintain constancy through personal narrations despite potentially devastating changes to place. Deleuze and Guattari (1988) propose an alternative to the genealogical model of descent that may account for desires to maintain consistency with the past. They describe a rhizome, a

dense and tangled cluster of interlaced threads that may connect to one another at any given point, and generally resembles a bush more than the traditional tree envisaged by the genealogical model. It is a relational world view which deviates from the rigid linearity of genealogy (Ingold, 2000), and more importantly incorporates landscape as a necessary component of developing a self-image. The purpose of parents becomes to use “their presence, their activities and the nurturance they provide to establish the necessary conditions in the environment for their children’s growth and development” (Ingold, 2000, 141).

Within this model, ancestors are not relegated to a chronologically separate time, but exist in the present where they are continuously providing lessons to living generations (Deleuze & Guattari, 1988). Living remains temporally bounded, but existence is not (Ingold, 2000), and the past remains as relevant in the present, rather than continuously being extinguished by it. Practical, empirical support for this hypothesis is provided by Lye (1997) in his in-depth ethnographic description of Batek hunter-gatherers. To the Batek, trees represent living representations of past ancestors, visited in order to maintain a connection to all others both socially and physically. Drawing from Deleuze and Guattari (1988), he describes how “important place-names, trails and familiar campsites, like roots of a rhizome, integrate diverse elements of the forest and serve as passageways for the ongoing experiences of people” (Lye, 1997, 166). Similarly, Basso (1996) describes how the Western Apache attach significance to places through the use of names that elicit moral lessons to guide present generations and exist independent of traditional Western chronologies.

Similarly, David Anderson (2000) proposes an alternate model of relationships to the natural environment: sentient ecology. Within this theoretical framework he argues that indigenous peoples operate on knowledge systems developed through relationships with animals

and other environmental components. It is not a formalized knowledge system, nor is it transmissible outside of its direct application, but rather it is based in feelings developed through the experience of living and surviving in a particular environment. Ingold (2000) identifies this as intuition, and expands on the uncomfortable placement of this concept in Western thought. While often considered an inferior knowledge system because it is not subject to the same reasoning as rational, formalized thought processes, he argues that intuition is an essential foundation for any potential “higher order” reasoning. It provides the initial justification guided by the conditions of life upon which it is established. Dreyfus and Dreyfus (1986) support such a conclusion, expanding on the universality of such knowledge and the omnipresence of it for the performance of everyday tasks.

3.5 The Role of Agency in Adaptation

Regardless of whether Ingold’s (2000) dwelling perspective can meaningfully contribute to an understanding of the construction and negotiation of place attachment, he and a large number of other scholars agree on the role empowerment and agency can play in either maintaining or disrupting an individual’s sense of place. Reason (1987) states “Landscapes change; and change is itself an intrinsic aspect of our experience of landscape. The landscape is a polyrhythmic composition of processes whose pulse varies from the erratic flutter of leaves to the measured drift and clash of tectonic plates” (quoted in Ingold, 2000, 201). It is not, therefore, change alone that disrupts and negatively impacts attachment, but rather the removal of an individual’s ability to adapt to that change.

Perkins & Zimmerman (1995) define empowerment as a multi-level process by which people gain control over their lives, democratic participation in the life of their community, and a

critical understanding of their environment. Brown *et al.* (2003) state further that emotional ties to one's community are social processes that foster social cohesion and control. These processes can largely be disrupted by natural disasters, and indeed Brown and Perkins (1992) and Fullilove (1996) identify both the acute disasters as well as subsequent recovery efforts which often ignore residents' understandings and perceptions of community in favor of need-based aid, as ultimately harmful in the long-term. The authors claim such actions separate individuals from the decision-making process and undermine the necessary feelings of empowerment that are required for redevelopment of place attachment.

Governing bodies can have enormous influence on empowerment concerning land resources. Churchman and Sadan (2004) conclude from their study of public participation in governmental policies and environmental movements that inclusive governance and participatory process are crucial to secure the social, cultural, and economic sustainability of environmental policies. Bonaiuto *et al.* (2002) warn that underestimating the participatory process and inclusiveness creates a negative circle. Specifically, in studying land use for farming and agriculture versus protected area designations, place attachment formed the justification for protests and refusal to comply with environmental regulation. Conversely, Devine-Wright (2011) used mixed-methods to understand residents' perceptions of a tidal wind project in Northern Ireland. Given opportunities to participate in the consideration and planning of the project, it was viewed as boosting local distinctiveness, and that particular interpretation led to widespread acceptance as residents viewed the project as a "good fit" with their place.

Ingold (2000) meaningfully creates a metaphor between the change in an environment and the growth of an organism. In both instances, the essential nature of the object of study remains the same, but if we sample it at different, fixed points in time we would describe it as

having changed. So too with the growth of knowledge and persons in the context of their involvement with the environment. “What would really break the continuity, however, would be if people were forcibly constrained to replicate a pattern fixed by genealogical descent, or to ‘traditionalize the traditional’” (Ingold, 2000, 147-148). In short, agency and empowerment appear to be integral to the ongoing maintenance of place attachment, and natural or political movements which remove these components may be devastating to populations and their well-being.

3.6 Relating Theory and Chamorro Identity

It is with these three major theoretical frameworks in mind that the lifeways of the Chamorro of Guam can be critically analyzed. For them, the construction of a cultural and personal identity is a process of cognition that has been dramatically influenced by discourses of power and colonialism, and continues to draw from deeply embodied experiences in the social and physical environments they occupy. Chamorros must engage in daily negotiations through the use of these discourses, and through the varied factors that contribute to either removing or providing individuals with the ability to maintain agency over their own self-definitions. As well, these negotiations are mediated by places, embodied in practice, symbolically understood, or physically located, from which they can draw on culturally-salient meanings that contribute to their worldview and identity, and either reify existing power structures or serve as loci of resistance against dominant, hegemonic, colonial power. The significance of each, and the specific way the Chamorros of Umatac engage with and enact these theories are discussed at length in the chapters that follow.

CHAPTER 4- METHODS

4.1 Introduction

The research for this thesis was primarily conducted over the course of 97 days of fieldwork from September 7th, 2014 to December 12th, 2014 on the island of Guam, and involved a mixed-methods approach, roughly following that established by Weller (2007) for cultural consensus theory. In addition, ethnographic observations and note-taking were made throughout the course of the fieldwork. Initial participant observation and unstructured interviews began on September 7th, and led to 21 recorded, semi-structured interviews over the course of October and November. Responses to questions in the semi-structured interviews established the foundation for the construction of a structured survey, given to participants from late November until my departure in December. Over the course of the fieldwork, notes were taken on observations made for 5 or 6 hours each day, the timing of which varied depending on the circumstances of daily interactions with the communities in which I was staying. Limited analysis and coding of notes, as well as the semi-structured interviews was made while in the field, but the bulk of data analysis occurred during the spring, 2015 semester after returning to Colorado State University. Joe Quinata, Chairman of the Guam Preservation Trust and *Humätak* Community Foundation, was consulted throughout my stay on Guam, and he, as well as several other members of the community I worked with, graciously responded to emails following fieldwork on the island in order to provide advice, perspective, and reflect upon the analysis of data in order to get culturally competent feedback throughout the process of acquiring and analyzing data.

4.2 Participant Observation

Participant observation occurred primarily in two different and distinct locations on Guam. I arrived on Guam expecting to take residence in the rural, southern village of Umatac (*Humätak*) within a week and conduct the entirety of my research within the confines of the village. However, a series of earthquakes and consistently poor weather conditions left my designated residence in the village in a state of uninhabitable disrepair until early October. As such, I spent the first month of residency in Guam as the live-in guest of a Chamorro family in the semi-urban, centrally-located hamlet of Agaña Heights. Although I frequently traveled to Umatac, the bulk of my early participant observation occurred in Agaña Heights. The culture of each village, although similar in many ways, also had many distinct differences that helped to shape many of my understandings regarding Chamorro lifeways. The family I stayed with was kind enough to allow me to observe and take notes on their daily lives over the course of my stay, under the condition that I not write specifically about them within my thesis. As such, I have lumped all of my subsequent methods and findings together under the false guise of it having taken place in Umatac in order to ensure a suitable amount of anonymity for the family, and the ways in which particular observations shaped my eventual analysis (I have also presented this thesis to the family to ensure their approval).

4.2.1 Participant Observation: Data Collection

Permission for all interactions with informants was approved through the Colorado State University Research Integrity & Compliance Review Office. All informants I interacted directly with throughout all three phases of the research participated voluntarily and without receiving any direct compensation and oral, informed consent was sought from and received by any informant before engaging in more focused information gathering.

In order to gain a better understanding of everyday reality for Chamorro living on Guam, I spent roughly six hours a day conducting designated participant observations, where I would write ethnographic notes or jottings that were expanded on later that evening in the privacy of my own residence. The reality for many of the residents of Umatac is that they leave the village during the middle of the day in order to work in different villages on the island, so the bulk of these observations took place in the morning or evening when the possibility of being invited into a gathering was much higher. The majority of these observations took place at public gatherings or fiestas, either at the Mayor's office or in the backyard of a family's home. Second, I attended weekly Sunday Mass at the local church, as well as other, larger, religious festivals or ceremonies (most notably funeral masses and rosary feasts). In addition, I attended more private gatherings involving only a few members of a family and close friends, typically involving the preparation and consumption of a meal. Finally, I was invited or joined groups of Chamorro on hiking and fishing trips, or going to bars and restaurants around Guam. Each of these settings provided valuable information regarding the daily life experiences of Chamorro on Guam, much of which provided context, but was not directly explored during subsequent interviews.

Emerson *et al.*'s (2011) writings regarding the recording of notes while in the field served as my major guiding principle with respect to my own note taking during participant observation. Very early on in my research, I noticed a shift in the formality or mood of the individuals around me when I took out my notebook to make notes. Therefore, very often, I tried to avoid doing so and instead relied on mental notes that I would expand on later as I wrote detailed notes of the day's activity in private. Recognizing that this came at the expense of fleeting insights or ideas that could not be remembered throughout the day, I would also excuse myself from interactions from time to time to make a quick jotting or voice-recording on my cell phone. While this

preserved many ideas, it also was not a perfect system, and I am forced to acknowledge that key insights may have been sacrificed in the effort to maintain more casual, informal interactions.

I attempted to be as non-influential as possible during these observations, endeavoring as best as possible within each moment to construct, as well as improvisation would allow, non-leading questions or statements, and conceding to those I was observing the direction and subjects of our conversation. I also endeavored, as much as possible, to remove the label of “participant observation” from my interactions, as it would inherently bias the information I deemed important within each conversation. Rather, I attempted to simply be an active participant in any situation and use my notes as reflections of what the participants deemed important. Obviously this, too, was not a perfect system.

Very often, at some point over the course of an interaction, participants would take an active interest in my research and the reasons for my having chosen Guam and the Chamorro as subjects. The fact that these participants often felt themselves unworthy of research was, itself, interesting (discussed more in Chapter 5), but in such moments I attempted to describe my research interests in as specific terms as possible in order to avoid value statements associated with the topics, without being dishonest. For instance, I would discuss how I received an undergraduate degree in biology, and so I became interested in the Brown Tree Snake as an invasive species impacting the lives of people on Guam. In this way, I do feel that I led participants to talk about my original research interests in the perception and use of natural resources, but without priming them with value-based terms such as “nature” and “Chamorro.” In all other ways, my goal was to remove my own influence from the discussions and interactions and reflect on them immediately afterward.

4.2.2 Participant Observation: Data Analysis

Analysis of my fieldnotes was vital to the reinterpretation and focusing of my project goals. I engaged in limited, grounded theory coding, guided by Strauss and Corbin (1998) during the final week in October, prior to the development and implementation of my semi-structured interviews. Doing so keyed me into the major themes participants had been willing to discuss throughout participant observation sessions, notably the consistency with which importance was placed on topics and themes related to Chamorro identity, rather than their perception and use of natural resources. In addition, returning to and reflecting on my fieldnotes throughout the remainder of my fieldwork and the process of more formal data analysis once back in Colorado, consistently served as an important instrument of interpretation and analysis. My engagement with them throughout each evening provided a means of articulating and interpreting the experience of each day, which invaluable allowed me to reconsider my own assumptions and biases within the research, before establishing more nuanced and informed interpretations. Given the large variety of circumstances and environments in which fieldnotes were taken, they allowed me to reflect on working ideas I had about Chamorro cultural practices in a wide range of contexts, and pull larger meanings from certain value structures that appeared mundane within single interactions, but became important across many interactions.

Finally, I worked very closely with Joe Quinata in his capacity as Chairman of the Guam Preservation Trust and *Humätak* Community Foundation, as well as being a longtime, Chamorro resident of Umatac. I often sought his council while in the field in order to ensure that the ways in which I was interacting with the community were culturally appropriate, and to provide meaningfully articulated responses to the conclusions I was drawing from fieldnotes. This allowed me to further reflect and adapt the interpretations I was making at the time.

Acknowledging his influence on the project, I received his permission to refer to him directly at times throughout this paper.

4.3 Semi-Structured Interviews

4.3.1 Semi-Structured Interviews: Data Collection

Semi-structured interviews were conducted from October through November, and were meant to clarify and expand on themes observed during initial participant observation. Questions in the interview (see Appendix A) were meant to illicit responses concerning Chamorro livelihoods and ways of life, and the significance of particular personal and community experiences, as well as their impact on the participant's sense of identity. While the protocol remained the same throughout, it became clear after several interviews, which questions informants seemed more willing to expand on, and which seemed to confuse the informant or fail to illicit in-depth analysis. As such, the time spent in follow-up questions for each was adapted in order to get the most efficient, meaningful interview.

Interviews were generally conducted outside, and not entirely removed from the social and physical environments in which the informants felt most comfortable. As such, interruptions did occasionally occur, and the pace of the interview could be broken, but every effort was made to avoid other individuals contributing to answers made by the primary informant. While this may have impacted the "pure" integrity of several interviews, I found it necessary, as attempts to isolate informants from such environments created enormous artificial barriers that limited responses in extreme ways. For both the minors interviewed, permission was given by the interviewee's parents, and both were conducted in the presence of a trusted Chamorro adult,

obviously impacting the nature of their answers, but consideration for this was made in the analysis of each interview.

4.3.2 Semi-Structured Interviews: Data Analysis

The nature and timing of fieldwork required that, similar to my fieldnotes, I conduct limited, in-field grounded coding of my semi-structured interviews in order to create a foundation to construct the survey portion of data collection. As such, fieldnotes were made at the conclusion of every interview, regarding what I thought to be the important themes surrounding each interview. A week after, running notes were taken while listening to each interview, and those notes were compared to my initial fieldnotes to determine the principle important components of each interview. In this way, I hoped to develop a rough grounded theory as guided, again, by Strauss and Corbin (1998).

The principal themes that emerged from this period of analysis were *loss of agency*, *institutionalization of knowledge*, and *rise of individualism*. These themes emerged from both the answers given to me from respondents, as well as the body of literature this research adds to. Each contained numerous “sub-themes,” particularly related to specific circumstances in which informants often described and inter-related the themes. These subthemes were expanded on after each interview was officially transcribed.

Over the first few months following my return to Colorado, I engaged in focused transcription of interviews, once again listening through each, and transcribing those sections which best applied to the major codes I had determined with my in-field coding technique. I read over each printed interview transcript twice while making initial notes regarding keywords and concepts that were repeated often in order to follow, as closely as possible, procedures recommended by Bogden and Biklen (1982) and Sandelowski (1995) regarding the most

effective ways to extract meaning from text. Finally, more widespread coding was completed using MAXQDA software. This allowed for more complex recognition of patterns across interview transcripts, and ultimately for more complete, accurate reflection on the qualitative responses given by informants during my reflection and writing of results.

4.4 Survey

4.4.1 Survey Construction and Data Collection

The survey (see Appendix B) was composed of 97 questions, broken up into five sections: demographic information, personal livelihood, perceived community livelihood, personal values, and a slightly modified Cohen *et al.* (1983) Perceived Stress Scale. The personal and perceived community livelihood sections included categorical variable-based value questions on a Likert-scale from “strongly disagree” to “strongly agree.” Many of the questions in the personal livelihood and perceived community livelihood were identical in order to illicit both respondent-oriented and informant-oriented answers to questions. The former tried to get participants to reflect on how they personally felt about the importance of a particular statement, while the latter asked them to consider the question with respect to how they think “Chamorro within their community” feel. The personal values section introduced an ordinal variable-based response to similar value statements, arranged in a Likert-scale from “not important” to “most important.” Finally, the Cohen *et al.* (1983) Perceived Stress Scale (PSS) was meant as a measure of subjective well-being, in order to see whether consonance with the consensus model established in other portions of the survey was at all correlated to increases or decreases in stress, a phenomena well established by Dressler *et al.* (2005) and Dressler *et al.* (2007).

Sixty printed copies were made of the survey and prepared for distribution within the community. Given the interrelatedness of the residents of Umatac, as well as the continuing apprehension of several of the members of the community toward my presence and research aims without being introduced through other family members, I determined that a random distribution of surveys based on the geographic placement of houses would not necessarily achieve the desired result of a large demographic variety or quantity of responses. Rather, the survey was distributed primarily over the course of Thanksgiving Day, as I visited various social gatherings and could assess the interrelatedness and variety of social circles present at each event, before engaging in a more focused application of surveys in order to maximize the demographic variety present in the survey. Subsequent surveys were given throughout the end of November and early December following the same procedure of gathering a maximum number of individuals representing a variety of demographic ages, genders, and occupations. In addition, I trained a Umatac resident in the presentation of the survey, and instructions for particular demographics to seek out in order to get responses from various residents in the area who wished to complete the survey, but expressed an apprehension of doing so in my presence. On average, the survey took about 25 minutes to complete. The large number of respondents allowed for rather robust statistical analysis of all aspects of the survey.

4.4.2 Survey: Data Analysis

Survey data was stored, unviewed, until my return to Colorado in order to safely ensure the anonymity of respondents from even me. I then organized the data in an Excel spreadsheet before inputting it into UCINET Software in order to determine whether a consensus existed within the surveyed population with respect to ideas concerning what a Chamorro ought to value. In addition, UCINET analyzed the competency of each individual surveyed to the observed

consensus. This value became vital in the analysis of respondent's reports of subjective well-being according to the PSS.

In addition, the data was inputted into Stata: Data Analysis and Statistical Software, in order to parse out the relevance of particular sets of independent variables to the dependent variable of subjective well-being in a series of regression analyses in order to better understand and explore the intricacies of the data set. The particular statistical procedures used in each instance are described in greater detail in Chapter 7.

4.5 Ethnographic Follow-Up

Throughout the spring 2015 semester as I reviewed and analyzed data and wrote the chapters for this thesis, I continued to consult and seek the feedback of Joe Quinata, as well as other Chamorro informants on Guam through emails. Doing so continued to help me articulate ideas that I began to develop only after reengaging with the academic literature relevant to my fieldwork, as well as continuously ground my conclusions in a relevant context for the subjects of my work, the Chamorro. Their thoughtful and articulate reactions to my writing and conclusions regarding their culture were a welcome critique and check on my unfortunately common propensity to disregard my own relative inexperience with the Chamorro before making broad-based, far reaching inferences from limited time spent with their culture.

4.6 Analysis of Methodology

4.6.1 Cultural Consensus Theory

The reason for the application of cultural consensus theory in this thesis is manifold. Attempting to understand meaning-making, researchers have relied on mainly qualitative

descriptions from informants (Williams, 2014). Focusing on place attachment theory, Gustafson (2001) used qualitative analysis of semi-structured interviews that asked participants to identify meaningful places and then to indicate their level of attachment to different spatial levels of place (community/village, city, county, etc...). From this he was able to confirm theoretically proposed positive benefits of place attachment, such as its ability to be a source of self-identification (Ingold, 2000; Taylor, 2005), as well as develop a three-pole model for understanding place attachment. Places, Gustafson (2001) concluded, are conceptualized around the poles of self, others, and environment, and the interaction between the three on various scales. He proposes this framework as a way to analyze future studies regarding place meanings and how they are negotiated and maintained.

Manzo (2005) used in-depth qualitative interviews to analyze place meanings around the themes of the meaning and importance of different places, feelings about experiences in the respondents' places of residence, and past environmental experiences. Using grounded theory as outlined by Strauss and Corbin (1998), Manzo (2005) successfully coded interview responses to show that relationships to place can provide positive associations such as a sense of belonging and social connectedness, or negative associations such as a sense of threat or exclusion.

Quantitative analysis of survey data to identify place meanings has also been employed by researchers, though it is deficient in a qualitative foundation to determine the validity of questions asked, and often serves a very limited epistemological goal (Williams, 2014). Ryan (2009) analyzed the role of place attachment on shopping behavior in Australia and used a qualitative phase of interviews and photo description to develop quantitative survey questions to test the validity of important variables identified in the former phase. The statistical analysis, however, fails to go more in-depth than a percentage of explained variance. Perhaps the most

successful application of mixed methods in place attachment research to date comes from Devine-Wright & Howes (2010), who combined interviews, discussion groups, and questionnaires to show the impact of place attachment on feelings about a proposed wind energy park (described in Chapter 3). Devine-Wright continues to acknowledge the widely accepted opinion among place attachment scholars that current research is missing an effective mixed methodology which combines the inherent value of narrative descriptions of place with the statistical validation of quantitative analysis (Hernández *et al.*, 2014; Lewicka, 2011a; Manzo & Devine-Wright, 2014).

Cultural consensus theory (CCT) provides a potential method to collect this combination of qualitative and quantitative data. Drawing from the theoretical perspectives of cognitive anthropology, it assumes that culture exists as a series of shared schemata that inform and provide meaning to life experience, and can be estimated from responses to a series of related questions around a particular cultural domain (Weller, 2007). Using the descriptive depth of qualitative interviews to identify key themes and develop a model of a particular cultural domain, grounded coding as validated by Manzo (2005) and developed by Strauss and Corbin (1998), can be used to design a quantitative survey to test the validity of a supposed model and estimate the most culturally correct answers and cultural knowledge and accuracy of individual informants through the aggregation and analysis of responses (Weller, 2007).

The benefit of such an approach is that it differs from a traditional reliability analysis in which answers are first estimated and then individual competence is calculated. Rather, CCT derives the appropriate cultural response from individuals, and then estimates the confidence in each answer based on the variation observed (Weller, 2007). In this way, an attempt is made to maintain the value of narrative descriptions, which become the basis for quantitative

questionnaires, and are subsequently tested for reliability and validity based on respondents' agreement. It attempts to describe a specific cultural domain in a culturally relevant manner, which does not inherently pre-bias the data to a particular theoretical perspective and limit the interpretation of data.

The use of CCT doesn't necessarily limit the ability of data to show how a population perceives and embodies the natural environment, and does not artificially impose a dichotomy between nature and humanity (see Chapter 3, Ingold, 2000), while still conforming to current place attachment theory, which argues that "symbolic meanings about place can be translated into cognitions or beliefs: descriptive statements about 'what kind of place this is'" (Stedman, 2008, 66). As well, it significantly expands the number of statistical procedures a researcher can perform on the data so as to improve upon results only suggested by Ryan (2009) or Devine-Wright and Howes (2010). Finally, considering Devine-Wright's (2014) open questions when it comes to climate change, CCT offers the opportunity to model understandings of the environment in the language and embodied emotions of its respondents, as well as potentially elicit the ways in which place attachment is embodied and either adapts or fails to adapt to change.

4.6.2 Cultural Consonance Theory

Furthermore, Dressler and Bindon (2000) and Dressler *et al.* (2005) expanded on the significance of CCT by developing cultural consonance theory. Consonance theory measures the amount a particular individual actually feels they "believe in" or embody what they know to be the consensus belief about normative behavior within a specific cultural context. In populations of African Americans (Dressler and Bindon, 2000) and Brazilians identifying with what they believe to be "a good life" (Dressler *et al.*, 2005), the authors have sought to validate consonance

theory and showed that the level any particular individual is consonant with a cultural consensus model can be used as an accurate predictor of biological markers for stress and impacts on wellbeing.

Clearly, the Chamorro have been experiencing rapid social and environmental change for which they may lack the agency to effectively adapt cultural practices and understandings, and which may have had dramatic impacts on Chamorro place-identity and attachment. In addition to the role Westernization may play in continued Chamorro cultural ambiguity and loss of both physical and social sense of place, McDade (2002) provides evidence that status incongruities inherent in the practices of Westernization can have dramatic negative health consequences. In an analysis of Samoan youth experiencing Westernization, he observed that status incongruity to a cultural consensus framework of success within both a traditional and more Western model significantly increased the presence of Epstein-Barr virus antibodies, a biological marker of stress (Borders *et al.* 2010). Given the geographical and economic similarities to the Samoa, McDade (2002) provides an extremely relevant precedent for understanding the impact of similar influences on Chamorro well-being.

McDade (2002) has provided regional support for such a hypothesis with his study of Samoan youth, and the conclusion that status incongruity or lack of consonance with a perceived cultural model of social position leads to increases in stress and negatively impacts well-being. In addition, the role of tourism in “destination branding” has well established precedents (Bui and Perez 2010), and can have very negative outcomes in terms of the role it plays in glorifying particular cultural elements of a community, and how it freezes both international and local perceptions of place in a fixed, unchangeable framework.

4.7 Conclusion

The open-ended, purely qualitative origins of this research, which slowly progressed to more structured, quantitative data acquisition allowed for a necessary reevaluation and repurposing of the nature of the research. I flew to Guam with a purely academic understanding and knowledge of its people, and assuming that natural resources, and their subsequent loss through the introduction of invasive species or climate change, would play an important role in Chamorro well-being. While I will still discuss the validity of this assertion in the analysis of my data, initial, qualitative, ethnographic interactions with Chamorros made it clear to me that natural resources rarely figured into their perceptions of daily activities and well-being. Rather, if I were to answer the questions I wished to answer, I would have to place them within a larger context of power relations and identity issues that are far more prevalent and at the forefront of Chamorro consciousness than the role nature plays in place attachment, identity, and well-being.

This reevaluation came with both positive and negative attributes. At the same time that I realized that the role nature played in the creation of Chamorro identity and well-being required me to place it within a larger context of sociopolitical and economic factors, I very quickly realized that to properly answer these questions was beyond the limited timeframe and scope of my Master's Thesis. As such, I had to knowingly choose to ignore factors that absolutely contribute to the creation of identity and well-being, but which were extremely peripheral to the goals of this thesis. It follows that although I feel this work an accurate representation of my experiences and an articulate description of Chamorro values, it remains incomplete. Throughout my analysis I do my best to identify and reflect on its shortcomings, not to point out its weaknesses, but rather to acknowledge that I can recognize other factors in play in the issues I

am discussing, and do not consider this writing to be a work of absolute truth, but rather a small contribution to a much larger, important area of research.

Similarly, I do not contend that this thesis represents an accurate, fundamental understanding of Chamorro culture, but rather a reflection of the public discourse that I as a White representative of the colonial power currently operating on Guam could most accurately illicit. Not previously being aware of the nature and extent that colonial power had impacted Chamorro perceptions of mainland United States citizens, and particularly academics, it became very clear to me that although the majority of Chamorros I met were extraordinarily generous and kind, it would be impossible for me to establish the trust necessary to truly explore issues such as the impact of American acculturation practices, and true Chamorro feelings regarding those topics. It is for these reasons that reflecting with Joe Quinata and other Chamorro informants throughout the process of data acquisition and thesis writing has been so important. While I can still not claim the fundamental truth of any of my conclusions, I can at least claim their relevancy, and general applicability, to the Chamorros I interacted with.

In addition, the mixed-methods approach utilized by this research allowed for a more nuanced, robust data set. Each progression from participant observation, to semi-structured interviews, to fully-structured surveys, served as an internal validity check and expansion on the themes and important concepts explored in the previous methodological approach. The semi-structured interviews confirmed the willingness of participants to qualitatively expand on topics first observed in participant observations, and the survey allowed for a more widespread, quantitative confirmation of the acceptance of particular cultural values explored in detail in the semi-structured interviews. In this way, my research could progress to relevant, more finely-tuned answers to my research questions, while still maintaining a large enough data set to place

my answers in the larger context of issues Chamorros were willing to discuss. Incorporating the language of informants, the survey represented a more linguistically valid, culturally-relevant interpretation of important Chamorro values, than had it been developed after a purely academic reflection of the available literature.

CHAPTER 5- OBSERVATIONAL DATA ANALYSIS

5.1 Introduction

The daily life experience of a Chamorro is a process of identity formation that operates within a continuously changing environment on both spatial and temporal scales, and within the power-related discourses of continued colonialism. This was played out and observed within the framework of this project in both the semi-structured interviews (Chapter 6) and the survey (Chapter 7), but also in the daily interactions I had with Chamorro throughout the course of my fieldwork. My experience was informed by a solid theoretical foundation, applied to the myriad of different answers I received when asking Chamorros in a diversity of settings, and in as non-leading a way as possible “what do you value in the world?”

Although the answers to this question seemed to focus on three main themes (discussed in detail in Chapter 6), they also surrounded a larger issue of identity, and ultimately “what it means to be Chamorro” in the contemporary world. In this way, I developed various theories tied to the experiences I was having, and grounded within anthropological theory, that also sought to answer, in a more direct and holistic sense, how environmental and livelihood changes were impacting contemporary Chamorro cultural and physical well-being. Though not directly expressed—very few of the Chamorros I spoke with mentioned the term “identity” over the course of a conversation—I observed that the ways in which daily life experiences impact individual Chamorros seemed to indicate that identity formation was a key component to answering my research question. The following chapter seeks to explore these observations in greater depth.

5.2 Partitioning Identity: “Livelihood” and “Way of Life”

Fixed definitions of authentic, indigenous Chamorro identity, particularly in the context of rapid economic development, have impacted the perceptions of the Chamorro I spoke to regarding their own identity such that they now see themselves occupying two different “selves” in different contexts. These contexts fall into roughly a “traditional, cultural” category, identified as a Chamorro “way of life” and a “modern, Westernized” category, identified as Chamorro “livelihood.” In many interactions I had with Chamorro engaged in various different activities, they would often turn back to me—knowing I was interested in “observing their culture”—and proclaim that they were engaging in an activity that either was or was not “Chamorro.” If the latter was the case, they would then often jokingly request that I stop paying attention.

While given as an aside, I saw these jokingly-made divisions recapitulated in embodied understandings of livelihood throughout more serious interactions and interviews. It became clear to me that participation in consumerist behaviors was very often given negative connotations with regard to how it impacted an individual’s personality and sense of indigenous identity. Technology was another commonly addressed issue with contemporary lifestyles. Although not all negative, many of the individuals I spoke with saw the widespread use of cell phones and tablets as the causative force behind declining community values and well-being.

This division went beyond so-called phenotypic displays of indigeneity (Monnig, 2007) to deeper, personal understandings about the role Westernization played in the loss of cultural values such as respect, family support, community support, and identity in general. To many of the individuals I spoke with, their cultural identity seemed to exist in opposition to their Westernized identity, and rather than intermixing, participating in the latter was seen as detrimental to the former. This stems, I argue, from an embodied understanding of “Chamorro

culture” as a set of fixed, traditional practices that one can either engage with or not. This false dichotomy does not allow for the adaptation of “traditional” values to contemporary circumstances. I’ll explore some of these traditions in the sections that follow.

Three themes are cited during any conversation with a Chamorro when asked “what are important Chamorro values?” The first is respect, the second is family, and the third is language. Each of these three larger themes breaks down into a series of sub-themes, and there are certainly other themes that are often touched on (i.e. religion), most of which are well beyond the scope of this work. I identify the three themes above due to how often they were cited, as well as their interrelatedness and value in helping to determine the ways Chamorros construct social networks, use them to create a personal and cultural identity, and how each represents a symbolic, fixed tradition, the customs of which are continuously being reconfigured and given contemporary context.

5.2.1 Chamorro Respect

Any casual interaction with Chamorros involves immense social networks, food, laughter, and extraordinary hospitality. These social networks often involve direct family relations, although from an outsider’s point of view, it is difficult to tell who, and how, each member is related to one another. A joke I heard on multiple occasions was “put two Chamorros who have never met into a room, and within half an hour they will know how they are related to each other. Give them another half an hour and they will know how *you* (the P.I.) are related to them” (fieldnotes 9/9/14). Meeting Chamorros at any gathering is a time consuming process, as it often involves the name of the person you are meeting, followed by an extended description of relatedness and history the Gaffer Gamgee would be proud of (Tolkien, 1954). Part of any individual Chamorro’s life experience involves the knowledge and reinforcement of the massive,

extended set of relations one might encounter at any social gathering. This is particularly observable in Umatac, a relatively isolated village of over 700, where many residents claim that the village is 98% related. It is within this environment of extended social relations that one can begin to draw distinctions between respect, family, and food as traditions filled with cultural meaning and significance, and the customs that contemporary Chamorro engage in to support those values.

Respect, particularly for elders, reinforces community values. It is the single most important component of a Chamorro's life, as described to me by nearly every informant. It defines what it means to be Chamorro. As tradition, it is understood by Chamorros as a unique feature that serves to separate them from other cultural groups. When asked "what do you mean by 'respect?'" I would most often receive answers referencing traditional displays such as the *amen*, or *mannginge*, a practice of bowing one's head and placing one's nose close to the hand of an elder. As well, many of the ways individuals expressed their observable respect was by directly referencing customs that stood in opposition to Western practices.

"Respect is listening to your elders, not typing, or texting, or whatever on your cell phone or iPad" (fieldnotes, 11/13/15), "respect means not talking back to your elders... I mean, gosh... kids these days, they take so much for granted" (9/25/14), or "Respect... you know... if you came back and you bought something from the store, and it wasn't enough to give the ten people that (were) in the house, you shouldn't even open it. You shouldn't even buy it... If you don't have enough for everybody don't bring it out or don't take it home" (9/25/14), are answers that reflect the common theme of respect acting in opposition to behaviors that represent Westernization: the spread of technology, the rise of individualism, and the accumulation of material wealth. In many ways, they represent values carried down from a cultural history of

interdependence, where elders possessed the knowledge to redistribute resources, and clan lineages distributed resources as needed, realities that no longer exist in a wage labor economy. Critiques of the *amens* youth give today were common from elders, claiming youth did not understand the underlying significance of it, or they did not bow far enough, or spend enough time doing it. “The youth no longer show respect” was a statement echoed by every individual I spoke to, “the youth” representing a vague, younger group of people, sometimes in their forties, sometimes twenties, sometimes teens (largely depending on the age of my informant) who no longer respected tradition. This sentiment was even echoed by my youngest interviewees, fourteen and sixteen, who claimed not they, but a yet younger, “youth” group no longer understood or cared for the tradition.

To me, such sentiments echo the changing nature of “respect” in Chamorro life. Chamorros remain very much aware that respect is an important feature of their culture, but the customary ways in which it is shown have changed dramatically, and the pressures on time and values that accompany Westernization have manifested even on the level of an *amen*, where the bow is no longer as deep, nor the time spent nearly as long. Within the colonial discourse of “culture loss,” where the changing nature of customs is inconsistent with a fixed definition of cultural “tradition,” changes on this level take on an embodied feeling of loss.

5.2.2 Chamorro Family Values

This is seen even clearer with respect to the responsibility Chamorros feel toward their family. Enormous pressure is placed on Chamorros to support and represent their families. Given the large, interconnected social networks Chamorros occupy, familial reputations are an important component of many Chamorro lives, and I often heard individuals discuss how their biggest deterrent for deviant behavior, or the reasons they made sure to display respect wherever

they went, was the way it would reflect on their family. Supporting one's family, however has taken on a very different meaning in the contemporary world.

Elders I spoke to would often reference how they would commit enormous amounts of time and energy to the pursuit and preparation of resources, particularly food, for their family. This time was spent with their father, mother, siblings, cousins, aunts and uncles, or other family members and reinforced, for them, a traditional understanding of interdependence within family units, and the specific role each member played in maintaining family dynamics. This historical, culturally-significant reality however, was much easier in a predevelopment, mostly subsistence economy. The wage labor economy that exists today precludes this same commitment of time and energy, and this position is reflected on the stress younger Chamorro feel and express with respect to their perceived traditional familial obligations and their practiced obligations to Western economic practices.

Within the theme of "family," many informants cited the importance of education, and how education was stressed by their elders as important for opportunity and success in the modern world. At the same time, however, many expressed frustration at the amount of time spent in educational settings, and the lack respect for cultural values those who received more education seemed to express. Education, therefore, seemed to create a paradox, wherein it was important for learning skills necessary to succeed, but came at the expense of one's Chamorro identity. Put another way, "we learn our legends in school, we learn our values at home" (fieldnotes, 9/17/14). Furthermore, "success" seemed to suffer from the same paradoxical problem, often defined as "being able to support one's family and be happy," the use of education to achieve success seemed impossible within a fixed, traditional framework.

In order to support one's family in a wage labor economy, time needs to be spent working at an occupation. By dedicating time to an occupation, however, an individual is removing himself from the family environment where "traditional" notions of family support were developed and practiced. In this way, it seemed many of the Chamorros I spoke with found themselves trapped in a double-bind, lose-lose scenario. In order to support their families in a contemporary, Westernized world, they had to participate in a wage labor economy, but regardless of their success in that world, it came at the expense of their traditional, Chamorro values of family support that required time, energy, and effort to be spent with their family members. This artificial partition of "traditional, cultural" and "modern, Westernized" activities made many Chamorros feel as though they did not fit completely in either world, and as a result were "losing" their Chamorro self, while not succeeding as their Westernized self.

5.2.3 Chamorro Language

Language is the final cultural tradition seen as vital to Chamorro identity. Discussed at greater length in Chapter 6, with the role institutionalization of knowledge has played in the freezing of the indigenous Chamorro language, this phenomenon manifests itself in deeply-felt senses of loss for the residents of Umatac. Residents feel enormous pressure to learn and speak English in order to engage with a contemporary school and work environment that requires mastery of the language, and the "street Chamorro" that most of the youth speak now, mixed with English words and meanings, is seen as illegitimate. Youth I spoke to often expressed regret at not spending more time learning Chamorro, and when I asked why, or what they felt they were losing by not speaking the Chamorro of their elders the answer would often be "because that's who we are" (fieldnotes, 10/13/15) or "I'm less Chamorro when I don't know my language" (12/4/15).

These three traditions of symbolic significance illustrate the danger Monnig (2007) discusses with the establishment of a colonial or racial discourse that raises questions of authenticity. If authentic, indigenous identity exists only separately from the influences of contemporary life circumstances, any engagement with the latter must come at the expense of the former, and this creates an embodied feeling of “culture loss” among indigenous peoples, rather than “adaptation” or “change.” As expressed by an elder interviewee:

You see the changes in our lifestyles. In our way of life. And... and there's nothing wrong with that. You know, again, it's up to the individual to... to choose what is best for them. To have... to grow. To better their lives. And, um, I don't blame us for being in the Western way of life right now, because it was brought to us, because we are American citizens. And of course, why not? We're all enjoying that life. We go watch movies and, you know, it's good. It's all good. Uh... But just keep so much percentage of that lifestyle, uh, to a certain degree... if you can cut it in half and maintain some of your own culture, and you pass that on to the next generation.

5.3 Chamorro Resistance: Redefining Chamorro Identity

Resistance to power is an essential component of discursive formation (Foucault, 1972). The Chamorro are not passive recipients of a discourse which forces them to partition their identity, as described above, but rather act in their own ways to continuously redefine their identity and reclaim agency over its formation. In this way, place attachment allows Chamorros to reconstruct their own cultural identities and reimagine the importance of particular places or histories to better develop a locally-defined cultural identity. It is through an analysis of Umatac as a sacred, symbolic place, as well as key examples of the role of alternative narratives of truth regarding the significance of certain places, that we as observers can appreciate the role place attachment continues to play in reestablishing Chamorro cultural and individual identity in response to colonial interactions that otherwise might be considered harmful to Chamorro cultural integrity.

5.3.1 Umatac as a Symbolic Place

The outsider's perspective of Umatac presented at the conclusion of Chapter 2 was meant to establish the symbolic separation one feels travelling from the central portion of the island to the southern end. This separation is very real on the landscape, marked by a transition from a developed, urban center into a "natural," worn periphery, and also reveals itself in the ways in which residents of Umatac, and the population of Guam as a whole, speak about and embody the meaning of the place. In the same way that "modern, Westernization" stands separate from "traditional, cultural" components of a Chamorro's psyche, Umatac's lack of economic development sets it apart from the "modern, Westernized" world.

The most recent census points to the stark reality of life in the village, as well as some of the reasons why it is claimed a bastion of Chamorro culture. Of the 782 individuals who were reported, 75% of them identified as Chamorro, well above Guam's total average (37%) (GSDCBSP, 2012). From my own experience, I find the reported 782 resident number to be inflated, as many residents who report living in the area actually live further north with relatives to be closer to work or other opportunities, but regardless this still represents an 11.8% decrease in the total population from 2000, a trend that has been growing since the 1970s. 250 of the individuals over the age of 18 reported being either "unemployed" or "not in the labor force." Of the 272 individuals who reported being employed, only 18 claimed they worked in the same municipality, with an average driving commute time of 34 minutes. Of the 145 total homes that reported income, 41 reported receiving it in the form of public assistance, and 38% of the 290 children in Umatac under 18 live below the poverty line. In addition, of the 394 residents over 25, only 58 reported having a degree beyond high school. Out of 171 total homes, 103 reported not having a computer or laptop.

Numbers only reveal part of any story, and the lived experience of residents of Umatac speaks to the reality presented by these numbers. The vast majority of residents over twenty-one have lived somewhere else, either on Guam or off, and the most common reason for having done so is the pursuit of economic opportunity, or to follow family members pursuing economic opportunity. Gas prices during my stay on Guam perpetually hovered around \$4.70, indicating the difficulty financially of an average 34 minute commute, beyond the expenses of just owning and maintaining a vehicle in an area where public transportation was nearly nonexistent. Since the closing of F.Q. Sanchez Elementary School in the village following budget cuts in 2011, nearly every component of the residents' daily livelihoods, from education, occupation, or shopping takes place away from the village. Access to jobs or training is highly limited, and therefore the population declines, particularly the educated, who find it easier to engage with systems and support their families closer to the physical sites of their income.

As a result, the overwhelming feeling of residents is one of being largely ignored or forgotten by the outside world. "People joke about how behind people in Umatac are but you see it enacted when it comes to jobs... We have no goals. Nothing to aspire to" (fieldnotes, 9/8/14). "You (the government) make them (Umatac residents) dependent and suppress innovation, and if you see it, you take it away and produce it cheaper elsewhere" (fieldnotes, 12/3/14). This feeling alone, however, serves as a source of group identity. Residents are quick to express the pride they have for their village, and speak about its many positive qualities, and how its character and value are hidden under its surface. There certainly exists a fair amount of discontinuity within the village with regard to issues of culture loss and who is more or less responsible, or who is behaving more appropriately within the community, but residents universally rally around their

village as being “more cultural” than villages further north, and how they remain underappreciated for their contribution to Guam, Chamorros, and the United States.

In addition, Umatac is most often described, both by its residents and others around Guam, as “slow,” “laid back,” and most importantly, unchanging. Walking around the village—largely empty during the day—comparing contemporary circumstances with historic photographs from the decades following World War II, it struck me that enormous change had come to the village. Population centers around the bay had all but vanished, replaced by a few concrete homes. Erosion had wiped away much of the available shoreline, and the paved road and power lines that ran through the village marked it with the physical signs of some economic development. When I began to focus on what activities took place in the village, mostly in the mornings and evenings, they were all focused on social, religious, or family-oriented gatherings, all things strongly associated with Chamorro culture values. It is in this way that the underlying significance of Umatac emerged.

Umatac today holds symbolic significance as a “cultural, traditional” place. For residents who live there, leaving the village is very often directly associated with their “modern, Westernized” lifestyle, but their “cultural, traditional” way of life remains firmly planted in the homes and social environment of their village. Time spent there is time with family, where cultural values are developed and maintained, or with community, maintaining the Chamorro cultural ideal of *inafa ‘maolek*, a deeply-felt support and interdependence with their neighbors. It is a source of cultural identity, which they maintain agency over as it takes place in face to face interactions with other Chamorros through existing social networks, and occurs separate from the developed world. Of course, this latter-most assertion is untrue in a physical, real sense, but the collective, shared claim that Umatac remains unchanged lends power to its unchanging symbolic

reality. In short, Umatac will always be there for its residents to call them home, and reconnect them with the culturally-salient values represented within its social networks and environment. As one resident who'd spent decades living in the continental United States told me as we talked about economic opportunities for his nephews, "you know I tell these guys, join the US Military. Go out, go experience something. You see these guys here? Barbecuing? They'll still be here in ten years. They'll still be barbecuing. In this exact spot" (fieldnotes, 10/26/14).

In a more general sense, the Chamorro *lâncho*, or ranch, serves much the same purpose to individual families as Umatac does to the community as a whole. First established during the Spanish *reducción*, the ranch has always represented a physical setting where Chamorros could escape from colonial influence and practice and rediscover their culture. It still serves this purpose today. Although definitions varied somewhat from individual to individual, "what a ranch is" in the contemporary sense contained the same base elements across the informants I spoke to: a small plot of land where vegetables are grown, and there are little to no permanent structures built. Time spent on the ranch was time spent away from the influences of modernity (mostly expressed as cell phones and other forms of technology), and involved practical, physical engagement with the land and with one's culture.

So central are ranches still considered to practicing Chamorro culture, and to connections to a more cultural past, that a local priest giving a eulogy for a member of the community who passed while I was there invoked the image of one to begin his story of comradeship and simpler times with the deceased, when the pressures of modern life did not prevent a deeper, more significant connection with one another.

During the *reducción*, Chamorro from across the Marianas were centralized on Guam, stripping them of most of the physical knowledge, and cultural significance tied to those specific

islands (Basso, 1996; Rodgers, 1995). The Chamorro of Guam, however, were never entirely removed from their island, and the significance of this history, and the physical settings they still draw oral histories from, is not lost on the contemporary inhabitants. It manifests itself most in the symbolic significance of settings where social networks with other Chamorros can be developed, maintained, and strengthened. Place attachment remains a strong component of maintaining Chamorro custom and, subsequently, personal and cultural identity. The role of narratives, however, and the place of a Chamorro within his or her colonial history also provides a source for this identity formation process. It is the strength of these narratives in the identity formation process that I turn to next, focusing on two significant contributing elements for the individuals I spoke to.

5.3.2 The Role of Narrative: The Brown Tree Snake

The use of places as a source and reservoir of cultural knowledge and identity is displayed in the symbolic meaning of both Umatac and the Chamorro ranch, but also through the narrative accounts given to changing place circumstances on Guam. The physical environment of Guam has undergone massive ecological shifts in the last half-century, leading to a near complete reconstitution of the biological diversity on the island. The physical destruction of the landscape following the violence of World War II left much of the island with massive erosion problems, and in an attempt to solve these problems the military quickly engaged in a seeding program of fast-growing, introduced species which now represent much of the island's flora (Hess & Pratt, 2006). In addition, increasing trade and access to the island has brought a number of invasive species, such that the Global Invasive Species Database (ISSG, 2015) lists 113 confirmed, invasive species on the island.

No invasive species on Guam draws more attention than the Brown Tree Snake. The snake was unintentionally introduced on the island shortly after World War II from the nearby Polynesian islands (Savidge, 1987). Following its arrival, the snake's population grew rapidly, and it has been cited as the source of massive ecological impacts. Specifically, it is often cited as the direct and primary cause behind the extinction or massive population decline of eighteen of the twenty-two species of bird endemic to the island (Wiles *et al.*, 2003). So ubiquitous is the literature concerning the massive presence and impact of the snake on Guam that it initially informed the basis for my own research questions concerning the shifting nature of Chamorro relationships to natural resources. Very quickly, however, I observed that the presence of the snake both on the landscape and the psyche of those individuals who live on Guam was, at minimum, exaggerated.

Actively searching for the snake, it took me nearly two months to observe one, easily explained by their population decline due to the lack of food resources as food sources have gone extinct on the island, but even when I spoke with Chamorros directly about the snake, the conversation was very often met with a condescending scoff followed by a comment similar to "No. You can see those aren't *really* a problem here" (fieldnotes, 9/20/14). Proceeding from this initial statement would then very often extend two narratives, the first about how conversations about the snake disregard and ignore the real problems with invasive species such as the Coconut Rhinoceros Beetle, which now go largely unaddressed, and how the dumping and storage of chemicals on Guam was the "true" source of bird population decline. While explored as a potential cause by academic researchers, this alternate narrative seems to directly contradict the established scientific literature (Wiles *et al.*, 2003). It is not my goal within this thesis to question the legitimacy or truth of either claim, but rather to explore the reasons why it may be that so

many Chamorros I spoke with felt compelled to share this alternate understanding of the truth. Doing so addresses another important feature of Chamorro place attachment, and the role a changing environment plays in their adaptation to contemporary circumstances.

The importance of alternative theories regarding why the birds on Guam have largely disappeared, specifically those that violate Western, scientific claims, is best explained by analyzing the dual role that the natural world and colonial discourses play on Chamorro's conceptions of identity. By constructing alternative narratives of the truth that contradict the dominant, colonial paradigm, Chamorros establish a discourse that simultaneously serves the purpose of contradicting the established paradigm, as well as creating an identity that the Chamorro themselves have agency over. These alternative truths are dependent on two fundamental paradigms. First, they are still embedded within a colonial discourse that defines Chamorro identity in fixed categories. Second, they rely on cultural knowledge and truths embedded in longstanding dwelling practices within the landscapes and lifeways of the Chamorro. The latter paradigm is at risk of significant adaptation as the Chamorro lose their native natural resources, and must adapt to contemporary life circumstances. However, the former paradigm will not allow this, as adaptation to current life circumstances violates the perceived integrity and legitimacy of "what it means to be Chamorro."

In this way, the loss of natural resources is contributing to a loss of Chamorro identity. Their cultural identity is largely based on alternative truths that serve as rallying points for the Chamorro to gain agency over their own identity. The birds, bats, coconut trees, and fish on Guam represent physical realities on which cultural knowledge has long been embedded, and which no amount of colonial intervention can remove, but the source of these truths is dependent on the natural landscapes and dwelling practices that are vanishing in the wake of climate and

biological decline. As this happens, contemporary Chamorro become no less “Chamorro,” but rather must find contemporary cultural practices to replace those which are lost, and the colonial discourse surrounding “traditional cultural practices” will not allow it. The significance that the birds, bats, coconut tree, or fish may have to the Chamorro naturally declines as these environmental resources decline. This does not mean the Chamorros vanish with them. However, without a contemporary alternative, the embedded nature of “what it means to be Chamorro” vanishes.

5.3.3 The Role of Narrative: The Magellan Landing

Another commonly discussed issue that points to the role of narrative in the construction of community and individual identity in Umatac is the controversy surrounding Magellan’s landing. For hundreds of years following initial Spanish-Chamorro contact, it was considered common knowledge that Magellan had landed in Umatac Bay. The presence of the Magellan Monument, as well as the celebration of Discovery Day in Umatac until just recently, point to the significance of that event in the area. Recently, however, archaeologists and historians have begun to question the historic accuracy of this claim, to the point where even Rodgers (1995) in his exhaustive history of the region speculates that Magellan may actually have landed closer to the central or northern part of the island. For the residents of Umatac, this is often considered an absurd, irrational attack on their history and heritage, which will very often elicit impassioned defenses for Umatac as the true site of Magellan’s landing. Again, I do not wish to refute or question the accuracy of either claim, but rather wish to explore the role the narrative of Magellan’s landing plays in the construction of group identity for the Chamorro of Umatac.

Academics, on the whole, thrive on contrarian opinions. In our pursuit of “truth,” we strive to gather as much evidence as possible, and particularly when it comes to historical reality,

we expect that more evidence will only serve to better understand and correct previous misinterpretations of historical record. It is within this ideology that academics find support for controversy and contrasting opinions concerning the truth of where Magellan landed. Based around evidence including potentially contradictory statements in Magellan's journal, or the way the currents he was surely following flow around Guam, there is certainly sufficient evidence to lend credibility to publications promoting an alternate landing site. All of this ignores the impact recreating a people's history has on their perception of their own identity.

For Chamorros of Umatac, Magellan's landing serves to reify the symbolic significance of the place as a reservoir of Chamorro culture. In all the ways that it has been forgotten by economic and political institutions, it remains a powerful, substantial location in Chamorro history and heritage. Regardless of whether a Chamorro feels that Spanish influence now composes or destroyed what it means to be Chamorro, Magellan's landing serves as a significant event in their history and identity. Academics, representing the same colonial power structures that remove Chamorro agency in determining their own identity through the institutionalization and formalization of knowledge (discussed in Chapter 6), continue to deprive and remove items of significance from contemporary Chamorro, and an alternative Magellan narrative serves the same purpose. Magellan's landing, therefore, is an embodied historical truth (Connerton, 1989), which, if removed, will leave the Chamorro of Umatac with one fewer symbol with which to attach significance, value, and a shared identity. As the researchers coming to this conclusion are outsiders, their actions take on the same colonial tone of removing Chamorro beliefs and actions in order to promote a colonial version of history that removes any deeply-held and embodied significance from peoples in an attempt to denigrate and delegitimize their claims to indigenous authenticity.

Magellan's landing, much like any historic event, does not exist as purely an objective reality, but takes on the symbolic significance of the people and institutions that reinterpret it from a modern viewpoint. For the Chamorro, it represents a claim to authenticity and significance which they have agency over as they interpret the significance of it within the context of contemporary circumstances. Removing the event from Umatac does not serve to get closer to the truth; just to marginalize the established narrative of the colonized peoples who use it. As a youth interviewee states, the significance of the event goes well beyond the reality of what may have occurred, "...because we celebrate it every year. We have Magellan's day in Umatac. And... It's... it's like the culture, it's like a tradition to have it be here. And... they tried to take it away from us... trying to move it to Agaña... but we fought for it and we kept it. And I'm proud of that! Because it shows that we're fighting for it. That we want it. And it's already a part of us."

5.4 Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter has been to explore the theme of identity formation. The contemporary Chamorro's struggle to do this serves as the best answer to my research question of how livelihood and environmental changes have impacted contemporary Chamorro cultural adaptation and well-being. While the following chapters will explore these themes in the expressed language of informants, the *impacts* of these expressed themes were best observed in the day to day interactions I had as an ethnographic researcher placing myself in the vast, socially-interconnected networks within which contemporary Chamorro negotiate and define these issues.

The very fact that issues of identity were so regularly discussed in these settings, often without me even needing to contribute to the conversation, points to their significance and importance in the daily lives of the Chamorro. As the pace of globalization and Westernization continues to accelerate on Guam, Chamorros are forced to continuously reevaluate their indigenous identity, and what it means to them personally. They are perpetually placed within a colonial discourse that draws into question their indigenous authenticity, and forces them to consider whether they, personally, remain authentic as they struggle with structural systems that prevent them from engaging with fixed definitions of tradition and “what it means to be Chamorro.”

Within this chapter I have attempted to illuminate several of the areas I, as an outsider, observed these struggles occurring. Most notably, I identify the ways in which Chamorro partition their identity between two “selves,” one that interacts in a contemporary, livelihood setting, and another that emerges in a traditional, way of life setting. Furthermore, I establish ways in which contemporary Chamorro have begun to redefine their own identity using symbolic attachments to place, and alternative narratives to reclaim some agency over their self-definitions. This chapter is by no means a complete account of all the ways Chamorros negotiate their own identity, nor do I think it accurately reflects the most important areas where Chamorros conduct these negotiations (religion being the largest and most obvious example). Rather, my hope was to explore those areas I felt best able to articulate based on my own experience, and contribute as best I could to an increased understanding of the ways discourse, power, agency, place, and narrative relate to construct or deconstruct indigenous identities in a much broader sense.

CHAPTER 6- QUALITATIVE DATA ANALYSIS

6.1 Introduction

The division observed in Chapter 5 between a perceived partition of contemporary, Western livelihood and a traditional, cultural way of life can be observed directly in the words and thoughts of the Chamorro of Umatac. I conducted semi-structured interviews with residents of Umatac, ranging in age from 15 to 71 (described in depth in Chapter 4, and Appendix A). Doing so allowed for intergenerational perspectives on what it meant to be Chamorro, and how values have begun to shift across the timeline of development. Three distinct themes emerge with respect to how Western livelihoods have impacted Chamorro values, each supported by literature concerning the impact of development and modernization on cultures around the world. Prominent in many of the narratives is a clear feeling of an external locus of control (Twenge *et al.*, 2004), or loss of agency with respect to how individuals can impact and define their own livelihoods. As well, many of the informants identified a rise in individualism (Englund & Leach, 2000) as a causative agent of their cultural decline, and finally the institutionalization of knowledge (Brown, 1993) serves to separate Chamorro from power over their own cultural heritage, and creates a sense of loss among informants.

The purpose of this chapter, therefore, is to allow the Chamorro gracious enough to participate in this project a space to communicate these themes through their own, unique expression. As generalizable as these themes are across cultures and societies experiencing developmental influences (Englund & Leach, 2000), they remain uniquely lived by the participants, and it is my desire within this chapter to remove my own voice as much as possible and allow the reader to experience and interpret the Chamorro perspectives therein.

Seventeen Chamorro volunteered to be recorded, 10 men and 7 women, representing a range of livelihoods. Due to Umatac’s small population, I have elected only to provide a very general description of each one’s occupation in order to keep informants as anonymous as possible. As well, when specific quotes are drawn from interview answers, I have artificially partitioned informants into three age brackets: “youth,” “adults,” and “elders.” The “youth” of this study are any individuals at or below 30 years of age, though “youth” should only be considered as a heuristic label, rather than a defining label, as several members of the bracket had careers, children, and might otherwise be considered to have very “adult” responsibilities. “Adults” are those informants between the ages of 31 and 55, representing the generation whose formative years came during the rapid expansion of development on the island following World War II. Finally, “elders” comprise individuals over the age of 55, most often cited by informants as the age when an individual becomes a *man’amko*, or culturally-significant elder for the Chamorro. A list of each informant’s demographic information is as follows:

Table 1. Demographic Statistics of Semi-Structured Interview Informants

| Informant | Age | Gender | Occupation |
|-----------|-----|--------|-----------------|
| 1 | 15 | F | Student |
| 2 | 16 | M | Student |
| 3 | 27 | F | Unemployed |
| 4 | 29 | M | Religious |
| 5 | 29 | M | Construction |
| 6 | 30 | F | Insurance |
| 7 | 39 | M | Government |
| 8 | 52 | F | Elder Caretaker |
| 9 | 53 | M | Religious |
| 10 | 54 | M | Government |
| 11 | 55 | M | Government |
| 12 | 57 | M | Self-Employed |
| 13 | 58 | F | Sales |

| | | | |
|----|----|---|-----------------------|
| 14 | 63 | M | Retired Government |
| 15 | 63 | F | Government |
| 16 | 66 | M | Retired Military |
| 17 | 71 | F | Never Employed |

Morality, as one might expect, plays a vital role in determining the types of behaviors a Chamorro individual feels he or she may engage in while remaining “authentic” within a colonially imposed discourse of culture loss. As such, I suggest what becomes self-evident upon analysis of the passages below is a further division of the “way of life” and “livelihood” dichotomy into a moral landscape of ways a Chamorro *ought* to behave (way of life) versus ways a Chamorro *must* behave (livelihood) in contemporary society. Similar to how it was discussed in Chapter 5, these two perceived entities often exist in opposition to one another, but the power of each over determining how culturally or morally appropriate a behavior or activity is varies across Chamorro generations. Furthermore, I argue that there is a near universal understanding of what one *ought* to do in order to be an authentic Chamorro. Generational differences, therefore, exist primarily within the realm of how grievous the nature of an individual’s deviance from this universal norm is with respect to the necessity of the individual to engage in contemporary livelihoods.

As a brief example (covered in greater detail below), there was universal agreement among Chamorro informants of all generations I spoke to that a “proper Chamorro” *ought* to learn to speak the Chamorro language. Not doing so constituted a loss of culture. However learning the Chamorro language in a contemporary setting was difficult, as it holds no practical value outside of the home other than identifying the individual as a reservoir of cultural knowledge and integrity. Rather, from a practical standpoint, learning the language distracts from what a contemporary Chamorro *must* do in the contemporary world: master the English

language in order to successfully participate with the social and economic environment engaged with on a daily basis and necessary for personal or familial support.

In this way, a generational difference of opinion regarding the weight of the moral obligation to learn the language emerges. Elders, often fluent in the language as it was important to their early livelihoods, view any deviance from the moral absolute of learning the language as culturally irresponsible, and a sign of the lack of respect and rise of individuality present in the new generations of Chamorro. Youth, however, weigh this moral obligation with the practical realities of contemporary living. Still identifying their lack of knowledge regarding Chamorro language as culturally negligent, it is not seen, necessarily, as “irresponsible” given the constraints placed on them by the activities they *must* participate in.

The issue is further complicated by the intricacies and differences of opinion within the Chamorro community over what “ought to learn the language” *ought* to look like. For many elders, Chamorro language is comprised of the words they have spoken within their social environments for years. For a growing decolonization movement, often in academic positions, “true” Chamorro language represents only those words devoid of Spanish influence. Still more see language as perpetually fluid, and “true” Chamorro now incorporates many English variants of words. All of this is to suggest, unsurprisingly, that analysis of any one component of Chamorro culture reveals a complex milieu of contrasting and conflicting opinions that are perpetually negotiated within a social network that is constantly redefining itself over the course of time. Such in depth analysis of any one feature is beyond the scope of this work. Rather, this chapter serves to merely introduce the reader to a few of the ways these moral arguments are discussed and debated by individuals within Umatac’s community, particularly those that stand

at the confluence of the artificially imposed dichotomy of contemporary livelihoods and traditional ways of life.

6.2 Impacts on Livelihood

6.2.1 External Locus of Control

Morality, a constructed component of culture, is determined through social negotiations regarding the appropriateness of a particular action or rationality given the range of possible actions. Central to the construction of morality, therefore, is a perceived sense of agency of the choices an individual can make in any given situation. For years, sociologists and anthropologists have argued that an individual's agency is determined within existing hegemonic power constraints. For the Chamorro, as previously discussed, colonial powers have restricted their agency, and imposed discourses that codify, freeze, and lend legitimacy to what constitutes an "authentic" Chamorro (Hobsbawm, 1983; Monnig, 2007).

Not surprisingly, a strongly emergent theme within Chamorro narratives of the contrast of livelihood and way of life is the experience of an external locus of control, or loss of agency in being able to determine and define what activities and behaviors fall into one category or the other. Chamorros experience enormous pressure to participate in an introduced wage-labor economy in order to provide for their families. This is manifest very differently across generations, however, with Chamorro elders who experienced what's perceived to be a more "true Chamorro" life prior to major development on the island seeing younger generations participation in these economic systems as irresponsible and destructive to their cultural integrity. Youth, on the other hand, recognize the same decline in their traditional values, but try to balance it with the practical realities of current circumstances and economic pressures. As is

often a consequence of the discourse of development (Monnig, 2007), participation in the system to the extent that it costs Chamorros their way of life is more often seen as the fault of the individual, rather than the system.

A lot of people think “Chamorro’s are lazy.” They’re not lazy, man, they’re just laid back because they’re (the government) feeding them...they’re feeding them... They’re feeding them with that American—you know—Quest Card, and everyone’s just sitting back. You know, people say (to me) “apply, apply!” Look at these two hands, man! Look at these two feet! You know... I’m not going to show the Americans that I need their help. I need their help to give me the money to get you guys (the Chamorro) out of there! Because all you’re doing is just laying around. I could understand that it’s your island and you just kick back, in paradise, but still you got to show who you are! Chamorros are not lazy, man. They’re working people! (Elder)

I came back in 2011... You know these people weren’t doing much. And, they said “nothing’s happened since you left.” And the Father’s shaking his head and saying “the people... the people aren’t doing anything.”... It’s hard. It’s hard and very frustrating. You know, every time you try to do something you—you’re coming at a brick wall just getting in your way... We have to be strong, you know. (Elder)

Referenced in this previous quote is the Chamorro diaspora from Guam, and more noticeably Umatac, leaving the village full of abandoned homes and a consistently declining population. The impact of this is primarily seen as detrimental to the integrity of the community, as well as an unavoidable aspect of everyday life. Discussed in Chapter 5, many obstacles exist to finding meaningful employment while living in Umatac. The inability many Chamorros feel to provide for their families while living in Umatac is seen as the primary reason for the village’s—and island’s—declining population.

Culture and tradition is built in people and it’s passed on. So when you see (people moving away)... people won’t say it, but what really impacts your culture and traditions is a strong economy. You always see it. You have 150,000 Chamorros off island. And I’d say a majority of (them) are on the mainland because of opportunity. A better life. From education to jobs or whatever. That’s the reality today. And when that happens, you have an exodus of culture and traditions because the 150,000 people that left this island have a major impact... Culture and tradition is built in the people. Built in the heart of the people. And what they believe—growing up, how things should be in their community—all that is over in the mainland now. Strong economies today are impacting your cultures and traditions, whether you like it or not. 150,000 or more are on the mainland now or around the world because they couldn’t stay on Guam because they could not sustain themselves or their families. So when it comes down to Umatac... overtime you saw

families that could not sustain themselves economically to stay in their home—afford it—and with that comes loss of cultures and traditions generations of families built upon. Yeah, it hurts when you see... you once saw a family of—a generation—of Santiagos or Quinatas in this one area slowly moving off island or moving to central Guam or northern Guam because they want to be near work and school... People just can't afford to live in their community. (Adult)

This is a tough situation for us... Seeing this happen. Driving there and looking at a home where I used to see my buddies and my cousins growing up, and they're all gone! Completely. Not even one family member. And they're living in Yigo. Or they're living in Dededo. And the reason is work or they need to be near the school. (Adult)

This pressure to move from Umatac to provide for your family or self is a central feature of many youth narratives when they plan for the future, while still feeling the realities of their current economic situations or how it will pull them from their culturally-salient values of family and community, values they still feel a strong moral obligation to respect.

Honestly, I think it's too far... Like, right now because I'm trying to build a house or buy a house, I really want to move off island, but right now I don't think that's going to happen. But if I was to choose, I would choose to live (up north). I mean, only because of school and work. But if I wanted to... But the only thing that would keep me here is being away from everything that's up there. You know, get away. I like my thinking time coming down here. (Youth)

I would want to go off-island but I don't want to leave my family. I'd be homesick for a long time... You get more opportunities out there. And there's... there's like... I guess you could say a "better" education, but, it's the same thing... But there's more standards. And, there's high standards for you in the colleges outside of... Like in the States. Guam is small. There's not really that much you can do (Youth)

6.2.2 Rise of Individualism

Similar to the pressure individuals feel to participate in an economic system, both elders and youth alike cite the rise of individualism as a byproduct of development. Again, elders see this as degrading cultural values associated with family, respect, and community, while youth seem to feel the dual pressure of recognizing that it is detrimental to their cultural integrity while simultaneously feeling it's necessary in order to properly engage with and experience the contemporary world. Particularly, technology is often cited as the primary contributing factor to separating individuals today from their social obligations in the community. From elders:

You got all these computers nowadays and families are spread out... I always tell them, "man, that's not yours. That's American. Show something of yours that you want." ...Chamorros are a loving people, man! But the high-tech is changing them. And... And there's people who come around and tell me it's a high tech world now. And we're splitting up, you know, families are (abandoning) each other and... because they've tasted that high tech. I say, "Well, that's how the government wants to see it, man. You know... But ask them to give you a chance, man so they could understand where you're coming from (cultural heritage)." I know it's a business for them... Computers are a business man, you know, same with the cultural... farmers and ranchers... it's a business too! But this (farming) is a more important business! The computer is like a "mind your own" business. (Elder)

And from the youth, drawing on both the theme of technology use, as well as the benefits of individual experience at the expense of behaviors they know they *ought* to respect. The first quote, I feel, eloquently indicates the contrast between what activities contemporary Chamorros *must* engage in versus the moral obligation to respect familial and cultural norms:

If you're not entwined with the advancement of technology in the world, you're always going to be two steps behind, you know? And you can't be an enemy of technology. You have to embrace it and try to at least follow the hot topics... Parents should have a conversation about what their kids should do. On a school day, on the weekend type of thing... and if you don't have a set schedule, you won't be in control of anything, you know. That's where I see the parents—they don't have control of their household. They allow the kids to sleep in, go on the internet when they want to. If you don't have a set, structured time for them to do stuff... chores or whatever... it'll work against you. (Youth)

That's how you're going to make a living, you know? It's... I mean I'm pretty sure can live off the land here, but, with the way the kids are growing up now and... what people want these days... you gotta go to school in order to make a living. I mean, with the things that they (children) want... I let (my daughter) know that she ought to enjoy school, enjoy life right now, because once you get out, it's all you! Like, I'll help you, but your gonna realize how much you're gonna miss school. (Youth)

Youth: I have America fever. I really want to go back. I feel like... It's kind of weird... but I feel like... It's like I want my kids to see more. Is that weird? I feel like they could be more knowledgeable if they leave, or they get to experience it firsthand rather than just reading it in the books. You learn more that way.

P.I.: But you had such a negative experience. Do you still see value in that?

Youth: Yeah... Me joining the military kind of opened my eyes to, like, that there's more out there besides this. You know, this will *always* be my home... But I want my kids to know America. The world. (Youth)

6.2.3 Institutionalization of Knowledge

Third, development and Westernization have had a dramatic impact on the way education is viewed within the community. As Brown (1993) or Latour (2002) argue, one consequence of Westernized systems of education is to artificially grant authority over knowledge within particular institutions. As such, as academics have begun to take a more vested interest in Chamorro culture and its codification and categorization, they have simultaneously begun to define certain components of the culture that stand in opposition to many of the values held within marginalized communities such as Umatac (see the discussion of Magellan in Chapter 5). Similarly, many residents expressed a seeming contradictory opinion with respect to youth engagement in education, simultaneously arguing that young Chamorros should become well educated in order to be successful, but at the same time lamenting how it removed them from their cultural roots.

... Just because you go to Guam University you think you know everything. You know... Let me make you understand, man. Thanks to the Americans you know how to speak English. But can you speak Chamorro to me? No. And what makes you think you know more than me, man? You don't even know your language! Thanks to "Guam Reversity" You know. It's not Guam University. It's Guam Reversity, because you're reversed. You don't know your language, only English... There's something I know that you don't know. (Elder)

The Chamorro language features heavily in these debates. The reasons for or against teaching or learning Chamorro vary dramatically across individuals, but economic practicality, or the demands of the way Chamorros *must* live their lives, is often brought up as the primary reason for not learning it.

My children ask us "how come you didn't teach us the Chamorro language when we were growing up?" Well, you know, when you're going for a job interview they're not going to ask you if you know how to speak Chamorro. They're going to ask you if you speak—maybe—Spanish. But the English language is our primary language. English... In my time, we'd get the paddle if we spoke Chamorro in school. It has to be English. We have to speak English all the time. (Elder)

6.3 Impacts on Way of Life

6.3.1 External Locus of Control

The most frequently mentioned impact of development on Umatac was the unfortunate closure of FQ Sanchez Elementary School in 2011, a small, historical landmark that served as the education center for the village. The school served not just to provide classroom education, however, but many residents reflected on the power it had to create community cohesion and reinforce traditional values within the village. It's closure due to budget cuts by the Guam legislature, make it an excellent symbol of the ways in which power structures impact Umatac residents' feelings of control over their own way of life and ability to impart their own values to the next generation. As poignantly told by one adult:

I grew up here. I built my house here. I want to raise my family here... It gives you a lot of leverage to have a voice. Because the stroke of a pen or the passing of a bill can really... Like what happened to the school... A policy change, or a policy move can do that to a community. I think when these guys made that decision, I think they thought they were going to... maybe they thought it was in their best interest to close the school to save some money, but I think they really didn't look closely. I think they really didn't look closely at how much they were devaluing the community as a whole. What other problems... what other social issues are we going to cause this community versus saving a dime? And they didn't consider a lot of that... It was the biggest mistake this government made.

The experience there was very unique because your teachers... your teachers were your aunts and your uncles that were from the village. You don't see that anymore today. I miss that. You had a setting of family in the education system. So, I can remember that you would not see issues of disrespect in the school system or after school because your teachers were your family. Your principle was your uncle (laugh)... I saw it as one of the blessings of (the Umatac) community because even before all this church and state became more... uh... how people look at that issue... that wasn't an issue at school. Your (religious) instructors were your aunts and uncles that were your teachers in school... You look at it today and you see all this big separation, taking that away. That tradition that was built into the community. Completely lost, you know. I miss that. That's a great experience that I had. That was one of... if anything the key indicator of ensuring that traditions were kept alive, because it was not only taught in the home... but you had a school system that was not only teaching academics, but was also... teaching you about your (Chamorro) values and ensuring that the community you grew in was completely part of us. No matter what... I don't see that today. And I think that's why we see a lot of problems in our communities. Our village communities, especially in the southern end (of Guam). That tradition, I think, defined the south. We had that whole education system built in with the family, instilling all these values from all angles...

I believe there's more value, besides education, that helps these children and families to be part of the whole village community... the interactions... You know, thank God we still have San Dionisio Church. You see how much family comes together, and everything they do, and how much the spirit of the village comes with that church and extends from it. FQ Sanchez was the same way. It isn't the classroom, there were a lot of things built out of that school that transcended through the village. And that's what happens when you don't have a voice in the legislature... as a policy maker... They don't see the value. They don't see beyond the classroom. They can't.

When you took out that school... It's not like you took out a Payless or a supermarket. You took out the heart of the community. (Adult)

In the view of many residents, Umatac is often forgotten by policy makers and unfairly interfered with by outsiders. This helps to create a powerful symbol for elders and youth alike that what Umatac once was, no longer is, and is getting worse, because their cultural heritage is under assault by a force beyond any individual's control. This is most obviously seen when discussing conflict with governmental or other outside authorities.

I tell Parks and Rec... They think they own this place... Now they're under federal funding. You know... and I tell them like it is. I say "what makes you guys think you own this place? I made this place happen. When I was a kid all this land here was mine. Now you know those big vocabulary words and you're going to come up here and tell me what to do? I don't think so... This is my island, who are you to come down here and try to chase me." (Elder)

This white guy came down here and talked to me... They said "oh, they told us there's this hobo living up here." I said, "uh, I think you're referring that to me, right?" They said, "oh no, we're just telling you there's a homeless (man) staying up here." I said, "Man, let me tell you... You're homeless." That white guy... this is not his home. This is my home. What are they talking about? I don't know where's his home. His home is in America. You know... I said "Who are you to come out here and tell me I'm homeless? This is my home! I could sleep anywhere! The whole of Guam is my home! I could go sleep anywhere. I'm the true governor. The governor that's in (office) is only to represent the people for four years, eight years, I'm here for life, man. Wake up." (Elder)

Similarly, participation in development is seen, first to exist in opposition to a traditional way of life, but also to have stripped Chamorros of their ingenuity and authenticity.

I have so many life goals... (When I was away) I kept thinking about home, which is Guam. I like to bring all these gifts, this knowledge, these things that I learn throughout my life... bring them to our people. You know... This is my people, right here. So, guess what, I lost my job! (laughs) Nineteen years of service... Nineteen years. (Elder)

Back then, man, it was nice. You know, just having the tin-roof home, now it's all concrete. They can say "we're living in a concrete world" now. In the north, it's a concrete jungle. You know, the south... It's getting to be (the same). And, uh, when there's no power, now we say "oh, it's hot!" (mock distress)... We lack common sense now, but we know a lot of great things on our own. (Elder)

A real life, back then, man, is understanding your culture. Your heritage. You know. And then learning the value of living on the island. Living *off* the island. Those are very important in our culture. But we're forgetting it. We're depending on the imports... And we got something here to export, too! But all the Chamorros are just laid back. We could pay people... You know, like the federal people—if anything happens to the farmers in the US—they back them up with funds. They could do that to me and I could plant coconuts... and that's all you plant! Don't plant no banana trees or anything. That's your department. You know, like corn or all these other things (US farmers) plant... But we don't have the education here on Guam. I'm the only one who has (that knowledge) to educate the people, but I need the funds to get them going, because it's all about money nowadays. Maybe if you showed them more greens (dollars), "whoa! Let's do it!" but, you know... (Elder)

The impact of development is often seen in new partitions of time, and a general sense of not having the means to accomplish tasks throughout the day (Englund & Leach, 2000; Pickering, 2004). This phenomenon can be seen most clearly from a female youth respondent who cites activities she used earlier as culturally-significant exemplars of family and community cohesion as the very obligations she must fulfill that prevent her from experiencing a sense of cultural integrity.

I feel like my life is so busy right now... It's just having... well you have this set of friends and then they... especially now that I have kids... and then your friends have kids. It's just all these birthday parties... People's parents passing away or kids graduating. Every time we have holidays... Like for me I have my other half. My dad... my dad and my mom... (phone rings) ugh... Sorry... Like that (laugh)... You just have to be there because you're close to them... I go on my daily life and you're just so busy that you don't even think about your... what your culture is because you're just so into *doing* everything. (Youth)

6.3.2 Rise of Individualism

The impact of technology on Chamorros is most prominently seen when residents discuss how their traditional way of life is changing. Largely, it is seen as detrimental, pulling people away from the present moment and the realities of living in a very moralistic way.

You know, being exposed to American culture through TV... movies, Chamorros see “oh, we don’t have to be this way. Others aren’t this way, other cultures aren’t this way.” You know, American ideas of independence, autonomy, tolerance, morality... You know... Those kind of seep in. (Elder)

They think they could just live on that! Yeah. Yeah. But they don’t look at the other hand... who feeds them. Like how we say, “Press that computer. Is that tomato coming out of the (keyboard), man? Then hang on to that computer.” You’re just doing... That’s just business. So you have money, you’re in business! You know... But remember who feeds you, man. The ranchers and the farmers... I just... remembering back then... You know, there’s questions that... Who’s going to take over? The farmers are getting old. Their kids are into the computer. And who’s going to do the planting? (Elder)

It can be distracting. It takes you away from the present time. Like how you’re with your family and your friends. If you just always... You don’t live in the moment. You... You’re always on your phone while your family’s having fun. (Youth)

Perhaps more troubling, individualism is not only seen negatively by elders as forcing youth away from cultural norms, but youth themselves seem to embody a contemporary understanding and morality concerning the role family ought to play in resolving problems. As distressingly expressed by a youth immediately after discussing the importance of family in helping her to maintain her cultural values,

Youth: I don’t want to be a burden... If you keep bugging (your family) for something then I’ll feel like I’m a burden. Because if they’re doing something and they just drop whatever they’re doing to help you I’ll feel kind of... I’ll feel bad. Because you don’t want to... You feel like you’re bothering them and you don’t... I just don’t like feeling like I’m bothering them so I will try to do it on my own... They’re happy to help... but I know in the back of their mind they’ll be like “I need to do this and that and...” So I’ll be like “can you help me with something if you don’t mind...” In order for me to learn how to handle stuff... I have to do it on my own... and then I can teach someone else, and then they’ll know how to do it and not have to bother... not have to keep asking. Like cooking. I’m pretty sure everyone is tired of hearing “Can you cook me something? Can you cook this? Can you cook that?”

P.I.: You don’t think they feel good that they’re providing food for their family? That it’s bringing family together?

Youth: If it’s like their grandchildren, then no. They’re like “Ugh... they’re just lazy.”... Yes they’ll do it out of the kindness of their heart, but... I just get the feeling they don’t want to do it. (Youth)

6.3.3 Institutionalization of Knowledge

Finally, when approaching the theme of institutionalization of knowledge from a way of life perspective, many residents again seem torn between the benefit of having external representations of their culture that can be used to gather useful information, and the inauthenticity of such knowledge due to it not coming from a community member or *man'amko*. Largely, being able to practice one's culture is seen as an important and a disappearing aspect of contemporary Chamorros' lives.

Everyone will go all proud, "I'm Chamorro, I'm Chamorro!" and I'll turn to them and be like, "Do you even know how to speak your language, or do you know how to do things how they did them back then?" and then they'll just have a (confused) face. If you're proud of being Chamorro you should learn it first and then say "I'm proud to be Chamorro!" (Youth)

Well it's nice to put it in a book, and it's nice to see it at the same time. Because seeing is believing. You have to go out and experience it. You can not just look at the book and say "oh, this is how it's going to be." You know... Some people are good on books, but they can't do the work... If you're just going to tell me that you're a better reader on books and you understand it just 'cause of the book, well I want to see you go out there and do it. (Elder)

To contrast, however, many Chamorros see simply the symbolic representation and identification of a cultural heritage as the only realistic way to engage with their (perceived to be lost) culture.

I was talking to this high school student the other day... She was reading a book about weaving, you know and the traditions passed on, and I know that's something that was passed on and maybe had different types of things associated from the Spanish and... I don't even know if our Chamorros were weavers... but she goes "I don't think a lot of kids today care about weaving, and I love weaving but I don't know how to weave and my grandmother used to weave and she'd make big mats with the coconut leaves." But then she said, "I'm not Chamorro, but I'd like to learn this so I could be." And I felt for her... and I said "Nothing's wrong with... You can identify yourself—that 'I'm Chamorro'—by the way you believe in the traditions. What's wrong with that?" She didn't think about it that way... I hope we don't get to the point where there's an identity crisis and people don't know who they are. (Adult)

You're so in tune with other things like schoolwork and... you don't really think about it. Or you think about it, but it's just a *thought*, you know? I think you need to actively engage your culture... That's why it's a good thing that that museum's coming up. You know, the one in Agaña? I think that's good because there's really nowhere that you

could go... you know... besides reading a book... but there's not really a museum that shows (Chamorro culture). (Youth)

Similarly, when it comes to questions of language, the role language plays in making individuals complete is almost universal. Due to the intrusion of academics however, questions have arisen over who is speaking more "legitimate" Chamorro. Three types of Chamorro language seem to exist currently, the first being that spoken by the elders, which is the most legitimate.

The Chamorros back then... even now... they'll ask me, "how do you say 'thank you' in Chamorro?" ...Some people say "*si yu'us mā'āse*." I say, "what's that?" ... Let me tell you, because I'm a true Chamorro, *si yu'us*... "*si yu'us* means "God." *Mā'āse* means "feeling sorry." So if you tell the person that, when somebody gives you something, and you tell them back "*si yu'us mā'āse*" you're telling them that God is feeling sorry for that person. You know... No! The correct way to say it is "(big appreciation from my heart)." I don't know where "*si yu'us mā'āse*" is from... Chamorro is disappearing. It's disappearing into English. But it's not the Chamorros' fault... It's not the kids' fault... It's the parent's fault. There's some parents, they don't want their kids speaking Chamorro now. Because they think English is more special and... You know... We're all special, man! We're all human! ...That heritage... that dialogue... that language... it's very important... (Elder)

A second form of Chamorro is learned in school, and is considered less legitimate as it was crafted primarily by linguists who ignored, or failed to properly cite, Chamorro elders.

I think a lot of efforts that go by the name of "language revitalization" may not be... may actually be changing the language as it's revitalizing it... Meaning to say that people who... who really didn't grow up speaking the language learned it later academically... And in that process of learning it academically, came up with their own rules or ideas or manner of speaking, and that's what they're passing on. And so to those of us who grew up speaking it naturally, it sounds a little strange... Now there's a whole group of people that can speak Chamorro with each other and it sounds perfectly fine to each other. Then you get others, who are more prominent, because they're the educated proponents of language revival, and now... we can understand them and they can understand us but there's a bit of a divide, because their kind of Chamorro's slightly different, sometimes drastically different. So we're actually doing more to create more divisions among ourselves by this so called "language revitalization." They're coming up with neologisms, which traditional Chamorros find extremely weird. And yet, because the people who speak Chamorro naturally are outnumbered by the academics, they've got the power of the media so these neologisms get widespread. (Elder)

Finally, there is a third, mostly denigrated form of Chamorro that many of the youth claim to speak. It is mixed with English, considered mostly to be “street Chamorro,” and less legitimate than the previous two forms.

Our elders know... They can speak Chamorro and we don't really know it. Only some of us. I'm getting kind of better... Since we don't know it, and the people that are having kids all ready, they don't know it either, their kids won't be able to learn. Only if (their family) taught them... It's part of your culture. You would want to know how to speak it... How we communicated before... It's always been there. How we speak Chamorro now is kind of mixed with Spanish, and so we did kind of lose it already, but we would still want to keep it there. Have that. I wouldn't want to lose that, I would want to keep it so... so I can teach other people. Not just—if I was to have kids I would want to teach them—but also my friends, my peers around me, I would want to teach them too, because—everyone teases me—because I'm *chaud*. It's like broken... broken Chamorro. (Youth)

6.4 Conclusion

Chamorro continuously negotiate and redefine cultural norms within their own social relationships, as well as with outside, influential systems of power, and across spatial and temporal boundaries. Within these negotiations, Chamorro are forced to come to terms with their own perceptions of how an “authentic” Chamorro *ought* to behave and the contemporary realities of how a Chamorro *must* behave. The morality and cultural legitimacy of each individual is determined by balancing these two often artificially separated and opposed obligations, and generational differences emerge through the use of Chamorro narratives describing their daily living realities. I suggest that analysis of these narratives reveals, contrary to the opinion of many Chamorro, a clear and relatively consistent perception of what a Chamorro *ought* to be, even cross-generationally, as the active social communities in which Chamorro continue to live in perpetuate a symbolic understanding of a morally good, authentic Chamorro. Where differences emerge, however, is rather in the ability of different generations to engage with this idealized model, and the importance therefore given to matching one's own lifestyle with the culturally

shared model. Support for this argument can also be seen as we turn to the quantitative, survey portion of the methods, and an analysis of the presence or absence of a statistically-validated model of cultural consensus.

CHAPTER 7- QUANTITATIVE DATA ANALYSIS

7.1 Introduction

The quantitative portion of this project provides support for the qualitative conclusions reached in the previous two chapters. Notably, time constraints of the fieldwork itself did not allow for proper *in-situ* analysis of the qualitative portions of the project prior to the construction of questions within the survey, and the survey therefore took on a more “shotgun” approach of trying to get a broad spectrum of potentially important information regarding Chamorro cultural values. As the more salient aspects of the previous two chapters were largely derived after a more detailed transcription and analysis phase in Colorado, statistical support for each particular conclusion is limited, but available. Some cautious conclusions drawn from the data are described below.

Principle among the statistical analysis procedures was cultural consensus analysis (CCA) as described in detail by Weller (2007). In brief, CCA is used to determine the degree to which respondents agree with respect to value questions or statements asked within a survey. Sixty-four such questions were present in the survey constructed for this fieldwork (See Appendix B, parts II, IV, and V), arranged in both a nominal, five-part Likert scale from “strongly disagree” to “strongly agree,” as well as an ordinal “not important” to “most important” scale. Within the analysis, responses are aggregated and the most frequently held items of knowledge are considered the consensus view of the group. For multiple response choices, responses are tested against a $1 \times k$ chi-square goodness-of-fit test to distinguish cultural preferences from chance, as well as the Spearman-Brown prophesy formula, an established procedure for determining the mathematical relationship between the number of people, the

agreement among those people, and the reliability of an aggregation of their responses (Weller, 2007, 342).

In practice, survey responses from informants were entered into a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet and then transferred into UCINET Software for consensus analysis. UCINET software is programmed to automatically construct an agreement matrix based on the comparison of covariance coefficients across aggregated responses, developing an eigenvalue ratio (Weller, 2007). The eigenvalue ratio, in its simplest form, represents the degree of “cultural sharing,” or whether the agreement matrix captures enough variability to say there is a shared cultural model. Weller (2007) concludes by indicating that an eigenvalue ratio of any particular set of data ought to fall between 1 and 3, or greater, and an eigenvalue ratio of 3 or greater can be considered a single, consensus model.

In addition to cultural consensus analysis, the survey data was analyzed for basic demographic statistics, as well as the degree to which consonance with the consensus model related to each individual’s responses on the Cohen *et al.* (1983) Perceived Stress Scale (Appendix B, part III). The results for all these statistical tests are provided below.

7.2 Results

7.2.1 Descriptive Statistics

Fifty-five Chamorros completed and returned surveys, and one was omitted on the basis of not having answered enough questions to provide a useful data set. Of those, thirty-seven identified Umatac as their place of residence. The discrepancy between these two numbers points to the difficulty of maintaining a home in Umatac, as many of those who identified a different village as their place of residence spent a significant amount of time, and in effect “lived” in

Umatac, but resided in other parts of the island to facilitate easier access to jobs or education.

Ages were reassigned to the same age cohorts as those employed during qualitative data analysis, and revealed the following demographic statistics:

Table 2. Descriptive Statistics of Survey Respondents

| | | | |
|------------|---------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| Gender | Male 33 (61.1%) | Female 21 (38.9%) | |
| Age Cohort | Youth 17 (31.5%) | Adults 26 (48.1%) | Elders 11 (20.4%) |

Responses to questions concerning the average educational level obtained by residents, as well as the number of times a resident leaves the village to attend to work or errands (average commute time as indicated by census data is 34 minutes) point to the issues and reasons for diaspora from Umatac, and are consistent with numbers obtained by the most recent census indicating that more educated individuals tend to move away from the village for greater ease of transportation or economic opportunity (GSDCBSP, 2012). Only 9 respondents (24.32%) reported having a Bachelor's degree or higher, and 31 of the 37 (83.78%) respondents claiming Umatac as their place of residence reported they had to leave the village one or more times throughout the course of the day.

7.2.2 Cultural Consensus Analysis

The 64 value-based questions concerning moral behavior asked respondents to answer questions from the perspective of how they personally felt about particular value statements (respondent questions), as well as how they thought other members of the community felt to the same or similar value statements (informant questions). The output on these 64 questions in UCINET Software for the survey population was an eigenvalue ratio of 3.055 (n=54).

The population of respondents was then broken up into the same age cohorts as those established for the qualitative analysis of semi-structured interviews (Youth= <30, Adults= 31-54, Elders= >55) and consensus analysis was run on each individually. For youth, the eigenvalue ratio obtained was 2.882 (n=17), for adults, 3.178 (n=26), and for elders, the eigenvalue ratio was 3.785.

7.2.3 Cohen Perceived Stress Scale

The Cohen *et al.* (1983) Perceived Stress Scale was employed as a measure of subjective well-being among respondents in order to test its efficacy as an accurate representation of the negative impacts of lack of consonance with the consensus model, a result suggested by Dressler *et al.* (2007). It was chosen because of the claims of its authors that “the PSS is a brief and easy-to-administer measure of the degree to which situations in one’s life are appraised as stressful... it provides a potential tool for examining issues about the role of appraised stress levels in the etiology of disease and behavioral disorders” (Cohen *et al.*, 1983, 394). An additional four respondents were omitted from the data analysis for not fully completing the PSS within the survey. Results from regression analysis between consonance scores (calculated by UCINET for each individual based on their variation from the consensus model) and the total PSS value for each individual are as follows:

Table 3. Regression Analysis Output of Consonance Scores and Perceived Stress Scale Total

| | |
|------------------------|---------|
| Number of Observations | 50 |
| F(1, 48) | 0.2 |
| Prob > F | 0.6581 |
| R-squared | 0.0041 |
| Adjusted R-squared | -0.0166 |
| P-value | 0.658 |

7.3 Discussion of Results

7.3.1 Discussion of Cultural Consensus Analysis

The eigenvalue ratio of 3.055 obtained for the survey population as a whole indicates a single, consensus model among respondents with respect to how each feels regarding the morals and values a Chamorro ought to have. This statistically supports the conclusion drawn in Chapter 6 that despite outside influences and a general feeling of “culture loss” among respondents, Chamorros still seem to agree on the importance of particular values associated with their cultural identity. Interestingly, however, when the population was subdivided into individual age cohorts and consensus analysis tested for each, the eigenvalue ratios (considered significant over 3) become stronger with each successive generation, and the youth cohort does not show a consensus model of Chamorro values. While this could be considered an artifact of a smaller sample size, the same reduction in size actually *strengthens* the statistical relationship of consensus among the even smaller population of elders.

Rather, an alternative explanation for the shifting strength of consensus models between age cohorts seems to provide at least some correlative support for the conclusion drawn in Chapter 6, that although there still exists a consensus view of how a Chamorro *ought* to behave (way of life), the moral weight given to actually achieving this ideal vision has begun to shift trans-generationally as Chamorros cope with the practical realities of how one *must* behave (livelihood) in contemporary circumstances. For elders, who’s early life experiences and formative years occurred largely prior to the extreme accelerated pace of development beginning in the 1970’s, way of life and livelihood experiences have rarely been mutually exclusive, and they still strongly identify with their moral and cultural consensus understandings of Chamorro values. For youth, the varied pressures and ideologies presented to them within their current,

developed reality have begun to strip away the shared cultural vision of what values one ought to place particular importance on, and to what extent, leaving them in an unfamiliar, ambiguous state that deprives them from fully realizing either identity.

7.3.2 Discussion of the Cohen Perceived Stress Scale

Conclusions that can be drawn from the PSS are rather limited. In short, the PSS explains only .4% of the variation in consonance scores, a negligible amount. In practice, the PSS is indeed a brief and easy-to-administer measure of subjective stress levels, but fails to capture the intricacies of more thorough methodologies for measuring biocultural markers of stress, such as those used by Dressler *et al.* (2007) and beyond the budget and time scale of this project.

Although Chamorros operate within a Western, developed environment, for which the PSS was designed, it may still have failed to capture the culturally significant local idioms of stress that would better have modeled a Chamorro depiction of negative well-being. Similarly, in practice in the field, it also seems too blunt an instrument to capture the subtle intricacies of stress. Cohen *et al.* (1983) initially tested the validity of the scale with a sample size in the hundreds and with very specific stressors. It may simply be that the fifty respondents who correctly filled out all of the questions for the PSS and were considered in the regression for this project were not enough to derive a statistically significant correlation.

7.4 Conclusion

The applicability of the quantitative portion of this project is limited, but certainly trends established within the analysis of cultural consensus indicate that more focused surveys could be developed that would continue to statistically support the qualitative conclusions derived from

the observational and semi-structured interview portion of this research. Indeed, it seems the most limiting factor the quantitative data for this project suffered from was the unavoidable restrictions created by limited time and technology in the field to properly analyze and consider the qualitative data gathered prior to the application of the survey. I was still very much learning the basics of Chamorro culture while designing and distributing the survey, and perhaps stronger quantitative support will emerge given future research projects employing similar methods in the area. I explore these potential future refinements in the concluding chapter.

CHAPTER 8- CONCLUSION

8.1 Culture in Practice

I climb into the cab of the Ford Pickup truck with my three Chamorro companions in the parking lot outside of the Pacific War Museum and the driver—our captain—gathers up ID cards before we make our way through the concrete barriers of the Naval Base, receive permission to enter, and drive down the Orote Peninsula. We pass the last remnants of Sumay, once the second largest city on Guam but now reduced to a few small, weathered, concrete grave stones surrounded by a burnt-orange fence, white gate, and small placard that fails to capture the significance. Our destination is not much further on. We park outside the marina and unload the gear while our captain argues with four men who are boarding his prized, #3 boat. He finally runs into the reservation building set just off the marina to fill out an official FLOAT-plan and find the document indicating that he had reserved the #3 boat ahead of time.

We lose the argument, and are given the #4 boat instead, a small, 19-footer of white plastic and welded metal just large enough for four men and a few coolers. It has a large Yamaha engine attached to the back and the marina employee who unties the ropes securing us to the dock informs us that we shouldn't pay attention to the fuel gage on the dashboard because it is rather erratic, but we're good to go with a full 63 gallons of gas. The #4 boat is inferior to the #3, our captain informs us, because the onboard GPS is broken and we cannot track our progress, and as well the engine cannot idle without stalling, so we will have to remain at power for the duration of our six hour journey.

We slowly float through Apra Harbor as the night sky begins to turn shades of pink and orange with the impending sunrise, and the fishermen busy themselves with setting our three

poles in their designated holding spots on the boat and attach the pink, blue, and orange-frilled, synthetic lures to the end of the line. Rounding Orote Point, we pick up speed, let out trolling lines from each of the poles, and buffet ourselves against the rising swells of deep, blue ocean water that greet us as we leave the protection of the harbor. We turn south toward Umatac Bay, and hug the coastline for a while before turning out into the wider ocean in search of buoys.

The men wear Levi's jeans and "army" or "Bud Light" baseball caps, polarized sunglasses, and all synthetic materials that dry quickly after being splashed with the occasional ocean spray. They identify landmarks along the coastline for me, such as the barricaded landfill that had been dumping waste into the nearby ocean and contaminating the fish populations, or various locations where they've had plentiful catches before.

As the sun rises over the horizon, permission is given to break out the beer, and Busch Lights are passed around. Shortly after, Jack Links beef jerky, pickled-mango and ochre slices, and Original Pringles are passed around for snacks. The curse-word to sentence ratio rises higher, and laughs are had over jokes like "What do you call a marriage with two wives? Polygamy. What do you call a marriage with one wife? Monotony." The trolling lines stay taught behind us, but we do not hear the characteristic, high-pitched dragging sound which indicates a catch. Indeed, we will return empty-handed after six hours on the water, but had we caught fish I would have participated in the *pulka*, a process of distributing the day's catch among the community, as well as friends and family, in order to establish social bonds.

Fishing terminology is thrown around with ease, though largely over my head, and the captain explains to me that we are most likely to catch *mahimahi* or *wahoo*, and that I should keep my eyes pinned to a point an inch above the horizon to spot circling birds or the white of a buoy. Through spectacled, middle-aged eyes, the members of the boat display remarkable

adeptness at identifying objects on the horizon. They are often able to find, identify, and determine the direction of travel of all manner of things from birds, buoys, boats, and trash, before I have even managed to locate the same objects. The captain explains to me that buoys create an ecosystem ideal for fish, beginning with algae growth off the chain hanging below the surface, and that circling, diving birds are the best indication of where fish are, before delving into the different colors of birds that indicate the average likelihood of success and other pieces of helpful angling information.

“We’re in about three-hundred feet of water right now,” the captain says to me, “ideal conditions to catch *wahoo*.” I ask him how he knows how deep the water is. He looks at me as though I have asked him to—in just a few sentences—describe all the underlying mathematics behind Chaos Theory so as to speculate on the underlying meaning of the universe. He scowls. His eyes scan the water, dart to the shoreline, and then return to me. He hesitates and shrugs.

“Experience,” he says.

A Western, colonial discourse interested in identifying and classifying this vignette, perhaps for the purposes of determining whether this constitutes a “traditional fishing practice,” might ask me to partition this scene into component parts and identify which represent Chamorro practices, and which represent artifacts of a more modern, Westernized fishing trip. This is absurd within this context. Nothing the three Chamorro men do or use in the process of fishing is any “more” or “less” Chamorro. The act of fishing, which connects these men to a social, cultural heritage taught to them from relatives, learned through practice, and potentially augmented from knowledge derived from angling literature or the conveniences of their modern equipment is not diminished through the incorporation of different techniques and technology,

but rather the opposite. The knowledge and equipment is given unique, “Chamorro” meaning through its use in such a context.

Even I, the White, *haole* observer can, in this instance, claim myself part of the “tradition.” I represent the invited guest, an often-cited and proudly held Chamorro cultural value of welcoming outsiders and showing them unprecedented hospitality by allowing each to engage with and participate in the activities that sustain Chamorro mental and physical well-being. This is Uexküll’s (1957) representation of a tree from each organism’s perspective, or Ingold’s (2008) concept of “dwelling” enacted. Each component of the activity is observed, practiced upon, and inscribed meaning through the actions of the participants, interconnected and interdependent on one another in an inseparable fabric of Chamorro “Experience.”

Joe Quinata is fond of telling a story about his mother and her “Chamorro Tupperware.” His mother used to pack food into Tupperware and bring it with her to fiestas, where she would be criticized for not using more “traditional” serving dishes. Her response would be to claim that she was, in fact, using a traditional serving dish, Chamorro Tupperware, as it was holding traditional food. The response to this claim would often be that if she were using a traditional dish, she ought to refer to it by a different name, not “Tupperware.” She would respond that she had, she called it “Chamorro Tupperware.” Objects, technologies, or ideas are given meaning through people and culture, both informing each other and varying over time, rather than static, temporally bounded entities.

In a desperate attempt to increase the morale of those on the boat, the captain begins to describe the procedure if we *were to* catch a fish. “The most important thing to remember is to never stop the boat. You always have to be moving, or you’ll lose tension on the line. The fish will begin to swim again, and you’ve lost it. You pull it in while still moving,” he says.

Perhaps I am simply caught up in the common propensity of fisherman to draw ambitious, life-encompassing moral lessons from an otherwise mundane activity, but this statement seems a rather apt metaphor for the role of colonial, racialized discourses on culture. In an attempt to define culture, we must stop it, freeze it in a particular time in order to deconstruct it and observe and identify its component parts. In as “objective” a way as possible, we provide definitions for these components, assign value to each, and determine the different cultural categories that each belongs to in order to classify and codify our knowledge of what makes an individual “Chamorro” or “Western.” In doing so, we fail to actually capture what we are after and pull in something empty, void of contemporary meaning and value.

The culture-boat does not stop. It continues to travel, sometimes slower, sometimes faster, in different directions as it rolls, pitches, and yaws against the swells and choppy surf of an ocean of present circumstances. The functionality of the parts, the meaning of them, is dependent on their current circumstance, but each remains a vital component of the well-being of the moving whole. Different parts may be added or taken away at times, but this does not fundamentally change the nature of the craft, or the meaning of its task. “Culture” is not a fixed entity but a process, wherein meaning and purpose are continuously redefined and reimagined to support the continued survival of the boat, or the identity of an individual.

There are, of course, very real threats to Chamorro culture and the Chamorro way of life. The enormous decline in bird populations on the island, be it from chemical dumping or invasive species introductions, means far fewer birds float over the surface of the ocean for us to use as guides. The fact that we return empty handed is a testament to both bad luck, and the enormous decline of fish populations due to commercial overfishing, and as cited often by the captain, rising sea temperatures. For these reasons and more, fishing is becoming more expensive and

less accessible to practice. The actions of the men on the boat, however, remain exclusively, entirely Chamorro, as each is interpreted and given subjective meaning through the lens of the participants. It is useless to attempt to interpret any of these components from an objective standpoint, just as it seems rather arbitrary and absurd to refer to the activity we engaged in as a “fishing trip,” when, from an objective standpoint, apart from a few flying varieties skimming the surface of the water near our boat, fish were entirely absent from the proceedings.

8.2 Resistance within Umatac

In Chapter 6, I discuss the role loss of agency plays in defining and being able to participate in a lifestyle seen as “authentic” Chamorro. It is largely disingenuous to Chamorro communities to entirely ignore the dynamics of this relationship. As discussed in Chapter 5, in all cases where power dynamics exist that help to shape and define culturally salient representations of an individual, there are resistances to those power structures (Foucault, 1972; Ortner, 1997). The ways in which Chamorro resist power dynamics and reclaim agency over their own cultural definition are many and varied, and I don’t intend to explore all the ways I observed, but rather focus briefly on a particularly significant institution within Umatac, the *Humâtak* Community Foundation.

Chaired by Joe Quinata, the mission of the Foundation is three pronged:

Heritage:

To provide our community with a life-long learning experience in the conservation and preservation of our natural and cultural resources through cultural awareness, personal growth, teamwork, leadership, skills, and a cultural and environmental mindset for the future.

Education:

To provide students with life-long learning skills and exploratory experiences that enables them to reach their fullest potential as independent thinkers and responsible citizens.

Enterprise:

To inspire and engage with our community partners, to develop business enterprises to sustain our cultural and natural resources for our future generations.

(HCF, 2013)

During the course of my fieldwork, I stayed at the recently renovated office of the Foundation, and became familiar with the participants as they conducted meetings, did community outreach projects, or participated in cultural heritage activities. Generally a dozen or so students between the ages of 14 and 25 would gather every Tuesday to discuss upcoming projects or receive culturally-relevant lessons from practitioners in the village. Chief among their projects were walking historical tours of Umatac during local fiestas, where several students would position themselves at various historically significant locations and briefly describe the significance of each feature to those who wished to participate. In addition, the group participated in a *belembatuyan* workshop, constructing the culturally-relevant instruments for their eventual use in the opening ceremony of an upcoming culture conference, while simultaneously receiving lessons about the significance of the instrument and the ways its construction has adapted to contemporary technologies. More ambitiously, the group was receiving training in how to identify and provide survey data of the coral reef in the bays around Umatac, a project that had begun years earlier when the group constructed various natural buoys to promote and replenish coral resources.

Responses to the Foundation were nearly universally positive. Often, when residents initially eyed me with suspicion upon first meeting, I would merely have to proclaim my association with the Foundation to immediately receive a friendly grin and a welcoming proclamation. It serves to not only benefit the students involved, but is also a source of pride for the community. Though conflict certainly arises among villagers over the best way to properly revitalize their culture in the area, the Foundation is seen as an overwhelmingly positive contributor, which allows youth to engage with their village, learn about its importance so as

they can spread those lessons to their peers and family, and take pride in the historical and cultural significance of Umatac. For the many residents who feel disenfranchised or alienated by powers beyond their control with respect to the community's and their own personal identity, the Foundation serves as a positive first step and rallying point to show that Chamorros themselves still possess the power to unite around common purpose and collaborate on restorative projects that celebrate and venerate their heritage.

Most ambitiously, it is the hope and aspiration of the Foundation to be able to create a “Cultural Heritage Charter School” one day in the village. Specifically, Joe Quinata envisions the school acting as a specialized education center, unique to the cultural and physical setting of Umatac. Students will spend half their time in the classroom learning a government required curriculum and half their time receiving hands-on instructions from local practitioners in culturally-relevant practices or in continued, environmentally-rehabilitative projects similar to the coral reef project. It is an ambitious project, but one that many members of the community feel particular pride and enthusiasm for.

It is through programs such as this that the Chamorro become more than one-dimensional recipients of power-related discourses concerning the beliefs and practices that define their traditional selves. Rather, Chamorros in Umatac, and throughout all of Guam, continue to exercise individual choice and agency to reclaim the power to define themselves in a contemporary context. Though enormously difficult—at an individual and community level—Chamorros continue to offer resistance and scrape out a unique and personalized identity somewhat removed from the colonial, hegemonic discourse that seeks to identify them in a fixed, traditional, and dying identity. As a Chamorro elder stated earlier, “It’s hard. It’s hard and very

frustrating. You know, every time you try to do something you—you're coming at a brick wall just getting in your way... We have to be strong, you know.”

8.3 Limitations and Future Research Opportunities

The mixed-method approach employed during this research allowed for enormous flexibility in the field and adaptation to shifting circumstances due to unforeseen weather, natural disasters, unexpected responses from informants, and other variability. However, such shifts in the focus of the fieldwork, although necessary and beneficial, exacerbated already existing time constraints. The limited, in-field, qualitative coding of participant observations and semi-structured interviews provided a rough framework for exploration of the themes that emerged over the course of these methodologies, but thorough analysis was not possible until I had returned to Colorado. As such, while this project introduces several major themes, and interweaves methodology with theoretical perspectives, precise tests of each particular theoretical approach are limited.

Time constraints limiting the successful test of the applicability of my theoretical perspectives are most clearly seen in the quantitative portion of the methodology. A comprehensive understanding of the ways in which Chamorros partition their identity between livelihood and way of life can certainly be expanded on by reviewing transcripts from the qualitative portion of the study, however without this ability in the field, my understanding of it was limited, and therefore the survey only explores these issues very generally.

This opens up many opportunities for future research to expand on how and why Chamorros make these divisions, and how particular individuals negotiate between competing moral frameworks to derive their sense of identity. In particular, to successfully explore the role

of colonial power influences and discursive formation on the way Chamorros frame their moral behavior, questions concerning how they think outsiders feel a Chamorro “ought to behave,” as well as further delineation of how Chamorros identify with a specific moral domain (i.e. learning the Chamorro language, or how to best express respect) would allow for a more thorough exploration of what kinds of consensus models exist within Chamorro communities, and the well-being impacts of consonance with each particular model. Put another way, are Chamorros attempting to remain consonant with a colonially-imposed definition of “tradition,” or are they drawing from their own, internal, community-constructed definitions of how a Chamorro ought to behave, and what are the consequences for choosing one or the other model? Furthermore, by bringing in outsider perspectives, researchers can further explore the continuity between how outsiders actually perceive the Chamorro, and how those perceptions are translated into how Chamorros themselves think outsiders perceive them, and the ways in which this subsequently influences Chamorro constructions of the self.

Finally with respect to increasing the applicability and validity of the quantitative data derived from mixed methodology approaches, a more precise tool than the Cohen Perceived Stress Scale could be used to determine the impact of these conclusions on Chamorro well-being. Both time and budgetary limitations prevented such an approach in this particular research project, but a promising precedent for the use of biocultural markers to determine the role of consonance in overall well-being has already been set by Dressler *et al.* (2005) and Dressler *et al.* (2007). Similarly, as discussed earlier, McDade (2002) provides a precedent to suggest that cultural change as a result of development and Westernization can have observable, quantifiable, and biocultural health impacts.

The second major limitation to this fieldwork was my own personality and personal history with respect to the Chamorros. Mentioned at times throughout the methodology and analysis chapters, the influence my own position as a white, male, *haole*, representative of the colonial institution in a position of power on Guam undoubtedly impacted my approachability, and how forthcoming and honest informants were throughout the process. While the Chamorro communities I engaged with were generally overwhelmingly welcoming and hospitable, I was still, even at the time of my departure, regarded with suspicion and distrust by several members of the community.

This too, however, leaves several areas for improvement in future studies. In particular, the solid foundation of relationships created during this fieldwork continues to grow as I remain connected with members of the Guam community even after my departure from the island, and should I return for future research I can continue to build relationships of trust that will deliver increasingly more truthful and genuine qualitative expressions of Chamorro values and struggles. Similarly, I now know far more about the available community assets and individuals interested in pursuing goals of improving the lives of their fellow Chamorro, and subsequent studies therefore benefit from an increasing level of participatory and community based collaboration that will ultimately result in a more accurate and sustainable research agenda than I, as an outsider, could ever hope to achieve alone (Schensul *et al.*, 2015).

8.4 Research Conclusion

It is through the distinction of livelihood and way of life that we can observe the strongest impacts of colonization on the Chamorro. Specifically, the symbolic sets of meanings given to the livelihoods that contemporary Chamorro participate in, and how, largely through the impact

of colonized and racial discourses (Monnig, 2007), these livelihoods partition Chamorro from their sense of a traditional, cultural way of life. Similarly, this study sought to show, through semi-structured interviews, that livelihood and way of life is given moral weight, and considered from the perspective of how a Chamorro *must* behave in a contemporary context, versus how a Chamorro *ought* to behave, respectively. The mixed-methods approach employed in this research allowed for a contextual framing that positively contributed to the detection and elaboration of these themes within the social and environmental settings within which these issues are negotiated and outlined for the indigenous residents of Guam on a daily basis, and on both different spatial and temporal scales. Though the quantitative analysis employed by this study could certainly be improved in future iterations of the project, statistical trends lend both qualitative and quantitative support to the ways in which Chamorros model these issues, overall contributing to a robust and useful data set that meaningfully contributes to the existing literature concerning the impacts of colonial intervention on indigenous perceptions of “authenticity” and cultural change.

The “loss of culture” is an oft-cited and rarely critically analyzed or quantified impact of colonial intrusion, globalization, and natural resource loss (Chiang *et al.*, 2004; Manzo & Devine-Wright, 2014). This study serves as a critique of the use of such discourse, allowing anthropologists in the future to present the issue in a language better understood by policy makers and potential agents of change. The significance of this project extends well beyond the Chamorro, to any colonized people still struggling with a colonial history in a contemporary world. It presents a powerful argument that the “loss of culture” is nothing more than an embodied construct of a colonially imposed discourse, and that through the recognition of this,

indigenous groups the world over can seek avenues to reclaim agency over their own definition of self in order to continue adapting in a healthy way within a contemporary world.

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APPENDIX A

Semi-Structured Interview Protocol:

1. When were you born?
2. What stands out to you most about your childhood?
3. What does it mean to you to “be Chamorro?”
4. Have you ever lived outside of Guam?
 - a. Why?
 - b. What stood out to you when you came back?
5. How often do you travel north?
 - a. Why?
6. How would you describe Umatac to an outsider?
7. What do you think “development” means?
 - a. How would you describe development in your community?
8. What do you see happening to Umatac in the next 5 or 10 years?
9. What values did your parents pass on to you when you were a child?
 - a. Do you still use those values today? In what circumstances?
 - b. What values do you hope to pass on to your children?
 - i. Are these the same or different than before? Why?
10. Are you a *manâmkko*/Do you know any *manâmkko*?
 - a. What purpose do *manâmkko* serve?
 - b. What makes someone a *manâmkko*?
11. Do you speak Chamorro?
 - a. What is important to you about being able to speak Chamorro?
12. Do you own a ranch?
 - a. What do you do on your ranch?
 - b. What purpose does a ranch serve?

APPENDIX B

Survey:

Part I: Demographics

1. Gender: _____
2. Age: _____
3. Occupation: _____
 - a. On average, how many hours a week do you spend working? _____
4. In which village on Guam do you currently live? _____
5. How often do you leave your village for work, school, shopping, or other errands?
 - a. Less than once a day
 - b. Once a day
 - c. Several times a day
 - d. Many times a day

5.1. How often do you use a cell phone or other communication device to communicate with someone outside of the village you live?

 - a. Less than once a day
 - b. Once a day
 - c. Several times a day
 - d. Many times a day
6. How well do you speak Chamorro?
 - a. None
 - b. Only for ceremonies/fiestas
 - c. I understand it better than I speak it
 - d. Conversational understanding
 - e. Fluent
7. What is the highest level of education you have completed?
 - a. Less than High School Diploma
 - b. High School Diploma/GED
 - c. Associates/Trade School Degree
 - d. Bachelor's Degree
 - e. Post-Graduate Degree
 - f. Other
8. Do you own a ranch? Y / N
 - 8.1. On average, how many days a month do you spend time at your ranch?

9. Have you ever lived outside of Guam? Y / N
 - 9.1 If yes, Where? _____ and for how long (years)? _____
10. Not including yourself, how many family members live with you in your house?

10.1. How many of the family members in your house earn a living wage?

10.2. What do you estimate your total, annual household income to be?

- a. Less than \$20,000 c. \$50,000-\$75,000 e. More than \$100,000
- b. \$20,000-\$50,000 d. \$75,000-\$100,000

11. How often (on average) do you travel outside of Guam?

- a. Never c. Less than once a year d. More than 2 times a year
- b. 1-2 times in my life d. 1-2 times a year

11.1. What is the primary reason for your travel? _____

Part II: Personal Livelihood: Please answer the following statements according to the provided scale, and with respect to how YOU PERSONALLY feel. Although some of the questions are similar, there are differences between them and you should treat each one as a separate question.

| | Strongly Disagree | Disagree | Neutral | Agree | Strongly Agree |
|---|-------------------|----------|---------|-------|----------------|
| 12. Change happens slowly in my village. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 13. Technology prevents me from staying close to my family. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 14. Overall, technology has a positive impact on culture. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 15. Oral stories from my parents/ <i>manåmko</i> are essential to understand Chamorro history and culture. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 16. The Chamorro language is essential to Chamorro culture. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 17. My work prevents me from being as close to my family as I would like. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 18. I feel connected to my ancestors. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 19. The Chamorro language spoken today is different from the Chamorro language elders speak. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 20. I often feel pressure to spend more time with my family than it is possible for me to do. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 21. Chamorro culture is primarily learned at home. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 22. The lessons Chamorro children learn in school today are important for <i>their cultural development</i> . | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 23. The lessons Chamorro children learn in school today are important for <i>being successful in the future</i> . | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 24. A Chamorro lives a more “true life” by avoiding technology. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 25. Having a job is essential to success. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 26. Chamorro families are closer than they once were. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 27. I live a traditional Chamorro life. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 28. It is difficult for people to have much control over the things politicians do in office. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

| | | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|
| 29. I incorporate my Chamorro values into all aspects of my life. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 30. I have a good understanding of my history and culture. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 31. Overall, US presence (military and economic) on Guam is a positive thing. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 32. Having a job is necessary to support my family. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 33. The pace of my life is much faster now than it was before. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 34. It is important to preserve Chamorro culture by writing it down/recording it. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 35. I feel supported by my community. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 36. Chamorro history is generally presented positively. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 37. Having a ranch is an essential part of being Chamorro. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 38. Archaeologists and other academics should get input from <i>Chamorro oral histories</i> before writing about Chamorro history. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 39. Archaeologists and other academics should get input from <i>people like me</i> before writing about Chamorro history. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 40. Living in Umatac is easy. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

Part III: Well-Being: The Questions in this scale ask you about your feelings and thoughts during the last month. In each case, you will be asked to indicate *how often* you felt or thought a certain way. Although some of the questions are similar, there are differences between them and you should treat each one as a separate question. The best approach is to answer each question fairly quickly. That is, don't try to count up the number of times you felt a particular way, but rather indicate the answer that seems like a reasonable estimate.

| | Never | Almost Never | Sometimes | Fairly Often | Very Often |
|---|-------|-----------------|-----------|-----------------|---------------|
| 41. In the last month, how often have you been upset because of something that happened unexpectedly? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 42. In the last month, how often have you felt that you were unable to control the important things in your life? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 43. In the last month, how often have you felt nervous and "stressed"? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 44. In the last month, how often have you dealt successfully with irritating life hassles? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 45. In the last month, how often have you felt that you were effectively coping with important changes in your life? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 46. In the last month, how often have you felt confident about your ability to handle your personal problems? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 47. In the last month, how often have you felt that things were going your way? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 48. In the last month, how often have you found that you could not cope with all the things that you had to do? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 49. In the last month, how often have you been able to control irritations in your life? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 50. In the last month, how often have you felt that you were on top of things? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 51. In the last month, how often have you been angered because of things that happened that were outside of your control? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 52. In the last month, how often have you found yourself thinking about things that you | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

have to accomplish?

| | | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|
| 53. In the last month, how often have you been able to control the way you spend your time? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 54. In the last month, how often have you felt difficulties were piling up so high that you could not overcome them? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|

| | | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|
| 55. In the last month, how often have you turned to your family for support with a problem? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|

Part IV: Community Livelihood: Please answer the following statements according to the provided scale, and with respect to how you think OTHER CHAMORRO IN YOUR COMMUNITY feel. Although some of the questions are similar, there are differences between them and you should treat each one as a separate question.

| | Strongly Disagree | Disagree | Neutral | Agree | Strongly Agree |
|---|-------------------|----------|---------|-------|----------------|
| 56. Chamorro communities are very supportive of one another. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 57. It is important to stay knowledgeable about Chamorro fishing/hunting/survival practices. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 58. Overall, technology has a positive impact on culture. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 59. Oral stories from parents/ <i>manâmkô</i> are essential to understand Chamorro history and culture. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 60. Chamorro in the south (of Guam) live more traditionally than Chamorro in the north. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 61. Chamorro today are more likely to leave the island for work than before. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 62. Chamorro have a good understanding of their history and culture. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 63. The Chamorro language spoken today is different from the Chamorro language elders speak. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 64. The Chamorro language is essential to Chamorro culture. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 65. Chamorro culture is primarily learned at home. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 66. The lessons Chamorro children learn in school today are important for <i>their cultural development</i> . | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 67. The lessons Chamorro children learn in school today are important for <i>being successful in the future</i> . | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 68. A Chamorro lives a more true life by avoiding technology. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 69. Having a job is essential to success. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 70. Having a job is necessary to support your | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

| | | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|
| family. | | | | | |
| 71. Having a job interferes with an individual's ability to connect with his/her family. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 72. There is a difference between what kids learn at school and what they learn at home. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 73. Having a ranch is an essential part of being Chamorro. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 74. Archaeologists and other academics should get input from <i>people like me</i> before writing about Chamorro history. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 75. Archaeologists and other academics should get input from <i>Chamorro oral histories</i> before writing about Chamorro history | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

Part V: Values. Answer the following statements according to how important you think each is for you. Although some of the statements are similar, there are differences between them and you should treat each one as a separate.

| | Not Important | Slightly Important | Important | More Important | Very Important |
|---|------------------|-----------------------|-----------|-------------------|----------------|
| 76. Maintaining good relationships with my family. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 77. Having a good job. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 78. Learning the Chamorro language. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 79. Practicing my culture every day. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 80. Living near my family (parents/siblings/cousins). | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 81. Showing face at events put on by my friends/family. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 82. Learning about my Chamorro heritage. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 83. Staying informed about current events on Guam. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 84. Staying informed about current events all around the world. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 85. My religious faith. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 86. My connection to my ancestors. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 87. Knowing how to live off the land. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 88. Giving <i>chenchulé</i> when it is expected of me. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 89. Being able to cook traditional Chamorro dishes. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 90. Making sure I am happy. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |