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The Descendants of Hurao: An Exploratory Study of Chamoru Rights Groups

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THE DESCENDANTS OF HURAO: AN EXPLORATORY

STUDY OF CHAMORU RIGHTS GROUPS

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ABSTRACT

THE DESCENDANTS OF HURAO: AN EXPLORATORY

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The psychological literature conducted in Guam on indigenous practices of resistance to colonialism is nonexistent. This dissertation responds to this absence in the literature by conducting an exploratory hermeneutic study on the lived experience of members of Chamoru rights groups in Guam. Data for this study were collected through semi-structured interviews with eight members of Chamoru rights groups. Results indicated that engagement in a Chamoru rights group can be a deeply meaningful experience that involves education, activism, and being part of a supportive community. This community was felt to be healing, allowing for active engagement with community issues and against harms perpetuated by colonialism. Further, culture was found to play an important part in the expression of social practices in Chamoru rights groups. Discussion centered on psychological clinical applications of findings such as the importance of history and community in the Chamoru contextual-interpersonal self described by participants. This configuration of the self suggests that psychological treatment should respect the historical experiences of the people of Guam as well as the importance of community. It also suggests that clinicians should be wary of a token approach to the application of culturally sensitive psychological treatment in Guam. Limitations for this study included the low number of participants, majority of participants identifying as male, and majority of participants having

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obtained a graduate degree. It is likely that individuals from different contexts would have alternative perspectives about their involvement in Chamoru rights groups. These limitations suggest that future research could be conducted in this topic with a more diverse population to allow for a broader range of perspectives. This dissertation is available in open access at AURA, http://aura.antioch.edu/ and Ohio Link ETD Center, https://etd.ohiolink.edu/etd.

   Keywords: Guam, Hermeneutic Research, Political Resistance, Chamoru Rights, Activism

Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to Eddie Benavente, who was a prolific Chamoru rights leader famous for his activism in the Nasion Chamoru. Mr. Benavente gave direction to this dissertation while it was still in its infancy. He passed away only a few months after I spoke with him and this dissertation is blessed to have had the benefit of his guidance and generosity. This dissertation is also dedicated to all of the brave individuals who have fought against colonialism in Guam. May their commitment to making Guam's community the beautiful and hospitable place it is never be forgotten.

psychology professors would have granted: politics and psychology. This is likely a testament to Phil's commitment to practicing a hermeneutic psychology that celebrates the ambiguity and richness of human experience and history. The hermeneutic perspective taught to me by Phil has profoundly changed my life and understanding of psychology. I use this lens frequently to conceptualize clients and the cultural experiences I have had in my own life. I could not have completed this dissertation without the eternal patience he showed me by looking at the millions of drafts I sent him and working through the thousands of miles that separated us while I conducted the dissertation in Guam. I am very fortunate to have had his guidance.

I also would like to acknowledge the people of Guam that make up its community. This includes the teachers, professors, activists, and mentors that have influenced my life. These people are all part of the larger village of Guam that raised me. Finally, I could not have asked for a more thoughtful and genuine group of people to act as participants in this dissertation. They generously donated their time and effort to speak with me about the amazing work they do. Thank you to everyone for your help in the completion of this dissertation.

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CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

The island of Guam is a multi-faceted community that is perceived in a variety of ways. For tourists, it is an island paradise for them to play on the beach, dine in splendid hotel restaurants, and enjoy the sun. To the American government, it is primarily a military base, prized for its strategic location. For the people of Guam, it is their home, although this home is one where the indigenous Chamoru people have not enjoyed political self-determination. Colonialism is the thread that connects these conflicting images. For the people of Guam, this colonialism has been in effect since the 17th century through Spanish, American, and Japanese occupations. Colonialism in Guam has often been violent. It involved the indigenous experience of massacres, war, and communicable disease. However, colonialism does not just contain images of pain and suffering at the hands of colonizers. It also features courageous acts of resistance, such as the famous speech of Hurao, a Chamoru chief who assembled 2,000 Chamoru warriors against the Spanish (Leon Guerrero & Quinata, 2018). Further, it contains supportive community building among indigenous peoples and the inclusion of cultural diversity in social practices, moral understandings, and traditions.

In relation to psychological research, the topic of colonialism has not been well studied in Guam. Even less well investigated is the topic of resistance to colonialism. In conducting this study, I attempted to honor the long history of resistance to colonialism in which the people of Guam have engaged. I did so by exploring the lived experience of individuals who currently resist colonialism through membership in Chamoru rights groups. I also hoped to illuminate a frequently understudied reaction that indigenous groups have to colonialism: resistance.

In the first chapter of this dissertation I began by providing a historical background that assists readers in understanding the context of Guam's current sociohistorical situation and the

research conducted for this study. The statement of problem, description and outline of the study, and rationale for the study are located in this chapter. This was conducted as an exploratory study that examined the lived experience of members of Chamoru rights groups. It attempted to explore the meanings ascribed to Chamoru rights groups in Guam for those who participate in them. It also examined the community and healing factors of these groups and the psychological clinical implications of these findings.

Background

In this section of the chapter I provide an outline of Guam history. This description includes ancient Chamoru practices, colonialism in Guam, and current events. My intent is to provide information about the socio-historical context of Guam relevant to the study. Additionally, I identify and describe topics that impact the community of Guam, such as intergenerational trauma, suicide rates, and indigenous healing.

Introduction to Guam's Cultural Heritage

The indigenous people of Guam, the Chamoru, have had a complex history of contact with individuals from diverse cultures. The majority of this history has been peaceful and prosperous. Approximately 3,000 years of cultural, economic, and historical development occurred through contact between Guam, other Mariana islands, and the occasional shipwrecked crew from 1,500 BCE to 1,521 CE (Rogers, 1995, p. 22). It is only within the past 500 years that colonialism has had a major impact on the Chamoru people, and it is important to honor the rich context of Guam's history by recognizing the complex responses the Chamoru people have had to colonialism. Addressing this history is paramount in conducting research with the Chamoru people in order to engage with them transparently to reclaim indigenous identities, ways of being, and belief systems. Therefore, I provide a brief historical overview of the contexts that the

people of Guam have encountered. In addition, I offer an historical framework for understanding the literature review and methods chapters that follow.

Precontact and Beginning Contact

The island of Guam was formed 60 million years ago (Rogers, 1995, p. 21). The first humans started migrating to the Marianas from Southeast Asia about 1,500 BCE (Rogers, 1995, p. 22). These humans brought plants such as yams, taro, and bananas; knowledge of fire, fishing, and sailing; and a cultural tradition of collectivism and interdependence (Rogers, 1995, pp. 22–23). Major labor animals such as horses or cattle were absent from the Marianas, which resulted in the extensive use of plant fibers as a substitute for leather (Rogers, 1995, p. 24). Interisland trade occurred in the Marianas as well, particularly with the Carolines (Rogers, 1995, p. 23). Thus, according to Rogers (1995), "Micronesia was a highly diverse biological and cultural region centuries before Magellan arrived in 1521" (p. 24).

By the time of the first encounters with the Spanish, complex cultural systems had developed among the Chamoru people. These traditions were primarily passed down through the use of story and other oral traditions. The Chamoru people embodied a communal matrilineal culture (Rogers, 1995, p. 34). In this system, boys were incorporated into their maternal uncle's clan. In marriage, a bride's father received gifts from the groom's mother's clan (Rogers, 1995, p. 37). This reinforced the matrilineal system in which the bride's family gained property through marriage. However, this property was not individually owned. Instead, property was concentrated among family members or clans that managed it communally within a village (Rogers, 1995, p. 36). A major exception to communal property was secret knowledge, such as healing practices, which were guarded judiciously. Despite property being traced through matrilineal lines, men "participated in long and lively public debates over social matters among

large groups from several villages" (Rogers, 1995, p. 29). Thus, men occupied positions of political power while women's clans retained private property rights. This resulted in shifting alliances with no dominating central authority as private property of women shifted and men were initiated into their maternal uncle's clans, holding power in the public sphere (Rogers, 1995, p. 37).

Chamoru culture at this time consisted of two main castes: the *manachang* and the *chamorri* (Rogers, 1995, p. 36). The manachang were the lower-ranking peoples who did not have the right to own property although they could use the land (Rogers, 1995, p. 36). They typically were farmers who lived in the interior lands of Guam (Rogers, 1995, p. 36). In contrast, the chamorri lived on the coasts, mainly fished, and possessed greater wealth (Rogers, 1995, p. 36). According to Cunningham (1992), the chamorri were split into two classes: the *matua* who were the higher class chamorri and the *acha'ot* who were matua that had broken serious rules (p. 166). Connections between clans and castes were maintained through a system of mutual obligation, called *chenchule'*. Chenchule' is "the giving of gifts or services that obligates the recipient to reciprocate to the giver" (Rogers, 1995, p. 38). By using chenchule', wealthy families could build networks of connections between themselves and others by providing gifts or valuable services to other clans and individuals. In this way, power was dispersed through a complex network of obligations from one person and clan to another, while also shifting though the matrilineal ownership of property.

Territories in Chamoru society were split into different villages (Cunningham, 1992, p. 178). Villages were composed of a clan or a group of clans, with each clan containing several matrilineages (Cunningham, 1992, p. 178). The heads of a clan derived their power from their lineage; according to Cunningham (1992), "the closer a person's lineage was to the ancestral clan

mother, the higher his or her status" (p. 180). The clan heads were called the *maga'lahi* and *maga'haga*, the male and female heads respectively (Cunningham, 1992, p. 180). The clan heads had the authority to "use certain pieces of land, set family goals, directed economic activities, and settled disputes within the lineage" (Cunningham, 1992, p. 180). Kinship ties, chenchule', and communal respect were important aspects of this position. These practices are in stark contrast to Western values of individualism. As such, much of the later conflict between the Chamoru and the Spanish can be understood as a clash of cultures consisting of conflicting values and moral understandings.

Magellan's first experience of Guam can be analyzed as an early example of cultural differences resulting in misunderstandings and violence. Magellan reached Guam by ship on March 6th, 1521 (Rogers, 1995, p. 5). He and his crew had been sailing for months, were low on provisions, and were famished (Rogers, 1995, p. 7). Many Chamorus noticed the approach of Magellan's ship and brought their own ships, called *proas*, to greet Magellan's (Rogers, 1995, p. 7). The Chamorus were curious about the newcomers. They climbed into Magellan's ship, bringing water and food with them to share and trade (Quimby, 2011; Rogers, 1995, p. 7). The Chamoru people, who understood property as communal, picked up loose items on Magellan's ship (Rogers, 1995, p. 7) while others attempted to trade food for glass beads (Quimby, 2011). Magellan's crew reacted with violence, shooting several Chamorus with crossbow bolts. This dispersed the Chamorus off of the ship, although in the turmoil they were able to bring a row boat from Magellan's ship back to Guam (Rogers, 1995, p. 7). Even with this violence, some of the Chamoru people from other villages continued to trade with the Spanish as the conflict subsided (Quimby, 2011). However, Magellan and his crew landed on Guam the next day, killed several Chamorus, and burned "forty to fifty huts and several proas" (Rogers, 1995, p. 7). Based

on this incident, Magellan named Guam the "Islas de los Ladrones" which translates to the "Island of Thieves" (Rogers, 1995, p. 8).

Despite this violent start to the contact between the Chamoru and the Spanish, the period in 1521–1668 was a time of relative peace and mutual benefit through trade (Quimby, 2011). The Spanish had a circular trade route that started with obtaining "oriental luxuries" (Rogers, 1995, p. 17) in Manila, selling those luxuries in Acapulco, and bringing mail and other supplies back to Manila. Over time, Guam was incorporated into this trade route as a port for resupplying water and food on the way back from Acapulco to Manila (Quimby, 2011; Rogers, 1995, pp. 19–20). The Chamoru and Spanish developed social norms for contact based on cultural interaction. The Chamoru, for example, learned that they were safer if they stayed off Spanish ships and traded directly on the sea. This was a reaction to Magellan's violence and later voyagers' abductions of Chamoru people by the Spanish (Quimby, 2011). Trade typically consisted of the Chamoru people exchanging food such as "fish, coconuts, gourds of fresh water, plantains and other fruit" (Quimby, 2011, p. 7) in exchange for glass objects or clothing, although the Chamoru people were most interested in iron and nails because iron products were not easily obtainable in Guam.

This period of trade between the Chamoru and Spanish illustrates two important points. First, trade with the Spanish provides an example of the distinct ways that different groups of Chamorus have reacted to cultural exchange and colonialism. Some Chamorus clashed with the Spanish as shown by the conflict with Magellan. Yet even as the conflict was occurring, Chamorus from other villages were attempting to trade with Magellan (Quimby, 2011). Similarly, some groups, such as the manachang, did not have access to the coasts and trade with the Spanish. In contrast, higher-ranking coastal Chamorus did (Quimby, 2011). Second, trade

showed the wide-ranging cultural effects that can occur as a result of cultural contact. The introduction of nails into Chamoru society resulted in increased efficiency when building proas (Quimby, 2011). Interestingly, this increased efficiency was not a result of using nails to secure pieces together; instead, nails were used to bore holes into proas more quickly than the stone and shells that were used previously (Quimby, 2011). Nails were also re-appropriated as fishing hooks to more effectively catch fish (Quimby, 2011). Further, owning iron and trading with the Spanish became a means of attaining social status, while also "intensifying indigenous dynamics, including social differentiation" within the chamorri class. This occurred because chamorri who lived closer to the coastal Spanish trade route were able to more easily obtain iron than others within that class (Quimby, 2011).

Spanish Colonization

Spanish indifference toward the Chamoru people ended in the mid 1600s, beginning with San Vitores. San Vitores was a missionary who wanted to "be at the vanguard of evangelical work among true infidels" (Rogers, 1995, p. 43) and chose Guam for this objective. After some difficulty convincing the Spanish government to finance his mission to Guam, San Vitores anchored near Guam on June 16th, 1668 with about 30 soldiers, five priests, and a few dozen catechists and servants (Rogers, 1995, p. 47). Upon arriving in Guam, San Vitores delivered gifts of valuable items, such as tools and iron. These were given in exchange for performing masses and baptizing infants, "particularly [for] those in danger of death" (Rogers, 1995, p. 47).

At this point in time, there were about 12,000 Chamoru people in Guam (Rogers, 1995, p. 47). As expected of this diverse population, the Chamoru people exhibited a variety of responses to Spanish attempts at conversion. For the first weeks, the majority of Chamorus interacted with enthusiasm to the practices introduced to them (Rogers, 1995, p. 48). Many of the Chamoru

people celebrated San Vitores' arrival. They were willing to engage in masses and baptisms of their infants in return for the items the Spanish provided (Rogers, 1995, p. 48). However, cultural conflicts began to appear quickly after this early period. The chamorri that San Vitores first encountered wanted to maintain control of San Vitores and keep him away from other clans. They maneuvered him to settle in their village and provided space for a church and a residence (Rogers, 1995, p. 48). The knowledge that San Vitores possessed was considered valuable and the higher-class chamorri "demanded that baptism be restricted to them alone and not be accorded the manachang commoners" (Rogers, 1995, p. 48) in order to maintain the caste system. In addition, because knowledge was the only form of private property that was not shared communally, the chamorri in the village of *Hagåtña* hoped to gain exclusive ownership of it. San Vitores refused this demand and the chamorri capitulated. This allowed San Vitores to provide baptisms to any Chamoru who desired it. The sharing of knowledge that had previously been considered secret in Chamoru culture was the first of many traditions dramatically altered through interaction with the Spanish.

The Chamoru people began to resist the Spanish missionaries within a month and a half of their arrival (Rogers, 1995, p. 49). This resistance was the result of the Spanish disregarding several Chamoru cultural beliefs. First, the Spanish destroyed "ancestor skulls and carved idols" (Rogers, 1995, p. 49) of the Chamoru people. The destruction of these skulls conflicted with the Chamoru practice of ancestor worship and reverence for elders. A second issue occurred after the death of Kepuha, one of the first leaders to meet with San Vitores (Rogers, 1995, pp. 45–48). Upon Kepuha's death, San Vitores buried him in a church rather than following the customary Chamoru tradition of burial under the family residence (Rogers, 1995, p. 49). It was believed by the Chamorus that the traditional family burial was necessary in order for the dead to serve as a

protector to those still living. Kepuha's burial bred anger among the Chamoru in *Hagåtña*, who had been the chief protectors of San Vitores. Furthermore, the Spanish missionary practice of focusing baptism efforts on infants at risk of death resulted in the Chamoru perception that the baptism water was poisoned.

These festering resentments culminated in several violent events. On the 16th and 19th of August 1668, two Spanish missionaries were wounded by Chamorus angry at Spanish disrespect of their culture (Rogers, 1995, p. 49). The Spanish were also attacked in other islands in the Marianas where they had been attempting to convert Chamorus. For example, on March 1670, several Chamorus attacked a Spanish camp located in Tinian, an island near Guam (Rogers, 1995, p. 51). In June 1671, the Marianas mission in Guam was virtually under siege. The Spanish retaliated by killing several Chamorus, one of whom was Guafac, a high-ranking chamorri whose clan was compelled into seeking revenge. This continued the exacerbation of the conflict between some of the Chamoru clans and the Spanish (Rogers, 1995, p. 52). Several other skirmishes occurred, and San Vitores was killed in 1672 after baptizing a Chamoru man's child against his wishes (Rogers, 1995, p. 51).

After San Vitores' death, the Spanish utilized elevated levels of violence in their interactions with the Chamoru. The Spanish began by searching for and slaughtering those who had killed San Vitores (Rogers, 1995, p. 58). As they did so, the Spanish exploited Chamoru culture's reliance on kinship ties instead of a central authority to create divisions between clans. In particular, although Chamorus in the northern part of the island were directly hostile with the Spanish, the southern Chamorus were not. This division was exploited by the Spanish who fostered conflict between clans with historic rivalries and grudges. An attempt was made to create a Chamoru alliance against the Spanish during this time period; however, by the time this

alliance was forming, the Spanish had already created a system of spies consisting of converted Chamorus (Rogers, 1995, p. 61). Therefore, the attempt at repelling the Spanish was unsuccessful and the Spanish took more formal control over the island.

This time period in Chamoru history is relevant to present-day Guam for several reasons. First, it shows the variation of Chamoru responses to colonial efforts. During the peak of the Spanish colonization of Guam, different Chamoru clans and individuals acted in diverse ways based on their context. Some engaged in hit-and-run guerilla warfare, some hid, some engaged in spying for the Spanish, some took advantage of the warfare against other clans to settle traditional rivalries (Rogers, 1995), and surely other responses were utilized that have not been recorded. This multitude of responses to colonialism is important because histories often attempt to paint oppressed and minority groups as a singular entity. Doing so engages in the stereotyping of those groups. This suggests that it is important for researchers to recognize variability in responses to colonialism and honor the diversity of the Chamoru people.

Second, the Spanish were the first Europeans to directly enact colonial policies among the Chamoru people. One such policy was mandatory church attendance. The attempt to impose religion on a colonized people was addressed by Fanon (1963), who argued that religion has been used by colonizers to encourage Western values (p. 7) and disguise the problematic actions of the colonizer (p. 18). In Guam, this can be observed in the struggle between San Vitores' Catholic value of providing baptism to all Chamorus and the precolonial Chamoru value of knowledge as property to be kept secret. By taking on the aspect of the Catholic way of being that considered religious knowledge to be public, Chamoru understandings of knowledge were shifted. Thus, new meanings were embodied and the political structure of Chamoru society was altered to accommodate this decline in the cultural power of secret knowledge. In addition, the

majority of Chamorus today identify as Catholic, and many of the values of Catholicism are present. However, Catholicism was not imposed in an uncomplicated fashion. Instead, many Chamoru values from precontact times have merged with Catholic values. In particular, the precontact Chamoru value of a matrilineal culture has merged with the importance of the Virgin Mary in Catholicism (Rogers, 1995) while "religious rituals [were used] as a vehicle through which familial and clan bonds could be sustained" (Hattori, 2009, p. 284). In this way, Spanish colonialism introduced the overt use of power through enactment of policies, alteration of social practices, and introduction of disease and warfare. These overt displays of power continued in Guam throughout the 20th century with the transition from Spanish colonialism to American colonialism.

Treaty of Paris and Early American Colonization

The conclusion of the Spanish-American war was marked by the signing of the Treaty of Paris on December 10th, 1898 (Rogers, 1995, p. 113). The 1898 treaty outlined terms for peace and was the beginning of America's foray into colonialism outside of North America (Rogers, 1995, p. 113). Spain was compelled into relinquishing their control of Guam, the Philippines, and Puerto Rico to the United States in exchange for 20 million dollars (Rogers, 1995, p. 113). Rogers (1995) noted that "at no time in the transfer of sovereignty did American or Spanish officials consult with the inhabitants of Guam" (p. 113). A lack of consideration for the wishes of the Chamoru people was a mainstay of both Spanish colonization and America's ensuing colonization of Guam.

The American colonization of Guam consisted of military rule (Corbin, 2015) in which numerous Naval Administrations imposed policy, civil orders, and other forms of American authority over the Chamoru people. According to Hattori (2009), these commanders "exercised

complete executive, legislative, and judicial authority" (p. 284) over the island. This early colonization effort began with a rapid attempt to alter the values of the Chamoru people to fit with American values. The first American Naval governor, Richard Leary, introduced his administration by implementing the "separation of church and state" (Carano & Sanchez, 1964, p. 191; Hattori, 2009, p. 281; Rogers, 1995, p. 117). The idea of separating church and state is a particular modern-era American value that was imposed in Guam through the banning of fiestas and deportation of most of the Catholic priests (Hattori, 2009, p. 290; Rogers, 1995, p. 119).

Naval policies were a major component of the imposition of values and social practices in Guam. Of particular note is Hattori's (2004) exploration of the health policies enacted by Naval Administrations from 1898 to 1941. Hattori argued that a major justification for imposing health policies such as annual hookworm therapy for children, isolation of individuals with Hansen's disease, and frequent house-to-house inspections was the "benevolence" of the United States. Members of the Navy claimed that they were assisting the people of Guam by encouraging these health practices. However, Hattori argued that more accurate reasons for these policies were the desire of Navy doctors to make a name for themselves, the socio-political state of the United States at this time, and an attempt to Americanize the people of Guam. In addition, the imposed health practices were based on a Western model of medicine that is "individualized, exclusively scientific, and bound by a number of Western assumptions about the nature of disease and healing" (p. 125). This model was in contrast to Chamoru practices of healing that emphasized community. She concluded that the policies enacted in this period were an extension of American colonialism.

Hattori (2009) has argued that these Naval policies were also driven by economic and political concerns. She noted that many of Leary's policies were meant to increase economic

activity by "control[ling] the sale of land parcels, ban[ning] the export of food items, set[ting] minimum standards of agricultural productivity and impos[ing] a tax on land" (p. 293). These policies significantly increased agricultural productivity in Guam and introduced "capitalist practices in place of the subsistence lifestyle of the Chamorros" (p. 301). In terms of politics, Hattori suggested that Leary perceived Catholic priests as encouraging anti-American sentiment at a time when the Naval Administration was attempting to create "loyalty" (p. 296) in the Chamoru people to the United States. For this reason, Leary deported all of the Spanish Catholic priests while leaving on the island only one: Padre Jose Palomo who was a Chamoru priest that proliferated pro-American rhetoric. Similar to the diversity of responses to Spanish colonialism, the Chamoru people reacted in a multitude of ways to American colonialism. Some, like Padre Jose Palomo, worked with the Naval Administration to support American policies. Others resisted the United States by making formal complaints. It is also likely that some attempted to avoid these regulations or act in other ways not documented. Thus, the Chamoru people engaged in a number of actions for resistance, compliance, avoidance, and survival. For example, in response to Naval medical policies, some Chamorus hid patients from Naval doctors and avoided medical officials while others participated in Naval practices "for political, economic, or social gain" (Hattori, 2004, p. 199).

The people of Guam actively engaged in activism during this period of American colonialism. In February 1900, a group of Chamorus attempted to influence the choice of Guam's Naval governor (Rogers, 1995, p. 121). They submitted a petition requesting that William Safford, the first lieutenant governor of Guam, be appointed governor (Rogers, 1995, p. 121). This request was ignored. In December 1901, Chamoru activists submitted a second petition. This petition requested the appointment of a federal commission "to study ways to create a

permanent civilian government on the island" (Rogers, 1995, p. 125). This petition was opposed by the Naval government and no substantive advancements were made in Chamoru self-government.

During this period of activism, a fundamental component of United States policy regarding territories was decided in the Insular Cases in 1901–1914 (Woodward, 2013). The Insular Cases are a series of Supreme Court decisions that sought to clarify the constitutionality of America's colonial expansion and the status of territories such as Guam (Vignarajah, 2010). In relation to Guam, the Insular Cases maintained that the United States constitution "does not apply to the insular territories as it does to the [mainland] states" (Rogers, 1995, p. 125). This decision provided plenary power to Congress over these territories (Woodward, 2013). Plenary power has been defined as an exclusive power of Congress that is "unlimited or absolute" (Wilkins, 1994). A distinction was made between incorporated territories that have constitutional rights and may become states (e.g., Hawaii), and unincorporated territories, such as Guam, that do not enjoy constitutional rights and may not become states. In addition, a distinction was made between organized territories that were provided an Organic Act "by Congress to establish local self government" (Rogers, 1995, p. 126) and unorganized territories that do not have a local self government provided by the Congress. Based on these court cases, Guam was considered to be an unorganized unincorporated territory of the United States subject to the absolute power of Congress. Moreover, Guam was denied all rights guaranteed by the United States constitution.

Chamoru activism did not wane in the years after the Insular Cases were decided. In 1917, a Naval governor "established the First Guam Congress" (Rogers, 1995, p. 138). This political body met once a month (Rogers, 1995, p. 138) and acted in an advisory capacity to the Naval governor (Babauta, 2019). According to Rogers (1995), one of the first acts of the First Guam

Congress was to request rights consistent with the constitution of the United States (p. 138). However, it wielded no authority due to the advisory nature of the group. Thus, these issues were ignored by the Naval governor. In 1925–1927, several members of the United States Congress visited Guam (Rogers, 1995, p. 148). In each instance, Chamorus requested the right to American citizenship. In 1927, the United States Congress introduced a bill granting the people of Guam American citizenship (Rogers, 1995, p. 148). This bill was rejected due to opposition by the American Navy. In 1931, Guam's Naval governor dissolved the First Guam Congress and established the Second Guam Congress (Rogers, 1995, p. 149). Structural changes were made to this new Guam Congress. For example, the Second Guam Congress was a bicameral legislature while the First Guam Congress was unicameral (Rogers, 1995, p. 149). However, the Second Guam Congress was still considered to have only an advisory role (Rogers, 1995, p. 152). Thus, the new Congress continued to have no authority in determining policy in Guam. This lack of representation continued for the rest of this period of American colonization, which lasted until the Japanese occupation of Guam in WWII.

Japanese Colonization

The Japanese attacked Guam on December 8th 1941, and occupied the island until late 1944. Armed resistance during the Japanese attack was performed by the Insular Force Guard, a component of the United States Navy that consisted of Chamorus (National Park Service, n.d.; Rogers, 1995, p. 165). In contrast, the response by McMillin, the American Naval governor was minimal: the Chamoru people were neither informed of the attack on Pearl Harbor nor evacuated, the United States Marines stationed on Guam did not fight, and the "poorly trained Insular Force Guard bore the brunt of the combat" (Rogers, 1995, p. 168). The Japanese occupation began with harsh punishments, rapes, alterations to social and political policies, forced labor, and quotas for

crops (Rogers, 1995, pp. 170–171). At first, the forced labor was confined to the Insular Force Guard, who worked in the fields, unloaded ships, and worked in a manganese mine (Rogers, 1995, p, 170). However, due to the increased demand for food caused by the accumulation of Japanese military, forced labor rapidly incorporated the general population (Higuchi, 2001; Rogers, 1995, p. 170).

The Japanese military immediately enacted policies to impose Japanese values on the Chamoru people. First, the Japanese occupation mandated that the people of Guam wear a strip of cloth identifying the individual using the Japanese alphabet (Rogers, 1995, p. 170). This coincided with the banning of English and American currency (Rogers, 1995, p. 170). Mandatory schools that taught the Japanese language were opened on January 15th, only a month after the occupation started (Higuchi, 2001). According to Higuchi (2001), "The Japanese language education on Guam was more exhaustive in terms of the beginning date, number of classes per week, and rate of expansion than in the other occupied areas" (p. 23). This reflected the designation of Guam as a "permanent possession" by the Japanese government, and the belief that Guam was not able to be self determined or be an impendent country due to its small geographic size and population (Higuchi, 2001). The goal of this intensive schooling was to "expunge the remaining American influence from Guam" (Higuchi, 2001, p. 25), mold social practices though "moral education," and incorporate the people of Guam into the Asian region. These goals were soon abandoned due to more immediate needs for food, which was obtained through the forced labor of the people of Guam (Higuchi, 2001).

The brutality of the Japanese occupation increased greatly under the command of General Takashina starting on March 20th, 1944 (Rogers, 1995, p. 171). This period of Japanese occupation was characterized by an increase in forced labor to feed the Japanese military, the

closing of all schools, and many Chamorus suffering from malnutrition (Rogers, 1995, p. 171).

Monetary compensation for labor had ended in mid-1943. Laborers were instead paid with

rations of food, although "most had to supply their own meals" (Rogers, 1995, p. 171) and work

up to 24-hour shifts. The food shortage may have become worse due to the introduction of the

giant African snail, a pest that destroys crops, by the Japanese upon their arrival on the island

(Rogers, 1995, p. 171). Mass killings became increasingly frequent, and the Chamoru people

were marched to internment camps as the American forces began to reoccupy the island. In total,

around 18,000 people were confined in these camps (Rogers, 1995, p. 180); about 10% of

Guam's 20,000 population were killed in the war (Gruhl, 2007, p. 102).

As with all periods of Guam's colonization, the Chamoru people acted in a multitude of

ways. Some resisted by hiding American money after it was banned, some sang songs in hope of

America's return, and some attempted to help the remaining American forces in Guam by hiding

them or smuggling notes (Rogers, 1995, pp. 170–179). When caught, these actions were

punished harshly. For example, an individual who was caught smuggling a note was brought to

an open grave and shot (Rogers, 1995, pp. 171–172). All did whatever they could to survive, in

spite of malnutrition, forced labor, numerous atrocities, and war crimes. An enduring legacy of

this period is the lack of post-war reparations. In 1951, the United States government absolved

the Japanese government "of future individual American war claims" (Brooke, 2005). The

United States government has paid some reparations, having released about eight million dollars

in 1946 (Brooke, 2005). However, this process was hurried, missed numerous claims, and was

primarily confined to property damage (Brooke, 2005; Tritten, 2010). For this reason, the fight

for reparations has continued into the present, with calls for reparations to be paid by the United

States government. However, many of those who were affected have already passed away without being granted reparations in their lifetime.

American Reoccupation and Colonization After WWII

According to the United Nations (n.d.), "in 1945, 750 million people–almost a third of the world's population–lived in Territories that were non-self-governing." Members of the United Nations attempted to rectify this situation by developing the U.N. Trusteeship Council. The goal of the council was to motivate colonizing powers to take steps toward self-determination of their colonies (Rogers, 1995, p. 206). Thus, the Trust Territory of the Pacific was created for Guam and other islands of Micronesia (Rogers, 1995, pp. 206–207) with President Truman promising, "to take steps to bring about self-determination by the Micronesians" (Rogers, 1995, p. 206). Despite these proclamations, the period of Guam history between 1944 and 1949 is characterized by the United States government annexing Chamoru land for military use (Hattori, 2001).

Immediately after the Americans reclaimed Guam from the Japanese, land was annexed by the United States military for use in the war effort against the Japanese (Hattori, 2001; Rogers, 1995, p. 197). Land from Tinian, Saipan, and Guam were used to transform the region into a forward-base for the United States (Hattori, 2001; Rogers, 1995, p. 197). For example, the atom bomb attack on Hiroshima and Nagasaki was launched from Tinian (Atomic Heritage Foundation, 2016). The annexation of land in these islands contributed to the United States military's success in WWII; however, it resulted in widespread displacement of Chamorus, irreparable damage to their subsistence farming lifestyle, and the military claiming about two thirds of the land in Guam by 1946 (Hattori, 2001). To the Chamoru people, it appeared that the United States military arbitrarily condemned land and used it for unnecessary projects such as recreational facilities (Hattori, 2001). Further, the Chamoru people were not properly

compensated for the land. The military paid exploitatively low rents, and, in many cases, nothing for the land they annexed (Hattori, 2001; Rogers, 1995, p. 197).

In 1946, the Land and Claims Commission was created by the American Navy to address land issues and war claims in Guam (Hattori, 2001; Rogers, 1995, p. 214). The Navy entered this process with the goal of keeping expenditures low, by capping property loss claims at $5,000 and death or injury at $4,000 (Rogers, 1995, p. 214). Only about 4,000 claims were made and many of those claims were denied by the Navy (Rogers, 1995, p. 214). This resulted in anger about the process and legislative attempts to rectify the situation are ongoing (Daleno, 2016). Compensation for land was similarly conducted in an unjust manner. This "compensation" took the form of either the Navy appropriating land and later providing payment that "averaged only 6% of the land's appraised value" (Hattori, 2001, p. 193) or the Navy paying long-term leases that averaged even less than 6% of the land's value (Hattori, 2001).

After WWII, the people of Guam engaged in renewed activism in their appeals for self-government. This activism culminated in a walk-out by the Guam Congress in 1949 (Rogers, 1995, p. 219). Carlos Taitano, a member of the Guam Congress, reported this walk-out to American media outlets (Babauta, 2019). By doing so, Taitano made the oppression of the Chamoru people visible to the American public as well as President Truman. This led to the passage of the Organic Act of 1950 by the United States Congress. The Organic Act granted the people of Guam limited self-government (Rogers, 1995, p. 222). Specifically, this legislation transferred American Naval rule to the people of Guam and provided them with a framework for electing their own leaders. Additionally, the people of Guam and those born in Guam were granted United States citizenship. However, there are numerous limitations to these privileges. First, the Organic Act of 1950 was a law not voted on by the people of Guam. It thus does not

constitute self-determination for the Chamoru people (Rogers, 1995, p. 226). Second, the United States Congress continued to retain plenary power over the island of Guam, which means that Congress may enact any legislation it desires regarding the people of Guam (Rogers, 1995, p. 226). Third, the people of Guam are disenfranchised in the United States presidential election and have only one non-voting delegate in Congress (Weare, 2014).

Ostensibly, the goal of attaining approval for the Organic Act was for the Chamoru people to gain citizenship and attain a formal political status with the United States. However, an important consideration for the Chamoru people was the belief that citizenship would provide greater leverage to negotiate land rights (Hattori, 2001). According to Hattori (2001), Guam's "congress members assumed that discrimination would end, civil rights would be guaranteed, and land injustices would be corrected if Chamorros had American citizenship" (p. 196). An early draft of the Organic Act had provisions "in areas of land ownership, culture and language" (Corbin, 2015, p. 8). These rights were later incorporated into American Samoa's constitution, but removed from Guam's Organic Act (Corbin, 2015). The lack of safeguards for Guam's land rights have resulted in conflict since the passage of the Organic Act.

The Organic Act can be considered a step toward self-determination, but it does not sufficiently meet the requirements for it. Advocacy in support of self-determination resulted in two constitutional conventions and two plebiscite votes in Guam. The first Guam Constitutional Convention was held in 1969–1970. The intention of this convention was to modify the Organic Act to be more responsive to Chamoru concerns about land rights and immigration (Tenorio & Viernes, 2019). However, this constitutional convention was not federally recognized and only one out of 34 recommendations for modification was implemented (Tenorio & Viernes, 2019). In 1976, a plebiscite vote was held to determine Guam's preferred political status with the United

States. In this vote, the status of "improved status quo" (Rogers, 1995, p. 262) was chosen by a 58% majority. However, the lack of option for a commonwealth status in the plebiscite vote was notable. This plebiscite vote led to the second Guam Constitutional Convention, held in 1977. The United States Congress granted the people of Guam federal authority to hold this convention. The goal of the second convention was to draft a constitution for the island of Guam. The draft was completed by the end of 1977 and sent to America's Congress for review. According to Viernes (2019), the constitution was approved under the condition that "Guam must remain within the existing federal-territorial relationship" (para. 9) and "that any draft constitution recognize US sovereignty over Guam" (para. 9). These conditions, and the lack of a commonwealth option in the 1976 plebiscite vote, led to opposition of this constitution by Chamoru rights groups. In August 1979, the people of Guam voted on this constitution and it was rejected by 82% of the vote (Rogers, 1995, p. 264; Tenorio & Viernes, 2019).

Discontent with the second constitutional convention led to the establishment of the Guam Commission on Self-Determination in 1980. The goal of this commission was to explore options for a second plebiscite vote that would include the commonwealth option omitted in the first plebiscite. When this vote was held in 1982, the commonwealth status was chosen in a run-off election. In total, it received 73% of the vote (Corbin, 2015). Drafts for a commonwealth act were written. This draft included provisions for the United States military to pay property taxes on land they were occupying, "limited applicability of the U.S. constitution, a foreign affairs role, veto power over new U.S. military zones and personnel" (Corbin, 2015, p. 13), and other rights consistent with an equitable relationship with the United States. However, officials in the United States Interagency Task Force reviewed the proposal and opposed many of the provisions

for Chamoru autonomy over Guam lands. This resulted in a "breakdown of the Guam–US negotiations by the end of 1992" (Corbin, 2015, p. 16).

In 1997, the Commission on Self-Determination was replaced by the Commission on Decolonization (Tolentino, 2019b). The Commission on Decolonization was meant to "educate the people of Guam of the various political status options available, should Guam be allowed to pursue a change in its political status and relationship with the United States" (Tolentino, 2019a, para. 1). A plebiscite was scheduled for July 2000, to decide Guam's political status (Leon Guerrero, 2019). However, the plebiscite was postponed due to politician fears of losing non-native votes in an election year and legal concerns about a plebiscite restricted to native inhabitants of Guam (Leon Guerrero, 2019). In this law, "native inhabitants" was defined as individuals "who became U.S. Citizens by virtue of the authority and enactment of the 1950 Organic Act of Guam and descendants of those persons" (Guam Decolonization Registry, 2000). The legality of this definition was challenged in 2011 (Eugenio, 2019), was ruled to be unconstitutional, and is currently in the process of appeal (Matanane, 2019). Thus, the people of Guam still have not been self-determined to this day.

Chamoru rights groups have been involved in advocating for land and language rights, legal protections, and self-determination since the United States first colonized Guam. However, they organized and resisted American colonialism most frequently later in the 20th century. In the 1970s, The People's Alliance for Responsive Alternatives (PARA) formed "to challenge English-only language policies at the Pacific Daily News" (Viernes, 2015, para. 7), a newspaper that circulates in Guam. PARA engaged in protests and boycotts to secure the right to have Chamoru articles published in the Pacific Daily News. PARA also succeeded in requiring the placement of Chamoru language signs in Guam's airport. The members of PARA later joined

with the People's Alliance for Dignified Alternatives (PADA) to become PARA-PADA (Viernes, 2015). PARA-PADA was involved in education and demonstrations against the second constitutional convention described above (Viernes, 2015).

Two Chamoru rights groups were formed specifically to address the topic of self-determination in Guam. The Organization of People for Indigenous Rights (OPI-R) was formed in 1981 and it "included many of the members of PARA-PADA" (Viernes, 2015, para. 11). OPI-R was involved in protests against the inclusion of non-Chamorus to vote in the 1982 plebiscite (Viernes, 2015). In addition, they brought the issue of Chamoru self-determination to the world stage by speaking at the United Nations (Viernes, 2015). Similarly, Independent Guahan's goal is to obtain self-determination of the Chamoru people (Independence for Guam Task Force, n.d.). Established in 2009, Independent Guahan has provided education about a wide range of topics relevant to the political status of independence and self-determination. This education is dispersed through teach-ins at the University of Guam and monthly meetings at the Chamorro Village in Guam. In addition, Independent Guahan hosts events and demonstrations to expand public awareness of community issues.

In 1991, the *Nasion Chamoru* was formed. The Nasion Chamoru was a populist movement that was composed primarily of landless Chamorus who did not have the advantages of high income or formal education (Bevacqua, 2015). Angel Leon Guerrero, an exceptionally powerful speaker and voice for this group, was its most famous member (Bevacqua, 2015). Angel led the Nasion Chamoru in public demonstrations supportive of Chamoru land rights and the perpetuation of Chamoru culture. The group also engaged in a multitude of protests against the annexation of land by the American military. The Nasion Chamoru's legacy is tied to their success at normalizing discourse about decolonization in Guam (Bevacqua, 2015). By

normalizing this discourse, the Nasion Chamoru shifted the cultural terrain of Guam to be more accepting of the use of public demonstrations to display discontent with colonialism.

Contemporary events in Guam demonstrate the importance of Chamoru rights groups. Most notable is the transfer of United States Marines from Okinawa to Guam, which was outlined in a bilateral pact between Japan and the United States in 2006 (Slavin, 2014). In 2009, the Draft Environmental Impact Statement was released, which describes the American military's plan for the transfer (We Are Guahan, n.d.). This included the planned use of ancestral land in Pagat, a village in Guam, for a live-firing range (Tritten, 2011). The plan to demolish this land triggered outrage and the resurgence of resistance to American colonialism in Guam. Initially, this primarily occurred through the We Are Guahan movement. This movement has focused on the dissemination of information about the military buildup "to inform and engage our community on the various issues concerning the impending military build up" (We Are Guahan, n.d.). The We Are Guahan movement and its activism was an influential factor in the United States military's decision not to build a firing range in Pagat.

In response to these protests, the United States military has instead chosen to build the firing range at Northwest Field, in land already annexed by the United States military (Limtiaco, 2018; Lloyd, 2017; Ridgell, 2017a). The *Prutehi Litekyan* group has been one of the most vocal against this new location. This is partly due to the military's plan to deny public access to *Litekyan* when the firing range is in use (Borja, 2017; Limtiaco, 2018; Sablan, 2017). Litekyan is a former village of Guam in which the original landowners have been separated from their home by the American military's annexation of Guam land after WWII. By using this land for a firing range, the military contributes to the desecration of the land in the area. This can be observed in the military's plan to bulldoze 82 acres of land to make room for the firing range and the

uprooting of the endangered *Serianthes nelsonii* tree (Daily Post Staff, 2019b; Dalton, 2019). In addition, bone fragments "believed to be no more than 100 years old" (Daily Post Staff, 2019a, para. 3) have been discovered in Northwest Field. Prutehi Litekyan has organized protests and public testimony against the building of this firing range (Kaur, 2019; Ridgell, 2017b)

All of the groups described above have assisted in advancing the cause of Chamoru rights in their own way. These movements and communities are crucial in the attainment of self-determination for the Chamoru people. However, the current context of Guam is negatively affected by American colonialism. Discussion in Congress about Chamoru self-determination is nonexistent, as is discussion about reparations. Despite these injustices, some of the people of Guam are continuing to testify in supportive venues such as the United Nations (Na'puti, 2014) and provide education to the public about Chamoru rights issues (Independence for Guam Task Force, n.d.; We Are Guahan, n.d.). Research conducted in Guam must be cognizant of the historical context of colonialism as well as the ills perpetuated by it. Therefore, the following sections will describe some of the ills affecting Guam's community.

Suicide Rates

The rates of suicide for people living in Guam are markedly higher than those of the United States. In 2010, the suicide rate in Guam was 19.4 per 100,000 (Prevention Education and Community Empowerment, 2011), while in the United States it was 12.1 per 100,000 (American Foundation for Suicide Prevention, 2013). The suicide rate peaked in Guam at 36 per 100,000 in 1999 (Booth, 2010) while the United States' rate of suicide has continued to range from 10–13 per 100,000 since 1990. The United States and Guam both share similar statistics in terms of gender. Males are more likely to complete a suicide attempt than women and women more likely to attempt suicide, without completion (American Foundation for Suicide Prevention, 2013;

Booth, 2010, Prevention Education and Community Empowerment, 2011). Differences emerge in the age that individuals commit suicide and the methods utilized for suicide. The age group most likely to commit suicide in the United States contains individuals age 45 and over; this a distribution that is relatively linear, with few suicides at younger ages and increasing rates of suicide the older one is (American Foundation for Suicide Prevention, 2013). In contrast, the age-based suicide rates in Guam appear as a right-skewed normal distribution with the peak between the ages of 20–29. In addition, historic increases in suicide rates for teenage youth occurred in the 1990s and early 2000s (Booth, 2010; Prevention Education and Community Empowerment, 2011). Differences in methods utilized in completed suicides are apparent. Individuals in the United States are more likely to utilize handguns (50.5%), suffocation (24.7%), and poison (17.2%; American Foundation for Suicide Prevention, 2013) while individuals in Guam are more likely to utilize hanging (78%), gunshots (9%), and jumping (5%; Prevention Education and Community Empowerment, 2011). Further, cumulative suicide rates were assessed by ethnicity in Guam. It was found that the majority of suicides were committed by Chamorus (38.2%), Chuukese (25.9%), and Filipinos (12.9%; Prevention Education and Community Empowerment, 2011).

The high rates of suicide in Guam are commonly explained by local researchers through the lens of suicide contagion theory. Suicide contagion theory has been utilized to provide meaning to the unusual clusters of suicide in Guam (Blasco-Fontecilla, 2013). Proponents of this theory have suggested that some clusters of suicides may be the result of group exposure to suicide due to reports in the media or experiences in the community (Blasco-Fontecilla, 2013; Booth, 2010). In Guam, two major incidents may have provided public exposure to suicide, resulting in subsequent increases in suicide ideation and completion in Guam.

The first incident is the suicide of Governor Ricardo J. Bordallo in 1990 (Booth, 2010). Governor Bordallo was an important indigenous governor due to his connection with grassroots political movements of the Chamoru people. He was charged in 1987 with corruption "in relation to accusations of receiving bribes and extortion (Booth, 2010, p. 8). The majority of these charges were overturned in 1988 (Booth, 2010; Quinata & Murphy, 2019). However, the charges of witness tampering and obstruction of justice were sustained and sentencing consisted of a four year jail sentence in a California prison (Associated Press, 1990; Booth, 2010; Quinata & Murphy, 2019). In 1990, on the eve of his prison sentence, Bordallo killed himself in a highly public manner. He shot himself during rush-hour next to the statue of chief Kepuha (an important Chamoru historical figure) while covering himself in the Guam flag (Associated Press, 1990; Booth, 2010). This suicide was highly symbolic and can be understood as a representation of colonial ills associated with legal judgment by a colonizing power. Correspondingly, there was an increase in rates of suicides for those "closer to him in age and historic experience, as well as on the more impressionable teenagers" (Booth, 2010, p. 8).

A second spike in rates of suicides occurred in 1998–2002 with individuals younger than 20 years old. Booth (2010) has argued that this increase in suicide rates was tied to incidents involving suicide pacts, particularly through a group that called itself the Prestigious Angels. The Prestigious Angels were a group formed in the United States that "encouraged its adherents to make 'friendship pacts' whereby members vowed to kill themselves if their friends would follow suit" (Booth, 2010, p. 10). This group was most popular with children and teenagers who made contact through the use of e-mail and internet forums. The Prestigious Angels were most popular with females, and although the rates of suicide increased for both young males and young females, females had the highest rates of suicide in 1998–2002. Thus, Booth has suggested that

the transmission of information about suicide through this group, in conjunction with the corresponding increase in suicides in the demographics of individuals who took part in it, is consistent with suicide contagion theory.

Several colonial factors have been examined as contributors to the high rates of suicide in Guam. As described above, Guam has had a long history of colonization. A feature of contemporary American colonization has been a shift in Guam from a subsistence economy to an economy based on wage labor (Hattori, 2009). In Guam, the largest civilian sector of Guam's economy is tourism (Central Intelligence Agency, 2019), which has led to the marginalization of Chamoru people in the labor market (Booth, 2010). Many jobs in a tourist economy require language skills that cater to tourists as well as experience in the tourism industry, which many Chamoru citizens do not have (Booth, 2010). Thus, these jobs typically go to immigrants who may already have these skills. Colonization is also apparent in the disregard of Chamoru indigenous culture as shown by the treatment of the Chamoru people by the American military (Booth, 2010). For example, the United States military is currently building a firing range at Northwest field in Guam, which has already resulted in the desecration of cultural artifacts and environmental damage (Daily Post Staff, 2019a, 2019b; Dalton, 2019; Lloyd & Salinas, 2017). Further, Guam is on a list of 17 territories identified by the United Nations to have never had the chance to be self-determined (United Nations, n.d.). This oppression, in addition to the subordination of the Chamoru people in the labor market, may engender a sense of hopelessness and injustice: both of which are often symptoms that can lead to depression and even suicide (Booth, 2010).

There are numerous limitations to the current treatment and identification of suicide in Guam. First, suicide awareness programs in Guam typically apply research findings conducted in

the United States to develop suicide treatment and education. However, American treatment practices are unsuitable considering the differences in culture identified above in terms of method, age, and cultural oppression. In addition, suicides in Guam are often related to interpersonal conflict rather than depression (Prevention Education and Community Empowerment, 2009). This suggests that culturally relevant psychological approaches are needed (Clay, 2011). An interesting statistic was identified by Prevention Education and Community Empowerment (2011), an organization in Guam dedicated to suicide prevention. They found that in the majority of cases, no evidence of suicidal warning signs were found in Guam suicide cases. This suggests that the typical warning signs identified for American suicide samples may not be fitting for Guam and that culturally specific signs go unrecognized or unappreciated. As a whole, these results suggest that culturally relevant practices for suicide prevention and treatment should be examined.

Intergenerational Trauma

The Chamoru people have encountered traumatic experiences that have resulted in intergenerational trauma (Taimanglo, 1998). Stated generally, intergenerational trauma is a collection of social practices, memories, and images that are passed down through generations due to the experience of a collectively traumatic experience. Intergenerational trauma draws on the concept of collective memory, which has been defined as the way that meanings are constructed selectively through media and public events such as parades and national holidays (Eyerman, 2001, p. 3). This selective construction leads to specific meanings attributed to traumatic events. These meanings are enacted in both the conscious and unconscious interactions between individuals in a given society. Microaggressions, which are minute social interactions that "communicate . . . negative messages to target persons based solely upon their marginalized

group membership" (Sue, 2010) are an example of a generally unconscious interaction that occurs in interactions between marginalized and non-marginalized groups. In colonial situations, intergenerational trauma contains both the collective memory of traumatic collective events and social practices that serve to maintain oppressive relations between the colonizer and colonized. The concept of intergenerational trauma is one that emphasizes role of context in understanding psychological phenomena. Thus, the concept of intergenerational trauma contributes positively to the interpretation of Guam's community and research.

Rapadas (2007) explored the experience of intergenerational trauma in Guam. He noted limitations in the individualistic diagnostic label of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) for the conceptualization of community-based trauma. He stated that colonial trauma "contains both an individual intrapsychic dimension and collective, macro-social dimension that are interwoven" (Rapadas, 2007, p. 33). Rapadas suggested that there is a connection between findings that demonstrate the Chamoru people have the "highest rates of diabetes, obesity, hypertension and cancer on Guam" (p. 35) and the unresolved trauma of colonialism. Rapadas identified both intrapsychic and societal avenues for healing this unresolved trauma. Rapadas stated that public "acknowledgement and validation of the suffering" (p. 37) of the Chamoru people by colonial powers, further integration and validation of Chamoru matrilineal heritage, and community involvement in issues the Chamoru people face are actions that can potentially lead to Chamoru healing. Rapadas also argued that researchers should conduct qualitative and quantitative research that explores issues meaningful to the Chamoru people and benefits the community of Guam. He believed that doing so would serve to augment communal self-esteem by "enhancing pride in culture, identity, and self" (Rapadas, 2007, p. 38). Rapadas' research suggests that intergenerational trauma is present in the community of Guam and should be addressed.

Alcohol, Tobacco, and Methamphetamine Abuse

Tobacco usage rates in the community of Guam have been greater than the national average of the United States (Department of Public Health and Social Services, 2011, 2014). Guam's rates increased to almost double the United States in 2014 (Raymundo, 2015). The detrimental health effects of tobacco use are well documented. They include increased risk for various types of cancer, heart disease, chronic obstructive pulmonary disease, and pregnancy complications (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2016a). It is notable that although the rates of tobacco use for individuals in Guam are greater than the national United States average, Guam's rates are similar to those of indigenous Native Americans in the United States. In 2014, the rates of smoking for non-Hispanic American Indian/Alaska Natives was 29.2% (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2016b), exactly the same as Guam's smoking rate on the same year (Raymundo, 2015). This similarity in rates of tobacco use between Native Americans and the people of Guam suggests that there is a relationship between colonialism and tobacco use.

According to the Guam State Epidemiological Profile (David, 2018), the prevalence of current adult alcohol consumption, defined as "having had at least 1 drink of alcohol in the past 30 days" (p. 47), was about 10% lower in Guam compared to the United States in all of the years examined from 2011–2016. Similarly, rates of both current and lifetime alcohol consumption were reported to be lower in Guam high school students compared to those in the United States. Heavy drinking in females, defined as "having more than one drink per day" (p. 49) was also reported to be lower than United States averages while the rate of binge drinking was the same in both countries. Binge drinking was defined as "having five or more drinks on one occasion" (p. 51). In males, the rate of binge drinking was 29.8% in Guam and 21.7% in the United States in

2016. The rate of heavy drinking, which was defined in males as "having more than two drinks per day" (p. 49), was double that of the United States average. These results suggest that in the community of Guam, males have been more negatively impacted by the introduction of alcohol than females.

For the purpose of this study, the only illicit drug that will be examined is methamphetamine due to the large impact it has had on the community of Guam. The abuse of methamphetamine in Guam has been described as an epidemic (Carrera, 2012; Pinhey & Wells, 2007). It has been estimated that "one in five households has at least one family member experiencing complications consistent with its abuse" (Pinhey & Wells, 2007, p .1) and the majority of federal sentences in Guam are related to methamphetamine use (National Drug Intelligence Center, 2003). A study conducted by Pinhey and Wells (2007) examined the relationship of methamphetamine use with aggression and risky sexual behavior. They utilized a self-administered questionnaire to search for potential correlations between the variables of methamphetamine use, number of sex partners, and number of physical fights reported. They attempted to identify potential mediating factors by assessing grade-point average of the participants. Results suggested that increased frequency of methamphetamine use was associated with increased numbers of physical fights and sexual partners.

The concept of minority stress has been used to explain the high rates of risky health behaviors in oppressed groups. The minority stress model was first developed to explain discrepancies in the access to care, health outcomes, and mental illness in the LGBTQ community (Dentato, 2012; Meyer, 1995, 2003). Research on this topic has found that living in a homophobic culture containing a multitude of microaggressions and overt aggression has been detrimental to the health of the LGBTQ community (Dentato, 2012). In terms of drug use, both

sexual minority men (Hamilton & Mahalik, 2009) and women (Lehavot & Simoni, 2011) have been found to have increased rates of drug and tobacco use due to minority stress.

Although minority stress has been expanded to include the experiences of "women, immigrants, the impoverished and racial/ethnic minorities" (Dentato, 2012, para. 5), it has not been used to conceptualize the harms perpetuated on indigenous groups by colonialism. This concept may be applicable in Guam due to the difficulties the Chamoru people experience as a colonized group. More research is needed on this topic in relation to colonialism. However, it is likely that the high rates of methamphetamine and tobacco use in Guam are due, at least in part, to minority stress associated with the negative societal experiences the people of Guam encounter under colonial conditions.

Indigenous Research, Political Influence, and Healing

Research conducted on indigenous communities has historically been problematic. It has been associated with the introduction of infectious diseases, ecological contamination, and positioning of Western values as superior to those of indigenous peoples (L. T. Smith, 1999, pp. 62–64). This suggests that it is important for non-native researchers to be cognizant of this harmful history of colonial research and develop research that might assist in indigenous healing. Understanding the general goals of indigenous movements for revitalization and healing can assist research conducted in these communities to align with the values and cultural context of indigenous participants. In particular, it is important to bring indigenous voices to indigenous research (L. T. Smith, 1999, p. 104). Active engagement of indigenous peoples in research will reduce the likelihood that researchers will conduct studies that neglect important historical, cultural, and colonial legacies in the current contexts of indigenous peoples. The risk conducting

individualist and colonizing research in Guam is high. This risk is described further in Chapter II: Literature Review, which begins on page 40.

One goal of indigenous research and healing is re-membering (Bastien, Kremer, Kuokkanen, & Vickers, 2003; L. T. Smith, 1999, p. 146). Re-membering is the process of acknowledging the events, effects, and history in an indigenous group's experience of colonization. This process is often painful because it includes the realization of the way in which colonization has resulted in self-hate and damage to traditional cultural communities (L. T. Smith, 1999, p. 146). Similarly, a well-developed community understanding of past events is often absent in indigenous communities due to these communities being, "ripped apart, children were removed for adoption, extended family separated across different reserves, and national boundaries" (L. T. Smith, 1999, p. 146). The sharing of these stories by re-membering helps communities to "organize, structure, and integrate emotionally charged traumatic experiences and events" (Bastien, Kremer, Norton, Rivers-Norton & Vickers, 1999, p. 18). Research with indigenous peoples can encourage this re-membering by asking research questions that create space for engagement with the historical legacies of colonialism (Dutto, 2016).

The education of indigenous peoples is a major site of contention for indigenous healing and political influence. Western education, due to its focus on universal truths (Thaman, 2003) denies the validity of alternate ways of knowing. This obscures historical formulations counter to the narrative of colonizers (L. T. Smith, 1999, p. 4). Education in schools has been used by colonizers to instill their values, behaviors, and social practices. In Guam, this occurred through the use of health policies and classes in schools that aimed to "educate" the people of Guam in "hygiene" (Hattori, 2004, p. 184). However, inherent in these policies and classes were Western values of individualism, social class, gender roles, and social practices (Hattori, 2004, pp. 185–

202). Problematic education can extend to the "colonized intellectual" (Fanon, 1963, p. 156) trained in Western methods to conduct research on his or her homeland. The colonized intellectual may internalize the practices learned from Western education and begin to identify with Western culture more than their indigenous culture (Fanon, 1963, pp. 156–157). This literature suggests that control and agency over education is an important component of indigenous healing to increase the mainstream legitimacy of indigenous ways of knowing and historical understandings.

Related to education is the importance of maintaining indigenous language for healing. Half of the world's 7000 currently spoken languages are estimated to die before the year 2100 (Wilford, 2007). The large majority of these languages are those spoken by indigenous peoples (Wilford, 2007). In Guam, it is estimated that the Chamoru language may become extinct within the next two or three generations (Martinez, 2016). The loss of the Chamoru language is tied to a loss of culture. In support of this perspective, Quitigua has stated, "Culture and language go hand and hand. You cannot just teach language without teaching culture" (Casas, 2002, para. 1) and a delegate from Guam's Festival of Pacific Arts in 2016 argued, "Languages are vital as they give life to a people's identity" (Martinez, 2016, para. 6). These quotes illustrate the connection between the Chamoru language and Chamoru culture that many fear is being lost. It also reveals the necessity of this language for the perpetuation of Chamoru culture in Guam.

One of the most classic harms perpetuated by colonizers is the appropriation of land. This coercive practice occurs through personal violence, tricking indigenous people into "signing off" their rights, and policy (Keating, 2013; Zinn, 2003, pp. 127–148). In Guam, about 30% of the island has been annexed by the United States military (Ossola, 2018). Battles over land use continue to this day in Guam, with the United States military planning to use land they have

annexed for firing ranges (Limtiaco, 2018; Lloyd, 2017; Ridgell, 2017a). According to Fanon (1963), "For a colonized people the most essential value, because the most concrete, is first and foremost the land: the land which will bring them bread and, above all, dignity" (p. 9). The dignity to feel safe in the ownership of one's land is an important component of indigenous healing.

The thread that ties land rights, education, language, re-membering, and indigenous healing is political action and resistance. Indigenous rights groups have fought to address the effects of colonialism, establish social change in their communities, maintain political gains, and attain self-determination (L. T. Smith, 1999, p. 108) by engaging in political action and protest. Despite the importance of these movements in achieving political influence and healing for indigenous peoples, no research has been conducted in Guam regarding the lived experience of individuals involved in Chamoru rights activism. Little is known about the factors that are associated with active engagement in Chamoru rights groups. Further, there is no research on the relationship between Chamoru indigenous identity and the meaning behind participation in Chamoru rights groups in Guam.

Statement of the Problem

The last 400 years of Guam's history have been influenced by Spanish, Japanese, and American colonization. This colonization has taken a multitude of forms. Spanish colonization used the religious conversion of the Chamoru people to Catholicism as a vehicle for colonization. Spanish colonization also included the first outbreak of disease from contact with a colonizer, military conflict with a colonizer, and atrocities committed against the Chamoru people. The colonization of Guam by the Japanese was particularly brutal and militaristic. It occurred during World War II and is remembered for the massacres, forced labor, and unreconciled reparations

process that occurred after the war. American colonization is represented by a claim of benevolent intervention with the underlying motive to use Guam as a strategic military base by appropriating land, imposing conformity to American values, and continuing to deny the Chamoru people the right to self-determination and proportionate reparations. Each of these forms of colonization has harmed the people of Guam in their own way. However, they also impelled the Chamoru people to draw on a reservoir of strength in order to survive and thrive by utilizing a variety of strategies to fight for healing and political self-representation.

A strategy that most overtly displays the strength of the Chamoru people is their involvement in Chamoru rights groups. Activism in these groups has linked healing and political enfranchisement for the Chamoru people in the last 50 years of Guam history. Despite the importance of these groups in contemporary Guam history, little research has been conducted on Chamoru rights groups in Guam. Only one article has provided a general overview of non-violent political resistance on Guam (Na'puti, 2014), and there is no research that contains rich qualitative data about the lived experience of individuals engaged in Chamoru rights groups in Guam. There is also little information about the community building that may occur when engaging in these groups. This community serves as a source of strength that supports individuals engaged in political resistance in Guam.

The purpose of this study is to contribute to filling a gap in the literature: its lack of information about the lived experience of individuals involved in Chamoru rights groups in Guam. There has been no information about what draws individuals to these groups and the kind of community engagement it fosters. The meaning of resistance and indigenous experience for individuals in these groups has also not been well understood. Therefore, there is a continuing need for studies that examine the community building effects of Chamoru rights groups in Guam

and explore the meaning of these groups for participants. There is also a continuing need for research that provides clear links between one's indigenous identity and political action. This study utilized hermeneutic research due to its focus on story, history, culture, and critical self reflection in order to avoid some of the more negative tendencies of mainstream quantitative research. It is hoped that this study helps to build dialogue between individuals engaged in Chamoru rights groups in Guam and those who deny the people of Guam the right to self-determination.

Description of the Study

This dissertation was conducted as an exploratory study of the lived experience expressed by members of Chamoru rights groups. It utilized principles of conversation, interpretation, and history drawn from philosophical hermeneutics while attempting to act with sensitivity and respect for the indigenous values of the participants. Philosophical hermeneutics was chosen as a theoretical orientation due to its focus on history and social practices, which correspond to the importance of history and respect for tradition found in Chamoru culture. In total, eight semi-structured interviews were conducted with individuals from Chamoru rights groups. The semi-structured interview format was utilized in order to encourage space for dialogue. Participants were provided with information about my cultural and professional context through email before interviews started in order to contextualize myself to participants. I hoped that this clear contextualization allowed for a rich dialogue of difference to emerge in the interviews. I also hoped to engage with members of Chamoru rights groups from a place of transparency as a contrast to the obscuring messages that colonists typically employ of claiming "benevolence" despite oppressive policies. One individual requested to be provided with his transcript to ensure that his words were portrayed accurately. He made minor changes to the transcript, related to

grammar and the spelling of indigenous words. These interviews were transformed into texts that were then interpreted.

Further descriptions of philosophical hermeneutics and hermeneutic methodology are provided in Chapter III: methods. The results of this study are located in Chapter IV, which identifies themes related to the nine research questions that guided this study. The final chapter of this dissertation, Chapter V, engages in a discussion of the results of this study. This includes discussion of the clinical significance, future directions, and limitations of the study.

Rationale for the Study

The island of Guam has had a long colonial history that continues to this day, while also having a rich precolonial history with a particular set of values, social practices, and ways of being. Many of these cultural elements have continued to live on during colonial times by altering colonial practices and taking on social meanings that were compatible with precolonial Chamoru culture. However, the values of indigenous peoples do change. The conditions of Chamoru people in the contemporary era with the effect of technology, capitalist economic dominance, and isolation are important parts of the cultural terrain. It is important to consider Guam's historical context, the multitude of responses that individuals may express in response to historical and political events, and the cultural practices of the Chamoru people in understanding the complexity of modern-era Guam. One of these responses to colonialism is the political resistance exhibited by Chamoru rights groups. There is a dearth of research on these groups within the psychological literature in Guam. For these reasons, this study attempts to help fill this gap in the literature by exploring the lived experience of members of Chamoru rights groups.

CHAPTER II: LITERATURE REVIEW

The psychological literature conducted with the Chamoru people is limited. The most common form of psychological literature found about Guam was quantitative, often descriptive, and related to issues such as suicide rates and drug abuse.

Ahistorical and Decontextualized Methods

The first general tendency of the psychological literature on Guam was to use a decontextualized perspective. Specifically, quantitative methods that focus on the appearance of objectivity, individualism, and the "progressive march of science" were most commonly used. An article by Pinhey and Wells (2007), for example, utilized these quantitative methods. Using archival data from Guam's Youth Risk Behavior Survey, a questionnaire that assesses risk in domains such as tobacco use and drug use, they examined correlations between reported methamphetamine use and sexually risky behaviors/aggression. Participants for this study consisted of individuals from seven schools in Guam who represented about 95% of students enrolled in Guam in 2001. Results indicated that both males and females demonstrated increases in aggressive behavior when they reported lifetime methamphetamine use. Similarly, both males and females who used methamphetamine were more likely to report risky sexual behaviors than their non-using counterparts. They also found that a higher grade-point average was associated with lower usage of methamphetamine. The authors of this study concluded that "educational success" reduced methamphetamine usage. This conclusion is highly problematic because it does not address the systematic barriers to education that occur for oppressed peoples. Further, it blames individuals for not attaining "educational success" (p. 1804) to curb one's methamphetamine use and suggests that if only individuals were provided education then they

would not be engaging in "acting out" behaviors such as methamphetamine use, sexually risky behaviors, and aggression.

A quantitative study conducted by Storr, Arria, Workman, and Anthony (2004) followed the trend of utilizing decontextualized methods. In this study, the association between being offered methamphetamine and neighborhood disadvantage was assessed. Archival data from a survey conducted on 776 students in 14 Guam schools was examined. This survey consisted of questions about contact with illegal drugs and neighborhood characteristics. Results suggested that individuals living in disadvantaged neighborhoods were more likely to have been offered methamphetamine or marijuana. Similar to Pinhey and Wells (2007), Storr et al. (2004) did not utilize contextual factors to analyze their results. Potential reasons for neighborhoods being disadvantaged, such as colonization and lack of opportunity due to colonization (Booth, 2010), were not addressed. Instead, contextual factors were treated as nuisance variables and attempts were made to utilize "statistical adjustment for age, sex, and ethnicity" (Storr et al., 2004, p. 268).

Many other studies conducted in Guam follow the trend of utilizing quantitative methods without providing adequate context in discussion of their results (e.g., David, Cruz, Mercado, & Li, 2013; Pinhey & Brown, 2005; Pinhey & Millman, 2004; Pinhey, Perez, & Workman, 2002; Ran et al., 2016). When studies decontextualize results and assume an ahistorical methodology, causes for problems become located within the individual. It then follows that solutions become individualized, with treatment consisting of individualized therapy, increased education, or rehabilitation. Cultural and political causes for problems become hidden or minimized. It is important to recognize this tendency in the empirical literature on Guam in order to acknowledge the colonizing act contained in unquestioningly utilizing Western quantitative methods for

research. In other words, there is a great need for research on Guam that provides sociohistorical context in order to illuminate the political and cultural arrangements located within its community.

Token Cultural Adaptation

In the past decade, the concept of cultural adaptation has increased in popularity in the practice of therapeutic modalities such as cognitive behavioral therapy (CBT; Castro, Barrera, & Steiker, 2010; Falicov, 2009). Cultural adaptation has been defined as "the systematic modification of an evidence-based treatment (EBT) or intervention protocol to consider language, culture, and context in such a way that it is compatible with the client's cultural patterns, meanings, and values" (Bernal, Jimenez-Chafey, & Rodriguez, 2009, p. 362). In practice, cultural adaptation of therapy and research in CBT typically takes the form of administering surveys in the native language of the participants or the inclusion of extended families to psychological intervention in collectivist cultures. These token alterations do not change the assumptions of individualism or the empty self (Cushman, 1995, pp. 80–90) embodied in the practices of CBT and research that privileges quantitative methods.

David et al. (2013) provide an illustration of token cultural adaptation in the psychological literature on Guam. The authors began by describing a tobacco cessation training program developed in Arizona to train social service workers to "deliver brief tobacco cessation advice" (p. 89). They explained that this training program had previously been implemented in Guam from 2005–2006. Using feedback from the implementation of this program in Guam, the authors attempted to adapt this training program for use in Palau, the Federated States of Micronesia, the Northern Mariana Islands, and the Marshall Islands. Cultural adaptation consisted of modifying text to include all forms of tobacco use, using local tobacco statistics and

imagery, reducing the use of didactic approaches, and increasing the duration of training to add breaks.

The study above (David et al., 2013) provides a powerful example of the danger of utilizing ahistorical methods to culturally adapt Western therapies in a token manner. First, it was unclear what modifications, if any, were made to the training conducted at each Pacific island. A quote from the article suggests that Pacific Islanders were treated as one homogenous group of people, stating, "a multisectoral core group of BTI trainers revised the original curriculum to tailor it to the local Pacific Islander context" (David et al., 2013, p. 90). Although there is some similarity in culture between Guam and other islands in the Pacific, there are vast differences in the type of colonial contact that occurred in Guam and in each of those islands. Second, the authors did not provide any historical context for the Pacific Islands that were a part of the study, despite the high rates of tobacco use in countries that have a history of colonialism (Jetty, 2017; Maddox et al., 2018; Smiley, 2017). By neglecting to provide historical context, the cause of tobacco use becomes located within the individual. This reifies Western understandings of the self as a universal truth, which marginalizes non-Western ways of being. Thus, the token adaptations used in this study can be perceived as a form of colonization in which the power relations located within the psychological literature are obscured.

The use of a short paragraph or two providing brief information about Guam is another form of token cultural adaptation that studies conducted in Guam used. For example, a study conducted by Ran et al. (2016) that examined the mental health issues described by college students in Guam contained one paragraph that detailed demographic characteristics of Guam such as population and ethnicity. Similarly, Pinhey et al. (2002) provided population statistics, a sentence about the length of time the Chamoru people have been located in Guam, and

information on religious affiliation. While these types of studies provide a general outline of statistical demographic information, they do not address sociopolitical issues such as the lack of self-determination and potential effects of colonization. In addition, these studies do not discuss how cultural issues may influence the mental health problems the people of Guam suffer from. This lack of care in examining societal influences to the issues faced by the people of Guam suggest that more research is needed that honors the specific sociohistorical and political struggles of those living there.

Context-Based Studies

Although most of the studies reviewed utilized ahistorical and decontextualized methods, some studies intentionally incorporated context into their methodologies and analysis. Barusch and Spaulding (1989) conducted one such study by interviewing 60 Chamoru and immigrant Filipino elders to examine the impact of American influence on Guam in the domain of intergenerational conflict. This study began with an historical account of the various colonization experiences of the Chamoru people and the imposition of American values through means such as English-only schooling. Interviews were conducted in participants' homes and were conducted in the language most preferable to the participant, including Chamoru and various Filipino dialects. They found that participant responses contained themes of changes to communication patterns between the elderly and the younger generation, especially alterations in assistance practices and a language gap. This study actively engaged with the historical context of the participants in their discussion of results while vigorously attending to potential cultural differences and influences.

Two dissertations placed sociohistorical factors at the forefront of their studies. Taimanglo's (1998) dissertation "explored the impact of historical events on the Chamorro

people through in-depth interviews with nine participants who have had extensive experience working with Chamorro clients" (p. vii). Results indicated that the Chamoru people had many unique stressors and strengths in the domain of mental health, and that those issues are impacted by historic community trauma. Taimanglo outlined the effects of intergenerational trauma in Guam, with children being impacted by their parents' experiences of colonization, war, and financial stressors. Taimanglo also wrote about the "paradox of cultural adaptability" (p. viii) albeit in a different way than the problematic studies described above. Taimanglo wrote about the adaptability of Chamoru culture to historical colonial harms and the culture's ability to be both a strength and a challenge in responding to those harms.

Dela Cruz's (2013) dissertation alsot emphasized cultural issues in the Chamoru mental health population. She explored the existential issues that individuals diagnosed with mental illness in Guam faced, by using an interpretive phenomenological framework based on hermeneutic philosophy. Participants consisted of 10 adults who were diagnosed with chronic mental illnesses such as schizophrenia. She used a semi-structured interview format in order to obtain detailed accounts of her participants' stories and contexts. In addition, Dela Cruz described the political context of Guam. By illustrating both the context of Guam and her participants, Dela Cruz was able to make culturally relevant interpretations of her participants' existential experiences of chronic mental illness.

These three studies provided a rich analysis of context and mental health in Guam. They applied historical influences to issues faced by the people of Guam and placed them at the forefront of their conceptualizations. Further, they considered socio-historical factors throughout the study, including in the background, methods, analysis, and discussion. More research is needed, especially in the psychological literature, which follows in the footsteps of these articles.

Conclusion

The psychological literature on Guam has been focused primarily on a model of individual dysfunction and diagnosis rather than strength or community. The literature upholds this perspective by utilizing decontextualized methods and token adaptations to psychological treatment. Decontextualized methods maintain colonization in Guam by privileging practices that embody Western understandings of individualism, illness, and power. These understandings stand in contrast to the collectivist and matrilineal culture of the indigenous Chamoru people. In addition, token adaptations to psychological research on Guam obscure the moral understandings inherent in the process of research. The obfuscation of these understandings naturalizes Western research practices as universal, which then marginalizes Chamoru ways of being. These Western influences in psychological research have resulted in the conclusion that the people of Guam suffer from high levels of pathology as a result of individual behavioral deficiencies. Placing pathology at the level of the individual disregards the effects of colonization and history on the well-being of the people of Guam.

Qualitative methods, which may better capture the story-telling nature of the Chamoru people, were found to be used infrequently. This suggests there is a need for psychological research that honors the traditions, historical framework, and social practices of Chamorus. In this study I conducted hermeneutic interviews of individuals in Chamoru rights groups in order to explore a current site of resistance to American colonialism. Qualitative exploration of the strengths, community, meanings about resistance, social practices, and values of these groups helped fill a gap in the literature, which has focused primarily on pathology and quantitative study. In addition, interviews with individuals from Chamoru rights groups provided an updated

perspective of current ground-level activism for self-determination and other Chamoru focused

issues.

CHAPTER III: METHODS

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework used in this study is philosophical hermeneutics.

Hermeneutics is a philosophical framework established in the 17th century that has roots in the

interpretation of biblical texts (Moules, McCaffrey, Field, & Laing, 2015, p. 2). Over time, this

form of interpretation has shifted with the influence of various philosophers such as Husserl and

Heidegger and includes multiple interpretive traditions (Moules et al., 2015, pp. 18–29).

Philosophical hermeneutics is the branch of hermeneutics developed by Hans-Georg Gadamer.

This form of hermeneutics has been used to conduct qualitative research through interviews,

considers contextual variables, and is particularly suited for research in Guam with its focus on

history, conversation, and culture.

A major premise of philosophical hermeneutics states that an individual's historical

context influences that individual's perspective about the world (Moules et al., 2015, pp. 37–39;

Richardson, Fowers, & Guignon, 1999). The social practices, meanings, and values of that

historical time and place are what constitute that individual's tradition. Included in one's tradition

are the prejudices that we embody. In philosophical hermeneutics, prejudice does not have the

negative connotation typically ascribed to the word. Instead, the word prejudice means, "those

prior understandings that we already bring to the topic" (Moules et al., 2015, pp. 43–44). In other

words, an individual ascribes meaning and values to the behaviors, social practices, and ideas of

one's self and other people and cultures. These moral understandings are embodied by the

individual, making up the terrain for one's understanding of the self and culture (Cushman, 1995,

pp. 20–23). In hermeneutic research it is this focus on one's own socio-cultural-historical context

that grounds theory and allows for interpretation with the understanding that one's context

influences all aspects of the interpretations one develops, including the questions one asks and one's understanding of the answers one produces.

At an individual level, philosophical hermeneutics suggests that new understandings can generate from a "dialogue" (Moules et al., 2015, p. 41). The process of dialogue requires that "each person opens himself to the other, truly accepts his point of view as valid and transposes himself into the other" (Gadamer, 2013, p. 403), suggesting that both participants must be willing to accept the validity of the other's point of view. This takes a stance of not knowing and being open to the other's values, meanings, and understandings. Concurrently, we understand the other through our own historical framework and these genuine conversations occur when participants are able to speak openly about the differences that are present in the space between. Often, these conversations may enter the realm of the genuine through the use of questions that take a particular quality of "humility toward one's not knowing" (Moules et al., 2015, p. 42) rather than presupposing the answer to one's questions. These questions, however, must In short, genuine conversation is a social practice that can occur between individuals, each with their own intersectional context, when individuals are willing to asking questions of one another and listen with openness to the other's differences.

When adapted to the research of this study, philosophical hermeneutics suggests a focus on certain practices. First, history is an important component of all hermeneutic research. Philosophical hermeneutics allows this study to take into account the historical impact of events on the traditions and cultural meanings of participants. It also provides space to recognize that both the participants and the researcher have prejudices based on their traditions about which the researcher in particular must openly speak and be transparent. Second, philosophical hermeneutic research utilizes interviews as a text rather than as fodder for the statistical analysis

of quantitative data due to the importance of conversation and dialogue. In addition, hermeneutic scholars recognize that meaning is not contained subjectively only in an individual; instead, meaning is understood through the social practices and conversations between people (Richardson et al., 1999). For this study, interviews are considered to be texts that may be interpreted based on one's historical understandings and contain the data from multiple traditions between the researcher and participants. Third, interviews are typically conducted using a flexible format. Research method is "determined by the phenomenon, not the method" (Moules et al., 2015, p. 62) and static forms of research that utilize strict interview schedules are not conductive to creating genuine dialogue between the researcher and participant. Thus, hermeneutic research is a flexible method that includes an analysis of the historical and cultural context of the topic while attempting to create a genuine conversation between the researcher and participants with the knowledge that all participants embody prejudices based on their personal contexts. This understanding was expressed in this study by contextualizing myself to participants and readers of this study through foregrounding as described later in this chapter.

Research Questions

In developing the research questions for this study, I attempted to honor the context and history of the people of Guam. This was done by developing research questions through consultation with cultural informants and other experts of Chamoru rights groups. As described in the theoretical orientation of this chapter, hermeneutic research is flexible and is not tied to specific methodologies for specific phenomena. Instead, the phenomena under study can influence the methods used as more information is gained. This flexibility was expressed in this study through the refining of research questions that guided this study. Research questions 3–8 were developed for the research proposal of this study. However, feedback from the dissertation

committee resulted in the addition of three other questions. Research question nine was added to address issues associated with the practice of clinical psychology in Guam. Research questions one and two were added to this study in order to gain knowledge about the context of other questions in this study. This was observed most clearly in the addition of research question one, "What does it mean to be Chamoru" to better understand responses to research question 7, "How does political action relate to Chamoru indigenous identity?" Research question one was added because it is necessary to explore Chamoru indigenous identity in order to describe how political actions in Chamoru rights groups related to that identity.

The research questions that guided this study were as follows:

RQ1. What does it mean to be Chamoru?

RQ2. What is the impact of colonialism in Guam?

RQ3. What was the process of joining the Chamoru rights group for participants?

RQ4. What is the lived experience of being active in Chamoru rights groups?

RQ5. What are the meanings ascribed to political action for individuals who take part in Chamoru rights groups?

RQ6. What kind of community is built around Chamoru rights groups? How is it built?

RQ7. How does political action relate to Chamoru indigenous identity?

RQ8. In what ways are Chamoru rights groups effective? How can they be improved?

RQ9. What suggestions do members of Chamoru rights groups have for psychologists in Guam?

Participants and Design

In this study, eight participants were recruited from individuals who are members of Chamoru rights groups in Guam. These eight individuals were interviewed using a semi-

structured interview schedule in order to generate textual data for the research questions.

Snowball sampling was used to recruit participants for this study by asking members of my

committee, friends, and professional contacts about individuals who are members of Chamoru

rights groups in Guam. In addition, participants were asked if they knew of other individuals

who may be interested in the study. Participants primarily identified ethnically as Chamoru.

They were drawn from individuals over the age of 18 who were competent to sign informed

consent without parental approval.

Participants were initially contacted by email or by phone and were provided with

information about my cultural and professional background in order to contextualize myself to

participants before beginning interviews. In total, interviews lasted between one hour and nine

minutes to one hour and 44 minutes, depending on the flow of conversation, comfort of the

participant, and time constraints. The interview for one participant was split into two parts due to

time constraints. Another individual requested to be provided with his transcript to ensure that

his words were portrayed accurately. He made minor changes to the transcript, related to

grammar and the spelling of indigenous words. I began interviews by providing participants with

general information about the study and providing them with an informed consent form

(Appendix A). This consent form outlined the rights of participants, such as the ability to end the

interview at any time and decline to answer any questions. I emphasized the importance of

confidentiality and the steps that were taken in that domain. Participants were informed that the

interview was recorded and would be utilized as part of this study. After the informed consent

was signed, I provided participants with a short demographic form detailed in Appendix B. I then

turned on the two recording devices used for this study and began the interview by asking the

interview schedule questions laid out in Appendix C. At the end of the interview, I thanked the

participant and gathered information about potential new participants that may be interested in the study. Procedures for protecting participants and collected data are discussed below on pp. 57–58.

Participant Descriptions and Demographic Information

In total, eight participants were interviewed for this study. Out of these eight participants, two (25%) identified as female while six (75%) identified as male. All eight participants had attended college with six (75%) having obtained graduate degrees. Due to the relatively small size of the population in Guam, age ranges are used and occupations are left as vague as possible for the purposes of confidentiality in these descriptions. Participants were separated into three age ranges: 18–35 (young adult), 36–55 (middle-aged), and 56–75 (older adults). Respectively, the total number of participants in each age range was two (25%), three (37.5%), and three (37.5%). Participants had been members of between one to five Chamoru rights groups while having between eight to 40 years of membership in these groups. All eight participants (100%) identified ethnically as Chamoru.

The first participant, "Maria," is a female in the 36–55 year age range. She had attained a postgraduate degree and was working full-time in an educational capacity. She reported engagement in Chamoru rights groups for over 12 years and membership in at least five groups. The interview with Maria consisted of two sessions: one lasting one hour and eight minutes and the other lasting 27 minutes, for a total interview duration of one hour and 35 minutes. During the interview, Maria spoke in a manner that was easy to follow and contained a helpful amount of detail. She appeared excited about the work she was engaged in with her group and was thoughtful in her answers, providing context that demonstrated her years of study in the topics explored.

"William," a Chamoru male, was the second participant. He reported being in the age range of 36–55 years old. He had obtained a bachelor's degree and worked full-time in a career related to politics. He noted that he had been engaged in his Chamoru rights group for over 25 years, although he tended to engage in political activism alone most often. The interview with William was one session and had a total duration of one hour and 23 minutes. William had a gentle manner about him during most of the interview, but became more animated and passionate when speaking about issues that concerned him about Guam. William was attentive during the interview and took his time to think about his responses and the questions asked of him, which displayed his natural ability to listen and consider the nuances of each question.

The next participant, "Antonio," indicated that he was a Chamoru male. He reported being in the age range of 18–35 years old. He worked in Guam's system of education full-time and had obtained a postgraduate degree. He shared that he had been a member of his Chamoru rights group for about eight years. The interview with Antonio was completed in one session totaling one hour and 39 minutes. During the interview, Antonio spoke in an informal manner, providing humorous anecdotes at times. He appeared genuine and open minded in his approach to life and political activism, which are traits that likely serve him well in his career and personal life.

The fourth participant, "Emily," was a Chamoru female in the 56–75 year old age range. She stated that she had been engaged in Chamoru rights groups "all her adult life" and had been engaged in at least two groups. She had attained a postgraduate degree and is retired at this time. The interview with Emily was completed in one session, totaling one hour and 37 minutes. Emily was proficient in speaking about Chamoru history and often related her answers to

Catholicism and ancient Chamoru practices. She appeared to have an active life in retirement and spoke briefly about various meetings and events in which she is engaged.

"Christopher" was the fifth participant, and identified as Chamoru and male. He was in the 56–75 age range and has been in a Chamoru rights group in Guam for over 40 years. He reported being self-employed and having some college experience. The interview with Christopher was completed in one session with the duration of one hour and nine minutes. Christopher requested to see his transcript before it was used as data for this study so that he could ensure that his words were portrayed accurately. Christopher was provided with his transcript and he made small changes to it, primarily related to grammar and the correct spelling of Chamoru words. In the interview, Christopher was passionate when speaking about the topics asked of him. He appeared to have incorporated activism into all aspects of his life and was generous in sharing stories about his experiences.

Next, "James" described himself as a Chamoru male. He was in the 36–55 year age range and had been involved in numerous political groups in Guam for over 14 years. He had attained a postgraduate degree and was working full time in education. The interview with James was completed in one session and had the duration of one hour and 32 minutes. James spoke with a cadence that reminded me of a story-teller who was confident in his story and knew how to build interest in the listener. He had a wealth of knowledgeable about all aspects of Guam and answered the questions from the study completely and genuinely.

The seventh participant, "George," was in the age range between 18–35. He indicated that he was a Chamoru male currently attending university. He reported he had been in a Chamoru rights group for about 10 years. The interview with George consisted of one session lasting one hour and 19 minutes. George appeared compassionate throughout the interview, speaking about

the various difficulties that the Chamoru people have faced. He often made important points about the topics discussed that were unique and showed his creativity both as an activist and as a person.

The final participant was in the 56–75 year old age range and named "Matthew." He had obtained a postgraduate degree and currently is retired. He had been engaged in Chamoru rights groups in Guam for over 30 years and had been in at least three groups. The interview with Matthew consisted of one session and had a duration of one hour and 43 minutes. Matthew spoke in a manner that often was humorous and engaging. He had many stories and experiences from his time as a member of his group in Guam and he had confidence in the activities and positive changes he helped create as a member of those groups.

I am eternally grateful to the participants of this study for the time and generosity shown by them through their participation both in this study and in their respective Chamoru rights groups. All studies are made up of the generosity of participants, but qualitative studies in particular require a great deal of devotion from participants in carving out time from busy schedules to converse, sometimes for hours, with the researcher. I believe that the collaborative text generated by the researcher and participant through these interviews are valuable, and I appreciate the effort made by participants to help create these texts for this study.

Participant Risks

There is some risk to speaking about one's engagement in political activism. Participants may feel anxiety when disclosing experiences of marginalization and oppression. Some discomfort may arise from speaking about these issues with the researcher who physically looks white and has the ethnicity of two of Guam's colonizers. There may be fear of retribution from authorities if an individual's identity is exposed. Also, participants may feel concern that the

study may reflect or distill their experiences in a manner that is not congruent with their lived experience.

Participant Protection

Risks to participants were minimal, and they were reduced in several ways. Participants were provided with an informed consent that outlines the study and steps taken for confidentiality. Certain demographics were altered or omitted in quotations of individuals who are too easily identified. Participants were told that they may withdraw their participation in the study at any time. During interviews, I monitored participant discomfort and asked participants questions such as "Does this feel too difficult to talk about?" or remained silent if a participant seemed to be deciding whether to decline answering a question. In addition, I am familiar with many of the psychological services provided in Guam and was ready to suggest them based on a participant's reaction to interview questions.

Participant Benefits

There are some potential benefits to participants who engaged in this study. Individuals who are involved in activism often hope to have their message heard, and this study contributed to the understanding and visibility of the experiences of those engaged in Chamoru rights groups. Conversation can help increase clarity of one's own experience and increase the ability of one to speak about important topics more easily. This may have occurred for participants in this study as they participated in interviews. Participants may also have had some feeling of satisfaction because of their contribution to the understanding of Chamoru rights groups. In addition, this study examines topics that may be of benefit to the leaders of these groups. For example, research question three examined pathways leading to the recruitment of members.

Data Collection and Storage

I collected interview data using two recording devices in order to prevent the loss of data in the event that one device failed during the interview. During the interview, I wrote notes to help guide the interview and provide myself reminders of salient data. This allowed me to engage in a reflexive process of considering my reactions to interview data in vivo and to refer back to these notes when engaging in data analysis. Audio recordings were stored in two flash drives with 256-bit encryption for the data. These data recording devices were kept in a locked cabinet unless being used to access data. Files names were de-identified and only contained initials of the participant's name to ensure confidentiality.

Analysis

In hermeneutic research, transcripts from interviews are considered texts to be interpreted for textual analysis. In this study, I separated interpretative practices into four parts: (1) forestructures; (2) transcription, reading and re-reading; (3) notation; and (4) thematic analysis. Although they are written as discrete sections, it is notable that hermeneutic analysis is a recursive, circular process. I alternated between levels of analysis and practices for analysis throughout this portion of the study. This approach allowed for understandings to shift as more information was considered, different perspectives emerged, and prior beliefs were challenged.

Forestructure, cultural clearing, and prejudices. Hermeneutic research recognizes that a researcher is not an objective participant in studies they conduct (Moules et al., 2015; J. A. Smith, Flowers, & Larkin, 2013; Stigliano, 1989). Instead, all humans have certain forestructures (Richardson et al., 1999) and cultural clearings (Cushman, 1995, pp. 23–25) that bring to light understandings of meaning for social practices and human behavior. These understandings are not set in stone: they can be shifted through dialogue that occurs in interviews. However, a

researcher's cultural background is inextricably linked to the topic the researcher chooses, how the researcher goes about the research, and the meaning the researcher ascribes to data (J. A. Smith et al., 2013).

These forestructures can be reflected on by a researcher through the process of foregrounding, which was the first step for this study. In foregrounding, the researcher considers his or her socio-cultural-historical background and how it influences the research being conducted. In this study, the process of foregrounding was conducted throughout. This includes considering how my personal contextual factors influenced the questions I chose for the study, the interactions I had with participants, and the themes I developed for this study. In addition, I wrote more directly about the various forestructures that may have impacted this study. This foregrounding reflection is located at the end of the methods chapter between pages 60–64 and was written in July, 2019 before themes for this study were identified as part of the results chapter.

Transcribing, reading, and re-reading. The second step of this study's hermeneutic analysis consisted of transcribing the interviews. Transcribing these interviews assisted me in identifying themes and patterns, looking for those patterns in subsequent interviews, and developing new patterns based on this comparison. Upon completion of transcription, I read and re-read the transcripts using information gained from the transcribing process to build initial interpretations and beliefs about the material. I then spoke with my committee and peers in order to test out my interpretations. This allowed me to engage in dialogue with individuals from diverse backgrounds who helped clarify my thinking about the topic.

Notation. I made notes throughout the transcription and interpretation phases of the study. This was done to assist me in the recursive process of engaging with the data, developing

hypotheses, and revising hypothesis during transcription interpretation. Detailed notation allowed me to trace my line of thinking and recognize the changes that occurred in my understanding of potential themes. In addition, the process of noting allowed me to document my own reactions to the material, which increased the likelihood of recognizing how my own context influenced my perception of the data.

Thematic analysis. Thematic analysis began with the development of general themes based on the information attained through notation, transcription, reading, and re-reading. The historical, cultural, and societal context of Guam was essential in the interpretation of themes and their analysis. These themes guided the process of identifying exemplars that illustrate thematic elements of a text. Exemplars are phrases, social practices, situations, and events that demonstrate specific meanings and traditions. These exemplars may be recognized between individuals despite differences in context (Bronk, King, & Matsuba, 2013). Once exemplars and themes were developed, I identified connections across themes and looked for patterns of exemplars across participants. Connections across themes included interconnections that connected themes with one another and assisted in understanding the meanings behind social practices. Identifying exemplars across participants allowed for an analysis of the different contexts that gave rise to similar patterns of behavior and activism in Chamoru rights groups.

Foregrounding: Personal History of Political Involvement and Interest

A particular image often comes to my mind when I think about this dissertation and activism in Guam. This image is a photograph I saw in a Guam newspaper when I was in high school. In the picture, a Chamoru man was kneeling in the sand on a beach in Guam while he was being arrested. The man was wearing traditional Chamoru garb. He had no shirt, was wearing a *sade'* and, most striking of all, had an expression of pure anguish. As I read the article,

I learned that the man was being arrested for "illegal fishing" and that there had been conflict between the group this man was involved with, the Nasion Chamoru, and the police over indigenous fishing rights. I remember feeling confusion about the issue, admiration of the man for choosing to fight for his values despite legal repercussions, and shame regarding the colonialism that my ancestors have perpetuated in Guam.

Ethnically, I am of mixed race and have the blood of Guam's last two colonizers: Japanese and Caucasian American. I first became conscious of this fact in elementary school during history lessons about the atrocities committed by the Japanese in WWII. These lessons portrayed the United States as having liberated the Chamoru people from the Japanese. However, growing up in the village of Santa Rita in Guam, images of American colonialism were abundant. A common sight near my home was the barbed-wire fences of an American military base, gated neighborhood communities open only to the military, and military police vehicles.

Although I passively noted the effects of colonialism in my day-to-day life, I did not think much about colonialism or its effects until my freshman year of high school in 2002. At this time, I was enrolled in an independent study program and spent a great deal of time with my father who drove me to this program. My father has had a long-standing interest in politics and as he drove, he spoke to me about the claims United States president George W. Bush's administration made about Saddam Hussein's putative weapons of mass destruction and ties to Al Qaeda in the lead-up to the Iraq War. My father argued that these claims were false and that there was no evidence to support them, which led me to become fascinated by the situation. I read news articles and books about the conflict whenever I had free time to try to understand how a country could go to war under false pretenses.

As evidence accumulated that initiating the Iraq War was based on lies by the Bush administration, I began to question other conventional beliefs around American intervention. In my Guam history class, I was skeptical of my textbook that structured Guam history according to the name of the American Naval commander on duty at the time. I also questioned the lack of self-determination in Guam and learned about the Nasion Chamoru, because my father had friends who were in that group. I was able to see more clearly the ways that Guam is affected politically by American colonialism through the loss of land, which the Nasion Chamoru fought to regain.

My skepticism of American colonialism was further fostered in a critical psychology class I took in my senior year at the University of Guam in Spring 2010. Through the writings of Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Franz Fanon, and Michel Foucault, I learned that colonial powers have utilized discourse to oppress indigenous peoples. We were encouraged to apply these concepts to Guam, which illuminated how colonial discourse impacts the practice of psychology in Guam. I learned these concepts in the context of a plan developed in 2009 by the United States (We Are Guahan, n.d.) military to move marines from Okinawa to Guam and the forming of various political groups such as the We Are Guahan movement in opposition to this plan (We Are Guahan, n.d.). Having taken the critical psychology class at the University of Guam, I felt that I could see the benefit of these groups working against colonialism at the grass-roots level, and I admired those who were vocally fighting for change. However, a question remained for me professionally: how do I apply these concepts to the work that psychologists engage in through therapy and assessment?

This question drove me to apply to Antioch University Seattle (AUS) for my doctoral studies in clinical psychology because it advertised itself as helping students to "advance social,

economic, and environmental justice" (Antioch University Seattle, n.d.). I was accepted to AUS in fall 2010 and hoped that enrollment in a school that directly spoke about social justice would help me to develop culturally sensitive psychological practices for working within the context of colonialism in Guam. Of particular note were classes I took with Philip Cushman on the topic of relational psychoanalysis and hermeneutics. These classes emphasized the importance of culture, the historical situatedness of individuals in that culture, resistance to naturalizing discourses that are uncritical of the social practices used in psychology, and being genuine with clients in interactions with them. I was encouraged in these classes to consider the topic of colonialism in Guam and the ways in which psychology may be impacted by Western models of psychology. These classes resonated deeply with me and were a major period of growth for me as a clinical psychology student.

As I began to think about dissertation topics in 2013, there was no question in my mind that I wanted to conduct my dissertation research in Guam. During my time in a hermeneutic research group, I considered numerous topics such as interviews with individuals diagnosed with mental illness in Guam, program evaluation research for agencies in Guam, and textual analysis of brochures advertising Guam and the colonial messages embedded in them. Yet my thoughts always returned to the image of the Chamoru man I saw in the newspaper years ago. In my mind, he was a symbol of an individual who was fighting for what he felt was best for his community. I wanted a dissertation that included the perspective of individuals like him to help me answer questions I had about how therapy and assessment could be conducted as a culturally sensitive practice in Guam. When I finally put this together in 2014, I spoke with Dr. Cushman about conducting research with member of Chamoru rights groups in Guam to learn about their

experiences and ask them about how psychology can be decolonizing. He became my dissertation chair and has generously guided me on this dissertation since then.

In sum, my impression of individuals engaged in political activity has been positive. I feel admiration for individuals who work toward building stronger communities and bring important issues to light. My hope for this dissertation is that it brings voice to a community that is often denigrated and misunderstood by the general public. Further, I hope to learn about decolonizing practices from the individuals in these communities and develop therapeutic practices that respect the culture of the Chamoru people and the colonial context of Guam.

CHAPTER IV: RESULTS

Thematic Analysis

Research Question 1: What Does it Mean to be Chamoru?

An individual's understanding of the self is profoundly shaped by one's cultural background. This generally includes social practices, values, and understandings of the good that constitute an individual's cultural clearing (Cushman, 1995, p. 21; Heidegger, 2001, p. 51). In order to illuminate the cultural clearing of participants in this study, participants were asked about their perception of their cultural background. The clearing described by the participants in this study was complex and sometimes included differing ideas of what was culturally important to them. These contrasting definitions are useful because culture is multifaceted and rarely static. Instead, culture is ever-changing and even individuals of the same culture will have different perspectives about what is meaningful to them.

1) Transmission of Chamoru culture. Six out of eight participants (75%) in this study identified specific individuals, members of the community, and community activities as sources for learning about their Chamoru culture. Five out of eight participants (62.5%) spoke about extended family, particularly grandparents, as being an avenue for learning about being Chamoru.

. . . a lot of what I learned about our culture came from my grandmother . . . (Maria, p. 1)

Growing up . . . my grandparents taught us [to] share everything. (William, p. 2)

. . . my advice to young people [for learning about what it means to be Chamoru:] if you can, talk to your great grandparents. If you can't, talk to your grandparents. Ask them who they think they are [as Chamoru people]. (Matthew, p. 5)

Perhaps [by] touching base with your grandparents in learning the [Chamoru] language you can derive more closeness to your grandparents because many of them may know English, but they can express themselves better in the language that they know best. (Emily, p. 21)

. . . the way that I learned [about Chamoru language and culture] is that I took a class here at [a university in] Guam . . . it wasn't necessarily the class, but it was really that I was living with my Chamoru grandparents at that time. . . . I had lived with them for many years and by learning to speak Chamoru and then having them help me with my homework, it actually made me feel more connected to them [and Chamoru culture]. (James, p. 1)

For three out of eight participants (37.5%), members of their nuclear family were identified as

individuals who taught them about Chamoru culture.

Growing up . . . my parents taught me . . . [to] share everything. (William, p. 2)

My parents were the greatest skeptics in the world about everything. [They passed] on a sense of Chamoru pride to me . . . and their knowledge of Chamoru language was high so that [was] passed on to me [as well] . . . (Matthew, p. 4)

. . . I remember my dad . . . would remind me that Chamoru is the . . . official language of Guam . . . So when he would talk to people, he would straight up talk to them in Chamoru and they would try to respond in English and he would just keep talking in Chamoru . . . I think the way I was brought up was that we are resourceful people. (Antonio, p. 7)

Two out of eight participants (37.5%) identified members of the community, such as friends, and

cultural activities as methods for the transmission of Chamoru culture.

[my friend] . . . comes from . . . a prominent fisherman background[.] . . . [He] was a big fisherman and he invited me once to go fishing and ever since then, I was hooked. (Antonio, p. 9)

. . . there's usually . . . a person [in the community] that people would gravitate to and [this] person . . . has the most information about the culture . . . even the [smaller gatherings] were cultural events. . . . [We also] have the church celebrating fiestas . . . christenings and weddings and all of these cultural applications. (Emily, p. 10)

2) Historical-political awareness. The second theme focuses on participant descriptions

of Guam history and the political struggles the people of Guam have faced through colonialism.

All eight out of eight participants (100%) provided data for this theme.

[I have spoken with] WWII survivors [who] endured 32 months of Japanese occupation . . . [they] suffered . . . (James, p. 7)

[During WWII the Chamoru people were] under these conditions where a Japanese force is occupying [Guam]. And towards the end of the war, they committed numerous crimes . . . against the people of Guam. (George, p. 4)

My grandmother was in a [Japanese] concentration camp [in WWII] . . . [She] shared with me what went on during the war. . . . [Including] the atrocities that they went through. (William, p. 21)

The rough estimate of total amount of indigenous [Chamorus] here, prior to . . . 1668 was over 300,000. In July 1695, the population here [was reduced to] below 4,000. (Christopher, p. 9)

[The Chamoru people were] decimated as a population. I use that term very literally because there were estimates of anywhere between 50,000 to 120,000 people when San Vitores first arrived here and in 30 years from 1668 he arrived here by 1700, 1698 later, we were down [to] 5,000 people. (Emily, p. 3)

. . . you take a word like the word for avocado, which in Chamoru is *alageta* which is different than what it would be in Spanish which is *avocata* which is from the Nahuatl again it would be *avocatol*. That didn't borrow into Chamoru. Instead, what borrowed into Chamoru was the English word for avocado around the turn of the century from the 19th into the 20th when it was called alligator pear. So it wasn't called avocado in those days, so you know, you could be around 1910 or 1920 if you were in the US, you ask people . . . do you have any alligator pears, because they kind of look like alligator skins in the shape of a pear so that's what it was called. So the Chamorusization of that is *alligata*, [and] that kind of stuff is fascinating. (Matthew, pp. 6–7)

[The ancient Chamoru people would] gather together down at *Fo'ha*. Fo'ha is where we believe we came from. *Puntan yan fu'una*, the brother and sister that created us. So annually we converged there and there would be a flotilla of *sakmans* and *galaides* . . . [My] belief is that [the] annual celebration which we . . . [practice] today [in Catholic Church in Guam], is not an offshoot but really supplanted this [ancient Chamoru] coming together of our creation. . . . That [instead of] Fo'ha to celebrate our creation, we now celebrate our mother Mary who is the patroness and the protectionist of the Mariana Islands. (Emily, pp. 4–5)

One aspect of historical-political awareness is a consciousness about the struggles that the Chamoru people face due to colonization. Four out of eight participants (50%) spoke about the sense of struggle that the Chamoru people feel as a people due to historical challenges.

[Being Chamoru] means to be a part of a historical group that is under stress, but has managed to continue to exist in spite of all the challenges. (Matthew, p. 1)

. . . because [the Chamoru people] are considered small peoples of the world it's already an upwards struggle just having that as an identity. . . . [We] are at a deficit. (Emily, p. 1)

I mean, I think everybody has a certain degree of struggle living in a place that is so colonized and is always . . . in the middle of these major conflicts, or used for war[.] . . . [There is] a lot I think that goes on here that is really intense and . . . even to this day, [due to] the legacies of war and the impacts of colonialism on people's psyches and on people's daily lives, I feel like we struggle a lot more than I think we should. (Maria, p. 3)

I think what it means to be Chamoru [is] related to [being a] marginalized [group in general]. So in a sense, what it means to be Chamoru, what it means to be brown, what it means to be black, what it means to be a minority is that you have to incorporate activism. . . . [A] part of being Chamoru is practicing your culture [and] perpetuating it is important. (Antonio, p. 17)

One participant illustrated the link between the historical-political awareness of the Chamoru people and cultural transmission through extended family members as outlined in the first theme.

[My grandmother told me about the] different triumphs and struggles of what she had gone through, not just surviving the war, but even after the war. [She told me about] all the changes and transition that's happened in her life really from a very young age. She didn't censor anything for me so I was very aware of a lot of our struggles as a people. (Maria, p. 2)

3) Community-oriented values. The third theme focuses on moral understandings that were typically observed through engaging in community activities, working toward the betterment of the community, and being conscious of community values and needs. In total, this topic was spoken about by five out of eight participants (62.5%) with the majority of participants using Chamoru words to describe the community-oriented values they embodied. Three out of eight participants (37.5%) spoke about the Chamoru concept of *inafa' maolek* as describing community-oriented values associated with being conscious of what is best for the community.

. . . there are values that people talk about and that are pretty well known in public discourse like inafa' maolek. And that's a term that describes a lot of what I've talked about [including] community responsibility. (George, p. 18)

. . . our [Chamoru] values of collectivism, our values of respecting our elders, our values of sustainability, our values of our environment, our values of our children: our values of inafa' maolek. (Antonio, p. 18)

[Being Chamoru] means to have a lot of love and compassion. I know everyone always uses the example of inafa' maolek, but really working for the good of everybody . . . knowing that all of our actions reflect on the people around us and vice versa . . . [When] I went to college in [the United States] . . . my sense of purpose was, "I'm there for my family and there to come back home and do something for our island" so I really took my studies seriously and I have always been very focused . . . we live in such a small place and we're all so interconnected that it's like you can't just think of yourself when you act and if you do, then you hurt a lot of people along the way. (Maria, p. 2)

Two participants out of eight (25%) spoke about *mamalao* and shame being a component of

community-oriented values related to social cohesion and the molding of behaviors.

. . . on a superficial level [mamalao is] translated as shame. But then it's not purely like shame in the way we tend to think of it. It's . . . about . . . being conscious of yourself and your surroundings and especially of others. [This includes] the way you act and the things you do. How do those [behaviors] affect the people around you . . . the things that you're doing now, and the things that you do today. How does that affect your children? How will that affect them years from now? (George, p. 7)

That's why I used [mamalao] when I protested . . . I utilized culture . . . [to make witnesses feel] ashamed. [I used a] bullhorn [to make] sure everybody [heard me]. [One example of this is from] when [I was a child.] [If we] caught [someone] robbing somebody's house. [We'd say,] "Hey what happened, they caught you stealing!" . . . We're teaching, we're publicly humiliating you. But, what that does, it makes you stop. Because you become ashamed. (Christopher, p. 18)

Two participants out of eight (25%) described social practices associated with the community-

oriented value of working together for a community benefit.

Well, in [the] practice of our culture . . . one of the easiest things to point at is a fiesta . . . It's a celebration [and] we see it as a way of coming together. It helps to enhance . . . the coming together of our people to celebrate. It's a happy time and . . . that's what it serves. But it comes with a lot of work and a lot of preparation. . . . Most of the cultural part of that is the preparation for the fiesta. . . . [This is because] when you come together it just doesn't happen on that day. It would have been a preparation for perhaps months, weeks, and several days before that. . . . It contributes to the growth of our young ones in this practice so that they hopefully will do the same . . . and they will see the benefit of our people coming together. I think that in itself, the coming together of our people, is very, very important. (Emily, p. 1)

> We would go [fishing] and sometimes it would be two or three people with the nets in the morning [for] the day time fishing. . . . [Usually] we need 8 people to make it less work. [After we arrive at the beach, we] open [the net] in a half-circle. Then people on the shore splash and chase fish in. Then you close it. . . . and you jump inside and you're spear fishing inside of the net. . . . [Then] when we're done we put our fish away in our cooler and because we have . . . an end boat, we . . . have to pick [the net] up. . . . [It] takes two people at least to pick up the net. . . . [You need to] pick up 500, 600 feet [on] each side. (Antonio, pp. 10–11)

One participant out of eight (12.5%) used the word *appati* to explain the community-oriented

Chamoru value of sharing.

> . . . appati [means] to share, [and includes the] reciprocity of sharing. . . . For me, it's when you give[.] [For example, giving] fish or deer . . . or even things that you grow, like banana. (Antonio, p. 8)

> **4) Connection to the land of Guam.** This theme was alluded to by six out of eight

participants (75%) and primarily focuses on the use of land as identity and land as survival.

> . . . being from Guam, being Chamoru, you have a culture. You can identify yourself to the land [and how you live]. And in most places I've been, it's not that way. (William, p. 1)

> . . . the Chamorus were very connected to the land. Because without the land, air, and water, then we had no means of survival. (William, p. 2)

> [being Chamoru] means that you have a love affair with the island of Guam and the Marianas Islands and that you have a regard for the physicality of the island. (Matthew, p. 1)

> . . . what makes our place in the world unique . . . is our environment, which is our connection to this land [of Guam]. (Maria, p. 6)

> This is something that [that happens to] many cultures that have been around for thousands, and tens of thousands of years. There's a strong connection between the language and the land and the culture comes out of that. (James, p. 2)

Three out of eight participants (37.5%) spoke about the value in caring for and maintaining land

as part of their Chamoru connection to the land of Guam.

> . . . the way I was brought up was that we are resourceful people. Resourceful, sustainable people. (Antonio, p. 7)

. . . [The Chamoru people] don't waste things, [we are] very frugal. . . . [We] lived off the land[.] . . . When my parents went fishing for food, they would make sure that we ate everything. . . . And when they went fishing, they caught enough to eat and if we wanted more, they [would] go back and they fish some more. . . . When they picked the crops, they only picked what's enough to eat. That way when they cook it you don't have anything left over and the food [didn't go to] waste. (William, p. 2)

In different indigenous cultures, there is this relationship to the land. . . . [That] is a common factor in all of our communities, [a] relationship to the natural environment: the idea of sustainability as a cultural practice . . . we could talk about recycling . . . as a practice of [sustainability]. [This could also include] advocating sovereignty over the land and ocean. That's a right that we should have that we don't currently [in Guam]. (George, p. 1)

Two participants out of eight (25%) utilized explanations of social practices, such as physical

labor, to illustrate the link between the Chamoru connection to the land and the community-

oriented values identified in the third theme. This link included the importance of owning land to

gather for community-oriented activities.

[The Chamoru people] are an indigenous people. It means that we are the stewards of the Mariana islands. So we . . . have this responsibility to the natural environment and to each other. Being Chamoru is part of being a collective and [this] means that you have a responsibility not only to the people who are here in the present but those that came in the past and who have yet to come. So in thinking about environmental stewardship, [we ask ourselves] what are we leaving for future generations and also is that doing a service to the people who left this place for us? (George, p. 1)

Out of these two participants, one participant not only showed an association between the

Chamoru connection to the land and community values, but also illustrated how culture is

transmitted through engagement with family members, including extended family.

. . . I remember as a kid, [I would go to the ranch. My parents had many] brothers and sisters. . . . [Weekends were] about sitting around and chewing betel nut or [engaging in the cultural practice called] the *fandalalak* which is a lot of . . . physical labor. Stuff was accomplished by coming together by say for example, auntie "Jane" says, "next week I'm planting my taro[.]" So you have to dig holes and she's probably planting maybe 200 *matas*. . . . [It's] a lot to accomplish in a weekend, but when you have [several] brothers and sisters, it's done in half a day. . . . Yes, to work together and to gossip together, to tell family tales together, to find out what's happening, "[My niece] got pregnant" you know. What's gonna happen, and the christening is, you know. And then they'll talk about "Okay now you make the best red rice. You do the red rice for this christening" and "Are

you going fishing? Are you going cray fishing? Are you going to go get shrimp? . . . and that's how those things come together. But those occasions to come together, what leads up to that, is the cultural practice that has diminished because the lands have been bulldozed, the military took . . . our family lands. (Emily, pp. 16–17)

5) Understanding and preserving the Chamoru language. The fifth theme was found in the narratives of four out of eight participants (50%) and focuses primarily on the way that active engagement with the Chamoru language was considered an important aspect of being Chamoru.

. . .to be Chamoru is to be one who practices Chamoru culture [and] speaks the Chamoru language. (Emily, p. 1)

. . . for me, the biggest feature of [what it means to be Chamoru] is knowledge of the Chamoru language, which I spent a lot of effort on. [Therefore,] Chamoru language is pretty clearly a big part of [what it means to me to be Chamoru]. (Matthew, p. 1)

[I would] even [promote the use of the Chamoru] language [to others] and . . . you've heard of my two sons . . . [name of children with Chamoru names]. And you can ask [anyone, they] never heard me speak English to my children. . . . [I] always [spoke] the native language. (Christopher, p. 13)

[The Chamoru] language is a very important part of [the Chamoru story] to me. [This is] because the language has been around and the language is something which you can find soaked into the earth. You can find it coded into the animals. This is something that many cultures that have been around for thousands, and tens of thousands of years, [have.] [There is] a strong connection between the language and the land and the culture comes out of that. Knowledge is formed from that. . . . So [learning Chamoru] was something that started me on the transition to [not just] feeling more Chamoru but feeling Chamoru in a more active way. (James, p. 2)

Two participants out of eight (25%) provided connections between the theme of understanding and preserving the Chamoru language and other themes identified in this section. One participant illustrated the tie between understanding the Chamoru language and participation in community events such as church.

Spiritually, [the older Chamoru members are present in church] because [the church leaders] communicate in the Chamoru language. (Emily, p. 2)

The other participant described the relationship between understanding the Chamoru language

and political awareness through historical knowledge of the introduction of new words into

Chamoru.

> [The Chamoru language is] the evidence of [historical] continuity. It's the only thing that
> you can identify that would take you back hundreds of years and I'm pretty confident that
> if I were alive at the time of [ancient Chamoru leaders] I could carry on a conversation. It
> would be a little hard, but . . . we'd have some mutual understanding. So that's [a] pretty
> important part [of being Chamoru.] . . . [The Chamoru language is also] a tie to the past
> and it's a window on your whole essence as a people because the complexity of language,
> it's manipulation through affixes, the historical borrowings, all tell you something about
> the history, not only the origins but the history of the people. Just even through
> borrowed words, you learn a lot. (Matthew, p. 1)

6) The concept of Chamoru authenticity as problematic. The final theme was

comprised of the idea that Chamoru culture is ever-changing and that the concept of an

"authentic" Chamoru culture is tied to colonial narratives that limit Chamoru people's identities.

The theme was developed through the narratives of three out of eight participants (37.5%) in this

study.

> . . . this notion that [the Chamoru people can] find some kind of authentic holy grail is . . .
> imagery more than reality. (Matthew, p. 3)

> . . . before reading about these things on an academic level . . . I think I had ideas of
> Chamoruness as being tied explicitly to ideas of authenticity. [My] idea of Chamoruness
> before . . . was tied to my ability to speak the language, and my ability to do things like
> fish and hunt and farm. But it's being in [my Chamoru rights group], in coming into
> contact with intellectuals and politicians who have engaged in decolonization politics,
> that's helped me to see that culture isn't stagnant, culture is dynamic. Culture is constantly
> changing and . . . there are [many] reasons why cultural authenticity is a ruse and it's
> nothing that can really be achieved. And so the idea of Chamoruness shouldn't be
> grounded in imposed ideas of authenticity. [Instead,] there are many ways in which we
> can think about Chamoru values and morals and how those apply to today. (George, pp.
> 17–18)

> Oh yes, culture is always changing. That's . . . the human contradiction of culture, [it] is
> always changing but there is always a feeling that a culture is lost if it changes. So there's
> always the feeling that a culture has to remain the same but it is always changing at the
> same time. What never changes though is people's strong feelings about how culture is
> supposed to be, which may not match the way that culture actually is. So that's why for

me, I'm not about holding on to something the way that it always was because in many ways that's not really gonna work. It doesn't make much sense because you may hold on to something here, but the world may change drastically around you. And you may find that once you get up and look around, everything is different, including everyone around you. (James, pp. 3–4)

[When] people ask me, what is my identity . . . I say, "Well, I'm a lot of things. I'm a Chamoru, I'm a Dodger baseball fan, I'm a grandfather, I'm a..." you know, I'm all these things. . . . These are all facets of my identity. There's not one that's exclusive. I [don't agree that I] can't be [a] dodger fan and a real authentic Chamoru at the same time . . . I'm a human being I experience the world. I'm proud of who I am, I'm proud of where I came from and I'll defend it. But it doesn't preclude me from experiencing other things. (Matthew, p. 3)

Matthew then more explicitly tied the concept of authenticity for indigenous peoples to colonial narratives.

[We are who we are] and to spend a lot of time worrying about the amalgamation is to give life to those people who want to deny you who you are. Why would I want to give them that? Why would I want somebody who comes from off-island and says "you're not really authentic, I want the authentic Chamoru." Well what do you mean you want the authentic Chamoru? Who are you to decide that? And why should I spend my time worrying about that? . . . I tell [people this] all the time. I said, "Matthew is a Chamoru man. Chief Matapang, who killed San Vitores, is a Chamoru man. Why is anyone spending any time saying that Matthew is not really a Chamoru man or he's not authentically a Chamoru man, or he's changed so differently from Matapang, he can't legitimately call himself a Chamoru man?" That's a useless conversation, I tell people. (Matthew, p. 4)

Conclusion. Participants provided a wonderful range of ideas for what it means to them to be Chamoru. Participants spoke about the transmission of what it means to be Chamoru primarily through relationships with extended and nuclear family members as well as members of the community and cultural activities. They highlighted the importance of the Chamoru language, Chamoru history, and community-oriented values such as sharing, living and working together, and concern for the community as a whole. However, a notable concern from participants was the problematic nature of searching for an "authentic" Chamoru culture. Some participants cautioned that this search was doomed to failure and colluded with colonial

narratives. As a whole, it appeared that the Chamoru culture was a thriving culture with many nuanced perspectives about what it means to be Chamoru and how one can both respect past practices while also recognizing the dynamic nature of culture.

Research Question 2: What is the Impact of Colonialism in Guam?

Guam has had a long history of contact with colonial powers. This contact first began with the country of Spain in March 1521 when Magellan landed on Guam (Rogers, 1995, p. 5). Direct colonization of Guam by the Spanish spanned between the 17th and 19th centuries. The Spanish occupation of Guam continued until the end of the Spanish American War and the signing of the Treaty of Paris on December 10th, 1898 (Rogers, 1995, p. 113), which resulted in the transfer of Guam as a possession from Spain to the United States. The United States continued to occupy Guam until WWII when the Japanese military invaded Guam on December 8th 1941. The Americans reclaimed Guam from the Japanese in 1944, and have continued to hold Guam since then. To this day, the Chamoru people have not been permitted the opportunity to vote for self-determination.

With the lack of self-determination for the people of Guam and the long history of colonialism, it is no surprise that the effects of colonialism are on the forefront of participants' minds. Participants described the numerous features of colonialism that they encountered in their daily lives as well as those that affected their ancestors. Many of the impacts of colonialism are entangled, influencing multiple aspects of Chamoru life. The wide-ranging effects of colonialism on the people of Guam will be outlined here through the stories and experiences of the participants that are grouped in seven themes.

1) Violence and traumatic experiences from WWII. This theme was identified through quotes from six out of eight participants (75%). It focuses primarily on the traumatic events and atrocities faced by the Chamoru people during WWII by the Japanese military.

> My grandmother was in a [Japanese] concentration camp [in WWII] . . . [She] shared with me what went on during the war. . . . [Including] the atrocities that they went through. (William, p. 21)

> [I have spoken with] WWII survivors [who] endured 32 months of Japanese occupation . . . [they] suffered . . . (James, p. 7)

> [During WWII the Chamoru people were] under these conditions where a Japanese force is occupying [Guam]. And towards the end of the war, they committed numerous crimes . . . against the people of Guam. (George, p. 4)

> [The people of Guam] went through . . . trauma in [WWII which included]] living through [the] two and a half years [of Japanese occupation] in such fear of what could happen next . . . (Maria, p. 4)

> On [Guam] the coconut trees . . . would have these holes in them. [My uncle] would say, "you know they have woody the woodpecker here?" and you know what those holes were? They were bullet holes from [WWII]. (Antonio, p. 9)

> [A colleague told me] that his mother who was very, very beautiful . . . never spoke . . . about [WWII]. All she said was, "I don't ever want that to happen to you." But he can only assume because of her beauty and the way that she didn't show affection [and] wasn't very loving to them that something really bad must have happened to her. . . . And he said that when the women [at a WWII commission] would share [their experiences of WWII] they were very matter of fact, like, "I was raped" or "then he did what he would with me." So strong and stoic in their admission of what happened to them. But then the men who he said saw their mother or sister get raped would just be weeping. They never told anybody [because] they couldn't do anything to save their mother or sister. (Maria, p. 7)

2) The changes in material conditions in Guam. The second theme focuses on economic changes and the loss of land after WWII that impacted the ability of the Chamoru people to be self-sufficient. Narratives from six out of eight participants (75%) illustrate this theme.

> [The Chamoru] people have been disconnected from their lands [after WWII]. (Antonio, p. 20)

. . . what [the American military] did [after WWII] was . . . wrong in taking all the land [from the people of Guam]. (Maria, p. 4)

It was after the war when the U.S. decided, well "we're here to stay and we need this much land and we're gonna use this place as a base." (Maria, p. 4)

[Chamoru] lands have been bulldozed. The military took their lands, our family lands. (Emily, p. 17)

. . . we [protested by entering] into [Chamoru] ancestral land, [held by] the [United States] military. The [annexed] lands [taken by the military]. (Christopher, p. 15)

. . . right now, the military occupies 1/3 of the island . . . 2/3 of the 1/3 that they occupy is land that they're not even using and it's part of the most pristine land on Guam. Both ends of our island are the most beautiful places. But we don't have access [due to the United States military restricting access to locals]. (William, p. 2)

. . . instead of [being able to] to build a house, we're living in apartments. We can't invest, we can't develop our land, to invest in it and be self-sustained. We can't make our own income, because the lands are still not back in our hands [as a result of military annexation of Chamoru lands]. (William, p. 5)

I mean, even in the American reoccupation, they bombed mass portions of the land. It ruined arable lands that were once used for farms. You have a place like Tiyan which used to be just fields of corn and other staple crops. [That land] was basically torn up by the Japanese for the construction of a dirt airfield. Well then when the Americans came, they paved over it with concrete. . . . And then there's other parts of the land which were used for military installations. That reduces the amounts of land available for farming, and for sustenance . . . (George, p. 2)

Two participants out of eight (25%) spoke about the displacement of the Chamoru population

caused by the annexation of land by the United States military.

Because a lot of the [land] that [the United States military] occupy, our families are being displaced. (William, p. 4)

. . . entire villages were [displaced and] people were forced to leave their lands. [For instance, the] village of Dededo . . . Where it is now, is about two to three miles away from where it used to be. . . . [The United States military] moved all those families, the entire village two to three miles [away] . . . There [are] other villages [moved such as the village of] Barrigada. . . . [and also the village of] Sumay so [the American military could] construct a Navy base. (George, p. 3)

Two participants out of eight (25%) spoke about the alteration of economic conditions after

WWII due to American influence.

> . . . with American occupation there was the shift away from sustenance and subsistence farming . . . There's a shift away from that towards a cash economy and wage labor. [Those] are all very recent interruptions into our identities. . . . And then [there are] other parts of the land which were used for military installations. That reduces the amounts of land available for farming, and for sustenance, and it also forced families into wage labor and the selection of jobs that were available back then, certainly they didn't have the skills and maybe the availability of certain occupations that would lead to better living conditions, better material conditions for themselves. A lot of [Chamorus] were forced into service jobs . . . (George, p. 2)

> [I told a citizen of Belau,] I think that you should reject all considerations from the [American] military when it concerns your island because they want to bring in their nuclear powered ships . . . and they will empty their waste into your waters. I see that . . . you depend on your waters for your . . . sustainable [economy]. And if the American military comes in here, they [will not have] respect for your waters. They did it in Guam. They've dumped over 55 gallon drum's worth of nuclear waste into the harbor and . . . if you think . . . America's going to have respect for you, and not dump their nuclear waste in your water, which you depend on, for your economic finance stability, they will not. (Christopher, p. 21)

3) Loss of legal autonomy. Data from five out of eight participants (62.5%) were used to

illustrate a theme that contains the policies and laws enacted by the United States after WWII

that had an impact on the people of Guam. Four participants out of eight (50%) spoke about

federal laws that impacted the people of Guam negatively.

> . . . when there's a financial crisis [in Guam] as a result of Trump's tax cuts, it's colonization. (Maria, p. 19)

> [In] 2018 [the Chamoru rights group I was involved in was allocated] $60,000 to start, [the government of Guam] cut it and we eventually had only $18,000 to work with. [This occurred mainly] because of the Republican taxes, the cut that happened. . . . Trump's tax cut just smashed everything . . . And just seeing how we're really at the mercy of whatever wind's blowing from Washington . . . It's crazy . . . (Antonio, p. 12)

> . . . the Americans gave opportunities [to other countries through federal law], they opened the door for construction [workers to come to Guam.] They brought in all these [people from other countries] and then we got populated. . . . I cannot blame them for coming, America gave them the opportunity [but the people of Guam] never asked any of these people to come here. . . . [We] had no involvement with that. We still don't. Now

we have to have permission for workers to come to Guam. Why do we need to go thousands of miles away to ask permission. Aren't we the natives here? . . . Why can't we make that decision for ourselves? (Christopher, p. 16)

[The American government has] created so many federal mandates. So many federal laws that we have to live by . . . and with these federal mandates, many are unfunded. [Thus,] federal mandates are made [by the United States congress]; we end up funding it. [For example, the] Earned Income Credit. It's a federal mandate, but it's not being funded by the federal government or the U.S. Congress. The compact treaty . . . Now that's a federal mandate. Where it allows all citizens from the outer island to come to Guam, to migrate to Guam under certain conditions. But we're only being compensated less than 1/3 of what it's actually costing. (William, p. 6)

Three out of eight participants (37.5%) described the language policy of the United States in

Guam soon after WWII.

I think . . . that the Americans came in and wanted to completely Americanize everything. [This was done partially] by banning the [Chamoru] language . . . (Maria, p. 4)

[I was often told that if I spoke Chamoru with my children at home that,] "it's gonna hinder their personal growth when they grow up." . . . I was [also] punished physically . . . [in elementary school]. For speaking my language, I was punished publicly, in front of the [other] students. (Christopher, pp. 13–14)

. . . in order to get into the English program [at a university in Guam], I had to stand in front of an English professor and read a paragraph. She determined if I went in to [the general English class] or into speech therapy . . . [Some people I knew] needed "remediation," because of the way [they] spoke . . . how can you determine that [based on] accent? You don't determine people's intelligence through accent. . . . So [one thing I did was] look at the policy of the university [as a problem in Guam]. (Emily, p. 12)

Two participants out of eight (25%) spoke about how the diet of the Chamoru people has been

altered through American policies and government intervention.

[After a typhoon hit Guam in 1962,] the US military in their relief aid . . . had their nutritionist with them. They were telling the people here on Guam that our everyday food, the fresh fish, the fresh deer, the fresh picked chicken, [and] fresh pig, is not good for our health. [The American government told us that] their food was far healthier. Spam, corn beef, Vienna sausage . . . (Christopher, p. 14)

. . . the hunger [faced by the Chamoru people during and after WWII] is what then lead to [a] dependency on canned foods and hording . . . foods that could last a long time [which made] cultural items out of these foods. [Chamoru] people [associated] survival and success with things that are American and have lost touch of the things that actually

helped them survive, which is the food that grows here [and] nourishes them. . . . I do think that . . . if you change people's entire diet, you change everything about them . . . (Maria, pp. 4–5)

One participant summarized the effects of American policies and institutions on the people of Guam.

Values, clothing, heroes, books, popular culture, all of it. And it's not just chosen consciously, a lot of this is beyond our control, this is how we've been educated, this is what we've been brought up to believe. So slowly but surely, that takes up more space in your psyche in terms of what matters and what doesn't. And you go to school here and everything you're taught is that, everything that is elsewhere matters more than here. So it becomes more and more suppressed [to the point that] you don't want to speak your language, you don't want to eat your food, oh it tastes better when it comes in the can. Or people saying how they don't trust the local medicine or the local foods as much as if it's been packaged and processed and shipped here, and that's killing [us]. (Maria, pp. 5–6)

4) Psychological effects of colonialism in Guam. In total, the psychological effects of colonialism in Guam were spoken about by four out of eight participants (50%). One particularly salient feature of the psychological effects of colonialism in Guam appeared to be a feeling that it was impossible to be self-reliant. This was often related to the loss of land after WWII. This was spoken about by four out of eight participants (50%).

When you take the land from a people, you may have just lined them up and shot them all to death. Because you take away their livelihood, you take away their culture. You destroy all of that, of what makes us human. (Emily, p. 17)

[Even] if [a particular Chamoru person] didn't live through [WWII, they may have] intergenerational trauma. [For example, my] dad was born in 1948, but it's just like he carries so much. [I also] see it in my brother, [and] in almost every family you have more than one son that's just struggling just to get by. (Maria, p. 8)

You know, if we lose our land, we have no place to plant. Before . . . WWII and shortly thereafter, people that had lands were still able to go on weekends to their ranches for their brief respites from their towns. But [American] society has changed our ways of life now. (Emily, pp. 15–16)

[I knew a family that was] landless and cashless [due to the military taking their land]. And how do you do that to a family, take away their land and turn it into a part of a big military [installation] . . . and let it sit there. This is their farming [land]. This is where they get their sustenance. (Emily, p. 14)

The [most important] thing [about having land] is of course survival. You're being able to grow your own food off the land. And then, you are able to build your house on whatever land you have. (William, p. 2)

. . . with [the] American occupation [after WWII] there was the shift away from sustenance and subsistence farming . . . towards a cash economy and wage labor. . . . And then there's other parts of the land which were used for military installations. That reduces the amounts of land available for farming, and for sustenance, and it also forced families into wage labor . . . (George, p. 2)

[Many Chamoru people] really did come out of [WWII] feeling some type of indebtedness [to the United States], I think. (Maria, p. 4)

[One] thing that happened through colonization is a clear reduction of the sense of possibility for [the Chamoru] people. [We got] this idea that this is what [our] lot in life is. (James, p. 6)

. . . all of the classic colonial conditions are so evident here and I think that it really became heightened after [WWII] because I think people didn't have the same degree of self sufficiency we had before the war where we were still feeding ourselves, where we were aware that we were under the control of America but at the same time, still being self-sufficient and still being able to provide for ourselves . . . (Maria, p. 3)

[I know a guy who once told me that] "Guam is unique in the world because it's one of the few places in the world where you could have the majority of the population want less control over their lives. [Wherever] you look, most people in the world want more freedom, they want more ability to dictate what happens, but in Guam, you will have lots of people, you could still argue the majority, who will say that the federal government should take control or it's better if somebody else dictates things because we can't trust ourselves." And the thing is that every society has corruption. Every society has cultures of inefficiency and ineffectiveness, even the ones which are supposed to be so effective and efficient. . . . Every society has those similar dynamics, there's nothing about Guam that makes it uniquely horrible. But why is it that people on Guam feel that there is something special about their inadequacy. Special about their inferiority. Special about their incompetence. (James, p. 20)

Why is it then that Guam feels, and it's not just Chamorus, but others on Guam, they feel this just debilitating smallness and inferiority? . . . I think a lot of it comes from having a colonizer which is quote unquote "the greatest in the world." If Guam was colonized by, I don't know, Malaysia, then . . . [perhaps] there would be a stronger movement for decolonization because there wouldn't be this pressure that by pushing for our rights, by pushing for a better future, we are challenging the grandness and the might of the United States. So these are the things that psychologists can absolutely help us understand, what is at play in these feelings of inferiority. (James, p. 21)

. . . if [the Chamoru people] are afraid that without America [we] would be nothing, then [we won't] challenge [the status quo]. And that's what a lot of people are plagued with . . . [I often see Chamorus who have] this fear of America abandoning [Guam] or [fear that another country would] come in and take over. . . . [We] have been colonized for so long that [we don't see ourselves] as capable of being on our own [or even] allowed to be. [For the children of Chamorus who survived WWII] all you've ever heard is that America saved your parents from death and that if they hadn't saved your parents from death, you wouldn't even be here, so therefore you've indebted your life. (Maria, p. 5)

And then even just the layers of the colonized mentality. Even that feeling of dependency and feeling of worth, and diminished self-worth because your whole life you've been taught about another culture or another government being superior to yours, right? Or even just the imagery of growing up in a place where, for example, your flag is below another country's flag. What are these subtle images that may not be consciously large in the mind of the [people of Guam], but may be something that's unconscious, that may be something that they just know, right? This sense of inferiority and this sense of self-worth being diminished . . . (Maria, pp. 24–25)

Two participants spoke about the mental illness, family violence, and addiction that are present

in Guam as a result of colonialism.

[When I protested, I showed the public] what was going on in Guam [because of colonialism]. The hardships, the pain, the family break-up. The drugs, heroin. . . . [Methamphetamine] was just popping out then. (Christopher, p. 16)

[As part of my political group,] we were looking at the public health crisis in [Guam's] community and we were looking at the high rates of homelessness, addiction, abuse . . . (Maria, p. 25)

[A colleague of mine once wondered,] "Why do we have so much incest and rape and violence in Chamoru families?" He couldn't understand it until he heard all these stories of war. That's where [these problems come] from. [When] you look at Chamoru men in particular, it's like they are constantly going through this "be a man" according to these American standards but then in Chamoru households, women run the house, they control the money, no matter what you try to do to try to control them, they're going to do what needs to be done. They're also the ones who pick up the pieces of war broken, their men are broken, you look at it and it's like women constantly have to be strong and hold it in no matter what their pain is, and men aren't expressing their pain except through addiction or abuse. (Maria, p. 8)

Well, obviously addiction [and other psychological issues] are truly caused by [WWII] and the generations that then joined the military and served in further wars . . . came out of it with some serious addictions, serious PTSD. And then these cycles of trauma and abuse [continued]. . . . we are this really loving people that family is so important, and yet Chamorus are suffering the high statistics of domestic violence, sexual violence, drug

abuse, incarceration, alcohol abuse, non-communicable diseases, all of the classic colonial conditions are so evident here . . . (Maria, p. 3)

5) Medical illnesses related to colonialism in Guam. This theme is related to the previously identified theme of changes in material conditions in Guam after WWII, particularly with the loss of land for the Chamoru people and loss of autonomy over land controlled by the United States military. This theme was spoken about by four of out of eight participants (50%) in this study.

> Well, obviously . . . a lot of diseases . . . are truly caused by [WWII] and the generations that then joined the military and served in further wars . . . Chamorus are suffering . . . high statistics of non-communicable diseases . . . (Maria, p. 3)

> Our land in [a village in Guam] was where the military dumped munitions, so as a child, we were always digging for what we called *put bola* . . . [which is] gun powder. But they're the big pieces [and] we'd dig a lot of them and collect them and . . . make these flares. . . . [This] exposed us to what was dumped there. [Due to this,] shortly after WWII . . . [rates of] non communicable diseases rose [which resulted in increases to the rates] of deaths [in Guam]. (Emily, p. 17)

> . . . the military [and] congress came out with . . . findings [showing] how land that's occupied by the military are just being contaminated and not being cleaned up. . . . Anderson Air Force Base is right over the aquifer, right? That's our main source of water. . . . you know [contaminants] gets into our drinking water. And our future generations are the ones that are going to be impacted by it. . . . [Also,] our wildlife are now being affected by the contamination that's on military property. So it all has a trickling effect on everything. (William, p. 3)

> [After WWII, the Chamoru people became] solely dependent on the food that comes in on . . . ships and [with] their bodies not being used to it, I think the illnesses that we suffer today are the direct result of that. (Maria, p. 3)

> . . . look what happened on Guam [from eating American foods]. In the 200 and 20 square miles, you can take that 200 and 20 square miles which Guam is. And you can take that to any of the 50 states and compare it against the death of cancer. And we beat all of them. (Christopher, p. 14)

6) Loss of community. This theme was spoken about by three out of eight participants (37.5%) and focuses on changes to the Chamoru community as a result of economic changes and changing social roles. Out of this group, two participants out of eight (25%) described a

relationship between the loss of community in Guam and the second theme in this research

question: changes in material conditions in Guam after WWII.

> . . . with the cash economy, with capitalism, there is a break-away from the collective. You're not spending time with your extended family like on a farm for subsistence. You and your family members all are working separate jobs and maybe you come together [at] 6 [or] 7 PM at night. That's the first time you see each other in the entire day. So there isn't that connection and you form a more individual identity. . . . I think it detracts from a collective identity especially with ideas of liberal assertions of liberty and freedom and what those mean to a Western society. [You] begin to form an individual identity that isn't grounded by [the] collective or . . . social and cultural responsibilities. (George, pp. 4–5)

> [In the past,] even the [smaller gatherings] were cultural events. . . . we [also] have the church celebrating fiestas . . . christenings and weddings and all of these cultural applications [We] don't have that as much anymore. [There are] many reasons for that [but] I would say economics plays a big role into the demise of cultural practices. (Emily, p. 10)

> . . . I remember as a kid, [I would go to the ranch. My parents had many] brothers and sisters. . . . [Weekends were] about sitting around and chewing betel nut or [engaging in the cultural practice called] the *fandalalak* which is a lot of . . . physical labor [such as planting taro as a family.] . . . [We would] work together . . . gossip together [and] tell family tales together, to find out what's happening . . . But those occasions to come together, what leads up to that, is [a] cultural practice that has diminished because the lands have been bulldozed, the military took . . . our family lands. (Emily, pp. 16–17)

Two participants out of eight (25%) contributed to this discussion by speaking about changing

social roles that negatively affected community functioning in Guam.

> [In] ancient [Chamoru] times they had these ways in which everybody worked together. [Chamoru people] understood their role, [and] people [learned] from each other what those roles were. So you had the *guma uritao* [where] these young men were brought in to learn from the masters [about] the . . . roles they were supposed to play. They had men to look up to. A lot of boys today, they don't have men to look up to, it's the mother holding the household together and the father may not be there or if he's there, he's strong or he's abusive . . . and then these young boys they go to school, you don't have any male teachers in elementary school. So who are they mirroring? . . . [For] girls [they are] just taught that love looks this way, that you're supposed to take care of these broken men but it's like, no we always supported each other. Now, it's like we're picking up the pieces of all of this. . . . I . . . think [what] needs to happen for our kids is that we need to bring that sort of community rearing back; we're all responsible for each other. And these kids [need] people to look up to. (Maria, p. 8)

[There are people in Guam] who [talk] about masculinity and sexual identity on Guam and how that's connected to . . . occupation in general. [This includes] how ideas of masculinity and being able to provide for one's self and one's family . . . are connected to an alignment with the occupying force. [For example, with] the Spanish [colonizing Guam]. [Being] a part of the Spanish militia was something that would earn you some social clout and also some money as well. [Similarly,] when you think about ideas of masculinity under American occupation if you were a young child when Guam was reoccupied by the American forces . . . [You begin by being] under these conditions where a Japanese force is occupying the people. And towards the end of the war, they committed numerous crimes . . . against the people of Guam. And then the . . . opposing end of that is the American military forces . . . [and] you're told that these are your liberators. These are people that came to save you and they seem as these hulking forces and [you wonder,] how do you become that? [You can] see [how] these new ideas, or these new models for manliness [and] for manhood [are developed]. (George, pp. 3–4)

Two participants out of eight (25%) spoke about the impact of the Vietnam War draft as a

contributor to the loss of community in Guam.

[During] the Vietnam era. draft . . . so many families were torn apart because men were shipped off to war. (George, p. 2)

. . . during the Vietnam war in the 60s . . . Many of my classmates just [left] right away and joined the military. Now they've found other places to live and so if you look at [research conducted in this area,] you see that we have 30,000 Chamorus in California, 10,000 [in other areas] and we're all over the place . . . and also the draft. [At the time,] there was a draft system. (Emily, p. 10)

7) **Harmful colonial narratives.** This theme describes problematic narratives around the

idea of Chamoru authenticity, the binary between the colonizer and the indigenous, and the use

of media institutions to perpetuate harmful narratives about the Chamoru people. This theme was

identified in the narratives of four out of eight participants.

. . . this notion that [the Chamoru people can] find some kind of authentic holy grail is just, it's imagery more than reality. (Matthew, p. 3)

[The colonial narrative of authenticity is created] because no matter what the Chamorus do, they're gonna end up losers. [The colonizer will say,] "Well, they're mixed blood. Therefore they're not pure . . ." Well, I don't understand that. I don't understand that purity thing. . . . The notion of a kind of racial purity there is just nonsense. (Matthew, p. 4)

[In the past,] I had ideas of Chamoruness as being tied explicitly to ideas of authenticity. [My] idea of Chamoruness before . . . was tied to my ability to speak the language, and my ability to do things like fish and hunt and farm. But it's being in [my Chamoru rights group] . . . that's helped me to see that culture isn't stagnant, culture is dynamic. Culture is constantly changing and . . . there are [many] reasons why cultural authenticity is a ruse and it's nothing that can really be achieved. And so the idea of Chamoruness shouldn't be grounded in imposed ideas of authenticity. (George, pp. 17–18)

[I ask people,] do you know who Mick Jagger is? Some . . . [don't] know Mick Jagger. I say, he's Rolling Stones. He's an English man. Does anybody spend any time saying, "Mick Jagger and William Shakespeare are so different from each other, Mick Jagger is no longer an Englishman." It's a patently ridiculous conversation. And the reason why that doesn't happen with being English is because no one is controlling or trying to manipulate the English narrative other than the English themselves. So you know, once you fall prey to that, then all of the sudden you're arguing something you shouldn't be arguing. I am who I am, get over it. (George, p. 4)

[Post-colonial] scholars describe [the colonial narrative] in terms of binaries. . . . That when a colonizer goes and sets up shop in a place, the world gets divided into binary divisions. So there's . . . light, there's dark. There's order, there's chaos. And then there's civilized, uncivilized. [What] happens is that the colonized people largely get relegated to the bottom half of the binary. And therefore, [people are taught to believe that they] need the colonizer, the top half of the binary, in order to sustain, to prosper, to develop, to become educated. . . . [That is] the pinnacle of colonial indoctrination . . . where you really think that the colonizers [must] be here or else everything falls apart. (James, pp. 6–7)

. . . it really hasn't changed much [in the media in Guam, in] terms of the way [the Chamoru people are] portrayed as the negative part of society. . . . [Every article in the newspaper] was about how negative things are. . . . [and the Chamoru people were portrayed as doing] all the crime . . . [I also] started to question the media as an institution and how [the Chamoru people were] being portrayed and why are we being portrayed as such and that it's not acceptable. [In contrast,] we saw that the United States] military was being highlighted as positive. [Even today, the United States military] garner the best pages in the newspaper. (Emily, pp. 8–9)

Conclusion. Seven themes were identified within the context of the effect of colonialism in Guam. A large proportion of these effects appeared to stem from the violence in WWII and the changing material conditions after WWII such as loss of land and loss of a sustenance based economy. These losses may have resulted in a reduced feeling of autonomy for the Chamoru people as well as diminishing the role of community in Chamoru daily interactions. In addition,

harmful colonial narratives may also contribute to the negative impacts of colonialism on identity and self-regard of the Chamoru people.

Research Question 3: What was the Process of Joining the Chamoru Rights Group for Participants?

An important part of understanding an individual's lived experience of engagement with any political group is learning about how and why an individual chooses to join that group. For the Chamoru rights groups examined in this study, the circumstances involved in joining the Chamoru rights group may allude to the community concerns participants hope to address through their participation. It may also provide clues to the best practices for the recruitment of members to these groups. The themes identified for this research question focus primarily on the stories provided by participants about how they decided to join their Chamoru rights groups.

1) Joining the group informally. Informal avenues such as personal relationships and friendships were the most common means for participants to join their Chamoru rights groups. All eight out of eight participants (100%) spoke about joining their Chamoru rights group through personal relationships or events in the community.

> [When] you think about the structure and the dynamics of social movement organizations, they're not . . . rigid. You don't have to sign up, you don't have to create a new application . . . to have a social movement organization. They're isn't like a board of directors or anything. Everything tends to be very fluid. (George, p. 7)

> . . . you know, many people see [my Chamoru rights group] as an ad hoc group because we're not really a formalized group where we have constitutions and by-laws. We just don't subscribe to that. That's not our island way. Our island way is, most of us know each other, most of us know to what extent we have vested in a particular issue . . . and so we . . . sprung up out of nowhere and then we decided we better put our energy together. (Emily, p. 14)

> I was writing [publicly] and . . . when I [returned to Guam] I would meet with some of the elders in [Chamoru rights groups]. So I always knew of the activism but when I became vocal through my writing then a lot of the older activists when I would [return to

Guam] would be like "keep it up girl" or "I like what you wrote." [They] encourag[ed] me and . . . [got] me involved . . . (Maria, p. 11)

I got involved in [a Chamoru rights group] with [a person who was] probably Guam's most prolific Chamoru rights activist. [What that person] did back then was he formed a group . . . of about 6 people . . . [who] sat down and said, "hey you know what, what if we did this, what if we did that? What if we held signs and said, 'hey we want our land back.' Would [people] actually listen to us?" [It was a] . . . small group, it just grew and people started to listen and say, "You know what? I like that. I like their cause." (William, pp. 7–8)

I had already known [this Chamoru rights activist] through [a Chamoru rights group I was involved in.] He was also my [teacher] for a few classes, [and that] provided an entry point into engaging with [my current Chamoru rights group]. . . . [It was] very informal . . . [and] I talked to [him] about how I could be involved with the group, things that I could lend. (George, p. 12)

[My Chamoru rights group was] more a group [of friends] and then it ended with . . . the defeat of the constitution because then we got focused on political status. (Matthew, p. 11)

We were opposed to [a political issue in Guam]. So [this Chamoru rights activist] was back in Guam; he and I were pretty good friends. So we [created an alliance between our groups]. (Matthew, p. 7)

So [a group of friends and people I knew] just got together and said, "Let's do this. Let's protest [a major newspaper in Guam]." (Matthew, p. 6)

[I joined] because of [a Chamoru rights activist that was my friend]. Because we knew each other, it was easier for me to get in. (Christopher, p. 12)

At first, it was just local people, people like me, trying to make a living, getting together. (Christopher, p. 15)

[A friend of mine] just asked me to join [his Chamoru rights group]. . . . [At that time, there were openings for members in a committee related to that Chamoru rights group.] . . . [That friend] was asking . . . [others and] myself if we wanted to join. So I joined and . . . since then . . . I've been attending [events for that Chamoru rights group]. (Antonio, pp. 6–7)

I would go to [Chamoru rights group] meetings and I would listen to [activists] and meet and hang out with the leaders of the different groups . . . and then eventually before I was going to leave [Guam] to go to the [United States] to start my [graduate degree] I joined [one of the Chamoru rights groups]. But . . . they're not really as active as they used to be. . . . [Then] when I went out to the [United States] and I started to make websites [and write about political issues facing Guam.] . . . [Eventually] with three of my friends . . .

[we] met . . . one night and we just said "you know what let's just have a conference where we bring all of the critical Chamorus together that we can get our hands on and they can do presentation and we'll just see what happens . . . " . . . And from there, it just kind of grew . . . (James, p. 11)

[When I was in college, I went to an event in Guam, and asked a well-known Chamoru rights activist if I could speak with him. He] said okay "I'll meet with you" and . . . I learned a lot from him . . . [I was also] getting to know the older activists and really hearing their stories. [Later,] . . . I stumbled across [the writings of another Chamoru rights activist and] I write to him right away and I'm like "oh my god this is exactly how I feel about everything." So then he invites me to a [meeting that his Chamoru rights group was hosting]. [I attended several other meetings and] we started our own [chapter of the Chamoru rights group in the state I was living in at the time] and then we would have events with other groups from [the state I was living in such as] anti-militarization groups . . . [Since] then, we've all been just working together. (Maria, pp. 12–13)

 2) Seeing a need for action. This theme includes the various issues and events that

participants saw as problems within the community of Guam that they could address through

activism. Six out of eight participants (75%) provided data for this theme.

[The first time I joined a Chamoru rights event was when a group] was staging protests against the planned acquisition [by the United States military] of Pagat for a firing range . . . (George, p. 7)

[One of the issues that got me interested in Chamoru rights movements] was this . . . impending [military] buildup [of Guam] . . . I started to make connections with [Guam's] political status and the injustices that were occurring. I think the buildup really made it pronounced . . . so when the buildup did come, it was just another imperialist type of occurrence . . . (Antonio, p. 2)

[A member of my Chamoru rights group was] involved in . . . resisting water privatization. . . . [At the time of a conference the group hosted,] the military build-up [of Guam] was just kind of starting [and] being talked about at that time. And so a lot of people were worried about that and . . . people came together to do presentations on the military buildup and there was stuff on history [and] on culture [too]. (James, p. 11)

[In college, I was learning about events in my community.] Guiterrez was governor . . . in 2000. That was the last time a plebiscite was supposed to occur. There was all this drama with [the Guam Power Authority] and all this corruption and gag order on all the government agencies under Guiterrez. It was nuts! And then there was the big [methamphetamine] epidemic, and then I was [also learning about these] war stories so I had a real genuine sense of what was happening in my community and [felt] something had to change. (Maria, p. 10)

[Joining my Chamoru rights group] was political. It's a political agenda, driven by language. Driven by the desire to see the language survive and thrive. So that was the original thing. That was the original concern about language. [Then] it . . . went into the politics at that time. The [Guam] constitution was being organized and [we thought,] "wow, there's something going on politically. Maybe a little bit of manipulation" and so then they said, "well let's fight it" so we fought it and we prevailed. Then after we prevailed . . . the issue was "well what is our political future going to be?" And then the important question is: who gets to decide that? So that led to [another Chamoru rights group]. (Matthew, p. 5)

I think the timeliness [of the] action [that was] needed [in Guam, was part of what encouraged us to create a Chamoru rights group]. . . . [Also,] most of us know to   what extent [others in the group] have vested in a particular issue because there are many issues. [For example, one person] was involved in the land issue. The Chamoru land trust issue . . . [We realized] we needed to act to make change. (Emily, pp. 14–15)

One participant out of eight (12.5%) spoke about specific relationships and public figures that

impacted his knowledge of issues in Guam and his subsequent joining of Chamoru rights groups.

[On Liberation day in Guam, I heard a DJ on the radio who was] . . . very outspoken against the status-quo. . . . [He] was talking about ideas of why calling it liberation itself is false. . . . [He] was talking about how America came into ownership of Guam and then I think, the thing he said was, "how do you sell something that isn't even yours?" [He was referring to] how the Spanish sold Guam to the U.S. and . . . that's what really stuck [with me]. (George, p. 8)

[A person I met as a child] talk[ed] to me about having a responsibility to the people [of Guam because of] how so many young people move off island and go to the states for better opportunities, for better educational opportunities and careers. But not enough people return back to Guam to contribute. . . . she had helped instill in me the idea that we're responsible to our community. (George, pp. 13–14)

3) Educational experiences. This theme focuses on the educational experiences that

influenced participants to join or learn about Chamoru rights groups, including events at

university, topics learned in school, and learning about specific issues facing the Chamoru

people. In total, six out of eight participants (75%) provided information for this theme.

I've been always promoting independence [and Chamoru rights] since the 70s because I knew about [issues the Chamoru people face,] being a student at [a university in Guam]. (Christopher, p. 12)

I learned a lot about colonialism in college . . . (Maria, p. 11)

[In] my college time. I protested the [Vietnam] war . . . I was involved in all of that. . . . I was an undergraduate and . . . the notion of intergenerational distrust, was so high. (Matthew, p. 19)

. . . when I went to college . . . there was a new president [at the college] and he changed the mission statement to where the entire education had to be focused or connect somehow to social justice. [This meant that] all my classes would come back to this social justice component [and] I was [writing] my research papers . . . [and] even in my creative writing classes I was always writing about [Guam]. . . . [I] learn[ed] about The School of the Americas and all of these Latin American countries [where] the U.S. funded dictators and killed all these people that disappeared. You know, I'm learning all this crazy stuff and I'm drawing it back to [Guam]. (Maria, pp. 10–11)

[Earlier in my life,] I signed myself into [a university in Guam]. . . . [Many of [the people in my Chamoru rights group] were in the same classes. . . . [A lot of my professors were] wondering themselves why [the Chamoru people] live in these conditions. So they [said] something is not quite right and then we start[ed] to question the university because in order to get into the English program here, I had to stand in front of an English professor and read a paragraph. [This] determined if I went in to EN101A or into speech therapy [Some were told they needed] remediation, because of the way [they] spoke . . . how can you determine that [based on] accent? You don't determine people's intelligence through accent. [So] these critical [perspectives] were being developed by my professors. (Emily, pp. 11–12)

Two out of eight participants (25%) spoke about members of Chamoru rights groups that visited

their undergraduate classes to provide information about the group.

The thing is, I was never really active with [this one Chamoru rights group when I was an undergrad]. I was more looking at the information that they produced and they pumped out. I did show up to one or two meetings, planning meetings or protest meetings. . . . I think I was very open to the information; I connected with their argument and reasons why they were protesting. I connected with the imagery, I connected with the people. (Antonio, p. 2)

[When] I was an undergraduate student . . . this was around the same time that [a Chamoru rights group] was staging protests against the planned acquisition of Pagat for a firing range . . . [Two] members of [that group] came to my class to give a presentation about what it would do to the environment and what it would mean to the cultural artifacts that are there and the very fact that that area of the island itself is sacred and that it . . . was one of the last Chamoru villages during Spanish occupation. So they came to my class to talk about collective action and how we could participate and so they passed around a sign-in sheet for volunteers. I signed up, I was very interested. (George, p. 7)

4) Careers and jobs leading to group membership. This theme focuses on career experiences

that impacted participants' choices to join a Chamoru rights group. The theme was identified

through the narratives of three out of eight participants (37.5%).

> I think as an indigenous [member of the media], not just a [member of the media], but as
> an indigenous [member of the media] here on Guam, I think it's my responsibility and the
> responsibility of other [members of the media] in practice to constantly question
> colonization, question the current framework, and shed light on these issues in a way that
> reframes the issue of decolonization. (George, p. 2)

> I think [part of me joining a Chamoru rights group was] because of . . . my role as a
> [member of the media] and I really owned that. I really loved telling these stories and
> every day, learning all these people's stories, so I felt very compelled. One, to continue to
> tell our story [as Chamoru people] and [two,] I started connecting the dots [in the
> community of Guam.] [As] I said . . . there was some political status education going on
> at that time because there was supposed to be a plebiscite. I understood at least the basics
> of colonization at that time [and] I saw [WWII], not in its "America's great, Japan's evil"
> [narrative] but I saw the complexities of [the Chamoru experience of WWII]. (Maria, p.
> 10)

> I was a [government official] at the time [when I joined my Chamoru rights group.] . . . I
> was told to go investigate a group of people blocking [a road in Guam.] [I] went there and
> investigated it, and you know as a [government official I wanted to] entertain the facts . .
> . So [I] . . . listen[ed] to both sides. [Later, the police] arrest[ed] them . . . at the direction
> of the chief of police at the time . . . [However, their group] came back a second and a
> third and a fourth time. . . . one day . . . I [told myself] . . . "you know what, I'm going to
> go up [to where they are protesting]" because we heard that [the Chamoru rights   group
> was] going to be up [at the road in Guam] later in the afternoon. And I'm gonna . . . go up
> there and talk to them. . . . I went up there and I sat with them right outside [the area I
> first met them.] . . . [They] were very suspicious of me, [asking me,] "Hey why are you
> here" and I said "You know I'm up here because I want to know . . . what's the
> movement." And that's something that I began to believe in, that afternoon. They decided
> to protest and I joined them. . . . [From] that day on I decided to be part of the [that
> Chamoru rights group]. (William, pp. 8–11)

Conclusion. Participants in this study elaborated on a number of experiences that

encouraged them to join their respective Chamoru rights groups. The most common avenue for

joining a Chamoru rights group for these participants was through informal means such as

personal relationships and community meetings. However, participants also acknowledged the

influence of experiences in education, career, and the community of Guam. As a whole, these themes suggest interconnected entrance points for joining the Chamoru rights groups in Guam.

Research Question 4: What is the Lived Experience of Being Active in Chamoru Rights Groups?

The research question for this section focuses on the lived experience of being active in Chamoru rights groups. It encompassed the actions, behaviors, and activities that participants engaged in while being a member of Chamoru rights groups. Further, it detailed some of the challenges faced by participants as a member of these groups. The themes identified for this research question describe the major types of activities engaged in, and make sense of the experiences shared by participants.

1) Educating oneself and others. This theme was composed of activities aimed at educating others about the issues facing the people of Guam. It also included stories about becoming educated about these issues from membership in their Chamoru rights group. All eight out of eight participants (100%) provided data for this theme.

> . . . activism isn't just necessarily protesting, which is valuable, but I also think that it's . . . building consciousness, educating, learning from each other, having . . . discussions. (Maria, p. 14)

> [In working with my Chamoru rights group, I've seen] the growth of people that are interested [in learning about topics that affect the people of Guam]. Knowing that every month there are new people having the kinds of conversations that they may never have really had before . . . gives me hope that the more and more people are learning about what's possible for [Guam], the more and more it will be possible. And people are really understanding that something has to change . . . It's shifting consciousness . . . [and] also bring[ing] out what they know too. (Maria, p. 18)

> [In the past, my Chamoru rights group] didn't have funding. . . . but [another member of the group] . . . said "what can we do?" So we [created] some hand outs . . . [and] we were always trying to discuss, what are some education things that we could do. . . . [We also decided] we need to do . . . public awareness stuff. (Antonio, pp. 12–13)

Five out of eight participants (62.5%) spoke about their Chamoru rights group providing

education to the general public about topics that affect the people of Guam.

> . . . we use education [in my Chamoru rights group and] education should be used to change our community in a positive way. (Antonio, p. 16)

> [My Chamoru rights group has meetings that include] an educational component but it's also a space where our larger membership can come and participate. [At these meetings, a member of our group will do a] presentation on a relevant topic that the community is interested in and we take a look at that topic and explore how things would be through [decolonization in Guam] . . . (Maria, pp. 20–21)

> [Being a part of my Chamoru rights group, I learned to] do what I could to teach and share what I know with people so that they can make a more informed and educated decision based on . . . whatever information I can share with them. (William, p. 19)

> [Just] being around the discussion [in my Chamoru rights group], it brings a lot of information to me . . . it's made me think differently, I think it's made me a better professional in my work [and] better informed. (Antonio, p. 17)

> [One way my Chamoru rights group is helping the community is by teaching Chamoru] orthography . . . [this includes] teaching [people] about the Chamoru language and how it's written . . . (Emily, p. 18)

> [One thing my Chamoru rights group did was introduce] the word "indigenous" into the political vocabulary in Guam which heretofore it had never been . . . and the impact of it is incredible. [To the point that] everything is indigenous now. Indigenous this, [indigenous that,] appeals to indigenous authenticity. It's all organized around that and we were the first ones to use it and articulate it. (Matthew, p. 11)

> [In my Chamoru rights group] a lot of our work was centered on organizing the community to comment on [a document created by the United States military] . . . and to respond to the plans in the [document], so it was very organized in the sense that we took information from the [document], made it more easily available to the community, helped them fill out comments [and] collect[ed] it. (Maria, pp. 22–23)

Four out of eight participants (50%) in this study felt that they learned about issues facing the

people of Guam through activities that were part of their Chamoru rights groups.

> [Being a part of my Chamoru rights group] led me to believe and read more about what happened during [the Japanese occupation in WWII]. The atrocities that happened during the war. It all had to do with the occupation of Guam. Guam being a strategic military location. And I learned more of family members that died or were beaten during the war. (William, p. 12)

[As part of my Chamoru rights group I learned that how] government works is very interesting. I mean, just to see how laws are written . . . (Antonio, p. 16)

Back in the early 90s . . . [my Chamoru rights group] came across a lot of information that these lands [in Guam controlled by the United States military] were actually declared excess [by the United States military]. . . . [We] were wondering why, if they're declared excess, why aren't they being returned back [to the people of Guam]? (William, p. 6)

[My Chamoru rights group] found out about Chamoru land trust [which is related to issues of land ownership in Guam]. [An individual in the public] and told [us] that if [we] want something to fight for, here it is. . . . And then from there, we [learned about the topics of] ancestral land, the military. The excess lands [not returned to the Chamoru people and taken by the United States military]. (Christopher, p. 15)

[I went to a conference where people from colonized countries] went around the room and everybody shared all of the "common sense" that is thrown back at them [by colonizing powers to tell them that they cannot decolonize], but . . . the importance of the exercise though is that none of it is actually essentially true. [I learned that there] are big huge countries with lots of natural resources in which their populations are very poor. There are small countries which have poor populations, there are small countries which have rich populations. There are big countries that have rich populations. There's no calculus which says one or the other [is required for decolonization]. (James, p. 21)

Two participants spoke about attaining a formal education as being a part of their activism in

their Chamoru rights groups.

I can contribute to the movement in the way I know how, which is educating myself [and] putting myself in a position of influence. [This partly includes] gently really talking about [issues facing the people of Guam], correcting, [and correcting the] misinformation [of others]. (Antonio, pp. 4–5)

I feel like my [university] education has put me in a position where I have time. [For example,] I could [advocate at] the governor's office [during business hours] because I don't do a time card . . . [and] I have the privilege to use my annual leave and not have to sweat it. . . . I just felt that education [has] allow[ed] me leeway to contribute [during working hours] . . . [It has also allowed me to be] able to contribute ideas . . . (Antonio, p. 16)

. . . I think . . . furthering my education [through university study] would be . . . my way of contributing [to the community of Guam] in a sense. . . . I was like . . . I think I need to get an education . . . all with the goal of [addressing] these issues and the injustices [in Guam] . . . in whatever capacity I could address it. . . . And then through the coursework and just seeing how things work, already I think the classes that [I took] . . . addressed the broader issues. (Antonio, p. 3)

I ended my bachelor's with a capstone [that included research related to Chamoru rights groups.] . . . [My graduate degree] is also focused on [research that can benefit Chamoru rights groups.] . . . [Unfortunately,] you can't make a living off being an activist [meaning that] there were also economic reasons why I wanted to pursue a bachelor's and a [graduate degree, such as needing to make a living. However, for me,] there's always a desire to sort of mend [my activism and career]. And if I was going to be doing this research, [I wanted it to] . . . actually [benefit] the organization and then the community. (George, pp. 10–11)

2) Protesting. Protesting was defined as public activities with the goal of increasing awareness of issues facing the people of Guam. It included rallies, public protests, and public events. In total, seven out of eight participants (87.5%) had narratives that corresponded to this theme.

[For] Chamorus [in Chamoru rights groups] it's been nice to see how we've evolved in a certain way and that the culture has expanded and created more breathing room so that you can protest. That you can speak out and there are still maybe negative ramifications, consequences . . . but nothing like the way it used to be. (James, p. 6)

I believe activism has to have some sort of . . . position attached. [Meaning,] influencing change in a public way . . . whether it's through writing a letter to the editor . . . doing a presentation . . . or whether it's through protesting, showing up and doing a protest. There's some sort of [sense] that you're making a statement publicly to effect change. (Antonio, p. 6)

So we just got together and said, "Let's do this. Let's protest [a major newspaper in Guam]" So we went out in front of the [newspaper's] building and we had I'd say close to 300 people there. (Matthew, p. 6)

[In gathering participants for protests,] we went to the villages [of Guam] and [would] just take a microphone and put it in [a] pick-up truck and blast it off that way. Of course when we go into the village you pay your respects to the mayor. . . . [On the day of our protest,] our elders came. We marched against [a major newspaper in Guam]. . . . 700 of us went around . . . and we gathered in front of the [major newspaper's headquarters]. (Emily, p. 13)

[There were many] protest[s] that [my Chamoru rights group] held. I participated . . . in it . . . because of [its] rightfulness. [I felt that] because it's right, it has to be done. [Also,] I've studied American history . . . a lot of laws are changed because of protest. . . . We had a purpose for the protest. To correct the wrongs [against the people of Guam and] make it become public knowledge. (Christopher, p. 19)

If it weren't for [people in my Chamoru rights] group, then we'd still have a lot of families that are still displaced. . . . [Their lands were returned because of our] protesting. [Our] civil disobedience. When [we] believed in something [we] stood their ground. . . . If it took [Our Chamoru rights group] to fast, to not eat for a certain amount of days, for the government to act on something, [we] did it. . . Several times we occupied the front lot of [a Government of Guam building] just to be heard. (William, pp. 14–15)

There's only a small handful of us that are the main organizing group, but we pull off some really big stuff. Even [a rally related to Chamoru rights], we had [around] 600 people there. And it's always like, we put in so much work into something and we don't really know what's going to happen, then when people show up and they it's really a success you're like "wow, this is amazing." (Maria, pp. 17–18)

Two out of eight participants (25%) in this study added to this theme by speaking about how protest as part of their Chamoru rights groups taught them to be vocal even when they were alone.

[Being a part of my Chamoru rights group] made me become public. Be able to stand up and say my words out . . . [and] to stand up in front by myself on a protest. . . . [It] gave me that confidence, that's what [my Chamoru rights group] did. (Christopher, p. 19)

And since that day [that I had a spiritual experience with my Chamoru rights group,] it's always been ingrained in me to somehow stand up for the rights of the Chamoru people. It's a God given right that we're able to live off our own land, practice our own culture, and preserve our culture, perpetuate our culture for our future generations, for our kids. [Did] you hear [about a contemporary issue that faces the Chamoru people?] . . . I was the only one that protested. . . . [Even so,] since 1992, it's always been ingrained in me that if there's an issue that stands up for Chamoru rights or Chamoru culture, that I'm gonna try and be there. (William, p. 11)

3) Writing as resistance. Four out of eight participants (50%) identified public writings as a part of their lived experience of being in a Chamoru rights group.

[A] skill that was cultivated in [me while I was in Chamoru rights groups was] that . . . I could write. A tract or a document was much easier for me to do than for most people. (Matthew, p. 21)

I was the guy who was writing letters to the editor every week. I was speaking out. (Matthew, p. 15)

So I learned a lot about colonialism in college and then that whole time I [was writing publicly and] when I became vocal through my writing then a lot of the older activists . . . would be like "keep it up girl" or "I like what you wrote." (Maria, p. 11)

. . . when I work with younger activists . . . I'm always [telling them,] "look one of the best ways to get started is, even though the papers don't publish as much anymore, write a letter to the editor of the paper and put yourself out there." The papers are primarily, still primarily read by older people who you may be worried that they are going to judge you or they are going to reprimand you for doing this. (James, p. 16)

I think as an indigenous [member of the media], not just a [member of the media], but as an indigenous [member of the media] here on Guam, I think it's my responsibility and the responsibility of other [members of the media] in practice to constantly question colonization, question the current framework, and shed light on these issues in a way that reframes the issue of decolonization. (George, p. 2)

4) Support activities. Support activities were identified as miscellaneous tasks such as signing people up for rallies, fundraising, and planning. This theme was identified through the stories of four out of eight participants (50%) in this study.

[One thing I did as part of my work at my Chamoru rights group was create] hand outs and . . . I [also] organized this [public event]. (Antonio, p. 12)

[One thing our Chamoru rights groups] were doing [was organizing] cultural hikes. (Antonio, p. 7)

[In my Chamoru rights group] whenever there were public events and stuff, like hikes . . . I would help like with logistics and stuff. Setting up and then talking to people and passing out sign-up sheets and stuff. (George, p. 11)

[In my Chamoru rights group I] help with yearly planning and stuff . . . [I] help plan things out and [we] think about the general direction of the organization . . . (George, p. 12)

[As part of my Chamoru rights group, I] did petitions, and went to all these community events to get people [in Guam] to the military's public hearings, government public hearings, and anywhere we could help facilitate community voice in an already defined process. (Maria, p. 23)

[In my Chamoru rights group, we] had a couple of meetings every now and then [which included] what are we going to do, who's gonna testify, who's gonna go, who's gonna write letters, how are we gonna raise money. Just kind of organizational things. (Matthew, p. 11)

Personally, I try to do at least one thing for [my Chamoru rights group] a day. . . . [It] could be as simple as sending an email or following up on [one]. . . . So every [few] weeks [members of my Chamoru rights group] meet and then we can go through what are our upcoming events and we each sort of take on different roles. . . . [A role] can be

anything like helping to secure a performer for the concert or creating a research document for one of my committee members to prepare a presentation or editing or contributing to [a] document. . . . [For example, in one event] I led the trainings for our volunteers . . . but then other members of [my Chamoru rights group] were organizing the food, and accepting donations, and getting them to the caterers to get the food. And others were organizing the music, and others were actually seeking out the volunteers, and we have a media committee that does all of the social media and the emailing and all of that. (Maria, pp. 20–21)

5) Challenges faced by activists. This theme centered on the difficult experiences shared by participants in being a member of their Chamoru rights groups. All eight out of eight participants (100%) spoke about difficulties experienced by themselves or others. Four out of eight participants (50%) spoke about conflicts with family or time required for raising a family as a potential difficulty faced by members of Chamoru rights groups.

I just wish that at the time when [the leader of my Chamoru rights group] got sick that someone, including myself, would have had more courage to step up and put your love and your service for your island, your people first like he did. At the time if I had to choose between my island and my people over my kids, over my family, it would have been my family. . . . Looking back, I wish I would have had the courage, not to abandon my family, but to put my people and my island first. (William, p. 18)

I stepped back [from my Chamoru rights group] because I had to finish . . . my grad program [and also] found out that my partner was pregnant. So . . . I was busy with the baby. (Antonio, p. 13)

. . . you can speak out [but] there are still [potential] consequences, you know your cousin who's in the national guard may not talk to you or something like that, but nothing like the way it used to be. (James, p. 6)

. . . it's almost a rite of passage. . . . Where you're exposed to a lot of new ideas, new ways of thinking about existing issues and there are ways that challenge the dominant discourse. You know, if your entire family and if you yourself have been told that America was the greatest example of democracy in the world and they are liberators, they came and saved us . . . if that's the dominant discourse, and then all of a sudden you come home, you're been taking a few classes and one day you say I think in my instance I [told my family], "do you guys think they should be building a firing range at [a village in Guam]? Here's why I think they shouldn't, I've just learned they have all these [ancient Chamoru artifacts] there. It was one of the last ancestral villages and not to mention the aquifer, the environmental reasons why there shouldn't be a firing range." And [when I] all of a sudden [came] home with all that . . . [my family was absolutely furious]. (George, p. 9)

Three out of eight participants (37.5%) spoke about difficulty sustaining interest in activities

related to Chamoru rights.

> [After the leader of my Chamoru rights group] passed away [we] lost the right direction. . . . They did a couple of protests [after our leader passed away] but the leadership at the time didn't have the intellect, in my opinion. The intellect that [our leader] possessed and the passion and the strategy on how to approach things. (William, p. 16)

> . . . I guess what happened was that . . . when [the leaders passed away,] there was no sense of direction, no leadership. Everyone had their own ways of wanting to do things [so] the group just decided that, "hey, we still exist but we're not gonna be as active as we were [in the past]." (William, p. 18)

> Through [the leader's] own charisma, he [was] able to carry . . . out [positive changes in Guam]. But it was a charismatic effort. Once his charisma was gone [and he passed away,] there's nothing left. (Matthew, p. 13)

> [A difficult part of being in my Chamoru rights group is] that change can be slow. . . . I think that for a lot of people when the moment is urgent, it's very easy to [be] engage[d.] [For example, a recent court case made it so that] people were really engaged . . . but then [the case] went to appeal and it's taken so much time and those kind of people fade out. . . . [Still] it created a moment, and people really work in these moments and then it's really hard to sustain the moment, so I feel like one of the big obstacles for us is . . . [that] there are a lot of people who are like "well this doesn't really matter yet." (Maria, pp. 18–19)

> . . . a very difficult part of being in [a Chamoru rights] movement [in Guam] is that it . . . can be disempowering. No matter what kind of activism the community does, the [United States] military will continue to move forward with their plans because we are an unincorporated territory. So that is probably the most difficult thing and for a lot of people, it does make it hard to continue to do this work if you are kind of like "well does it even matter?" (Maria, p. 20)

Four out of eight participants (50%) provided information about personal attacks they or others

they know received as members of a Chamoru rights group.

> See, I've had [people stare at me]. [At the] shopping mall [and places] like that. Too many of them. . . . Why? Because I'm speaking [the Chamoru] language and guess who [it] came from, those stares. Native [Chamorus]. (Christopher, p. 17)

> I got out [of a Chamoru rights group] because they wanted me to stop saying those words [I.e. Chamoru independence] . . . I just didn't like that they . . . weren't promoting independence. (Christopher, p. 18)

. . . [When my Chamoru rights organization] was very active . . . I was being really killed by the press, by the press organization on Guam here because I became very outspoken. And they had a [program], aimed to embarrass me. To shame me, to shut me up. (Emily, p. 13)

I heard all these things like you're disloyal, the FBI's gonna follow you around, your life is going to be ruined forever. You're never gonna amount to anything. You know, they're gonna attack you and they're gonna follow you around. (Matthew, p. 8)

So one thing that I've often been criticized for in the past is, in Chamoru they say *malate lo ti ton ton* and that means "smart, but not wise." And so people will say, oh yeah James is smart but he's not wise. Meaning that he's got things to say, he may have some smart stuff to say, but he's not rooted [in Chamoru culture]. People don't say that as much anymore, but they used to . . . (James, pp. 9–10)

[Another activist I know] gets it a little bit more where people kind of attack [them] or [people will say to them], "you know, you're so ungrateful" or whatever. (Maria, p. 15)

. . . in the previous generation of activists . . . one of the big criticisms of them was that they were all "half-breeds." They were all *mestisos* . . . so people would criticize them and say "you're only engaging in political activism because you don't know who you are." So they would [be told,] "you have an identity crisis." (James, p. 10)

[My Chamoru rights group] got a lot of nasty mail, "you're un-American" "you're racist, you're this, you're that." Yeah, but we survived. (Matthew, p. 14)

Like one of the main things is talking to people. People are always talking to me . . . even [at times when] I don't want people to talk to me. . . . and talk . . . sometimes for long periods of time. And every once in a while, at least once a week, one of them will be somebody who does not like me. . . . [This could be someone who will] argue with me, or get mad at me, and . . . [even though]I do get a lot of positive feedback . . . I also do get negative feedback in the form of people posting things on social media or people sending me things directly. (James, p. 16)

Conclusion. This section provided information on the lived experience of being active in Chamoru rights groups. In total, five themes were identified for this research question. The themes for this section outlined the activities that participants engaged in as members of their Chamoru rights groups such as providing education, protesting, and participating in supporting activities. It also explored some of the challenges faced by participants in their Chamoru rights

groups. Overall, it appeared that members of Chamoru rights groups in Guam engage in a range of activities that contribute to bringing issues that face the people of Guam to the general public.

Research Question 5: What are the Meanings Ascribed to Political Action for Individuals Who Take Part in Chamoru Rights Groups?

An important component of being part of a Chamoru rights group is the meaning that is connected with activities and membership. The meaning found within these social practices help in understanding the "why" of behavior. They also allow for the exploration of interpretations made by participants about their own behaviors. In this section, themes were identified for the question "What are the Meanings Ascribed to Political Action for Individuals Who Take Part in Chamoru Resistance Groups?" These themes examine the aspirations, feelings, and moral understandings perceived by participants through activism in Chamoru rights groups.

1) Making changes in the community of Guam. This first theme focuses on the sense of accomplishment gained from making positive changes to the community of Guam and providing education about issues the people of Guam face. It was identified through the narratives of all eight out of eight participants (100%).

> I think activism, it provides a structure [and] it provides a purpose for me. It helps me feel that what I'm doing could actually impact things on a larger scale. (George, p. 17)

> I always learn from everything I do. And also hopefully we made an impact. And hopefully then other people learned you can [make a difference]. And people think that [Chamoru rights movements are] always more complex than it actually is. . . . It's not complex. It takes tenacity. It takes devoting a lot of hours to it. And if you're willing to do it, then you do it. (Matthew, p. 21)

> I appreciate the discussion and the care and the positive energy that goes into just the [Chamoru rights] movement [as well as the] hopes of creating a [positive] society in the future, especially for my daughter, or for my relative's kids, whoever. Just creating a positive society that's based on peace and not fear. Based on justice, based on reconciliation . . . so that's what it means to me. (Antonio, p. 16)

[What was meaningful to me was] knowing that it's something that would make things better. It's knowing that things are going to get better, because I lived during harsh times. . . . If home is a place you go to feel good, and this is something that everybody believes in, why is it that in our home [the Chamoru people are] the ones that are not feeling good? We make the most mistakes, we're the most incarcerated. To this day, we're the most misinterpreted by the media. . . . For me, as much as I can, I will do to make my home a place where my grandchildren, great grandchildren will feel good. It's a natural yearning of a human being. (Emily, p. 15)

[One thing that has been meaningful to me is the] growth of people that are interested [in learning about topics that affect the people of Guam]. Knowing that every month there are new people having the kinds of conversations that they may never have really had before. It gives me hope that the more and more people are learning about what's possible for our island, the more and more it will be possible [for Guam]. And people are really understanding that something has to change . . . (Maria, p. 18)

Well, it's something that of course I'll never ever forget. [It] was something that I'll take with me to my grave, to the day I die, and as issues continue to face our island in terms of like issues of decolonization and political status, that I'm gonna do what I could to teach and share what I know with people. So that they can make a more informed and educated decision based on whatever little or whatever information I can share with them. (William, p. 19)

[I told a citizen of Belau,] I think that you should reject all considerations from the [American] military when it concerns your island because they want to bring in their nuclear powered ships . . . and they will empty their waste into your waters. I see that . . . you depend on your waters for your . . . sustainable [economy]. And if the American military comes in here, they [will not have] respect for your waters. They did it in Guam. They've dumped over 55 gallon drums worth of nuclear waste into the harbor and . . . if you think . . . America's going to have respect for you, and not dump their nuclear waste in your water, which you depend on, for your economic finance stability, they will not . . . [That individual] was always [for allowing the United States military in to Belau,] but all of a sudden, got everybody by surprise, he stopped. . . . He [publicly] went from pro to anti. . . . [At the time,] I didn't know that I . . . caused that. [But when I found out,] that knowledge made me happy. (Christopher, pp. 21–22)

[For] me what's really exciting is being able to look back at how things have changed and then think about how I may have played a small role in that change. . . . [People have shared] stories with me [that show me these changes. For] example, one of the things that . . . I . . . like is that over the past two years, a number of people that are over the age of 80, elders . . . want to talk to me about decolonization. And some of them think independence is a great idea for Guam and that we could totally do it. And for me, I'm like "wow, that's cool" and then I think about it and I'm like, people who supported independence in the past kept it very quiet because it wasn't popular. . . . So it's nice because the conversation has changed, some of them can come out and now talk about it. . . . And . . . what's super exciting and super rewarding is seeing the conversation change

to the point where the things that were considered radical and crazy that I first started learning about can become commonplace and accepted and embraced by a lot of people. . . . We don't live in fear the way that we used to live. (James, p. 18)

2) **Finding a sense of purpose.** This theme features the feeling of purpose that

participants attributed to their membership and activities in Chamoru rights groups. The theme

was identified in the data from four out of eight participants (50%).

I think what's meaningful is that it is giving me something to do [for my people.] . . . I appreciate the discussion and the care and the positive energy that goes into just the movement. The hopes of creating a [positive] society in the future . . . (Antonio, p. 16)

[Being a part of my Chamoru rights group] was something that I lived for every day. . . . Because it brought me back and it made me read more about how our ancestors lived and how important the land was to our ancestors. . . . Being part of [the group] taught me and led me to know more about our island and its people and where they came from, 4,000 years ago. (William, p. 12)

Yes, [I realized] that we needed to act to make change. Because our life is short and once you get involved in it, it really . . . becomes a part of who you are. It becomes part of your identity . . . and that gives purpose and meaning to my life today. (Emily, p. 15)

[There] is a longing for a lot of people I think to want to know that your work means something. And I think that's a disconnect, especially under capitalism where people do [work] that mean[s] nothing. . . . I think on a larger level people want to work in something [where] their work is valuable and to have a purpose. I think activism, it provides a structure [and] it provides a purpose for me. It helps me feel that what I'm doing could actually impact things on a larger scale. (George, p. 17)

3) **Passing on moral understandings.** Three out of eight participants (37.5%) spoke

about moral understandings that they have passed on to their children. This included transmitting

the importance of issues facing the people of Guam and an understanding of the Chamoru

identity.

Gosh, [one success I've had is] making more Chamorus: 5 children. And I encourage our kids to continue [my work in Chamoru rights]. (Emily, p. 18)

Well, it's taught me . . . to share my knowledge with my kids. I don't force it on them. But I try to talk to them a lot about it. I remind them [of] the struggles that it took to be where you're at. I remind them of the struggles that their ancestors went through for them to be here. And although we don't live in a perfect world, that you gotta be thankful for God

making you a Chamoru. And what you do with it, it's up to you. You go on, you live your own life, but don't even forget where you came from. (William, pp. 17–18)

So we have already groomed many of the young ones, and they themselves are now carrying the torch. (Emily, p. 20)

[It has been meaningful to see] that there are these younger people that are now also doing their own thing [such a hosting a debate about decolonization on Guam]. And that they're also speaking out and . . . that . . . more and more people really understand what colonization is and want to be engaged in the process of decolonizing. I think that we've really contributed to a major change for community, to have an entire debate focused on decolonization, that's huge. And I know that that's because these students recognize that this is something that matters. Knowing that we are a part of the conversation that's taken place to put it at the center. We're not the only ones responsible for it, there's a lot of people but know that the work we're doing is making enough of a difference that other people are organizing something like that debate. (Maria, p. 18)

Conclusion. Engaging in Chamoru resistance groups was described as a deeply meaningful activity for participants in this study. For some, this meaning was derived from recognizing the positive changes that were occurring in the community of Guam as a result of their activism. Others felt a strong sense of purpose from engaging in the activities of their Chamoru rights groups as well as the moral understandings they were able to pass on to their children. The three themes found in this section organized these experiences of participants and the stories they told about the meaning they constructed as members of Chamoru rights groups.

Research Question 6: What Kind of Community is Built Around Chamoru Rights Groups? How is it Built?

Chamoru rights groups can be thought of as a community. In order to understand the lived experience of members of Chamoru rights groups in context, it is important to examine the structure and organization of these communities. This research question focuses on the kind of community built by Chamoru rights groups and how they are built. The themes identified for this research question describe the social terrain found in the communities of Chamoru rights groups while also describing the community formed by these groups.

1) Structure of the community. Eight out of eight participants (100%) contributed to this theme, and it is composed of information about the structure and organization of Chamoru rights groups. This includes roles played by members, the informal nature of these organizations, and the larger context that members of Chamoru rights groups are enmeshed in. Five out of eight participants (62.5%) described their Chamoru rights groups as informal but tied to larger movements.

> At first, it was just local people, people like me, trying to make a living, getting together. (Christopher, p. 15)

> Yeah, it was pretty informal. You know we organized for whatever event we needed to organize for. (Matthew, p. 13)

> . . . you know, many people see [my Chamoru rights group] as an ad hoc group because we're not really a formalized group where we have constitutions and by-laws. We just don't subscribe to that. That's not our island way. Our island way is, most of us know each other, most of us know to what extent we have vested in a particular issue . . . And so we . . . sprung up out of nowhere and then we decided we better put our energy together. (Emily, p. 14)

> [When] you think about the structure and the dynamics of social movement organizations, they're not . . . rigid. You don't have to sign up, you don't have to create a new application . . . to have a social movement organization. There isn't like a board of directors or anything. Everything tends to be very fluid. (George, p. 7)

> . . . for working class people, for people who aren't born into politics or born into capital, your entry points for political engagement are pretty limited. But social movements, they make it accessible to almost everyone. (George, p. 13)

> . . . I think [the Chamoru people] connect with other minority groups or other indigenous [groups]. . . . It's a global struggle. And I think part of being Chamoru means . . . being aware of Hawaiian sovereignty. Part of being Chamoru is not just knowing your culture here in the Marianas, but how we relate to the rest of the world. . . . So it's important that we see where our place is in the Marianas but also how we relate to the rest of the world . . . and how we fit in. (Antonio, p. 18)

Four out of eight participants (50%) spoke about the use of meetings to distribute tasks, build community, and define strategy to members.

[I know a Chamoru rights] group that [has the] capacity to make changes. Positive changes in and of themselves, and I have attended one or two of their meetings. They support each other . . . there's that coming together, the camaraderie, the belonging, that sense of belonging for something good. (Emily, p. 22)

[In my Chamoru rights group, we] had a couple of meetings every now and then [which included] what are we going to do, who's gonna testify, who's gonna go, who's gonna write letters, how are we gonna raise money. Just kind of organizational things. (Matthew, p. 11)

You just call people up and you say "hey, you want to come here and we'll have a meeting" and they did. You know, we had no place to meet so we met here at the University, different places. Sometimes we'd meet in public buildings . . . (Matthew, p. 14)

[In my Chamoru rights group,] we identify . . . what . . . the things that we do in the community [are] and then who does those things best and how do we split the work so that not too much work falls on one person. [If we didn't do that,] certain things just don't get done because we assume someone else is doing it. So in terms of the organization here, I think that we figured out a way to make it so that nobody is feeling too overworked and so that the things we need to get done are consistently being done. (Maria, p. 22)

I think what really works for this group and why it's really fun to be part of it is that we all have very clear and defined roles, but then we also carry the larger load of work that falls outside of those roles. . . . So I think it's really successful because there's a lot of accountability to each other and respect and admiration and love that we have for each other. But then also a very deep rooted belief in what we're doing. We understand the importance of what we're doing and I think that really drives us. (Maria, p. 22)

. . . you have to think, when you are a community activist . . . is it about ego or is it about effectiveness? Which "e" is it? . . . [Ego], leads you to kind of speak out, take up a cause, but ego often is the enemy of effectiveness because ego tends to be the end of strategy. Because if your ego is too strong, you don't think about the context. You kind of just go on in and you just do whatever you want and say whatever you want, because your ego tells you, "We're right. Our message is good. Our message is pure. Everyone will follow us." And then, when people don't follow you, your ego tell you "well, they're just colonized. They just don't know what they're talking about." But the problem really is that you aren't reaching people because your ego is getting in the way. You may have a message which they would like to hear, but if they feel like the message is just you, and they're asking to . . . buy in to you, then most people will say "nah, it's okay I'm gonna pass." You may get a few . . . disciples, but you will never get a larger group to follow you. . . . And so that's why there's a difference between being . . . aggressive and . . . speaking loudly. You can speak loudly but you can still speak respectfully and you can still engage if you speak too loudly and too aggressive then you're just gonna push most people away. So that experience then led me to then . . . learn from those mistakes and

basically think more strategically. So . . . right now we talk about [my Chamoru rights group] as being a sort of a place of empowering and prosperous possibilities. (James, pp. 12–13)

Three out of eight participants (37.5%) spoke about Chamoru rights groups that were organized around specific events in the community.

> We served [a specific] purpose. We put in [a] commission and now many of us who were in [my Chamoru rights group later] became members of [another Chamoru rights group]. (Emily, p. 18)

> But [my Chamoru rights group] were always . . . just organized around events. . . . We were trying to convey a message and then trying to convey the message wherever we could. We had meetings, we'd invite people, we'd give speeches, and I don't know whether people bought them or [not] . . . We weren't a political movement that could say "alright we're gonna get 500 people out on the street here." I don't think we were ever that. (Matthew, p. 19)

> . . . I've been in [Chamoru rights] groups where sometimes the work is very specific to a particular event, so for example with [one Chamoru rights group], a lot of our work was centered on organizing the community to comment on [a document provided by the United States military]. And to respond to the plans in the [document], so it was very organized in the sense that we took information from the [document], made it more easily available to the community, helped them fill out comments, collect it. And then also did petitions, and went to all these community events to get people to the military's public hearings, government public hearings, and anywhere we could help facilitate community voice in an already defined process. But at the same time, that level of community commitment is difficult to sustain because it's very specific to a particular process that expired, it had a deadline. (Maria, pp. 22–23)

In contrast, two out of eight participants (25%) spoke about Chamoru rights groups with larger, more lasting issues as a focus, such as decolonization.

> . . . with [my current Chamoru rights group], you're looking at something that isn't gonna expire, it's something that impacts all our lives and we're not responding to something, we're proposing [decolonization and independence] as an option for our community as a solution to all of these things that we're struggling with. (Maria, p. 23)

> So there's so many different ways to approach the idea of decolonization that you [can] bring it up to people and talk about it in ways that they don't even think about. So for example, since the election of the new legislature and the new governor, whenever people talk to me I just try to plant in their heads "you know, this is a time where we can really take a look at some of these systems we've got on island which aren't serving us." Where we could really try to put in some laws which take advantage of our being an island but

also don't live in denial about us being an island. That don't pretend we're just an extension of the United States, and so and then people are like "Yeah that's true" you know, just planting those ideas and you don't have to talk about decolonization or independence but it's embedded in what I'm saying. (James, p. 17)

Four out of eight participants (50%) spoke about being approached in public about their activities as members of Chamoru rights groups.

I had a lot more notoriety in those days, I was like the whipping boy for people who didn't like the way things were going [in the community of Guam]. . . . And then people would have arguments in their families, and they'd call me up. They'd say, "can you come down to our house" and I'd think, "no, I'm not going down to your house." (Matthew, p. 15)

[At the time business owners were digging up ancient Chamoru remains to build hotels] . . . sometimes [people at work], they know that [I was a member of a Chamoru rights group]. And so they'll [say], " . . . you should to go down there to take a look because I was there last weekend and my mom saw bones" . . . These are not just bones. These are remains of a people, of perhaps our people who were not colonized. They were free people and they represent something to us today. (Emily, p. 19)

Like one of the main things is talking to people. People are always talking to me [in public] . . . even [at times when] I don't want people to talk to me . . . and talk . . . sometimes for long periods of time. (James, p. 16)

. . . the more and more I spoke out, the more people talked to me. Everywhere I go. So if I'm at the store, if I'm at a funeral, if I'm at anywhere . . . I get approached by people. They may not always agree with me, but for the most part, especially lately, it's been very much "keep doing what you're doing," "thank you," "I agree with you," or "I can't speak like that, but I'm happy you are." . . . and if people don't agree, they want to have a conversation about it. They want to kind of be like "Well what about this or have you thought about that." So sometimes . . . I have to be like . . . "Okay I'm grocery shopping" [and] "uhh...[I need to go]" . . . but at the same time I understand the value of stopping and talking to people and knowing that, you know, putting yourself out there means more people will be willing to at the end of the day. (Maria, p. 15)

2) Social practices that build community. The second theme in this section focuses on answering how the community described previously is built. This theme features the social practices and experiences that were identified to increase participants' feelings of community as well as practices in the community that have been changed through activism by Chamoru rights groups. All eight out of eight participants in this study (100%) contributed to this theme. Seven

out of eight participants (87.5%) provided data for involving the community in activism and

discussion as social practices for building community in Chamoru rights groups.

> Everybody's voice matters . . . (Maria, p. 14)

> I appreciate the discussion and the care and the positive energy that goes into just the movement. (Antonio, p. 16)

> [I appreciated] just be[ing] able to open up . . . talk about the damages, the problems [the people of Guam face.] Because a lot of times, I'll come up with the questions. . . . And [we would be] discussing it in groups. (Christopher, p. 17)

> [Being a part of my Chamoru rights group is something] I'll never ever forget. [As] issues continue to face our island in terms of like issues of decolonization and political status . . . I'm gonna do what I could to teach and share what I know with people. So that they can make a more informed and educated decision based on whatever . . . information I can share with them. (William, p. 19)

> . . . when you're talking to people and trying to engage with them, you have to allow them space to think and to process and to take ownership over something. You gotta . . . talk about it in a way that they can see themselves in this idea and not just tell them: take it or leave it, this is mine. (James, p. 13)

> Oh yeah, I mean, so there's that community aspect to it right. I'm not a psychologist but . . . it's helped with processing trauma and coming to terms with my own experiences as an indigenous person in a colony and the militarization [of Guam]. (George, p. 15)

> . . . we are just a facilitator. We are just people who care about this issue and we want you to think about it and learn about it and we will educate and we will do these things in the community so that people know [what's going on]. . . . And so . . . we speak in ways in which we're trying to be engaging or trying to share ideas . . . [and] we want to know from them, and talk to them and hear from them. (James, p. 15)

> [In my Chamoru rights group], a lot of our efforts have really been not just showing up and being like "here's how you should think about it" but rather "here's some things we've learned, what do you think about it? What can you contribute to the conversation?" Because I think if you approach it like, constantly, "this is everything we know" then people are going to feel isolated or [that] they don't have anything to bring. [For example, in my group we] break up in a way that everybody's voice can be heard because I think with everybody, we're all witnessing and experiencing this and we all have ideas of how things could be better and it's like once you engage people in that way, in that way they're engaging in activism. (Maria, p. 14)

> . . . we've figured out ways to engage people and . . . attract new people in different [ways], [such as by having] many different kinds of events. . . . Our work has to continue

but it is a matter of, how do we get our community to draw the parallels, right? So when there's a financial crisis [in Guam] as a result of Trump's tax cuts, it's colonization. This is why we need to decolonize, but it's not always that simple, for people in their mind. (Maria, p. 19)

[In gathering participants for protests,] we went to the villages [of Guam] and [would] just take a microphone and put it in [a] pick-up truck and blast it off that way. Of course when we go into the village you pay your respects to the mayor. They are the community leaders of that village. You get their permission, they tell the people ahead of time [when we will be in the village] . . . and our elders came. (Emily, p. 13)

One way that Chamoru rights groups build community is through shaping the community and

social practices of Guam as a whole through activism. This was spoken about by four out of

eight participants (50%) in this study.

[One thing my Chamoru rights group did was create] a five year residency for running for office. Five year residency for voting and limits on immigration. So we put that out, we mailed out questionnaires, brochures, did a mass mail out. (Matthew, p. 13)

[One thing I helped to do as part of my Chamoru rights group was create] the Chamoru registry for cultural purposes. . . . [We] created a Chamoru registry so that the Chamoru people would have a place, even if it's just their name on a list where they identify as Chamoru. (Emily, p. 17)

[The work of my Chamoru rights group] had filtrated to so many other things. It filtrated into language contests, art contests, thematic things. [My group helped to start] Chamoru week in the schools. That was another feature to it as well. (Matthew, p. 13)

[A success from my Chamoru rights group is] the return of [some of the] federal . . . lands [in Guam that were taken from the Chamoru people] that have now been returned back [to the Chamoru people]. There are . . . thousands of families that have [benefitted] from the work of [my Chamoru rights group]. . . . People whose families are now self-sufficient. (William, p. 14)

[One thing my Chamoru rights group did was introduce] the word "indigenous" into the political vocabulary in Guam which heretofore it had never been . . . and the impact of it is incredible. [To the point that] everything is indigenous now. Indigenous this, [indigenous that,] appeals to indigenous authenticity. It's all organized around that and we were the first ones to use it and articulate it. (Matthew, p. 11)

[For] me what's really exciting is being able to look back at how things have changed and then think about how I may have played a small role in that change. . . . [People have shared] stories with me [that show me these changes. For] example, one of the things that . . . I . . . like is that over the past two years, a number of people that are over the age of

80, elders . . . want to talk to me about decolonization. And some of them think independence is a great idea for Guam and that we could totally do it. And for me, I'm like "wow, that's cool" and then I think about it and I'm like, people who supported independence in the past kept it very quiet because it wasn't popular. . . . So it's nice because the conversation has changed, some of them can come out and now talk about it. . . . And . . . what's super exciting and super rewarding is seeing the conversation change to the point where the things that were considered radical and crazy that I first started learning about can become commonplace and accepted and embraced by a lot of people. . . . We don't live in fear the way that we used to live. (James, p. 18)

Two participants out of eight (25%) spoke about spiritual experiences they had while part of

Chamoru rights groups that had a positive impact on them and their feelings of community

within the group.

> . . . one of the first events that I went to that I volunteered at was . . . a sit-in at [a Guam government building.] . . . I think just the closing ceremony, if you can imagine hundreds of people just . . . gathering in a circle . . . holding hands and then someone says a collective prayer or something. . . . I began to feel that there was this community of people who shared similar ideas. I didn't feel as alone or threatened by what other people would have to say and particularly my family members so even if this wasn't a stance that I could bring home as openly, with me, I at least had this community of other people . . . (George, p. 10)

> [My favorite story of being in my Chamoru rights group is when we were] all sitting around [in a cave in Guam], you know, just talking stories. And all of the sudden, the air just started to swirl, the trees started to [participant makes whooshing sound]. So we all [got] up and we just prayed. We prayed that He could continue to give us the strength to fight for our culture and for the protection and return of our lands back to our people. . . . [In that] experience . . . we actually felt the spirit of our ancestors there in our presence saying, "continue the fight to preserve our culture and perpetuate the Chamoru heritage." (William, pp. 13–14)

3) Building personal relationships. One major aspect of the community of Chamoru

rights groups includes the personal relationships, such as friendships, that were built from

contact in Chamoru rights groups as well as the Chamoru rights groups that were built from

personal relationships. This theme was identified through data from six out of eight participants

(75%) in this study.

[One thing that is important to me] is being able to surround myself with positive people who are caring, and also to be able to contribute. . . . I built valuable relationships [in my Chamoru rights group]. (Antonio, p. 16)

We were opposed to [a political issue in Guam]. So [this Chamoru rights activist] was back in Guam; he and I were pretty good friends. So we [created an alliance between our groups]. (Matthew, p. 7)

[I joined] because of [a Chamoru rights activist that was my friend]. Because we knew each other, it was easier for me to get in. (Christopher, p. 12)

[Eventually] with three of my friends . . . [we] met . . . one night and we just said "you know what let's just have a conference where we bring all of the critical Chamorus together that we can get our hands on and they can do presentation and we'll just see what happens . . . " . . . And from there, it just kind of grew . . . (James, p. 11)

. . . [The people in my Chamoru rights group] are my family too. We're all this big beautiful family that's doing these amazing things. And I think it's because it really does come from this deep place of love and this deep sense of urgency. (Maria, p. 15)

[In my Chamoru rights groups, we are] also building the relationships [between one another] so that the relationships can sustain the work and the work can sustain the relationships. . . . [My] generation [of activists are] more interested in nourishing these relationships . . . growing them in more positive ways. . . . We just be ourselves, and really know that we are all balancing a lot and trying to be understanding [of one another] . . . like I said, some of my best friends and some of the closest people in my life are the people that I've worked with in these groups. And they very much are Chamoru. We feed each other, we care about each other. We become each other's children's God parents. So it is much like a family. (Maria, p. 16)

. . . what's fun about [my time in my Chamoru rights group] is it's still connecting with people, learning new things. I don't on any level feel like I'm an expert on decolonization. I always think that there's always more for me to learn. And there are people in [my Chamoru rights group] . . . who have been doing this for a very long time and who have been doing a lot of research and there's always something new to learn. So there's the community aspect of it. There's a community aspect of what we're doing but then also it's knowing or believing that you are helping to shape politics to make a difference. And I think that the people in the group are sincere in their desire to want to make things better. (George, p. 13)

Conclusion. The communities built by Chamoru rights groups are vibrant and often connected to the community of Guam as a whole. These robust communities appeared to be developed through involving the community at large in activities hosted by Chamoru rights

groups through discussions, community meetings, and spiritual experiences. The community of Guam itself has also been changed through the work of activists in Chamoru rights groups. In addition, many participants spoke about the development of important personal relationships between members of Chamoru rights groups through participation in these groups.

Research Question 7: How Does Political Action Relate to Chamoru Indigenous Identity?

This research question identifies the unique components of Chamoru culture that are found in Chamoru rights groups and their connection to specific political activities of the group. This includes how Chamoru culture helps to strengthen Chamoru rights groups and the social practices found in the activities and community of these groups. In addition, the seventh research question is used to explore how participants' definitions of what it means to be Chamoru are related to the political action they have taken as part of Chamoru rights groups.

1) Preserving and practicing Chamoru culture. Eight out of eight participants (100%) provided data for this theme that focuses on associating political action with preserving and practicing Chamoru culture. Four out of eight participants (50%) spoke about preserving Chamoru culture as a crucial component of political action.

> [My Chamoru rights] group was [created] to focus on protecting the right[s] of the Chamoru people . . . So we introduced the word "indigenous" into the political vocabulary in Guam which heretofore it had never been. (Matthew, p. 11)

> I think that we need to take strategic steps in preservation [of Chamoru culture]. [For example,] preserving language is a concrete thing. Preserving our values. Our values of collectivism, our values of respecting our elders, our values of sustainability, our values of our environment, our values of our children, our values of inafa maolek. (Antonio, p. 18)

> [One thing I helped to do as part of my Chamoru rights group was create] the Chamoru registry for cultural purposes. . . . [We] created a Chamoru registry so that the Chamoru people would have a place, even if it's just their name on a list where they identify as Chamoru. (Emily, p. 17)

[At one point,] I became involved in . . . protecting the [ancient Chamoru] burials [in a coastal village of Guam.] [What I tried to do was] prevent these hotel owners from just digging [Chamoru ancient burials up to build hotels.] . . . And we know from stories of our ancestors passed down that we buried our dead under our homes and in front of our homes . . .and these are . . . sacred to [the Chamoru people]. We get our community values from respecting our dead. (Emily, p. 19)

[My favorite story of being in my Chamoru rights group is when we were] all sitting around [in a cave in Guam], you know, just talking stories. And all of the sudden, the air just started to swirl, the trees started to [participant makes whooshing sound]. So we all [got] up and we just prayed. We prayed that He could continue to give us the strength to fight for our culture and for the protection and return of our lands back to our people. . . . [In that] experience . . . we actually felt the spirit of our ancestors there in our presence saying, "continue the fight to preserve our culture and perpetuate the Chamoru heritage." (William, pp. 13–14)

Four participants out of eight (50%) spoke about social practices and moral understandings of

Chamoru culture, such as mamalao and community-oriented values, being a feature of their

Chamoru rights group activities.

[An event my Chamoru rights group hosted is one] that was so all about our culture and all our elders, because we had food, we had music, we had the wall with everybody's names, we had documentaries . . . (Maria, p. 17)

That's why I used [mamalao] when I protested . . . I utilized culture . . . [to make witnesses feel] ashamed. [I used a] bullhorn [to make] sure everybody [heard me]. [One example of this is from] when [I was a child.] [If we] caught [someone] robbing somebody's house. [We'd say,] "Hey what happened, they caught you stealing!" . . . We're teaching, we're publicly humiliating you. But, what that does, it makes you stop. Because you become ashamed. (Christopher, p. 18)

[My Chamoru rights group] works so [well] because we are really rooted in these . . . [Chamoru] cultural practices. So we very much operate like a family and . . . we all kind of, in knowing our role and in helping where help is needed [are] being inafa' maolek because we know. Yeah, I feel that there is this genuine sense of love and purpose that drives the work and so far it's been working. (Maria, pp. 26–27)

. . . some of my best friends and some of the closest people in my life are the people that I've worked with in these groups and they very much are Chamoru. We feed each other, we care about each other. We become each other's children's God parents. So it is much like a [Chamoru] family. (Maria, p. 17)

. . . I do enjoy some of the cultural aspect of organizing as a community, and what everybody brings . . . (Maria, p. 15)

[There's] that community aspect to [Chamoru rights groups.] I'm not a psychologist but . . . it's helped with processing trauma and coming to terms with my own experiences as an indigenous person in a colony and the militarization. (George, p. 15)

[One thing that is important to me] is being able to surround myself with positive people who are caring, and also to be able to contribute. . . . I built valuable relationships [in my Chamoru rights group]. (Antonio, p. 16)

. . . one of the first events that I went to that I volunteered at was . . . a sit-in at [a Guam government building.] . . . I think just the closing ceremony, if you can imagine hundreds of people just . . . gathering in a circle . . . holding hands and then someone says a collective prayer or something. . . . I began to feel that there was this community of people who shared similar ideas. I didn't feel as alone or threatened by what other people would have to say and particularly my family members so even if this wasn't a stance that I could bring home as openly, with me, I at least had this community of other people . . . (George, p. 10)

Three out of eight participants (37.5%) spoke about gaining an increased understanding and

connection to Chamoru culture through their activism.

[Being a part of my Chamoru rights group] brought me back [to my ancestors] and it made me read more about how our ancestors lived and how important the land was to our ancestors. Being part of [my Chamoru rights group] taught me and led me to know more about our island and its people and where they came from, 4,000 years ago. (William, p. 12)

. . . whenever [my Chamoru rights group] got together, we spoke more of our language. We learned more of the story, the folklore . . . [that was] passed down. We learned more of how to cook certain foods using what's grown from the land. We learned how to weave and . . . shared . . . place[s] to go fishing or go hunting. (William, p. 12)

[Some activities I engage in related to my activism are] tied in to . . . the larger sense of Chamoru empowerment. So, what are the stories that empower or inspire? What are the things which can help us understand better ourselves? What are the things that can help us imagine . . . a better future? (James, p. 15)

. . . before reading about these things on an academic level . . . I think I had ideas of Chamoruness as being tied explicitly to ideas of authenticity. [My] idea of Chamoruness before . . . was tied to my ability to speak the language, and my ability to do things like fish and hunt and farm. But it's being in [my Chamoru rights group] in coming into contact with intellectuals and politicians who have engaged in decolonization politics, that's helped me to see that culture isn't stagnant, culture is dynamic. . . . [There] are many ways in which we can think about Chamoru values and morals and how those apply to today. (George, pp. 17–18)

2) Being Chamoru as connected to activism. Four out of eight participants (50%)

contributed narratives that connected the definition of being Chamoru with political action.

> I think what it means to be Chamoru [is] related to [being a] marginalized [group in general]. So in a sense, what it means to be Chamoru, what it means to be brown, what it means to be black, what it means to be a minority is that you have to incorporate activism. (Antonio, p. 17)

> Well, [being Chamoru] means to be a part of a historical group that is under stress, but has managed to continue to exist in spite of all the challenges[,] that you have a love affair with the island of Guam and the Marianas Islands and that you have a regard for the physicality of the island and working on issues of justice . . . (Matthew, p. 1)

> To be Chamoru is to be one who practices Chamoru culture, speaks the Chamoru language, invests in Chamoru peoplehood, work[s] towards that [and the] attainment eventually . . . of nationhood. I guess to be involved in anything and everything that would promote the Chamoru as a people in the world of many, many indigenous peoples. Because we are considered small peoples of the world it's already an upwards struggle just having that as an identity. So when you're living in Guam, you can't help but be tied to your roots. You can't help but be aware from your every waking moment of who you are and how do I enhance that? How do I work towards making myself and those around me, those who mean a lot to me, become better people, be more contributing to our island society . . . (Emily, p. 1)

> [A] feeling then was instilled in me as . . . a Chamoru in this world [is] this need to tell people that we're pretty cool. That our history is kind of interesting. That the place where we come from, this corner of the world has a wild and random, sometimes tragic, sometimes exciting history and we should take pride in that story. We should tell people that story and part of that of course is that we should take control of the telling of that story and stop letting [the] Magellans and missionaries and military commanders tell the story for us. . . . For me, it's a more active sense of culture. It's like what do we want the next generation to care about or think about or hold on to. (James, p. 3)

One participant out of eight (12.5%) in this study provided a historical anecdote suggesting a

connection between being Chamoru and political resistance during Spanish colonialism in Guam.

> [During Spanish colonization,] we developed a culture, we developed our language, we were a well developed people. And I believe through [the Chamoru chief] Hurao's speech of 1672 where he brought 2,000 warriors down to Hagatna [a village in Guam,] and made this riling speech of 2,000 Chamoru warriors in front of all the [Spanish] colonizers . . . [and] in front of people that were head of the Spanish mission. He says we must defend our people, we must defend our land, our culture, and we have a right [to do so]. [He is] talking about [Chamoru] sovereignty. (Emily, p. 3)

Conclusion. Political action and indigenous identity were closely connected for the participants in this study. Part of this connection was the result of a need to preserve and practice Chamoru culture. The preservation and practice of Chamoru culture was found to be conducted within the activities and political actions of members of Chamoru rights groups through specific Chamoru social practices and community-oriented values. The second part of the connection between indigenous Chamoru identity and political action was through the definition of what it means to be Chamoru. For some participants, being Chamoru meant that one should engage in political activity and activism due to an understanding of Chamoru history of colonialism as well as the desire to engage in shaping the Chamoru narrative and empowering the Chamoru people as a whole.

Research Question 8: In What Ways are Chamoru Rights Groups Effective? How can They be Improved?

1) Successes achieved in Chamoru rights groups. One measure of effectiveness includes the successful endeavors of a group. The first theme outlines the range of successful activities, events, and community changes achieved by Chamoru rights groups. Six out of eight participants (75%) in this study provided data for this theme.

> It was very successful [going to the United Nations to advocate for Chamoru rights]. I really enjoyed it. (Matthew, p. 10)

> Yeah, and then there was sort of a lull [in my Chamoru rights group] after they launched a successful lawsuit against the [United States] federal government. (George, p. 10)

> [One thing my Chamoru rights group did was create] a five year residency for running for office. Five year residency for voting and limits on immigration. So we put that out, we mailed out questionnaires, brochures, did a mass mail out. (Matthew, p. 13)

> [One thing I helped to do as part of my Chamoru rights group was create] the Chamoru registry for cultural purposes. . . . [We] created a Chamoru registry so that the Chamoru people would have a place, even if it's just their name on a list where they identify as Chamoru. (Emily, p. 17)

[A success from my Chamoru rights group is] the return of [some of the] federal . . . lands [in Guam that were taken from the Chamoru people] that have now been returned back [to the Chamoru people]. There are . . . thousands of families that have benefit from the work of [my Chamoru rights group]. . . . People whose families are now self-sufficient. (William, p. 14)

There's only a small handful of us that are the main organizing group, but we pull off some really big stuff. Even [a rally related to Chamoru rights], we had [around] 600 people there. And it's always like, we put in so much work into something and we don't really know what's going to happen, then when people show up and they it's really a success you're like "wow, this is amazing." (Maria, pp. 17–18)

[My Chamoru rights group hosted an] event was really indicative of [the work we do. It was] a really huge endeavor to help [citizens of Guam] . . . fill out [government] forms . . . we just put our all into it and the [participants of our event] were just so appreciative. They really recognized . . . that it was for them and that we were genuinely there to help them and it was just a beautiful vibe. Even the representatives from [a government of Guam] office who did notary and they helped fill out forms, they were like "we haven't been to an event like this in years" that was so all about our culture and all our elders, because we had food, we had music, we had the wall with everybody's names, we had documentaries . . . (Maria, p. 17)

[The work of my Chamoru rights group] had filtrated to so many other things. It filtrated into language contests, art contests, thematic things. [My group helped to start] Chamoru week in the schools. That was another feature to it as well. (Matthew, p. 13)

[My Chamoru rights group was] confident and [we had] people then want to be part of that because they want to be part of something that is confident. They don't want to be part of something that lacks confidence. . . . I think we were pretty successful at that. (Matthew, p. 20)

[One thing my Chamoru rights group did was introduce] the word "indigenous" into the political vocabulary in Guam which heretofore it had never been . . . and the impact of it is incredible. [To the point that] everything is indigenous now. Indigenous this, [indigenous that,] appeals to indigenous authenticity. It's all organized around that and we were the first ones to use it and articulate it. (Matthew, p. 11)

[For] me what's really exciting is being able to look back at how things have changed and then think about how I may have played a small role in that change. . . . [People have shared] stories with me [that show me these changes. For] example, one of the things that . . . I . . . like is that over the past two years, a number of people that are over the age of 80, elders . . . want to talk to me about decolonization. And some of them think independence is a great idea for Guam and that we could totally do it. And for me, I'm like "wow, that's cool" and then I think about it and I'm like, people who supported independence in the past kept it very quiet because it wasn't popular. . . . So it's nice because the conversation has changed, some of them can come out and now talk about it.

. . . And . . . what's super exciting and super rewarding is seeing the conversation change to the point where the things that were considered radical and crazy that I first started learning about can become commonplace and accepted and embraced by a lot of people. . . . We don't live in fear the way that we used to live. (James, p. 18)

2) **Building community.** The second theme, which addresses the effectiveness of

Chamoru rights groups, contains data related to the positive effects of the community that has

been built within Chamoru rights groups. This theme was explored in more detail in research

question 6 of this study. However, five out of eight participants (62.5%) spoke directly about the

benefits of the community that was created in their Chamoru rights groups.

[I appreciated] just be[ing] able to open up . . . talk about the damages, the problems [the people of Guam face]. Because a lot of times, I'll come up with the questions. . . . And [we would be] discussing it in groups. (Christopher, p. 17)

[One thing that is important to me] is being able to surround myself with positive people who are caring, and also to be able to contribute. . . . I built valuable relationships [in my Chamoru rights group]. (Antonio, p. 16)

. . . [The people in my Chamoru rights group] are my family too. We're all this big beautiful family that's doing these amazing things. And I think it's because it really does come from this deep place of love and this deep sense of urgency. (Maria, p. 15)

Oh yeah, I mean, so there's that community aspect to it right. I'm not a psychologist but . . . it's helped with processing trauma and coming to terms with my own experiences as an indigenous person in a colony and the militarization [of Guam]. (George, p. 15)

[I know a Chamoru rights] group that [has the] capacity to make changes. Positive changes in and of themselves, and I have attended one or two of their meetings. They support each other . . . there's that coming together, the camaraderie, the belonging, that sense of belonging for something good. (Emily, p. 22)

. . . one of the first events that I went to that I volunteered at was . . . a sit-in at [a Guam government building.] . . . I think just the closing ceremony, if you can imagine hundreds of people just . . . gathering in a circle . . . holding hands and then someone says a collective prayer or something. . . . I began to feel that there was this community of people who shared similar ideas. I didn't feel as alone or threatened by what other people would have to say and particularly my family members so even if this wasn't a stance that I could bring home as openly, with me, I at least had this community of other people . . . (George, p. 10)

3) Increasing recruitment. In terms of improving Chamoru rights groups, the most common answer was to increase recruitment by widening the inclusiveness of perspectives in Chamoru rights groups and reducing reliance on individual leaders. Five out of eight participants (62.5%) in this study provided data for this theme.

> Through [the leader of a Chamoru right's group's] own charisma, he [was] able to carry . . . out [positive changes in Guam]. But it was a charismatic effort. Once his charisma was gone [and he passed away,] there's nothing left. (Matthew, p. 13)

> . . . I guess what happened was that . . . when [the leaders of my Chamoru rights group passed away,] there was no sense of direction, no leadership. Everyone had their own ways of wanting to do things [so] the group just decided that, "hey, we still exist but we're not gonna be as active as we were [in the past]." (William, p. 18)

> [One way I would improve my Chamoru rights group is by] figuring out ways to continue to grow our membership. Sustainability . . . because it is still the same people who are doing the major roles and sometimes things happen in life [and we] need to take a step back. Or somebody gets sick or there's something going on in your family. Or you got all this other stuff going on. I think that there's got to be more people involved . . . so it isn't just on the shoulders of so few. (Maria, p. 20)

> Absolutely, there's always different ways [my Chamoru rights group could be improved.] . . . I've been reading a lot about recruiting . . . in social movements . . . and . . . there's a tendency [for a social movement] to want to encapsulate on itself. Like we have a select group of people who share a similar ideology and we're safe in this little bubble. That is the bane of a lot of organizations that can doom any chance of political success if they aren't able to and aren't willing to expand and make the concept even bigger. So there's ways, I think there definitely needs to be a push for connecting the issues of decolonization to larger issues . . . that fit Guam's political landscape. So if we think about housing [in Guam] housing rates are priced around military allowances. . . . So how many local families actually have 24 hundred dollars [to pay for rent] . . . [in] addition to their normal salary. . . . It is a crisis. If not now, then very soon and that's something that needs to be addressed. If you think about recruitment and how that can be strategic, [that would include] bringing home the issue or connecting the issue to the housing market. (George, pp. 14–15)

> [For] example, in [my Chamoru rights group] let's say most of the members are not in favor of [United States] military bases on Guam, personally. But as a group when you take on the issue, you have to basically allow that many people feel comfortable with the bases or would like the bases. They do provide some jobs, a sense of security. So you don't basically pound people on the head, saying, "no bases, accept my opinion" but you basically say that the way that the relationship is now, it's bad because we don't have a say over what happens on those bases. They can move troops in, move troops out, [but] if

we were independent, then we could have a real relationship with the United States in which we could have say about what happens on those bases. So you're not being anti-military, [and] you're basically arguing that we need to have a status where we have a seat at the table. . . . So you articulate it in that way and then you leave open the room for somebody on the left or the right to accept this idea because somebody who's more progressive may think, "that's good, because then we can get more money out of them, we can limit them . . . " Somebody on the conservative side can say "well this is great, because that means we can get paid for the bases, we can negotiate more money for them." (James, p. 13)

Conclusion. The members of Chamoru rights groups in this study have contributed to a number of successful changes in Guam through proposing laws and hosting events. These laws and events often were centered on improving the quality of life for the people of Guam and preserving Chamoru rights and values. The community developed around Chamoru rights groups were also considered effective in their ability to build a space for speaking about issues that impact the people of Guam. Further, participants noted that Chamoru rights groups could be improved by increasing membership through reducing reliance on the leadership and continuing to widen the perspectives shared in discussions.

Research Question 9: What Suggestions do Members of Chamoru Rights Groups Have for Psychologists in Guam?

The intention of exploring this final research question was to give voice to members of Chamoru rights groups in shaping the landscape of psychological practice in Guam. In addition, it was hoped that adding these perspectives would help to guide a more collaborative approach to the practice of psychology in Guam.

1) Conduct research. Six out of eight participants (75%) in this study had questions that psychological research may be able to answer. Many of these questions and research topics were related to colonialism although others were about social roles and the community of Guam.

I was [also] punished physically . . . [in elementary school]. For speaking my language, I was punished publicly, in front of the [other] students. . . . What happened there? Psychology wise? (Christopher, p. 14)

. . . why don't we have courses in school . . . [that are] mandatory in an elementary [and explain] the psychological effects of colonization? (Christopher, p. 10)

. . . I'm positive that [the way people confront issues is] culturally specific and . . . if they are culturally specific, what are [those specifics] and what does a clinical psychologist do with that? (Matthew, p. 28)

[What] would be interesting is to [develop] a psychological report that someone generates or puts out there that we can use as a tool to convince the federal government and U.S. Congress that colonialism is real. . . . That the Chamorus, the native inhabitants are still oppressed, and they will continue to be oppressed and feel lost unless you acknowledge that they do come from a special breed of people [who have] lived off the land and of course require their land to feel free. (William, p. 19)

. . . I think some psychologists . . . are able to think about trauma and how trauma may affect things but it's not just trauma . . . from war [that impacts the people of Guam]. [You] also have to think about societies which have been told that they shouldn't believe in themselves for hundreds of years. And then, what do you do about that? So there is that layer of it. [Also,] what does it mean that we invest so much in educating ourselves about American democracy and learning the gospel of American greatness when we're not even included in it? What is the impact of that? (James, p. 19)

[I think psychologists should be] really looking at whether or not the incarceration model works . . . for Guam[;] does it really [work], in such a small community [when] we know that our department of corrections is so overcrowded that there is no genuine rehabilitation, you're just releasing people to continue [committing crimes]. (Maria, pp. 25–26)

Maybe [psychologists should] talk about gender [and conduct] gender studies. [A researcher who I know has] work [that] is awesome and [related to] ideas of masculinity [and] femininity [in Guam]. How we view those [gender roles] that are imposed on us and what that means for the people [of Guam]. I think that's important. (George, p. 19)

. . . I know the courts [in Guam] were trying to [be culturally sensitive] with restorative justice for the youth. This was maybe 3 or 4 years ago but I don't know how successful that's been. And I know [another agency in the community] is doing a little bit of it, but again what are their models based in? These are things that I would want . . . for [psychologists to look into] for [their] research. . . . [This might include] thinking about these kinds of . . . efforts that were really intended to meet the distinct needs of this community [and if they are effective, or] do [they] just lock up these kids and then for the rest of their life they're in and out of jail . . . (Maria, p. 26)

2) Develop cultural sensitivity and specific interventions for the community of Guam. The second theme focuses on the idea of cultural sensitivity and utilizing contextually aware interventions in Guam. Four out of eight participants (50%) in this study provided data for this theme.

> Okay, so suggestions for clinical psychology. Cultural sensitivity for sure. (George, p. 18)

> I think it's really important to develop . . . specific treatments [for Guam] . . . and culturally sensitive and historically sensitive approaches to our distinct community, as you would any place in the world . . . (Maria, p. 25)

> . . . if the foundation [of clinical psychology] is completely Western [and separate] from [Guam's] economic and social realities then I don't think that's especially helpful. . . . [These realities create] limitations that are imposed on your ability to achieve certain things or to achieve a sense of security. Will you be able to afford rent next month? Will you be able to afford food for your children? How do these stressors . . . affect individuals? What does that do to that person? (George, p. 19)

> . . . [spending time with] friends . . . happened [more often in Guam] back [in the past with] going to the ranch and doing work together, you have to talk to each other. [Even in the present] you [can find] those things. Cleaning up a beach is one way your family can come together. When you go on a picnic, you don't have to wait for your Girl Scout group to clean that beach. While you're picnicking, get the family together, talk about family stuff [while] cleaning up the environment. . . . [The] picnicking is another outlet that brings us to the beach, brings up to a space that's neutral. (Emily, p. 22)

> [There] are some deep concepts in Chamoru behavior and how people open up and not open up which are discoverable through study. Where does this sense of stoicism [in the Chamoru people] come from? Is stoicism a kind of positive value or a negative value? So in that sense when you're being stoic . . . it seems almost counter-intuitive in clinical psych because the whole objective is to break down those walls and for people not to be stoic. Yet, what do you do with a culture that values stoicism as one of its main strengths? Endurance, the notion of being able to endure pain. That's a major strength [in Chamoru culture]. I don't know what you do with that . . . in an area like clinical psych because it seems to me that those things that are really powerful operating values in Chamoru culture all have to do with endurance and being stoic and being able to [be] resilient. . . . [So] now you're opening me up and now you're destroying my strength. And so now what's left? You're making me naked. And why do I want to be naked, it's not empowering to be naked. So that's a really a kind of an inherent contradiction in [clinical psychology in Guam]. (Matthew, p. 27)

However, three participants out of eight (37.5%) cautioned against tokenism when using the

concept of cultural sensitivity in psychological practice and theory.

> [Psychologists should be] looking into the indigenous cultural beliefs and practices like inafa' maolek. . . because a lot of these practices [when applied to psychology] . . . become . . . catch phrases [when] they're no longer being actually implemented. (Maria, p. 26)

> [Psychologists] know that treatment isn't just something which just gets imported from context to context. [They know that] it has to change based on the context[.] . . . But [this is] something which I find that many psychologists can talk about outside of the work that they do [as a psychologist], but then when they're talking to people [in therapy] they go back to whatever . . . training they received. (James, pp. 19–20)

> I always get fascinated because there's been a couple of times that I have [had conversations with people studying psychology and education.] . . . [They] always talk about . . . culturally responsive teaching, culturally responsive therapy and all that. But I'm never quite sure what that means exactly . . . whether that's just an excuse to just say anything you want and look good, or what exactly that means. . . . I've asked that question a couple of times, [but] nobody really seems to have a satisfactory answer. (Matthew, p. 27)

3) Study and understand the impact of Guam's colonial history. Four out of eight

participants (50%) directly spoke about the importance of psychologists studying Guam history,

intergenerational trauma, and colonial impacts on the people of Guam.

> . . . I think [psychologists] should have a general understanding [of local topics such as Guam's] political status [and] Chamoru land trust . . . (Antonio, p. 20)

> [As psychologists] are empowering individuals to . . . take control over their lives or help them deal with difficult circumstances, always remember that it happens in a larger context which in some ways trickles down to make people feel powerless. (James, p. 19)

> I think [psychologists] on Guam [should be] recognizing . . . the impact of colonization . . . not just on Chamorus but just on other indigenous communities. . . . [For example,] what kind of trauma has the family been through and the history of it. The struggles that they're going through, the poverty level, the lack of health care. (Antonio, p. 19)

> [Psychologists should be] talking about [and] trying to understand why . . . things are the way they are [in Guam] today. And maybe how on a macro level, how that affects an individual you're treating . . . [and] understanding how their family history plays into this

larger framework . . . it would help, having this understanding of [Chamoru] culture and history . . . (George, p. 19)

I think that if you are going to be practicing [psychology] on Guam you need to have an idea of [Guam] history and . . . you have to be coming from a decolonizing perspective. . . . [I also think psychologists should be] talking about [Guam] history and how capitalism [and] the [WWII] affected families, and the general impacts of that. And . . . the idea of generational trauma and how it's passed down through genetics. (George, p. 18)

Because we do know there's already research [that states] our brains are shaped through intergenerational trauma, shapes brain structure . . . So what more with the history that we have [in Guam]. (Antonio, p. 20)

. . . I've enjoyed seeing the trend of intergenerational trauma arising in conversations about therapy on Guam and I think that it is very important to know that the history of oppression and colonization in this community, whether or not clients are aware of it impact[ing] their emotional stability [and] mental stability [and affecting] their cycles of addiction and abuse. In order to truly understand, sort of the beginnings of these cycles, you have to look at the history and you have to truly see that there were shifts in the mental health of our community at every major moment of colonization. [We] can go as far back as the Chamoru-Spanish wars and shifting the identity of people and also creating a sense of desperation . . . and then this notion of constantly having to survive. . . . And until we're able to really understand what it is that's disempowering the community . . . we [will not] truly [be] able to fill the individual needs for people who are feeling disempowered in their individual lives[.] . . . I think that's incredibly important for [psychologists] to really have a deep sense of what . . . it mean[s] to be serving people in a place that is colonized and [psychologist in Guam should be] looking at other colonized communities and their patterns of abuse and addiction. And seeing those parallels, those classic colonial conditions that continue to plague native people all over the world. (Maria, p. 24)

4) Integrate with the community of Guam and understand your impact on it. This theme focuses on the suggestion that psychologists in Guam engage fully as a member of the community of Guam. This includes recognition of the impact of political choices made by psychologists as citizens of Guam. Four out of eight participants (50%) in this study provided narratives to support this theme.

When we think about it, [universities in Guam] should be closely connected to the community, especially on a small island[.] . . . [I think it is important to be] breaking down . . . walls [and] connect to the community. I think that [it is] very important for psychologists on Guam . . . to really pay attention to . . . bringing into their practice those

sorts of ideas [about community] and [find] a way of connecting more closely . . . to the community [of Guam]. (James, p. 19)

[Psychologists should] make sure [they themselves] keep [their] family ties [and] lead by example. . . . The extended family is . . . a very important part of who [the Chamoru people] are and . . . we have to find ways that institutions reflect as much as possible this home atmosphere, this extended family atmosphere. [The] courts [and] their therapists I think should be grounded here. [They shouldn't] be bringing people from off island . . . [because] we already have enough capacity on [Guam]. (Emily, p. 22)

[Psychologists] have to live [and] experience the people [of Guam]. . . . Just live among the people. Go fishing! Eat the food. But look for people that speak the language. [Spend] your time listening, not asking questions. Then after listening for a while and you get to know each other a little bit better, now you can start thinking about questions to ask that's very relevant . . . to what you want to know. Because it gives you time to put together so learn first, you know, live the life, life among them, go meet them, show them you're sincere. Because you know, the only way to get trust is to show your sincerity. So if you want them to open up, you have to show them you're sincere. (Christopher, p. 21)

[Although] it might not affect the individual client right in front of you [directly] . . . when you vote, when you make a . . . political choice [to] support [issues such as] the Chamoru land trust or when you . . . defend the need for Chamorus to determine their future, then that adds to the healing of Chamorus in general. . . . it doesn't necessarily mean [that you are] going to use it [in session] for . . . clients that you're actively working with but it's the choices you make even outside of the therapy session that would affect the livelihoods of the people that you're trying to help. (Antonio, p. 21)

. . . imagine that, you're trying to help a client of sexual assault and here you are, Trump's saying "grab her by the pussy" and you're like . . . "I support this man." . . . [There's] some sort of disconnect there . . . you're advocating for your clients and you know the research behind trauma and sexual assault. [I think that] helping clients doesn't just mean the interventions within that 50 minutes[.] . . . I think a message for [psychologists] when we're looking at political status is that I think [psychologists] should be informed and . . . [psychologists] should start to look at [the] choices that [they] make for clients that [are] not necessarily . . . direct. (Antonio, p. 21)

Conclusion. In total, four themes were developed for the research question of, "What Suggestions do Members of Chamoru Rights Groups Have for Psychologists in Guam?" These themes centered on conducting research, utilizing culturally sensitive interventions, understanding Guam's history of colonialism, and integrating more fully with the community of

Guam. This integration was thought of as an avenue for the psychologist to better understand the

people of Guam while also building trust by being a sincere member of Guam's community.

CHAPTER V: DISCUSSION

The results chapter for this study was structured around nine research questions. The research questions are: (1) What Does it Mean to be Chamoru?; (2) What is The Impact of Colonialism in Guam?; (3) What was the Process of Joining the Chamoru Rights Group for Participants?; (4) What is the Lived Experience of Being Active in Chamoru Rights Groups?; (5) What are the Meanings Ascribed to Political Action for Individuals Who Take Part in Chamoru Rights Groups?; (6) What Kind of Community is Built Around These Movements? How is it Built?; (7) How Does Political Action Relate to Indigenous Identity?; (8) In What Ways are Chamoru Rights Groups Effective? How can They be Improved?; and (9) What Suggestions do Members of Chamoru Rights Groups Have for Psychologists in Guam? Themes were identified for each research question. In this section, those themes are explored in relation to psychological research on culture, indigenous psychology, and psychological studies conducted in Guam. Suggestions for future research are also provided based on participants' questions and research questions that emerged through conducting this study.

Research Question 1: What Does it Mean to be Chamoru?

Hermeneutic philosophy is concerned with history and its effect on one's embodiment of social phenomena (Gadamer, 2013, pp. 311–317). It acknowledges the impact of one's historical situation for one's moral understandings, beliefs, and values. For the purpose of this study, the concept of the cultural clearing (Cushman, 1995, p. 21; Dreyfus & Wakefield, 1988; Heidegger, 2001, p. 51) is used as a metaphor for understanding the terrain of Chamoru culture. The vast possibility of human ways of being can be thought of as a giant forest. For a human being, this forest includes a clearing—a space—in which the particular cultural understandings about social practices, moral understandings, and language come to light (Cushman, 1995, pp. 20–21). The

predominant way of being developed within this clearing is what hermeneuticists call the self of a particular culture or historical era. It is a crucial component of the interpretation of phenomena in a particular era (Cushman, 1995, p. 23). Thus, the self of the Chamoru will be interpreted by drawing on the narratives of the Chamoru rights activists interviewed in this study in order to illuminate the cultural terrain of contemporary Chamoru culture.

The self of the Chamoru as described by Chamoru rights activists is a contextual-interpersonal self. It derives context primarily through a deep historical-political awareness of the events that the Chamoru people have experienced throughout history. This was shown by every participant in this study referring to major historical events when speaking about what it means to them to be Chamoru. These historical events spanned thousands of years and included detailed information about ancient Chamoru society, Spanish colonialism starting in the 16th century, and contemporary events such as WWII and efforts at decolonization in Guam. These events were referred to when speaking about the current political struggles and individual stressors that the Chamoru people face in contemporary Guam. One participant in particular incorporated an awareness of other marginalized groups in America, such as African Americans, in his description of what it meant to be Chamoru. This demonstrated a historical and contextual awareness of the struggles of other minority groups in America. The awareness of the struggle of other marginalized groups suggests an aspect of inclusivity in the Chamoru self that recognizes the shared struggle of all oppressed peoples.

The interpersonal component of the Chamoru self was expressed through community-oriented values. Similar to other collectivist cultures (Gannon, 2004, p. 12), the Chamoru self is one that is conscious of the effect that one may have on the greater whole. Three Chamoru words were utilized by participants to describe the Chamoru self's connection with community-oriented

values. The first word, inafa' maolek, was used to describe moral understandings for community

responsibility, collectivism, and engagement in behaviors that are beneficial to the community in

general. The word appati was defined as "to share" (Antonio, p. 8) and included the "reciprocity

of sharing" (Antonio, p. 8). This likely illuminates the Chamoru self's experience of providing

for one another through sharing food and other resources. Finally, mamalao was thought of as

one of the social practices used to build the community-oriented values of the Chamoru self and

was typically defined as "shame" (George, p. 7). It appeared that shaming the selfish behavior of

individuals was used to assist Chamorus in embodying the feeling of shame at personal actions

that were harmful to the community.

Participants described other social practices that helped build interpersonal and

community-oriented moral understandings. One social practice that built community was *chen

chulu* fishing, described as a type of fishing that typically requires at least eight people. Fishers

were split into different roles with complementary actions. Some focused on opening the net and

others scared the fish into the net. The net itself was said to be over 1,000 feet, requiring the

group to work together to open it effectively. Once the net was closed and the fish caught inside

it, all participants contributed to catching the fish through spear-fishing. Chen chulu fishing

demonstrated community-oriented values not just through the act of fishing, but also through

sharing with apati. The expression of apati was found in the distribution of the fish itself, with

everyone in the group receiving a share of the fish even if they did not catch any themselves. It

was also found in the act of sharing the fish with one's community, including family members

and friends. One participant spoke about the interpersonal connections that were made through

sharing the fish, as well as the personal meanings attached to specific fish that were caught.

Similarly, another participant directly connected engagement in the social practice of physical labor with the development of interpersonal moral understandings. This participant spoke about members of her family, including her extended family, gathering together to plant taro. She considered this form of physical labor as intertwined with the gossip and interpersonal engagement that developed between members of her family. For example, family members had the space to talk about community and family events while engaging in the labor. A final social practice that showed an embodiment of community-oriented values was the desire of multiple participants to attain a college degree and return to Guam in order to contribute to the community. Participants viewed this as a conscious choice to combat the "brain drain" in Guam with Guam citizens moving to the United States in search of economic opportunities (The Guam Daily Post, 2017). In sum, these social practices illuminated the way that community-oriented and interpersonal moral understandings are transmitted through cultural practices engaged in by participants in their daily lives.

L. T. Smith (1999) wrote about land in indigenous cultures being tied to the history of the land (p. 51). She argued that social practices such as songs and chants were used to acknowledge indigenous history and connection of the indigenous people to this history. For the Chamoru self, it appears that social practices of community-oriented physical labor connect the Chamoru people to one another and their historical context. Land is considered necessary for the Chamoru people to have self-sufficiency and a space for people to gather to engage in community-oriented activities such as physical labor and coordination of family events. This importance of land to the Chamoru self could explain the moral understanding expressed by participants who felt they had a responsibility to the land of Guam and sustaining the environment. In speaking about this understanding, many participants lamented the problematic nature of the loss of land due to the

United States Military annexing land in Guam after WWII. The lack of connection to the land of Guam for the United States military may partially explain the ease at which the United States military has contaminated the environment of Guam (Ossola, 2018).

Language has been observed to be closely related to the cultural clearing, including the social practices embedded within a culture (Cushman, 1995, p. 20; Levenson, 2016). Language appears to help bring meaning to the specific practices of a culture by providing explanations for behaviors and illuminating the terrain of the cultural clearing. This type of understanding was found in the Chamoru self described above, with the Chamoru language being considered a part of the self's connection to the land, community, and historical context. Similar to L. T. Smith's (1999) explanation of the association between indigenous chants and indigenous history (p. 51), the participants of this study spoke about Chamoru songs and how they connected Chamoru people to cultural practices such as those of spirituality and dance. These examples suggest that the Chamoru self recognizes the necessity of Chamoru language for maintaining moral understandings related to interpersonal functioning and community solidarity.

The transmission of the Chamoru self was found to occur as an integration of both contextual and interpersonal factors. Transmission occurred interpersonally through contact with extended family members such as grandparents, although some participants reported learning about being Chamoru from parents and friends. In this way, the Chamoru self is inclusive and community-oriented. The transmission of the Chamoru self is also contextual due to the stories told by these family members and friends. Context is transmitted through stories of personal experiences from family members about WWII and struggles faced after WWII, as well as through historical instruction around ancient Chamoru history and Spanish colonialism. This integration of contextual and interpersonal factors in the transmission of Chamoru culture are

likely a major cause for the great deal of political, historical, and community-oriented moral understandings expressed by participants in this study.

The Chamoru self described in this chapter can be contrasted to the American self in several ways. Some commentators (e.g., Cushman, 2019; Jacobson, 1997; Orange, 2009) have suggested that the American self is one that is flattened, absorbed within the confines of consumerism, and focused on controlling interpersonal situations by utilizing multiple identities that easily shift based on the situation, clothes worn, and projected online persona (Cushman, 2019, pp. 213–215). It is immensely preoccupied with technology and proceduralism, often using procedures and rules to alleviate anxiety around ambiguity to conform to neoliberal labor practices. Americans also tend to consider their practices to be ahistorical, while also having trouble answering basic history questions about their country (Riccards, 2018). In contrast, the Chamoru self found in this study is one that has a high level of political-historical affinity. It acknowledges and respects the effects of historical events faced by Chamoru ancestors, often tracing those effects to present functioning. The Chamoru self, instead of attempting to control social situations, is inclusive of many members of the community of Guam, including extended family members and members of other marginalized groups. It engages with the community at large, and contains social practices that encouraged community involvement. Further, the Chamoru self appears to be deep, with engaging cultural practices, ties to the land of Guam, and connection with the language of the Chamoru people.

A major caveat in the participants' discussion of what it means to be Chamoru is the problematic nature of claims to an "authentic" Chamoru culture. L. T. Smith (1999) argued that concept of authenticity has been used to "fragment and marginalize those who speak for, or in support of, indigenous issues" (p. 72). As such, participants in this study cautioned against the

search for an authentic Chamoru culture, demonstrating an awareness of the negative uses of authenticity arguments politically and historically. Rather than one authentic Chamoru identity, it can be useful to acknowledge the multitude of Chamoru ways of being that can be expressed by different groups of people in Guam and contextualize the Chamoru self as described here.

Research Question 2: What is the Impact of Colonialism in Guam?

Colonialism has had a long history in Guam and participants in this study were well aware of that history as shown by participants' responses as discussed in research question one. One of the most common images for participants in this study related to colonialism was the violence and trauma that occurred in WWII at the hands of the Japanese occupying force. This time period was not just physically brutal for the Chamoru people who were forced to engage in physical labor and were at times massacred or raped, but it was also mentally traumatic for survivors who were unable to save family members from the horrific conditions of WWII.

The suffering faced by the Chamoru people during this time period was palpable and closely associated with the major effects of colonialism after WWII. Many participants spoke about changes in material conditions after WWII during the American reoccupation of Guam. They suggested that those changes made in Guam after WWII were crucial for understanding the contemporary effects of colonialism in Guam. These material changes focused on the loss of land as a result of the United States military annexation of land for military bases after WWII and the change in economy after WWII. The loss of land and change in economy are interrelated and occurred simultaneously. With the loss of land, many citizens of Guam were unable to engage in self-sustaining activities such as farming or fishing for their sustenance. Having lost this economic system of survival (Hattori, 2004, pp. 194–195), the people of Guam had no

choice but to engage in the wage labor economy through service jobs, tourism, and government jobs.

In addition to the alteration of material conditions, the people of Guam lost legal autonomy of their land with American colonization after WWII. This meant that Guam citizens were forced to follow American legal precedents, policies, and treaties without having representation and autonomy over their enactment. Similarly, American governmental policies enacted on Guam without the consent of the people of Guam were perceived as problematic. The issue with forcibly enacting American policies in Guam corresponds with Hattori's (2004) assertion that health policies enacted in Guam were utilized in American colonization to enforce Western moral understandings of class, ethics, and supremacy (pp. 192–195). For participants in this study, the banning of the Chamoru language (Clement, 2018) in favor of English-only policies (Souder, 1994) was experienced as an American policy that had negative effects in Guam. This policy resulted in physical punishment and humiliation of children who spoke Chamoru in Guam public schools. It also interfered with the transmission of moral understandings about Chamoru identity between generations in Guam, because language is associated with transmission of the cultural clearing, social practices, and values (Cushman, 1995, p. 20; Levenson, 2016). In addition, participants spoke about the colonization of food, noting that FEMA pushed for the people of Guam to consume American foods while describing those foods as "healthier" than alternatives found in Guam. The legacy of the colonization of food in Guam can be observed today in the high rates of consumption of spam and other American canned foods in Guam. The use of these nonperishable American foods was argued by participants to be associated with food insecurity after WWII due to the bombing of Chamoru farms by both the Japanese and American forces.

The psychological effects of the violence of WWII and the totalizing American colonialism that altered economy, social practices, and self-sufficiency are manifold. One of the most conspicuous impacts of colonization in Guam for participants was conceptualized as intergenerational trauma faced by the Chamoru people through WWII and the Vietnam War. The effects of intergenerational trauma in Guam were written about by both Rapadas (2007) and Taimanglo (1998). These authors argued that Guam's involuntary involvement in colonial wars have had intergenerationally traumatic effects such as increased rates of family violence, addictions, and poverty. These conditions may occur as a result of social practices of violence being passed down generationally, loss of community, and loss of traditional cultural understandings. Further, Rapadas (2007) suggested that the intergenerational trauma experienced by Chamorus has been exacerbated by the oppressive treatment of Chamorus by the United States after WWII through the denial of self-determination and lack of respect for Guam's autonomy.

The wars, loss of autonomy, and loss of land likely contribute to the sense of hopelessness some Chamorus feel about Chamoru self-sufficiency. This belief that the Chamoru people are unable to be independent of the United States may stem from the brutality of WWII during the Japanese occupation of Guam. After experiencing the massacres, rapes, and other forms of violence at the hands of the Japanese in WWII, some of the people of Guam may have felt that the United States could help to protect Guam in the future. Others such as Taimanglo (1998) and Souder (1994) have detailed the feeling of indebtedness that some Chamorus felt after the return of the United States military during WWII. This feeling of indebtedness and desire for protection after the violence of WWII, may contribute to this sense of group insufficiency and hopelessness. The sense of insufficiency is also likely to have been reinforced

by American policies and laws that denied the Chamoru people legal autonomy over Guam and decreased the use of the Chamoru language due to Chamoru language bans. In this way, American colonialism has directly contributed to what one participant described as a tendency in Guam that, "you will have lots of people, you could still argue the majority, who will say that the federal government should take control or it's better if somebody else dictates things because we can't trust ourselves" (James, p. 20). In addition, the annexing of land by the United States military reduced the ability of the Chamoru people to be self-sustaining in their economic undertakings. This annexation forced them to rely on shipments of food and goods from other countries, because Guam citizens no longer had sufficient land to grow their own food, which further increased the feeling that the people of Guam cannot be self-sufficient.

A final psychological effect of colonialism to be addressed in this chapter is that of suicide. Suicide rates in Guam have been found to be astonishingly high relative to the United States as discussed in Chapter I: Introduction and Background (pp. 25–29). The majority of suicides in Guam were reported to be committed by Chamorus (38.2%), Chuukese (25.9%), and Filipinos (12.9%; Prevention Education and Community Empowerment, 2011). This suggests that the highest rates of suicide are found among the groups most impacted by colonialism in Guam. It is likely that each of the effects of colonialism discussed in this chapter, such as changing material conditions and alteration of cultural practices, contribute to this high rate of suicide in Guam (Rubinstein, 1994). In particular, the sense of hopelessness and inability to be self-sufficient may be a major factor. It is likely that some members of the Chamoru community have embodied a feeling of hopelessness due to the loss of legal autonomy, loss of land, and loss of sustainable economy. This communal hopelessness may contribute to feelings of hopelessness

in the personal lives of Chamoru individuals, resulting in the high rates of suicide prevalent in Guam.

Another factor that contributes to the high rates of suicide in Guam may be the loss of community in Guam associated with American colonialism. Rubinstein (1983) has argued that high suicide rates in Micronesia are connected to economic changes, changes in cultural practices, and a narrowing of the definition of family to mean only the nuclear family, which excludes extended family members. It is likely that similar factors occurring in Guam (e.g., Westernization practices of neoliberalism, individualism, and consumerism) may be contributing to the break-down of community-oriented Chamoru values described by participants in research question one. This fragmentation of the Chamoru community and reduction in community supports may further contribute to feelings of hopelessness and loss of self-sufficiency, leading to high rates of suicide in Guam.

Medical illnesses faced by the people of Guam were considered a direct impact of colonialism related to harm inflicted on Guam's environment by the United States military. Participants suggested that some medical illnesses they suffered from were the result of changes in diet due to American policies and encouragement of canned food consumption, increased rates of cancer due to being exposed to American munitions and nuclear submarine radiation (Mcintyre & Mount, 2008), and the degradation of Guam's oceans through damage to reefs due to military activities and contamination (Gawel, n.d.). These environmental impacts also have implications for the sustainability of Guam and self-sufficiency. By damaging the environment, the United States military has reduced the ability of the Chamoru people to engage in self-sustaining activities such as farming and fishing. This further contributes to the feeling of

hopelessness that participants described in relation to suicide, the loss of land, and loss of self-sufficiency described above.

A final impact of colonization discussed in this chapter is the harmful colonial narratives that negatively impact the people of Guam. One of these narratives was identified in the discussion of the first research question that addressed the harmful nature of authenticity arguments in relation to Chamoru identity. Another harmful narrative is the assertion that Chamoru culture is inferior to American culture. For one participant, this narrative was transmitted through American schools in Guam. Schools have been shown to be powerful institutions for assimilation and propaganda related to situating the colonist on a higher level than the Chamoru (L. T. Smith, 1999, p. 64). However, it is not just schools that transmit the idea that the people of Guam are inferior to Americans. This transmission comes from numerous sources such as the media, general imagery, and attitudes. For example, one participant spoke about the problematic imagery of Guam's flag being placed below America's flag in public places. These harmful colonial narratives and images may also contribute to the feeling in some Chamorus that the people of Guam cannot be self-sufficient or independent because American culture is "superior" to that of Chamoru culture.

Research Question 3: What was the Process of Joining the Chamoru Rights Group for Participants?

Several pathways were identified for joining Chamoru rights groups. Most participants spoke about being encouraged to join Chamoru rights groups through informal means such as friendships. This encouragement sometimes took the form of positive feedback about public writings related to Chamoru rights issues. Some participants spoke about feelings of support they attained through interactions with members of Chamoru rights groups while others discussed

starting Chamoru rights groups with like-minded friends. This suggests that positive interpersonal experiences are important in building interest in Chamoru rights groups for prospective members. It appeared that positive interpersonal experiences were most effective when prospective members were approached with a confident, but inclusive, attitude that opened possibilities for growth and healing of prospective members. This approach seemed particularly fitting for Chamoru culture's emphasis on community interaction and solidarity.

Three pathways that complemented the contextual domain of the Chamoru self described by participants were identified. First, educational experiences that expanded participants' awareness and articulation of the effect of colonialism were found to be associated with narratives for joining a Chamoru rights group. Participants described learning about colonialism both within Guam's history and the history of colonialism world-wide. This education often occurred within the confines of university education classes. It included the material taught in the classes themselves and guest speakers who advocated for social responsibility and change in Guam. These results suggest that the critical thinking skills developed through university study may encourage the people of Guam to consider their own contexts in regards to colonialism. In addition, guest speakers and presentations outlining community issues in Guam may also illuminate the struggles faced by the Chamoru people while proposing community-oriented approaches to change.

The second pathway for joining a Chamoru rights group was becoming aware of a need for action. Many participants in this study described feeling compelled to join a Chamoru rights group after recognizing the need for community-based intervention. Concerns included observing the decline of the Chamoru language, recognizing environmental destruction carried out by the United States military in Guam, learning about corruption in the government of Guam,

and observing evidence of drug abuse epidemics. It appeared that knowledge gained from educational experiences encouraged closer understanding of the community of Guam, thus building motivation to address the problems participants saw in their community.

The final significant pathway for joining Chamoru rights groups was through career and job experiences. Participants described careers they were engaged in that illuminated the context of issues faced by the people of Guam. For two participants, interaction with the community of Guam occurred through experiences as part of the media. As part of the media, these participants were engaged with community issues through exposure to research, reporting at their media institutions, and reading about current events. For one participant, community engagement occurred through employment as a government official. As an official, this participant spoke with various members of Chamoru rights groups and was subsequently convinced of their cause through conversations with them. Thus, it appeared that careers that increased knowledge of Guam's political context and brought participants into interaction with members of Chamoru rights groups assisted in the recruitment of these groups.

In sum, it appeared that positive interpersonal experiences and gaining knowledge about Guam's community created a circular feedback loop wherein the more positive interpersonal experiences participants had in learning about Guam's context, the more they wanted to learn about the context of the island of Guam. As members of Chamoru rights groups gained greater understanding of their cultural and colonial context, they appeared to increase in their desire to participate in the shaping of that context. Each of these factors relates to the Chamoru self described as contextual-interpersonal in research question one. Thus, building interest in Chamoru rights groups can occur through appealing to the unique cultural context of the

Chamoru self by promoting positive interpersonal interactions and providing knowledge about the context of the issues facing the community of Guam.

Research Question 4: What is the Lived Experience of Being Active in Chamoru Rights Groups?

The lived experience of being in a Chamoru rights group was identified to have four major categories. The first category was that of educating oneself and others. Education, such as learning about colonialism, was found to be a pathway to joining Chamoru rights groups as detailed in research question three. This process was described as "shifting consciousness" (Maria, p. 18) around community issues affecting the people of Guam in order to engage the community and recruit community participation in solving those issues. Topics that Chamoru rights groups provided education for included information about the effects of colonialism on the economy of Guam, experiences of WWII and other wars, and Chamoru language. Many participants spoke about a feeling of being closer to their Chamoru ancestors and culture through engagement with these educational experiences.

In addition to the information gained through educational events in Chamoru rights groups, formal academic education was discussed as part of the lived experience of members. For one activist, education was understood as providing class-related privileges that allowed him to utilize benefits such as paid time off and a consistent work schedule to participate in group activities. Utilizing these kinds of privileges allow activists to plan ahead for group activities and be more active in the group compared to activists who may not have consistent work schedules or adequate benefits related to time off. For another participant, research conducted as part of attaining an academic degree was used for the benefit of his Chamoru rights group.

The second major category for the lived experience of being in a Chamoru rights group is protesting. Protesting was identified as activities and events that attempted to show concern publicly about community issues. Protests often meant to demonstrate support for a particular political position, displeasure at the effects of problematic policies, or build community consciousness around issues that face the people of Guam. Protesting was shown to take at least two forms. First, protests could take the form of community-oriented demonstrations against institutions such as the media and the government of Guam and the United States. These demonstrative protests gathered hundreds of people and were used for groups with little formal voice and power in the community of Guam to bring to light concerns and issues faced by the people of Guam. These concerns were related to topics such as English-only language policies, the annexation of land by the United States military, and efforts at attaining decolonization in Guam.

The second type of protest identified in this study was public writing. This form of protest included public writings in newspapers, blogs, and social media. Public writing is able to provide more detail and directly show an activist's reasoning through the medium of writing, as compared to the vocal nature of demonstrative protest. One participant noted that Chamoru elders were more likely to read the newspaper, which allowed those who wrote publicly for newspapers to attain feedback from elders about their perspectives. This suggests that public newspaper writings may help to gauge the attitudes of Chamoru elders on activist topics while also directly providing education and information about topics of interest to the community of Guam.

The third category of lived experience in Chamoru rights groups was support activities. Support activities in these groups consisted of tasks such as signing people up for rallies,

fundraising, and planning. Although these activities are often considered less exciting compared to education and protesting, support activities are crucial for the smooth functioning of Chamoru rights groups. Planning is at the core of any group of people, and in Chamoru rights groups planning activities allow members to decide who is responsible for different parts of an event or activity. Planning also allows members to consider the costs and requirements involved in other support activities. Fundraising activities help provide the capital necessary for creating handouts and other fliers, hosting events that may require a venue or refreshments, and disbursing legal fees that may be necessary in legally challenging problematic policies or laws. Further, canvassing activities such as signing people up for rallies and protests allows for larger numbers of people to be involved in protests and demonstrate greater support for the issues being illuminated for the community. Sign-ups can also help to develop email lists of interested participants who may be likely to volunteer or assist in the maintenance of Chamoru rights groups.

The final category in the lived experiences of Chamoru rights activists were the challenges faced by activists as members of the group. The most common challenge faced by activists was difficulty in balancing family, work, and activism. Activists typically do not get paid for their efforts, and the work conducted by activists is supplementary to wage labor and family life. Some participants spoke about having difficulty committing to Chamoru rights activities due to responsibilities in their personal lives to raise children and provide for their families. Others spoke about the possibility of family conflict as a result of introducing Chamoru rights perspectives to family members. For example, Guam has the highest "rate[s] of military enlistment than any state" (Weare & Cruz, 2017, para. 7). Combining the context of high rates of military enrollment in Guam with the context of military worship in the United States (Karlin &

Friend, 2018; Sjursen, 2017), it is likely that criticizing the United States military's annexation of

Guam's land or damage to Guam's environment by the military can lead to family conflict,

especially in households that contain members of the military.

In addition to family conflict, some participants spoke about being verbally attacked

publicly and physically threatened for their membership in Chamoru rights groups. Verbal

attacks were described as ad hominem attacks with the goal of silencing activists by mocking

them or harming their reputations. This led to fears about negative impacts that may be felt in

participant careers as a result of these attacks. Other verbal attacks centered on the use of

colonial rhetoric to encourage shame in participants for their activities. For example, one

participant spoke about being told that she was "ungrateful" (Maria, p. 15) when illuminating

issues related to the United States military's colonialism in Guam. Another participant spoke

about those who questioned U.S. policies being labeled "unpatriotic" (James, p. 9). Threats of

physical harm were also noted by participants who spoke not only about threats to themselves

but to family members as well. This suggests that a part of being in a Chamoru rights group may

be "toughen[ing] your skin," (James, p. 16) as one participant stated, due to the attempts that will

be made to silence one's activism.

A final challenge identified by participants was the difficulty of helping others to sustain

interest in issues related to Chamoru rights. Participants noted that although it was easy to build

interest in an issue when a major event occurred in the community, it could be difficult to sustain

that enthusiasm for longer periods of time or if little progress was made in changing the problem.

Similarly, participants spoke about the difficulty of sustaining interest without having a

charismatic leader; some participants lamented the death of a major Chamoru rights leader,

which led to the splintering of a Chamoru rights group. In addressing this issue of sustaining interest, it may be possible to draw on the cultural value of interpersonal relationships.

In addition to these four categories, participants at times described the affective component of their experiences in Chamoru rights groups. Some participants spoke about positive emotions. These emotions were primarily about the joy that they felt while protesting and being a part of a community experience that felt healing. These experiences were identified as supportive; one participant stated that the members of her Chamoru rights group were like her family. On the other hand, participants also described a feeling of frustration at times with their groups. For some, this frustration came from disagreements about strategy while others felt frustration because of the difficulty in sustaining interest in the general community on topics relevant to Chamoru rights. In the end, no matter how the experiences were described affectively, they were understood as deeply meaningful and moving to participants in their lives.

Research Question 5: What are the Meanings Ascribed to Political Action for Individuals Who Take Part in Chamoru Rights Groups

When engaging in any activity, interpretations about the meaning of that activity are embedded in the language, social practices, and narrative around that activity. When speaking about the meaning that participants found in their Chamoru rights group activities, several major interpretations were discovered. First, all participants spoke about finding meaning through participation in positives changes made to the community of Guam. One aspect of creating positive changes was building a future that would be better for one's descendants. By addressing important community issues in the present, participants felt that they were making a better future for their children. Doing so was found to be interpersonally satisfying to participants and drove

participants to continue engaging in the work of Chamoru rights despite the difficulties associated with it as identified in research question four.

A second aspect of creating positive community changes was altering the community's understanding of words and social practices. For example, one word that has become more widely used in the community of Guam is "indigenous." A participant noted that his Chamoru rights group focused on using this word with positive connotations and noticed that it was being used in association with increasing the use of Chamoru cultural practices in Guam in the present. Another participant saw the changing attitudes around political activism by observing that even elders in Chamoru culture were more open to the idea of political activism and resistance. This change in understanding of words and social practices could also be conducted at an interpersonal level. For one participant, this was observed when he was able to persuade another person to recognize the environmental issues associated with the United States military control of ports. Thus, changes to the community could be observed in larger changes to the community's understanding of issues related to Chamoru rights as well as through interpersonal interactions with others who were not involved in these groups.

Finding a sense of purpose was the second major interpretation of meaning identified with participants. Finding meaning and purpose is considered a crucial undertaking for human beings in existential literature (De Beauvoir, 2015, p. 14; Frankl, 2014, p. 20; Sartre, 2007, p. 22). Humans are considered to be responsible for the world they create and asked to develop values and practices consistent with the world they desire (De Beauvoir, 2015, p. 15). Although existentialism is typically analyzed as highly individualistic due to its belief that individuals must develop this meaning by themselves, the existentialist perspective on meaning making can be added to by incorporating relational psychoanalysis' perspective on meaning being developed

from cultural understandings and social practices (Mitchell & Aron, 1999, pp. ix–xix). This collaboration of perspectives suggests that developing meaning is important for individuals and those meanings are developed through experience of one's cultural and historical background, including the social practices and interpretations made about those social practices and moral understandings.

This type of collective meaning making can be observed in the purposes identified by participants in Chamoru rights groups. For participants in this study, the feeling of purpose they embodied through work in their groups was inextricably connected to creating a better community for the people of Guam. Every participant who spoke about gaining a sense of purpose through their group tied that purpose to making positive changes in their community and developing meaning in their lives. Some also spoke about developing a stronger sense of a Chamoru identity. The activities were understood as a cherished part of participants' lives and one that taught them to be more vocal and engaged with the community of Guam. In this way, participation in Chamoru rights groups was a deeply meaningful act that helped participants develop the understanding that it was important to care about one's community and take responsibility for shaping it.

Related to making positive changes in the community and finding purpose was the third interpretation of meaning found in Chamoru rights groups: passing on moral understandings. In the second research question, the losses the Chamoru people have experienced due to colonialism were detailed. These losses included reductions in Chamoru community-oriented values and harmful colonial narratives that placed Chamoru culture and people as inferior to Americans. Within this context, an important meaning for Chamoru rights activists is passing on moral understandings that are felt as healing to the Chamoru people. For participants in this

study, passing on moral understandings came from having children and speaking to their children about the knowledge they gained from their Chamoru rights groups. By passing on this knowledge, it was hoped that participants' children would embody Chamoru identity and be curious about Guam's context of colonialism that impact their lives. Participants also found meaning in seeing Chamoru rights groups and activities hosted by younger activists who may have been influenced by prior movements. In sum, passing moral understandings to the youth was considered an important part of the meaning of membership in a Chamoru rights group.

Research Question 6: What Kind of Community is Built Around Chamoru Rights Groups?

How is it Built?

The community found in Chamoru rights groups is robust and can be described as informally structured. This community appears to be deeply interpersonal; informal pathways for joining the group embody interpersonal processes, as described in the first and third research questions. The core members of these groups are often composed of local Chamorus gathering to discuss issues that affect them, although non-Chamorus are not excluded from these gatherings. Participants in these groups are typically not required to sign-up for membership and do not generally have structured rules for membership or formalized board members who direct the goals of the group. Instead, it appears that leadership in these groups is often composed of passionate and sometimes charismatic individuals who dedicate their lives to working toward the betterment of the community of Guam as a whole. These individuals often take roles in planning, research, and management of volunteers. In contrast, members in non-leadership positions similarly have passion for Chamoru rights issues although they often take greater part in support activities such as signing people up and administrative work as described in further detail in research question four.

The community found in Chamoru rights groups is often structured around meetings or events such as protests. Meetings in these groups serve multiple functions. First, meetings furnish a location for members to gather and speak about the issues that concern them. These meetings are lively occasions allowing for debate, discussion, and support of one another. Meetings also provide time for developing strategy and planning for events and other community-oriented activities. Through planning, these communities are able to more evenly distribute labor for activities and spread out the burden of hosting events and protests. Further, the discussions in meetings allow them to be "a place of empowering and prosperous possibilities" (James, p. 13). Thus, meetings are crucial in building a space for activists in these groups to develop a tight-knit community that enact the Chamoru cultural value of interpersonal relationships.

It appeared that Chamoru rights groups were either based on a specific issue and the solving of that issue, or based on larger issues that impact the community of Guam more generally. Specific issue-based groups could be likened to American activist groups such as Occupy Wall Street and protests against the Iraq War, which were focused on one issue and often lost traction after the issue was either solved or public interest dissolved. Chamoru rights groups that could be categorized as specific issue-based groups had topics such as resisting the military use of lands for a firing range, the return of lands annexed by the military to Chamorus, and fighting against English-only policies in Guam. These groups in Guam often quickly lost membership after the issues were deemed resolved or unable to be changed. In contrast, general issue-based Chamoru rights groups could be considered similar to feminist groups or African American rights organizations that have more enduring issues that can only be solved through large scale systemic change. General issue groups in Guam were often centered on topics of

decolonization and independence. General issue groups appeared more stable as their goals were long-term and members saw the need for continued work toward improving the community of Guam.

Because the community of Guam has a relatively small population, the more well-known members of Chamoru rights groups could be considered public figures. As such, some members in these groups were approached in public about their activities. These meetings in public could occur at grocery stores or other public areas. For some participants, these conversations were positive and consisted of positive feedback and acknowledgment of the hard work activists put in to their activities. These positive interactions could also include members of the community who informed members of the group of problems occurring in the community that need to be addressed. However, negative interactions were described as those where individuals in the community would argue with the member of the group while they were with their family or trying to complete errands. Thus, both positive and negative effects were found for Chamoru rights group members who were publicly well-known. In this way, activists are closely integrated with the small community of Guam both as members of Chamoru rights groups and members of the community.

Inclusivity is an important moral understanding embodied by members of the community in Chamoru rights groups. Including different members of the community was expressed primarily through practices in meetings. Activists saw meetings in their groups as a place where members could share their perspectives. This perspective sharing was codified in some groups through writing down different ideas about topics and preserving those documents. Members also engaged in exercises designed to build a sense of possibility and increased community self esteem by having discussions about how their own lives might change is Guam was decolonized.

Some activists saw themselves as "facilitator[s]" (James, p. 15) with the goal of expanding the different voices that could be expressed within the community of Guam.

Chamoru rights groups also shaped the social practices of the community of Guam itself. This was done partly through changing laws. For example, participants spoke about helping to change the law in Guam to include a residency requirement for running for office, helping to create a registry for indigenous Chamoru people, and returning land annexed by the military to some of the people of Guam. Additionally, Chamoru rights groups changed social practices in Guam by popularizing words such as "indigenous" in order to introduce traditions into the culture such as Chamoru indigenous heritage week, Chamoru language, and Chamoru dances. Normalization of these kinds of words and practices appears to have changed public attitudes of Chamoru rights activists. This allows for more room in Chamoru culture for resistance activities and reduces the belief that protest is inappropriate for a Chamoru individual.

A final component of the community developed in Chamoru rights groups was the personal relationships developed from membership in these groups. Many of these groups were formed through friendships as described in research question three. These friendships appeared to become stronger through working together in these groups to the point that one participant saw her group as a "big beautiful family" (Maria, p. 15). This meant that members of these groups would be supportive and understanding of one another while working toward a shared view of the world. Others who did not create the group described finding like-minded individuals who became close friends and confidants. These friendships and the community that fostered these friendships were understood as healing spaces that helped the Chamorus harmed by colonialism in Guam to restore their sense of self-worth and participate more fully in the community of Guam in as a whole.

Research Question 7: How Does Chamoru Rights Activism Relate to Chamoru Indigenous Identity?

Chamoru rights activism was most directly associated with Chamoru identity through the act of preserving Chamoru culture. Preserving indigenous culture can be understood as one of L. T. Smith's (1999) indigenous research projects, particularly that of protecting indigenous knowledge and culture (p. 158). These indigenous research projects represent indigenous peoples taking ownership of research conducted in their lands. For members of Chamoru rights groups, preservation of Chamoru culture was considered paramount in the activities of the group. Preservation of Chamoru culture consisted of protecting Chamoru moral understandings about community-oriented behaviors, growing the use of Chamoru language in Guam, and saving the environment of Guam.

The importance of taking ownership of the narrative around Chamoru culture through preservation cannot be overstated. Doing so allows the Chamoru people to tell the history of their own people on their own terms, in contrast to colonizers telling a Chamoru history that places the Chamoru people at the lower end of a binary between colonizer and colonized; between good and bad; between superior and inferior (see research question two for more detail on this point). Taking ownership of a group's narrative is another of L. T. Smith's (1999) indigenous research projects, which she has named, "representing" (pp. 150–151). By having the right to represent one's culture to outsiders, rather than outsiders telling the Chamoru people what their culture is, the Chamoru people will have more opportunity for building community self-esteem as autonomous participants in internal narratives. In regards to the Chamoru contextual-interpersonal self, this taking control of narrative also helps to reconcile centuries of colonialism by embodying a historical-political understanding of Chamoru culture and engaging as a full

participant in its telling. This is accomplished through Chamoru rights group activities in education of others (see research question four for more detail on education in the lived experience of Chamoru rights groups).

Enactment of the Chamoru contextual-interpersonal self is also found in the community and protest strategy built in Chamoru rights groups. One example is the use of shame, or mamalao, with public protest. A participant likened the use of protest to the public shame an individual who stole from another may receive in Chamoru culture. This public shame was used as a practice for reducing the behavior of stealing, much in the way that protest could be used to shame individuals who engage in problematic actions such as the annexation of land by the United States military from the Chamoru people. Events hosted by Chamoru rights groups can also be understood as embodying Chamoru cultural practices. This is done through hosting events that have Chamoru food, Chamoru music, and other aspects of the cultural value of interpersonal relationships.

The communities built in Chamoru rights groups appeared to embody Chamoru interpersonal, community-oriented moral understandings. These communities were described as integrating Chamoru practices such as Chamoru spirituality and current religious practices including god-parenting, support and intimacy within the community, and working together toward a shared goal of resisting the effects of colonialism. The communities borne out of Chamoru rights groups were understood as spaces where individuals could heal from the harms of colonialism through the support and caring of other members. This was partly a result of the relationships in these communities themselves and partly due to membership in a community with like-minded individuals. Further acknowledgement of these harms and working toward

addressing them appeared to be a step toward reclaiming Chamoru history and positive

community self-regard.

Activities in Chamoru rights groups were also found to increase the feeling of connection

that members had to Chamoru culture itself. One way that these groups increased the feeling of

connection to Chamoru culture was through engaging in traditional Chamoru practices. For

example, one participant spoke about engaging in Chamoru hunting and fishing practices as a

member of his group. Another participant spoke about Chamoru empowerment, which he

described as imagining a better future for the Chamoru people and opening possibilities for them.

This participant sought out stories that were inspirational and could help the Chamoru people

understand themselves. Similarly, a final avenue for feeling connected with Chamoru culture was

through an understanding that Chamoru culture is not tied to specific traditional Chamoru

practices. Instead, being Chamoru could be understood as a function of the practices embodied

by Chamoru people in the present. This could include the integration of positive technologies

and practices of the colonizing power. In this way, Chamoru culture did not have to be

considered the polar opposite of the colonizer. Instead, it could more freely lead to a

conversation about the Chamoru practices that are important to preserve and the practices that

can be altered for the benefit of the people of Guam.

For some members of Chamoru rights groups, the very fact of being Chamoru was

understood as connected to activism due to political struggles the Chamoru people face through

colonialism. These individuals observed the struggles faced by the people of Guam and tied their

understanding of being Chamoru to the effects of colonialism they observed in the present. For

one participant, this relationship between being Chamoru and activism was not unique to the

Chamoru people. Rather, this participant connected activism with all marginalized or oppressed

groups and suggested that oppressed groups have the duty to work toward resisting the forces that maintain injustice in the larger community. Another participant invoked a historical example of Chamoru resistance by discussing the story of chief Hurao, who convinced the Chamoru people to resist Spanish colonialism through a passionate speech and the use of Chamoru practices of reciprocity (Leon Guerrero & Quinata, 2018). This suggests that while the history of colonialism in Guam is centuries long, so too has the resistance against colonialism been practiced by the Chamoru people for generations.

Research Question 8: In What Ways are Chamoru Rights Groups Effective? How can They be Improved?

For the purposes of this study, the effectiveness of Chamoru rights groups was observed through the cultural shifts, legislative successes, and events they established in Guam. Successful cultural shifts were noted by participants as positive framing in the community of Guam for words such as "indigenous." This has opened space for more positive depictions of Chamoru culture in the wider community and has normalized discourse of indigenous rights and practices in Guam. Cultural shifts were also found in changing attitudes toward Chamoru rights groups because in the past those who were members of these groups were considered disrespectful or unappreciative of the United States.

Events and legislative efforts that Chamoru rights groups have fought for may account for these changing attitudes and cultural shifts. Legislatively, successes came in the form of increasing the perpetuation of Chamoru culture and increasing political power for residents of Guam. Chamoru culture was perpetuated through repealing English-only laws, introducing Chamoru week in schools, Chamoru language and art contests, and a Chamoru registry that acknowledges individuals who are Chamoru. Political power for residents of Guam was

expanded through legislation that required 5 year residency for voting in Guam and return of some lands annexed by the United States military to the Chamoru people.

Events hosted by Chamoru rights groups could have multiple purposes. One purpose was to assist members of the community with practical concerns related to Chamoru rights. A participant spoke about accomplishing this by hosting an event with the goal of helping citizens of Guam to fill out complex government forms. Another purpose of events was to increase visibility of issues facing the people of Guam and build support for Chamoru rights. This could take the form of rallies in support of Chamoru rights issues or protests against problematic institutions or laws. In addition, participants of Chamoru rights groups could illuminate issues faced by the people of Guam through attending events hosted by international organizations. For example, one participant discussed the feeling of success he felt from speaking at the United Nations about colonialism in Guam.

Chamoru rights groups were also effective in creating a community that was felt by participants to positively impact their lives. The community in these groups was described as supportive, and friendships with other members could be likened to a caring family. Having this positive atmosphere created space for members of these groups to speak about Chamoru rights issues that were important to them. For some, this space was valuable because they did not have other people in their lives to whom they could speak about these issues. Having the combination of this space and a supportive environment may have lead to indigenous healing. One participant directly spoke about healing by stating that being a part of his group has given him a chance to be "processing trauma and coming to terms with [his] own experiences as an indigenous person in a colony" (George, p. 15).

When considering the difficulties faced by members of Chamoru rights groups in their activism in research question four, participants spoke about having conflicts in balancing family life with activism and the reduction in activist activity after the death of charismatic leaders. In this vein, when asked about how Chamoru rights groups can be improved, answers were related to these two difficulties faced by activists in their lived experience of activism. First, it was identified that reducing reliance on charismatic leaders would help with the sustainability of Chamoru rights groups. This can be done by having multiple members share leadership roles and appeared to be practiced by at least one of the groups in this study. In addition, sharing speaking roles helped build public speaking skills and charisma for multiple members of a group and increased the number of members who could rally activists.

Second, the difficulties faced by members in balancing family life with activism could be alleviated partially by increasing recruitment. Having more members could spread the responsibility and time spent on activities and allow for reduced burden on core members of Chamoru rights groups. Suggestions for recruitment could be drawn from research question three, which identified themes related to joining Chamoru rights groups. One avenue for increasing recruitment could be utilizing more educational presentations in classes at both the high school and university level. These presentations potentially would increase connections for the interpersonal and informal joining of groups and assist members of the general public in understanding the need for activism through Chamoru rights groups. This would require increased presence in educational institutions to identify educators that are sympathetic to Chamoru rights issues. A second method could be to increase recruitment efforts in populations that have jobs associated with increased community involvement and understandings. This would include jobs in the media, the government of Guam (particularly those in social services

and other public-facing jobs), agriculture (as agriculture in Guam is limited by military annexing

of land), and healing professions such as mental health and medical careers. In addition, it may

be useful to identify specific issues that are faced by the general population and discuss those

issues in detail in group meetings to build a sense of personal relevance around them.

Recognition of an issue faced by the general public could help potential members to see the link

between the issue and colonialism, thus increasing an individual's desire to make a change in that

issue through activism.

Research Question 9: What Suggestions do Members of Chamoru Rights Groups Have for

Psychologists in Guam?

Four major themes were discovered in relation to suggestions participants had for

psychologists practicing in Guam. The first theme centered on conducting research.

Psychologists were encouraged to conduct research, particularly on the topic of colonialism in

Guam. For instance, one participant wondered about the psychological effects he suffered by

being punished in school for speaking Chamoru when American English-only policies were

enacted in Guam. Psychologists could take a leading role in examining the psychological impacts

of problematic policies enacted in the past such as English-only and health policies (Hattori,

2004, pp. 191–193) as well as present American policies regarding immigration, trade with other

countries, and United States military annexing of land in Guam. Psychologists could further

study the impact of intergenerationally-transmitted war-time trauma of the Chamoru, which has

been explored by Taimanglo (1998), while also studying the resilience that individuals draw on

within colonial situations in Guam. It was hoped by one participant that psychological research

about these colonial effects would provide further professional legitimacy to concerns that

Chamoru rights groups have about American colonialism in Guam. Having this legitimacy

through academic research was understood as an avenue for pressuring the United States government to engage in efforts to decolonize Guam.

Another avenue for study discussed by participants was gender-related research in Guam. One participant spoke about the potential alterations to masculinity in Guam due to Spanish colonialism, which is a patriarchal society, compared to the matrilineal society of Guam. This change from a matrilineal culture to one that is patriarchal could have negatively impacted social practices that stabilize a community and contribute to a collective sense of well-being. The alteration of these matrilineal practices through violence may have resulted in a loss of cultural means for healing and conflict resolution in Guam's community. This type of research could follow in the footsteps of researchers who have examined the negative effects of rapid economic and social changes in Pacific Island communities as a result of colonialism (Hezel, 2003; Nero, 1990; Oneisom, 1991; Rubinstein, 1994; White, 1981). Psychologists, anthropologists, and historians could contribute to this topic by taking a wider perspective in Guam by more directly considering the effects of changing social and economic practices in their research.

Finally, outcome studies were understood as possible research topics for psychologists working in Guam. Participants were curious about the results of institutional practices in Guam such as restorative justice (Morton, 2004), which has been used in Guam's courts. Advocates of restorative justice have argued that it embodies Chamoru community-oriented values by offering compassion building mediation for offenders of less serious crimes. Only one study has been conducted on the specific practice of restorative justice in Guam (Fleming, 2009), and more work can be done to evaluate these types of interventions by conducting further qualitative studies that examine the experience of participants in interventions that are based in Chamoru cultural practices.

A similar suggestion was to conduct research on the outcome of the incarceration model of punishment for crimes in Guam. This suggestion was provided in relation to the high rates of incarceration in the United States and Guam, which were 737 per 100,00 and 381 per 100,000 (Glaze & Herberman, 2013; World Prison Brief, n.d.) respectively. At these rates, the United States is the largest jailer in the world per capita, with Guam at number 18 (World Prison Brief, n.d.). Considering the community-oriented values described in research question one, it may be beneficial to reconsider in Guam the American criminal justice practice of punitive incarceration without community rehabilitation. Psychologists could contribute to this effort by conducting research about the rehabilitation of individuals who have committed crimes in Guam and studying alternatives for incarceration, especially for non-violent crimes.

The second theme, closely connected to the first, is concerned with the development of culturally specific and sensitive interventions for the community of Guam. A problematic feature of psychological treatment occurs when contextual factors such as culture and historical place are neglected in favor of treatments focused on decontextualized diagnoses and symptoms. This appears to be prevalent within psychological research with the privileging of quantitative methods that are claimed to identify "empirically supported therapies." These therapeutic practices, such as cognitive behavioral therapy, are commonly criticized for their focus on minute behavioral or cognitive problems at the expense of a larger contextual understanding of a patient's cultural situation, which includes the values, beliefs, social practices and political and societal structures of an individual's cultural background (Cushman, 1995; Elkins, 2007; Guilfoyle, 2008; Hoffman, 2009; Sampson, 1981). Further, the focus on empirical data and treatment of symptomatology is an important element in a particular ideology that embodies

specific Western values such as those of individualism, reductionism, and rationalism (Sampson, 1981).

This issue has been taken up by Sampson (1981) who has argued that cognitive psychology and the empirical methods utilized in it become a distorted ideology to the extent that it is considered a "universal truth." He believed that although cognitive psychology is an accurate representation of the local truth of Western society at a particular socio-historical moment, it is not the only truth. This universalizing perspective becomes problematic when cognitive psychological methods are treated as a natural process rather than a complex, culturally influenced process of being. In other words, Sampson argued that cognitive behavioral therapy is a socially constructed theory that embodies particular values and beliefs that are obscured through naturalistic language. These beliefs include a subjectivism that locates the individual at the center of knowledge and understanding, an objectivism that suggests one can only discover true meaning through distance, and a form of rationalism that primarily utilizes quantification and Western logic (Proctor, 2008; Sampson, 1981).

The naturalization of knowledge as a pure universal "truth" results in the colonization of knowledge: a problem that has been taken up prominently by L. T. Smith (1999). She argued that empirical methods and colonialism intertwine in their focus on knowledge as "discover[able], extract[able], appropriate[able], and distribut[able]" (L. T. Smith, 1999, p. 58). This suggests that Western powers have exploited empirical methods to appropriate the knowledge of the cultures they have colonized through the commodification of indigenous knowledge, healing practices, and beliefs while also claiming that Western practices are universal and superior. The dominance afforded Western empirical forms of knowing has also resulted in the dismissal of indigenous people's knowledge and beliefs under the guise of a lack of empirical basis. This colonization of

knowledge may occur in therapy in Guam as well. Thus, because empirical methods are a socio-historical phenomenon, the privileging of quantitative empirical methods in psychological research may result in the degradation of alternative cultural beliefs that may be healing to the people of Guam. In addition, a decontextualized therapeutic practice in Guam can be perceived as blaming the individual rather than recognizing contextual and colonial factors that can make psychological issues feel less stigmatizing.

In combination, the universalization and colonization of psychological knowledge suggests the importance of developing a psychological literature that identifies the psychological ills specific to Guam's culture and its colonial situation. After the ills are identified, practices that can assist in the healing of those ills should be described. Healing practices may come from traditional community-oriented interventions, traditional interventions with modern cultural components, interventions that combine Western and Chamoru culture, and any combination of these. The ills themselves are likely to also have some correspondence to Western ills as a result of centuries of cultural contact. The most crucial aspect of developing treatment, however, is the meaningful integration of Guam's culture to the intervention. Simply using a Chamoru word to describe the psychological practice is not enough. Instead, psychologists should diligently avoid tokenism in the development of culturally relevant psychological practices. One method for achieving this could be to conduct research that includes a variety of community voices in identifying difficulties faced by the people of Guam and incorporating socio-cultural concerns that may not conform to symptom-based conceptions of illness. Psychologists in Guam may also benefit from openness to community-based interventions that endorse greater integration of individuals into the community of Guam through volunteer work, closer relationships between

elders and youth, and clubs or organizations that promote an increase in cultural and community self-regard.

The third theme expanded on the first. It is composed of studying and understanding the impact of Guam's colonial history on both a personal and professional level. In one's personal life, it was suggested that psychologists would benefit from studying Guam history. Doing so could help psychologists to build an understanding of the context for the people of Guam. It may also help psychologists develop a decolonizing perspective that will allow them to recognize the importance of self-determination psychologically and culturally. Understanding decolonization and Guam's history can help psychologists professionally by helping them to more accurately contextualize the clients they work with in Guam and allow them room to develop more culturally relevant interventions as discussed earlier. This can be achieved partially by learning about the effects of colonialism in other countries. Study in this area will assist psychologists to consider the potential effects of colonialism in Guam and help them to investigate whether these effects are also arising for the people of Guam.

Clinically, psychologists should consider the use of theoretical orientations that acknowledge the importance of historical and cultural context. Liberation psychology is a theory that has a history closely aligned with Guam's context. It was developed by Martín-Baró (1996) who developed liberation psychology through his experiences as a social psychologist in El Salvador. This theory directly recognizes the impact of war, trauma, colonialism, and oppression on a population and it challenges psychologists to develop interventions within these contexts rather than ignoring them. Similarly, theorists in some factions of psychoanalysis, such as relational psychoanalysis, have examined historical and political features of their practice (Cushman, 2015; Layton, 2009, Orbach, 2007). Theory for interventions in relational

psychoanalysis have been developed in the realm of the unconscious (Hartman, 2007), racial differences and enactments between psychologist and client (Leary, 2000), and empathy (Layton, 2009). Finally, intersectionality theory can be applied to the people of Guam. Intersectionality suggests that individuals with differing identities such as gender, ethnicity, and age may be affected differently by the power structures within a given society (Walby, Armstrong, & Strid, 2012). This theory could help psychologists to consider the different contextual attributes of their clients that may impact their well-being. For example, Chamoru women and Chamoru men may be affected differently by colonialism due to the context of Chamoru matrilineal culture within the context of colonization by patriarchal cultures.

The final theme is described as integrating with the community of Guam and understanding one's impact on it. Integration with the community of Guam was considered necessary for building trust with clients. It was suggested that psychologists could integrate with the community by having genuine contact with people who live in Guam outside of professional settings, making friends, and engaging in Chamoru cultural practices. It is likely that this kind of contact is necessary for a psychologist in Guam due to the long history of colonialism because the people of Guam have been told what to do with their lives without regard for context by numerous colonists. This issue has been enacted within the field of psychology as practiced in Guam due to the hiring of psychologists from the United States. These psychologists often utilized mainstream Western psychological practices, while only staying in Guam for a short period of time before a new psychologist from the United States is hired as a replacement. Psychologists should clearly demonstrate that they are considerate and trustworthy by participating in the community as a full member, rather than staying aloof or distanced.

Understanding one's impact on the community of Guam could be likened to a common

feminist slogan that states: "the personal is political" (Hanisch, 1969). This quote can be interpreted as proposing an inextricable association between the personal issues one faces and the political milieu of one's society. For psychologists in Guam, this suggests the importance of considering the political actions they engage in and their psychological consequences for clients. One participant provided an example. He suggested that the actions of a psychologist would be incoherent if they were to simultaneously treat individuals affected by sexual trauma while politically advocating for candidates that blame rape victims or increase the difficulty for victims to receive services. In this situation, the psychologist's political activities are harmful to their client because they could result in institutionally substandard care. Thus, it is important for psychologists to consider the effect of political issues on the clients they serve. This might include considering the effects of colonialism and how colonialism impacts their clients, which might suggest the necessity of decolonization efforts in the healing of the people of Guam. Moreover, understanding one's impact on the community of Guam will allow a psychologist to more fully participate in the community as a caring professional working toward the benefit of the island as a whole.

Limitations of the Study and Future Research

Several limitations can be noted to this study because the research conducted in this dissertation represents an exploratory study. It aimed to describe the basic cultural terrain embodied by members of Chamoru rights groups while suggesting areas for future study. In this way, it is focused on the development of the psychological literature in the area of colonialism, resilience and resistance to that colonialism, and psychological harms stemming from colonialism in Guam.

The main limitations of this study are the small number of participants and demographic considerations. In total, only eight individuals participated in this study. Most of the participants in this study have obtained a bachelor's degree, with a large proportion having attained graduate degrees. Similarly, many of the participants were in groups with comparable goals, mainly focused directly on decolonization in Guam. Individuals with less formal education or from groups with different goals may have different answers to the questions that were posed to them in this study. Some participants also alluded to historical conflict in Chamoru rights groups based on socio-economic status, which suggests a possible divide between Chamoru rights group members who have formal education and those who do not. Data for socio-economic status was not gathered for participants in this study due to this possible conflict, which is a further limitation. In addition, only two out of the eight participants were female, suggesting that male-voices may have been overrepresented in the sample. A larger, more diverse sample may have added further depth to the results of this study.

Future research could be utilized to both address the limitations of this study and conduct research that expands on the results of this study. One avenue for exploration would be to describe cultural identifications of individuals in groups such as those focused on free association or American statehood in Guam. Individuals in those groups may have differing ways of being Chamoru that more closely align with American values. Research on these differing perspectives will allow us to compare their terrains and expand on the different configurations of Chamoru identity. This may provide researchers with a variety of models for examining Chamoru identity in different contexts and illuminate the moral understandings embodied in different social practices. Exploration of participants' ways of being in distinct contexts could also be conducted in other categories such as socio-economic status, educational

attainment, age, and gender. Intersectionality theory could assist researchers in considering different categories for research conducted in this area.

In terms of psychological and hermeneutic research, numerous future research topics can be derived from this study. One area of study could be in the social practices that help individuals embody moral understandings. Social practices such as fishing could be further explored to illuminate various moral understandings found in Chamoru culture. This may help cultural anthropologists and psychologists better understand modern Chamoru identity and the practices that uphold that identity. By understanding this modern identity, it may be possible to develop interpretations about how colonialism and changes in material conditions such as economy have impacted the people of Guam and their community. Examining these changes can assist researchers in developing knowledge about the psychological and social issues that may be connected to rapid changes in Guam's society.

Research on the specific psychological benefits participants gained through Chamoru rights groups may be a powerful area of study. Several participants spoke about psychological benefits to them in joining these groups, with one participant stating, "it's helped with processing trauma and coming to terms with my own experiences as an indigenous person in a colony and the militarization" (George, p. 15). This finding suggests that Chamoru rights groups may be a pathway to healing and building positive community self-regard for the people of Guam. Research on the specific benefit of these groups would help identify what aspects of these groups encourage healing and how they can be a source of strength to members. In addition, the positive effect of the community in Chamoru rights groups could be a topic for future research.

Research on psychological clinical applications can also be drawn from the data described in this study. Under research question five, it was found that an important aspect of the

meaning found in Chamoru rights groups was the sense of purpose that individuals embodied. In combination with Dela Cruz (2013) who examined existential concerns such as meaning for individuals diagnosed with mental illness, this suggests that the purpose and meaning developed in Chamoru rights groups may be psychologically beneficial to members of those groups. This purpose may be a generative source for future research as purpose could be studied in various contexts, including other community-based organizations, careers, or volunteer work. Moreover, the purpose that may be generated from these organizations indicates that community-based interventions could be useful for psychologists in Guam and should be studied further.

In research question one, many of the participants of this study discussed hearing stories about what it means to be Chamoru from their grandparents, parents, and friends. These stories were understood as increasing participants' feelings of intimacy with these individuals and with their group while also helping them to develop an understanding of their sense of self. Further, the stories were often tied to historical events that the Chamoru people have experienced, such as colonialism or ancient Chamoru stories. The importance of narrative and history suggests that approaches focused on those topics may be healing to the people of Guam. This may include liberation psychology, relational psychoanalysis, and narrative therapy. Thus, research on these types of approaches should be conducted in Guam to examine their potential benefits.

An interesting area for study could be the exploration of connotations for the word "activist." In conducting this study, one participant spoke about feeling hesitation to join a Chamoru rights group due to uncertainty about whether he fit the definition of an activist. Hesitation about joining a Chamoru rights group may be a useful topic for research in the recruitment of individuals in a Chamoru rights group. It may be beneficial to learn about what kind of hesitations members of Chamoru rights groups may have had before joining the group

and how this hesitation was allayed. This may also include study on the attitudes that the general public has about Chamoru rights groups and how these attitudes are impacted by colonialism and attitudes towards activists in general in the United States.

Methods for the improvement of Chamoru rights groups were unclear in this study. Although some small suggestions were found in the areas of reducing the work-load on core members of these groups, avenues for substantial improvement were not identified. The lack of suggestions about improvements may be the result of limited time being used in the interviews to examine this topic. Participants may also have been hesitant to speak negatively about their groups due to the problematic ways that research has been utilized in colonized countries. A study that more directly focuses on the improvement of Chamoru rights groups, especially one conducted by a member of the group, may be of benefit to members of those groups. Similarly, the successes of Chamoru rights groups were not well identified in this study. This suggests that a study that catalogues the successful actions of Chamoru rights groups could be conducted. A study that catalogues these successes may vividly demonstrate the benefits of these groups in the community of Guam.

Regarding the limitations of this study, two participants in this study spoke about having spiritual experiences when engaging in activities as members of their groups. Both of these participants described these experiences as deeply meaningful. They felt motivated into further action to preserve Chamoru culture and healed by the experience. These results indicate the possibility of spirituality being important in Chamoru rights groups, both in their functioning and in the community created in these groups. This spiritual component of Chamoru rights groups has not been studied, and future research could address this topic.

Conclusion

In this study I explored a variety of topics, from what it means to be Chamoru to joining a Chamoru rights group and what the lived experience of membership means to participants. This was to be an exploratory study of the culture of Chamoru rights groups in Guam. In doing so, it was found that the Chamoru self described in these groups is a contextual-interpersonal self. This Chamoru self is one that recognizes the impact of the history of Guam as well as the importance of community. Members of Chamoru rights groups joined the group in ways that were consistent with this contextual-interpersonal self by joining through learning about their community and personal relationships. The lived experience of members of Chamoru rights groups is deeply meaningful and was felt to be a practice that encouraged healing. In addition, participants actively provided suggestions to psychologists about practicing in Guam. They suggested that psychologists learn about the history of Guam and participate in Guam's social context to engage in treatment practices in a more culturally relevant manner. In sum, the lived experience of individuals who have joined Chamoru rights groups is one that is rich, and full of supportive, healing relationships. Psychologists must recognize the power of these kinds of community-oriented, decolonizing, and social-contextualizing practices and incorporate them more fully into our work.

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APPENDIX A

Informed Consent

Thank you for your interest in this study! The Antioch University Psy.D. Program supports the practice of protection for human participants in research and related activities. The following information is provided so that you can decide whether you wish to participate in the present study. You should be aware that even if you agree to participate, you are free to withdraw at any time, and that if you do withdraw from the study, you will not be subjected to reprimand or any other form of reproach.

Purpose:
The purpose of this study is to learn more about the experience of people who engage in political activism on Guam.

Description of Study:
The study will consist of interviews and a demographic questionnaire. The interview is expected to last between 1 hour to 3 hours. You will be asked a variety of questions about your experience in political resistance.

Risks to you:
There are some risks in taking part in this study. Time is valuable, and this interview takes some time from you. There is some risk that you can be identified by experiences you speak about in this study. We will reduce the risk of this happening by obscuring easily identifiable information and locking all information in a secured cabinet when it is not being used.

Benefits:
Although there are some risks, there are also some benefits. I hope that your participation in this study will be in-line with activities you engage in when engaged in political protest. You may feel satisfaction at helping to bring information about political resistance on Guam to psychological literature. I also hope this study will help to increase visibility of political resistance movements on Guam.
_____

Consent:
I have read the above statement and have been fully advised of the procedures to be used in this project. I have been given sufficient opportunity to ask any questions I had concerning the procedures and possible risks involved. I understand the potential risks involved, and I assume them voluntarily. I likewise understand that I can withdraw from the study at any time without being subjected to reproach. I may also ask for a summary of the results of this study. If I have questions I may contact the investigator, Alan Butler, at abutler@antioch.edu or my dissertation chair, Phil Cushman, at pcushman@antioch.edu.

_____   _____   _____
Name   (Please Print)   Signature   Date

APPENDIX B

Demographics Questionnaire

1. Gender:
☐ Male ☐ Transgender Male
☐ Female ☐ Transgender Female
☐ Not Listed

2. Age: ___

3. Name(s) of Chamoru Political Group Affiliation(s):

1) _____
2) _____
3) _____

4. Years of Activity in Chamoru Political Group(s):

1) _____to _____
2) _____to _____
3) _____to _____

5. Ethnicity (Check as many that apply):
☐ Chamoru ☐ Filipino
☐ African-American ☐ Caucasian
☐ Hispanic/Latino ☐ Japanese
☐ Korean ☐ Chinese
☐ Other: _____

6. Highest Degree Attained:
☐ Less than 10th grade ☐ Bachelor's degree
☐ Completed 10th grade ☐ Master's degree
☐ High school graduate or GED ☐ Doctorate
☐ Some college/associate's degree ☐ Other _____

7. Current Employment:
☐ Employed full time or more ☐ Attending School
☐ Employed part time ☐ Homemaker
   (less than 30 hours a week) ☐ Unemployed
☐ Self employed ☐ Retired

APPENDIX C

Interview Schedule

1) <u>**Experience of Indigenous Identity**</u>
First, I would like to hear about your cultural background.

1) What is your first memory of being Chamoru?
Prompt: When did you start being aware of your culture?

2) What does it mean to you to be Chamoru?
Prompt: How do these experiences add to the meaning of being Chamoru for you?

3) What are some benefits of being Chamoru?

4) How do you think colonization has impacted the people of Guam?

5) Do you have a memory of the first time you experienced discrimination or prejudice?

2) <u>**Experience of Joining a Chamoru Rights Group in Guam**</u>
Next, I would like to hear the story of your joining (Chamoru rights group).

1) How did you view yourself culturally before joining (Chamoru rights group)?

2) What was your opinion of the group before joining?

3) What motivated you to want to learn more about (Chamoru rights group)? How were you recruited?

4) What was your first impression of (Chamoru rights group)?

5) Please describe your experience of joining (Chamoru rights group).

3) <u>**Individual Lived Experience of Engagement in Chamoru Rights Groups**</u>
Next, I would like to learn about your experience as a member of (Chamoru rights group). What was it like to be a member of (Chamoru rights group)?

1) How long have you been in (Chamoru rights group)?

2) Describe some of your experiences as a member of (Chamoru rights group).

3) What kinds of activities have you taken part in?

4) What is your favourite story of being in (Chamoru rights group)?
Alternatively: Tell me a story about being in (Chamoru rights group).

5) What successes did you encounter as part of (Chamoru rights group)?

6) What struggles did you face as part of (Chamoru rights group)?

7) How has being in (Chamoru rights group) affected your view of yourself?

4) **Experience of Community in Chamoru Rights Groups**
   Now I would like to learn about the community built around (Chamoru rights group).

   1) What kinds of people did you meet as a member of (Chamoru rights group)?

   2) How would you describe some of the relationships you developed there?

   3) How have your relationships with family members or friends changed after joining (Chamoru rights group)?

   4) What has been really meaningful to you in being a part of (Chamoru rights group)?

   5) How has being in (Chamoru rights group) impacted your life?

   6) Has your understanding of what it means to be Chamoru changed after joining (Chamoru rights group)?

5) **Effectiveness and Improvement of Chamoru Rights Groups**
   Finally, I would like to hear about your overall experience of being in (Chamoru rights group). Can you describe your overall experience as a member of (Chamoru rights group)?

   1) What is your favourite part of being in (Chamoru rights group)?

   2) What is your least favourite part of being in (Chamoru rights group)?

   3) What would you like to change about (Chamoru rights group)?

   4) How would you improve (Chamoru rights group)?

   5) Is there anything else about the group you would like to share with me?

   6) What recommendations do you have for psychologists on Guam?