DECOLONIZING SEXUALITY:

CHAMORU EPISTEMOLOGY AS LIBERATORY PRAXIS

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Francine MSN Naputi

DEDICATION

This is for a young, CHamoru woman who years ago shared her dreams of sex education and having children who spoke Fino' CHamoru in the small computer lab at the University of Guam. This is for the young, CHamoru man who patiently listened and encouraged her to take steps to achieve those dreams.

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation explores the sexual landscape of Guåhan, an unincorporated territory of the United States. Centuries ago, CHamorus, the indigenous people of Guåhan, viewed sex as a natural part of life that youth must be comprehensively educated about. After the introduction of Catholicism and the militarization of the island, CHamorus now see sex conservatively and treat it as a taboo subject. Today, young CHamorus engage in risky sexual behaviors at higher rates than their peers and have the highest rates of sexually transmitted diseases. This study applies the foundations of postructuralism, postcolonialism, indigenous feminism, indigenous gender complementarity, and queer theory to create culture-based sex education curriculum. By weaving these seemingly contradictory theories into counterstories for curricular materials and activities, this study argues that by centering discussions around CHamoru epistemological views, sex education can create additional spaces of learning that seek to deconstruct colonial logics and instead serve as places of cultural resurgence.

This dissertation critically analyzes historical accounts and key informant interviews to record shifts in CHamoru sexual thought and to focus on how sex education is implemented in Guåhan. A curricular analysis comparing Guåhan's current sex education curriculum with culture-based curricula focuses on their alignment to national and local health education standards, incorporation of sexual health topics, and depth of cultural inclusion. Collectively, these methods examine Guåhan's sex education landscape to see if changing narratives to reflect a CHamoru worldview can decolonize students' sexual imagination. Additionally, culture-based sex education can allow youth to build individual skills that will help them engage in reproductive health behaviors and activities that are beneficial for them.
Keywords: *Culture-based Sex Education, Decolonial Education, Indigenous Complementarity, Deconstruction, CHamoru, Guåhan*

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Introduction: Åpmam Ti Manguekuentos I Famalåo'an:

Transcribing Western Taboos onto Native Sexuality

"Am I still beautiful to you?" I heard the faint whisper of my mother's words as they travelled through our small house in Talofo'fo'. Confused, I approached the bathroom and found her standing in the tub as she just finished showering. She was speaking to my father, the words cut through me as they traversed along the scars that traced the lines of her breasts that were long gone after her double mastectomy. These words were coursing across irradiated remnants of her neck, where a chunk was removed in the '80s. "Of course, you are. Why would you say that?" my father replied. He was taken aback by her words, thinking why would she ask him such a question? She answered him with defeat in her eyes, "Look at me. Why would you think I was beautiful?" For a second, it seemed that they forgot I was even there. I watched this exchange in stunned silence, my eyes moving between my mother and my father in slow motion. How could my mother feel that way about herself? How could this beautiful and strong woman reduce herself and her ability to attract my father, her husband of more than twenty years, to a pile of missing body parts?

The encounter between my parents burns itself into my memory because it illustrates the way we perceive ourselves and our ability to attract intimate partners. After years together, with her body changing from cancer, my mother questioned why my father was still sexually attracted to someone whose body was carved up and ravaged with disease. She questioned how even after years together, my father could see her the same way because she no longer recognized her body. I knew that conversation was not meant for me, but my mother's question made me wonder how

we came to view ourselves and others sexually. This moment shaped my curiosity in sexual constructions and the narratives that shaped them.

To satisfy my wonderings, this dissertation focuses on mapping Guåhan's[1] sex education landscape. How does Guåhan's educational system handle sexual health? For this dissertation, the terms sexual health and reproductive health will be used interchangeably since both terms are used in association with one another by recognized health organizations, namely the World Health Organization (WHO) and the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC). This branch of health is formally defined as the "state of physical, mental and social well-being in relation to sexuality… Sexual health requires a positive and respectful approach to sexuality and sexual relationships, as well as the possibility of having pleasurable and safe sexual experiences, free of coercion, discrimination and violence." (World Health Organization [WHO], 2019, para. 1).

With this definition of sexual/reproductive health, this study will specifically look at how education is used to inform and facilitate discussions amongst Guåhan's population. Does Guåhan have classes or curricular materials dedicated to sexual health? If so, what frameworks are used when teaching students about sexuality and reproduction? How did we decide which frameworks to use?

The Native Narrative

To tackle these complex questions, I center my methodological framework around the CHamoru word for ancestor, *taotaomo'na*. With *taotao* meaning people and *mo'na* meaning

[1] Indigenous name for the island of Guam

front, the word *taotaomo'na* literally translates to "the people in front." This one word alone hints at the circular way that CHamorus think about history and past events, akin to other indigenous peoples we value our ancestors for their insights and knowledge, considering them people worthy of listening to. Though that view of indigenous history has remained intact despite waves of colonization, the CHamoru memory has merged and wrapped itself around centuries of foreign interference. CHamorus know of the accomplishments of their ancestors and can recite historical quotes with rote memorization, but these events only highlight the experiences of the noble savages, rendering all others silent. CHamoru political scholar Mary Cruz (2012) in her dissertation, "(Re)searching Identity: Being Chamorro in an American Colony," argues that,

> the histories of Guam were often written within a context of the island's colonial past, and thus, could not give voice to that which it was not already predisposed to hear. As a result, Chamorus became fragments within the dominant discourse of their colonizer and their *colonizer's* history. And it is in this context of colonization that we are continually presented with a history about Guam—a story assumingly about Chamorus that never really allows them a presence in the narrative. (p. 35-36)

Considering Cruz's argument, I argue that sex education must make room for the native CHamoru voices that have been buried under layers of colonial rule by incorporating a culture-based curriculum in Guåhan's classroom. The archive of native knowledge that is hidden between the lines of Guåhan history can serve as the foundation that sexual lessons can embed themselves into.

For this dissertation, the idea of "culture-based" will mean materials and discourse grounded in the epistemology of the island's students, namely CHamorus. Though one could

argue that presenting curricula in a predominately CHamoru frame would be a disservice to Guåhan's multicultural population, CHamorus make up the demographic majority and are also the students who engage in risky sexual behaviors[2] at higher rates than their peers. Additionally, CHamoru epistemology considers community traits that are common amongst most of the ethnic groups who are in Guåhan such as, collectivism and reciprocity. Therefore, sex education grounded in a CHamoru framework will still have the ability to connect to students who reside in Guåhan.

Following the *taotaomo'na* methodology, in this study I utilize textual analysis to give voice to the silenced who are buried in the canon. To this day, most of Guåhan's history is composed of missionary accounts, in which the deliberate elimination of certain narratives pushed all divergent voices to the margins of the historical canon. Since the authors of history were not CHamorus, we were given a new lens to view our past from. Celebrated Māori scholar Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2012) argues that if the historical archive is not comprised of first hand experiences it can alter our cultural frameworks by reflecting the "experiences and observations of white men whose interactions with indigenous 'societies' or 'peoples' were constructed around their own cultural views of gender and sexuality" (p. 8-9).

Considering the origins of Guåhan's historical archive, I use textual analysis to first record the shifts in CHamoru sexual thought throughout history. How did CHamorus educate about sexual concepts? What were their established societal rules surrounding sexual practices and behaviors? Did colonial interference change any of these behavioral patterns and norms? If

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[2] Risky sexual behaviors are classified as behaviors that increase one's chances of contracting a sexually transmitted disease or infection and of untentionally getting pregnant. Such behaviors include, but are not limited to, not using protection during sexual acts or having multiple sexual partners (CDC, 2019).

so, when, how, and by whom? Such analyses, will focus on which narratives have been uprooted and pushed to the margins. World-renowned educator and philosopher Paulo Freire (1993) in his inspirational book, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, expresses that, "one cannot expect positive results from an educational or political action program which fails to respect the particular view of the world held by the people. Such a program constitutes cultural invasion, good intentions notwithstanding" (p. 95). Therefore, to create the type of (sex education) curriculum that both Smith and Freire call for, this dissertation must first explore the topographical plane of sex education by mapping historical and contemporary CHamoru sexual thought and how these perceptions have influenced the way the island's institutions handle sex education.

In combination with textual analysis, this study includes key informant interviews. By having educators and health practitioners explain their experiences in Guåhan's educational and healthcare institutions, this study incorporates interview questions that critically focus on how sex education is implemented in Guåhan. Which institutions in Guåhan discuss sexual health? Do their approaches toward sex education differ? Who should be responsible for sex education? To investigate these questions, I chose to conduct face-to-face interviews structured around what Pacific scholar Vince Diaz (2010) in his book, *Repositioning the Missionary: Rewriting the Histories of Colonialism, Native Catholicism, and Indigeneity in Guam*, calls *narrativization*, or more precisely a method that explores,

> the discursive or linguistic crafting or telling of this political and cultural history, but with an eye, or ear, or whatever organ it takes, to revealing how colonialism works through representational practices, and to revealing which residual indigenous cultural and

> political meanings have not been allowed to circulate under an equally complex and enduring colonial legacy over the past four centuries. (p. 4)

Administrators, educators, and politicians discuss the sex education landscape that exists in the Guam Department of Education (GDOE) and the Guam Department of Public Health and Social Services (DHPSS). All interviews are conducted in person since the subject matter can be uncomfortable for others to talk about. Utilizing any other method proves difficult because sex is still considered a deeply private, individual issue. Other collection methods, such as online surveys, will create a distance that will make it easy for participants to simply avoid questions about sex education altogether.

Lastly, for this study, I conduct a curriculum analysis to compare *Respect: A Sexual Violence Prevention Curriculum*[3] with sex education curricula that are culturally tailored to their respective audiences. Currently, GDOE has adopted the *Respect* curriculum package, which was developed by The Sex Abuse Treatment Center, a state organization in Hawai'i. The Attorney General of Guam in partnership with GDOE implemented *Respect*, with only a few revisions made for the students of Guåhan. I compare the *Respect* curriculum with culture-based sex education curriculum written for indigenous students, *Navigating Personal Wellbeing and Sexuality in Chamorro and Chuukese Communities* and *Pono Choices* (written with a Native Hawaiian perspective). The curricula are weighed according to how well they align to national and local health education standards, incorporate sexual health, and to what degree do they include the cultural values and norms of their students. With these methods, I collectively examine the sex education landscape in Guåhan to see if changing narratives to reflect those of

[3] Adopted by the Guam Department of Education to be used in Guåhan's classrooms.

the indigenous population can serve as a potential solution to improving individual skills in ways that will help youth engage in reproductive health behaviors and activities that are beneficial for them.

A Funeral of Imaginations

> *We have often allowed our "histories" to be told and have then become outsiders as we heard them being retold.*
>
> - Smith, 2012, p. 34

To get a baseline for sexual thought and sex education practices in Guåhan, it is important to first acknowledge the island's political status and how for centuries, Guåhan's lack of sovereignty continues to shape who controls and influences education in the island. To date, the island of Guåhan remains an unincorporated territory of the United States. Through changes made with the influence of Spanish Catholicism and American patriarchy, current sex education curricula can be isolating for CHamoru students because it is not grounded in their native epistemologies. Changing the theoretical frameworks for sex education is also a tricky process because as an American colony, curricula in Guåhan must align with national health education standards. Therefore, it is imperative to unpack distinct shifts in Western[4] sexuality to better understand Guåhan's sexual landscape.

Today, the survival of introduced cultural norms and practices have translated into shifting perspectives of sexuality. Centuries ago, CHamorus viewed sex as a natural part of life that youth must be comprehensively educated about, but after the imposition of Christian,

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[4] For the purpose of this dissertation, Western refers to American and European, more specifically Spanish, worldviews and frameworks. Guåhan was a Spanish possession for about 230 years before becoming a colony of the United States since 1898 to present, with a brief period of Japanese rule during World War II.

patriarchal ideals, CHamorus now see sex conservatively and understand it as some dangerous, taboo subject children should be protected from. CHamoru women and men have successfully and forcibly been re-educated to construct their sexual behaviors and intimate relationships so that it instead reflects the cultural ideals of the colonizer (Underwood, 1978). As argued by Diaz (2010), Christianity justified the more conservative character of CHamoru sexual thought. He explains that, "especially since the end of World War II, there has been a conspicuous articulation between Catholicism and Chamorro culture, a particular indigenous formation of local society that understands it to be the only real antidote to the social ills of modernity found in Guam's rapid economic and social growth" (p. 23).

In addition to Spanish Catholicism, sex continues to be a taboo subject because of the conservative nature of some American institutions. In America today, sex education is a divisive topic amongst American educators and the communities they serve. Many opponents of sex education argue that sex is a private matter that has no place in the classroom. They instead feel that it should be a parent's responsibility to educate their child(ren) about sex (Luker, 2006). Illustrating this belief, the Sexuality Information and Education Council of the United States (SIECUS)'s annual report revealed that only thirty-one states mandate sex education in their schools with an additional ten mandating at the very least HIV/STD education.

Out of the thirty-one states, only nine require that curricula be medically accurate and only six require that curricula be culturally appropriate. Additionally, nineteen of them have policies that stress the importance of abstinence, but only eight cover discussions about contraception. SIECUS also found that only three states required that students be taught about consent. Equally as troubling, four of the states that stress abstinence have laws that demand that

sex education should be "discriminatory" towards LGBTQ[5] people meaning that teachers are "to portray LGBTQ people in a stigmatizing and negative way or prohibit teachers from even mentioning LGBTQ people" (Sexuality Information and Education Council of the United States [SIECUS], 2018, p. 1). It was also outlined in the report that thirteen of the states that stress abstinence adopted sex education standards that promoted marriage, which are characteristic of abstinence-only sex education models (SIECUS, 2018).

Characteristics of the abstinence-only sex education model directly conflict with the once open environment where CHamorus discussed sexuality because it "withholds information about pregnancy and disease prevention, these teens who do go on to have sex will be less protected then they are now" (Luker, 2006). Critics of the abstinence-only model have also argued that this framework is especially dangerous because it places so much emphasis on teaching "young people not to have sex at all rather than to have sex safely" (Luker, 2006). Even with its limitations, thirteen of the thirty-one states believe that it is the best curricular model for their schools.

A longtime health educator and service provider in Guåhan revealed that our educational landscape still leans towards many of these beliefs. When interviewed, he noted that in his decades of service he still felt that the island community had reservations about sex education. He stated that many would tell him that, "if you talk to them [kids] about sex, then they are going to have sex. It's this whole idea, be careful how we talk to them about certain things because we are endorsing and encouraging it. So, I think there's still some of that, that's happening"

[5] Acronym for sexual orientations and gender identities that fall outside the cisgender and straight societal norms. LGBTQ translates to Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer. More recently, the acronym has grown to include more identities "IA" for Intersex and Asexual/Allied. Therefore, it is common to see either LGBTQ or LGBTQIA.

(personal communication, 2018). Mirroring the closed off way sex is handled, one public health administrator shared that their clients receive sex health information inconsistently. She revealed that,

> some of them [clients] have said that I never heard of this. I never heard of HIV/AIDS. I never saw it. Some of them may have said, oh my teacher was really good, and showed us how to use a condom. But there are still many who say, I never had this. I've never heard of it when I was in high school. So, I think everyone is different. Every high school, every curriculum being taught in the schools, is being taught differently. (personal communication, 2018)

Most clients could not remember having sexual health discussions while attending schools in Guåhan. For the few who did recall such conversations, she noticed irregularities in the information given which were highly dependent on the client's school environment.

Driving the "Deviant" to the Margins: Theorizing Sexuality

The silence around sex was a deliberate colonial move. Gender historian Scott Morgenson (2015) observed that the institutionalization of sexuality, in the Pacific, meant the creation of what French philosopher and historian Michel Foucault referred to as a "new species of abnormal sexual types" (p. 47). Once they had the tools to categorize the individuals as deviant, institutions began to police sexuality by surveying "all people for signs of gender or sexual ambiguity that could result in containment or coercive reeducation" (p. 47). The landscape significantly shifted to the point where "other forms of sexuality lie vanquished outside of 'tradition'" (Hokowhitu, 2015, p. 90). As introduced views of sexuality began to overshadow existing CHamoru sexual frameworks, Western taboos started to permanently

transcribe themselves onto native bodies. Though one could argue with the legalization of same-sex marriage and the emerging transgender rights movement, marriage practices and views of sexuality are less stringent in Guåhan, CHamorus are still far less liberated and in control of their sexuality than they were prior to colonization (to be discussed later in this chapter). Overtime, CHamorus learned to lock their chastity belts without the help of foreign hands.

Historical accounts exist that tell of CHamoru sex education practices, namely the Guma' Ulitao (to be discussed later), but the archive has significant gaps that do not address the changing sexual landscape. Freire (1993) argues that, "knowledge emerges only through invention and re-invention, through the restless, impatient, continuing, hopeful inquiry human beings pursue in the world, with the world, and with each other" (p. 72). While mapping the island's sexual landscape, this study identifies any existing barriers that influence the current implementation of sex education in Guåhan. How do these barriers connect to the growing sexual health disparities that exist for the indigenous population in Guåhan?

Native scholars Brenda Child and Brian Klopotek (2014) in their anthology, *Indian Subjects: Hemispheric Perspectives on the History of Indigenous Education,* highlight just how significant recording these changes in sexual ideology are because "many of these [indigenous] knowledge systems have been destroyed or significantly interrupted through colonial educational institutions designed specifically to interrupt the intergenerational transfer of knowledge" (p. 3). To this day, the removal of native sexual frameworks is a common colonial tool that is used to control and change the way we interact and communicate with one another. For centuries, education has been the method of choice to ensure such chaos (Kaomea, 2014; Smith, 2012).

CHamorus today see sex as taboo and are reserved about its inclusion in schools, feeling that it is not proper for the formal classroom (personal communication, 2018; Underwood, 2019).

Considering the centuries of foreign interference in Guåhan, to properly analyze existing sexual narratives, no one theoretical school of thought can justifiably deconstruct and reimagine CHamoru epistemologies. Kanaka Maoli education scholar Julie Kaomea (2003) accepts that to see beyond the imposed confines of colonialism, indigenous scholars must consider, "both a revision of the past and an analysis of our ever-changing present, we cannot work within closed [theoretical] paradigms" (p. 16). To reinsert CHamoru sexual epistemologies, this endeavor will require creativity and imagination. Therefore, this study applies the foundations of postructuralism, postcolonialism, indigenous feminism, indigenous gender complementarity, and queer theory (all of which will be discussed throughout this dissertation).

In this study, I also apply Kaomea's adaptation of defamiliarization in my textual analysis. Kaomea (2003) explains that literary theorist Victor Shklovsky introduced the concept of defamiliarization and applied it to literature and art. In his analysis, Shklovsky says, "After we see an object several times, we begin to recognize it. The object is in front of us and we know about it, but we do not see it—hence we cannot say anything significant about it (see Kaomea, 2003, p. 15). The object then becomes normal for us that we do not question it or bother to analyze it critically. Kaomea (2003) explains that defamiliarization methodology will uncover those voices who have been silent as it allows one to "look beyond the familiar, dominant narratives and give voice to the previously marginalized or voiceless" (p. 15). For this study, I look beyond the historical text itself to piece together the CHamoru picture of sexuality by focusing on what is missing instead of only what is written in the accounts. So, as CHamoru

sexual concepts became recorded and translated by colonial powers, who were cast as the silent, ignoble savages? How do we look beyond the familiarity of the existing text to discover the voices that are left out of these narratives? How can we layer native epistemologies into these texts to give them life again?

Given the degree of marginalization that occurs in the historical text, I argue that using Smith's critique will be the key to enriching Guåhan's written history. For generations, CHamorus have seen their ancestral history presented back to them in accounts written by a foreign pen. Words from missionaries, military officers, and Naval governors fill the pages of historical texts, rendering the reconstruction of the CHamoru memory as one analyzed from the perspective of these foreign men. Overtime, history became a colonial tool for establishing hierarchies of knowledge that would shape and distort indigenous views by constructing them entirely around Western frames of thought (Smith, 2012). Like Smith, postcolonial and literary theorist Gayatri Spivak critiques the dominant text itself and its ability to include the "true" voice of the subaltern. She writes that "not only is the historical archive limited to texts written by colonizers (or the colonized elite), nearly all forms of representation are products of colonial power. In this setting, the "appearance of a 'subaltern' is only a 'subaltern subject-effect' of colonial discourse" (see Go, 2016, p. 54). Spivak later concludes that since the text is purely dictated by the colonial power, there is no way that a true subaltern voice can be exposed.

Though these theoretical analyses may seem pessimistic to some, I argue that to conceptualize CHamoru sexuality without considering its reconstruction with skepticism would be unjust. Given that no narratives are written by pre-contact CHamorus, some creative flexibility must be given since we only have a contemporary CHamoru lens to reconstruct

sexuality with, even with this limitation this study argues that it would still be beneficial to Guåhan's youth to reimagine sexuality with a native lens. Though this study remains seemingly optimistic and runs counter to Spivak, I argue that when these marginalized voices are brought to the center, we can move towards dismantling and reconstructing these buried sexual narratives.

For example, if one were to study the history of Guåhan merely by looking at materials given out in those classes, they would question whether homosexuality even existed. The same can be said of historical accounts. As discussed earlier, there are extensive historical accounts that document the rules and protocols surrounding marriage, but it was written strictly using a heteronormative lens. The narrow snapshot of history that the text provides renders sexual minorities and gender non-conforming individuals invisible. As mentioned earlier, glaringly absent from these historical accounts are discourses concerning homosexuality, transgenderism, or other forms of perceived deviant sexual or gendered behaviors, leaving them to the realm of the subaltern. Thus, creating the illusion that CHamoru society functioned according to a strict female-male binary encased neatly in heteronormative boxes.

Additionally, the exclusion of the experiences of queer individuals from written accounts of pre-contact CHamoru society led to the erasure of any voices who did not fit the colonizer's view of the perfect native. Across the colonized Pacific, Kanaka Maoli scholar and activist Noelani Goodyear-Kaʻōpua (2014) explains in her book chapter, "Domesticating Hawaiians: Kamehameha Schools and the 'Tender Violence' of Marriage" that "the enforcement of heteronormative categories upon Hawaiian sexuality has been an essential part of the colonizing process" (p. 38). Applying Goodyear-Kaʻōpua's analysis, it begs the question, were queer

CHamorus deliberately written out of history or were they no longer able to exist openly in CHamoru society?

Foucault (1976) theorizes that to master sexuality one must work to control the language and discourse surrounding its construction. The power lies in the ability to regulate one's access to sex and how their behaviors are shaped by such access. Sexual labels and identities are societal constructs. They are not naturally occurring, as the mainstream canon tries to reflect. Instead, sexual definitions change and take new forms based on the dominating power (Foucault, 1976). Therefore, the exclusion of queerness in Guåhan's historical accounts contributed to the erasure of these experiences rendering these sexual identities powerless and non-existent in the CHamoru memory.

By accepting the deliberate exclusion of the subaltern (in this example queer individuals), we can begin to decide where CHamoru sexuality should go to conceive new forms of sexual dialogue. It was not uncommon for accounts of Pacific societies to have "wiped clean from the pages of their studies any discussion of the possibility of homosexual relations in Pacific Islands communities, and frequently concluded that homosexuality was absent" (see George, 2008, p. 165). The erasure of the gender and sexual minorities changed the fabric of pre-contact CHamoru society by completely excluding any experiences that did not fit the colonial identity of the perfect native. By discovering which sexual identities and orientations have been left out of the mainstream canon, students will learn why those in the margins are labeled "deviant." Such discoveries will allow them to understand that their realities may not be as permanent as they might have imagined.

The Cultural Bomb

Kenyan scholar Ngugi Wa Thiong'o theorizes that colonists effectively use education against oppressed peoples with a concept he describes as the *cultural bomb*. Wa Thiong'o (1986) explains that by controlling the narratives, colonial powers could educate indigenous peoples so they would view their ancestral past as "wastelands of non-achievement" (p.16). Once this process was complete, the aftermath of said bomb was meant to decimate a people and their way of life, leaving CHamorus to suppress sex(uality) by labeling it too taboo for the mainstream canon. In the classroom, native students were taught to devalue their worldviews and their language, and to instead privilege Eurocentric, Western frames.

I, myself, was a victim of this bomb. While in school, I subconsciously felt the effects of the cultural bomb. I am sure if I listened hard enough, I would have heard the faint tick, tick, ticking of that bomb. Growing up, I thought girls who were wearing low-cut tops and short skirts were sluts…tick. I would casually tease my friends as we called each other "pussy" and "faggot"… tick. I laughed as we tried to decipher the gender of the shim (she-male), whom we affectionately called "it" … Boom! Blinded by existing sexual ideals, I was unable to see beyond the carefully constructed boxes of sexuality and gender. I found it difficult to untangle ideas of purity and worth from one's virginity. I could not sever the rules of gender performance from the bodies that pushed against their scripts. The cultural bomb decimated and leveled my sexual landscape leaving it a deserted wasteland.

Reflecting on my own experiences in Guåhan's classrooms, I soon realized that the process came full circle, the systematic exclusion of sexual discourse combined with the promotion of Western sexual ideals made it nearly impossible for me to attain my indigenous

sexual worldview, which currently only exists in historical documents. This is a worldview from which many CHamorus have been violently removed from. I did not see my ancestral knowledge as relevant. I bought into the myth that women could prevent rape by changing the way they dressed and that teen pregnancy was merely an issue of self-control. I accepted the norms of sexuality that came with several waves of foreign interference. As a result, in Guåhan today, sexual health disparities are negatively skewed towards CHamorus. Guåhan has the second highest rape rate in the nation (Miculka, 2015), and the fourth highest chlamydia rate (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention [CDC], 2017). CHamoru women account for over half of all abortions that are performed in Guåhan annually (Esperansa Project, 2017).

While applying Wa' Thiong'o's theory to sex education curriculum, it becomes imperative to also heed Freire's (1993) warning that, "people often identify with representations that they are either comfortable with or that help deepen their understanding of themselves" (p. 23). Therefore, even if students learn about CHamoru sexual ideologies that directly challenge Western ones they may be hesitant to accept them as worthy truths. CHamorus may be more comfortable with leaving native narratives in the past, thinking of them as merely "ancient," "prehistoric," and irrelevant to our modern circumstances. This study seeks to diffuse the cultural bomb and shift that mindset by arguing that sex education needs to expose students to their contradictory, indigenous sexual narratives. In an interview with a professor at the University of Guam, she addressed what I consider to be one of the root causes of this silence by saying that,

> here (Guam) it is also taboo in some ways, but at the same time because we are much more western; we are much more, you know, colonized as a base people…if you look at traditional CHamoru practices, we were very sexually liberal. I think [the shifting] that's

> consistent with, because of the overlay of not just colonization, but Catholicism. The reframing and reshifting of how we engage our sexual practices; I think that for some that is problematic. (personal communication, 2018)

Through this dissertation, I try to provide tools to defuse this cultural bomb and give voice to those who were labelled deviant by mapping the sex education landscape of Guåhan. Considering the multitude of sexual influences mentioned above, my dissertation questions how and why these imaginative sexually liberal, CHamoru epistemologies have been replaced by stifling, polarized Western constructions.

Balancing Two Cultural Worlds in the Sexual Script

> *My moment of awakening happened on March 1, 2013 and I was in no way prepared for it. That day, my partner, Ken, and I went to the first event held by the University of Hawai'i's demilitarization club that we belonged to, Oceania Rising. We hosted the event to commemorate the people who survived and lived with the health challenges thrust upon them by the American nuclear tests in the Marshall Islands. We spent the day listening to others, from across the Pacific, talk about the harmful effects of militarization in their home islands… Hawai'i, Aotearoa, Rarotonga, Okinawa, American Samoa, and the Marianas. I watched performance after performance as people left their anger on the stage, scattering the damaging effects of colonial interference across the floor. Inspired by their passion, I watched silently as each person shared histories that began to sound all too familiar…land takings, linguicide, rape, sexual assault, and even genocide itself. Then it was my turn, in front of over a hundred people, for the first time I publicly shared*

the story of a man I was taught to despise, CHamoru rights activist and former Guåhan senator, Ånghet Santos.

After a successful night, I should have been elated and filled with relief that so many people, students and community members alike, were interested in learning about our colonized present. However, I soon found myself trying to catch my breath as overwhelming feelings of anger and sadness began to flood my mind. Ken sat on the bed with me, gently coaxing me to finally radicalize and decolonize my thinking, but I was hesitant.

Loud sobs escaped from my mouth as my shoulders bared the burden of my cries, I was trying to wrap my mind around what transpired. The bubble that had been so meticulously crafted for me…the bubble that kept me submerged in my colonial reality, burst. I shook my head violently, willing my consciousness to return to its coma-like state, but nothing happened. I wanted to again be the girl who saw her shiny military ID as a privilege in which I could access military bases and call places beyond its fences, the "outside." I wanted to again be the girl who was unaware of her colonized status and instead stayed comfortable in her illusion of privilege. I wanted to be the girl who had no acknowledgement of her "othered" identity. But in this moment, I knew there was no going back. I let my tears dry on my cheeks as I felt my anger slowly subside. It was in that moment that I decided that I would no longer remain submerged in my cleverly crafted colonial reality. It was time to jump over the same fences that my ancestors leapt across to awaken and empower themselves to consciousness. Though it may seem

contradictory that I was in a demilitarization, decolonial club before actual coming to terms with my reality, I think my situation illustrates the same paradoxical identities that most CHamorus live with. I was satisfied with unconsciously living in the two cultural worlds that Haunani Kay Trask wrote about. For years, I was content in making those distinctions, until that fateful day in March.

As illustrated in my story above, the colonial experience traps and uproots existing epistemologies, forcing native peoples to balance between their cultural scripts and introduced ones. Freire (1993) argues that having to live in two, conflicting worlds has damaging effects on the minds of the oppressed. They were molded into "contradictory, divided beings, shaped by and existing in a concrete situation of oppression and violence" (p. 55). Kanaka Maoli activist and scholar Haunani-Kay Trask (1996)'s article, "Feminism and Indigenous Hawaiian Nationalism," brings Freire's writings into the Pacific, with her observation that indigenous peoples live in what she calls "two cultural worlds" (p. 911). Native peoples must make daily negotiations about how to construct their identities, carefully weighing the options with a discerning eye. Colonizers are not required to occupy themselves with these negotiations because "white people's survival does not depend on knowing daily life with a decolonizing mind or sensing reality as a menacing place that must be negotiated with great skill and a discriminating step... they are the beneficiaries of colonialism" (Trask, 1996, p. 911). By connecting the colonial effects that have influenced sexuality in Guåhan with the realities that CHamorus live in, this study untangles the lines that construct the two cultural worlds that indigenous peoples are forced to dwell in.

The shifting between two worlds, have started to tip in favor of the colonizers. Today, we are seeing more and more CHamoru sexual views transform and mirror more foreign ones. As expressed earlier, the same can be said of historical accounts. How have these erasures and deliberate changes carved out the sexual landscape of Guåhan? What are the contemporary consequences of these newly adopted discourses? The shift to Western thinking has infiltrated the existing native frameworks just as Wa Thiong'o predicted.

QUESTIONING THE CONSTRUCTION OF POWER (CONTINENTAL PHILOSOPHY- POSTSTRUCTURALISM)

To understand the existing sexual landscape of Guåhan, it is important to first engage with the skepticism and critiques of truth that make up the foundation of poststructuralism because it illustrates the impermeability of the sexual narrative. American sociologists, John Gagnon and William Simon, purposed that sexual boundaries were outlined in what they called the "script." Gagnon and Simon argued that,

> sexuality is socially learned. In the course of growing up, we are taught by society what feelings and desires count as sexual and what are the appropriate scripts for sexual behavior. Sexual scripts tell us where, when, and with whom (based on age, race, and class) we are supposed to have sex, and what it means when we do. They [Gagnon and Simon] suggested that sexuality is not an inborn property but a product of social labeling. (see Seidman, 2010, p. 26)

The existence of such rules has become the basis of criticism for poststructuralists. Therefore, when examining and critiquing these sexual scripts, poststructuralism gives students powerful

tools to accomplish that. Foucault (1976) in his influential book, *History of Sexuality Volume 1: An Introduction*, argued that, "sexuality must not be thought of as a kind of natural given which power tries to hold in check, or as an obscure domain which knowledge tries gradually to uncover" (p. 105). With a poststructural lens, activities in sex education curriculum can teach students how to deconstruct sexual concepts while giving them permission to reimagine new, more fitting ones (along with postcolonialism of course, which will be discussed later).

For example, Foucault's historical analysis of changes in sexual views would be helpful to unpack events in CHamoru history. With the Catholicization of CHamorus, Spanish missionaries burned knowledge houses called Guma' Ulitao, to discourage CHamorus from engaging in promiscuous sexual acts. Out of fear, CHamorus learned to heed to strict, conservative Christian rules that demanded that sex should only happen amongst married couples. By acknowledging these events, students can see that CHamoru sexual ideologies changed under the literal threat of fire. With the new world order, the reigning Catholic power replaced the centuries long CHamoru sex education practice.

Poststructuralism allows students to see sexuality as a socially constructed phenomenon whose definitions are subject to and created by those in power, even if it is to the detriment of others in the community. Foucault (1976) demonstrates the way this authority manifests itself in social narratives since,

> discourse transmits and produces power; it reinforces it, but also undermines and exposes it, renders it fragile and makes it possible to thwart it. In like manner, silence and secrecy are a shelter for power, anchoring its prohibitions; but they also loosen its holds and provide for relatively obscure areas of tolerance. (p. 101)

To see the societal influence that sexuality can have, one must examine the role that discourse has played in constructing supposed sexual truths.

In line with Foucault's observations, sexuality academic and writer Michael Bronski (2011) reminds scholars of sexuality that it is "useful to remember that no universal baseline of appropriate sexual or gender behavior exists" (p. 15). Today, definitions of sexuality in the CHamoru mindset are largely dependent on what appears to be given rules or unquestionable truths. Sociologist and gender scholar Robert Henry (2015) argues that indigenous groups were often taught sexual norms in "universal or natural terms supported with biological or scientific explanations of ability" (p. 183). Indigenous peoples were not given room to critically analyze how these norms came to be. They were simply told that these norms exist and should be followed. Considering how inflexible introduced discourses on sexuality have been, it becomes important that sex education allows native students to disassemble these truths.

To unfold the construction of sexual dialogue, this study looks to another poststructural theorist, Jacques Derrida, for guidance on how to perceive these "truths." Derrida argues that "presence upon *which its definition depends* can itself only be articulated with the help of that which it is not" (see Biesta, 2001, p. 39). Western sexual narratives should therefore be examined for who and what are labelled as sexually deviant. Who does power consider dangerous and threatening because they challenge the current ideology? Derrida theorizes that to answer this question, one must engage in deconstructing truth, "more, therefore, than simply being an openness toward the other, deconstruction is an openness toward the unforeseeable in-coming (invention) of the other." As interpreted by American philosopher J.D. Caputo, Derrida's process of deconstruction must be thought of instead as an "inventionalism" (see Biesta, 2001, p.

33). Derrida therefore challenges the existence of standing sexual binaries by questioning why they should be allowed to exist at all. Derrida felt that binaries of identity should be completely done away with so audiences can be open to the idea of the *other*, no matter who or what that is. Derrida's point proves useful for native students, since, "Europeans rejected Indigenous peoples' recognition of gender roles that exceeded European ideas of binary sex/gender" (Morgenson, 2015, p. 42). By exposing the limitations of these binaries through Foucault's questioning of power and Derrida's call for reimagination, poststructuralism will encourage students to poke holes in the foundations of universal truths about sex and sexuality (Go, 2016, p. 61).

As argued by theorist and gender scholar Judith Butler, poststructuralism can also be used to expose the performative aspects of gender by understanding it as a show we put on every day. In her revolutionary book, *Gender Trouble*, Butler illustrates this point with American feminism. She explains that feminism brought to life the political perception that "the term *woman* denotes a common identity" (Butler, 1999, p. 6). The term then became problematic because it failed to encompass all other intersecting identities that make up "women." She continues by saying that,

> gender is not always constituted coherently or consistently in different historical contexts, and because gender intersects with racial, class, ethnic, sexual, and regional modalities of discursively constructed identities. As a result, it becomes impossible to separate out "gender" from the political and cultural intersections in which it is invariably produced and maintained. (Butler, 1999, p. 6)

As discussed by sexuality scholar Steven Seidman (2010), in his book *The Social Construction of Sexuality*, Butler's critique highlights that gender is instead something that we learn because it is a compilation of

> images of what it means to be a woman or man that we learn from our families and other institutions. The illusion of core feminine and masculine gender identities conceals the social and political forces that shape us into gendered and sexual beings. (p. 37)

We remain unaware of these "lessons" because for many of us our participation in the theater is unconscious. Keeping these performance rules intact becomes critical because it gives people guidelines on how to behave and how to perceive the performances of others. We learn from an early age to police gender and to ensure that everyone else follows its scripts. Marrying Butler's critique of labels and Foucault's discourse on power, Seidman (2010) explains that poststructuralists understand that having the ability to shape how people perceive their sexuality and their gender performances has, "become a critical part of the way modern societies control their citizens" because "a society that can control sex can manage the behavior of individuals and whole populations" (p. 32). Therefore, sex education must be used to show students that gender has power because we give it power. Once power is no longer invisible, then it becomes easier to disassemble and fight against it.

However, considering that the goals of poststructuralism are to dismantle and deconstruct, civil rights activist Audre Lorde (1979) with arguably one of her most famous quotes, "the master's tools will never dismantle the master's house. They may allow us temporarily to beat him at his own game, but they will never allow us to bring about genuine change" (p. 110-114), illustrates that something else is needed. Poststructuralism though useful in damaging the master's house does not give the tools to rebuild a house that is more suitable for us. For this study, poststructuralism has the value of disrupting the narrative, but leaves significant gaps, as many critics have carefully pointed out. Critics of Derrida have called his

theory, “a form of critical analysis which aims at tearing apart everything it finds in its way” (Biesta, 2001, p. 32). Given the Eurocentric roots of poststructuralism, there may be limited applicability when considering indigenous frameworks.

However, those roots can prove useful, since most curricula that native youth engage with are shaped by Western frameworks. Child and Klopotek (2014) highlight that most curricula are not written for native youth, especially since subject content is “still taught almost exclusively in English, it teaches students to participate in a capitalist, individualistic society, teaches Anglo values, and still speaks of ‘our founding fathers’” (p. 13). To reduce the relentless balancing that occurs when CHamorus navigate their two cultural worlds, it would be unwise to completely commit my study to a poststructural discourse. Therefore, by also embedding postcolonial frameworks into sex education curricula CHamorus can reimagine and create a sexual narrative that works for them.

THE HEGEMONY OF SEXUALITY

Poststructuralists question the production of history and its role in constructing universal truths, though in line with this skepticism, postcolonial scholars question constructed truths with a different lens. Sociologist Julian Go (2016) argues that the foundation of postcolonial theory is to “critique the culture of empire in order to cultivate new knowledges, ways of representing the world, and histories that circumvent or transcend rather than authorize or sustain imperialistic ways of knowing” (p. 9). By understanding our colonial experience, indigenous scholars will have the chance to unravel the effects and changes that shape current native beliefs.

For example, the acknowledgement of the third gender or the placement of queer people into the indigenous realms of the third gender may completely contradict poststructural critiques of established universal truths, since it keeps the narratives of gender intact. But the third gender also follows in poststructural fashion by showing such truths can be flexible and permeable in a way that is customized to the individual. As shown with the fa'afāfine of Samoa, the māhū of Hawaiʻi, and the two-spirits of Turtle Island, third gender individuals are often revered by their people because of their ability to transcend the polarity of gender. In indigenous communities, these individuals perform both male and female roles which allow them to fill significant gaps such as, caring for older relatives or taking in children who would otherwise be abandoned. Additionally, third gender individuals were often given the responsibility of educating others in their capacity as activists, teachers, and cultural practitioners (Center for Pacific Island Studies [CPIS], 2016; Walters, 2007).

The acceptance of third gender individuals in indigenous communities deeply contrast Western frameworks, which remain heavily reliant on gender, even though there really is no need to know one's sex or gender. Bronski (2011) stated that the conception of hegemonic femininity and masculinity was a necessity in European society, which later trickled into the native communities that they soon colonized. He noted that these boundaries were strict and harshly enforced "through accepted practices of violence, such as capturing and enslaving non-Christians and forced conversion" (p. 2). Social work scholar and writer Nicholas Teich (2012) also argues in his book *Transgender 101: A Simple Guide to a Complex Issue* that even today, "as human beings and, more specifically, as people living in a modern Western society, we place an enormous amount of stock in knowing whether someone is male or female. But if you step

back and think about it, it is seldom, if ever, necessary to know a mere stranger's sex or gender identity" (p. 97). Western society is incredibly hesitant towards identities that do not fit neatly into sexual and gender binaries, namely those who are not cisgender and heterosexual.

By applying a postcolonial lens to a poststructural frame, sex education can show students that in some indigenous communities, queer bodies were celebrated and revered for their ability to move between or exist within both genders. However, many native communities are losing their ability to transcend beyond existing sexual scripts to venerate these abilities. We are instead stuck in a colonial sex loop, forced to see gender and sexuality only in black and white.

As illustrated by the third gender example, by introducing students to forgotten or hidden histories and narratives sex education can push efforts to decolonize by restructuring students' ways of thinking. Smith (2012) continues by saying that even thinking with a poststructural frame may be skipping a step. We, indigenous peoples must first, fight to move beyond our colonial reality that "traps us in the project of modernity" (p. 35-36) by seeing that the "reclaiming of history is a critical and essential aspect of decolonization" (p. 31).

Illustrating the deception mentioned by Smith, postcolonial theorist Frantz Fanon (1967) in his radical text, *Black Skin, White Masks*, articulated that colonial groups fell into traps of accepting dominant foreign narratives in what he called *psycho-affective attachments*. Applying Fanon's theory to indigenous groups, Coulthard (2014), in his book, *Red Skin, White Masks: Rejecting the Colonial Politics of Recognition,* explains that these attachments served the purpose of sustaining the colonized in the roles created for them by their colonizer. Thus, engaging them in an illusion that left the colonized in their oppressed state thereby reinforcing

the very hierarchal relationships that undermined them (p. 26). Oppression was not an innate quality of the colonized, it was instead a reality that was imposed upon them through the colonial process. By observing the constructive power of colonialism, Go (2016) writes that Fanon argued that it should instead be “a structuring force rather than a neutral medium” (p. 25).

Considering the psycho-affective attachments that CHamorus developed towards Christianity, an interview with a longtime elementary administrator in Guåhan, revealed the stifling educational environment that exists in the island’s schools. When asked about sex education she commented that,

> teachers in my school are not comfortable teaching sex education. If a student were to ask the teacher a sexual health question instead of answering it, teachers will send the student to either the nurse or the counselor. Teachers choose to engage in this practice because they are aware of the liabilities that are incurred upon them should they discuss sex with their students. They know that it is a sensitive topic that many parents would be uneasy about. (personal communication, 2016)

Inundated by the island’s conservative Catholic ideologies, it becomes difficult for teachers to openly discuss sex or to even feel confident enough to offer their students any answers. Freire (1993) explains this entrapment as “one of the gravest obstacles to the achievement of liberation if that oppressive reality absorbs those within it and thereby acts to submerge human beings’ consciousness” (p. 51). Sex education can move outside the colonial reality of CHamorus by encouraging the use of more fluid pre-colonial, CHamoru sexual norms in classrooms.

It is important to note that Fanon, himself, would have challenged such a suggestion. Coulthard (2014) explains that Fanon did not see the value in “critical reevaluation… as an

important means of temporarily breaking the colonized free from the incapacitating effects of being exposed to structured patterns of colonial misrecognition" (p. 132). He rationalizes that Fanon felt that other than exposure, returning to one's past would hinder the progress of the colonized, leaving them stuck in the colonial identities they sought to escape. He felt that only by "moving beyond these historical and instrumental givens that one can truly initate the cycle of freedom" (see Coulthard, 2014, p. 144).

Though indigenous scholars see the merits in Fanon's arguments, they refuse to believe that the past should remain behind them. To illustrate this point, Coulthard (2014) explains that Native American scholar Leanne Simpson, in her book *Dancing on Our Turtle's Back*, argues for resurgence stating that it "does not literally mean returning to the past, but rather re-creating the cultural and political flourishment of the past to support the well being of our contemporary citizens" (p. 156). She continues that, to accomplish this, we must think about reconstructing "the fluidity of our traditions, not the rigidity of colonialism" (see Coulthard, 2014, p. 156). We should instead privilege indigenous sexual knowledge and use it to expose youth to new, more imaginative sexual realities. As Wa Thiong'o (1986) suggests, "a sound educational policy was one which enabled students to study the culture and the environment of their society first, then set it in relation to the culture and environment of other societies" (p. 97). Building off Wa Thiong'o, longtime LGBTQ activist and health service provider in Guåhan shared that sex education curriculum needed to be

> a tool that could put the indigenous identity at the center of the teaching of sex so that it builds on the strengths of people's culture and sort of talks about it from that perspective as opposed to all of the materials that we've been using have really just been borrowed.

To some degree there's some content here that's universal… stuff that's universal to a universal human community. (personal communication, 2018)

WORKING WITHIN CULTURAL CONFINES

Maolekña i puntan sampapa' ki i puntan sanhilo'. (It is better to be a whore than a gossiper.)

-CHamoru proverb

To get CHamorus to unlock their metaphorical chastity belts, Guåhan must create sex education curriculum that fulfills the students' need for culturally appropriate content. By acknowledging the voices that are left out of the canon, we can move towards creating curriculum that reinserts those discourses. Some may be skeptical of this process, like Fanon, but the process still must be done. Go (2016) argues that we should instead think of the reinsertion of these narratives as a way of "recovering native agency and voices as best the historical archive allows, while nonetheless making visible the incompleteness of the representation" (p. 61). Such a task does not have to be daunting since, CHamorus already have at their disposal a rich archive that documents ancestral sex education practices.

One of the most prominent traditions, in pre-contact CHamoru society, was the Guma' Ulitao, otherwise known as the bachelor house. It was normally the largest house in the village, symbolizing its importance (Marsh & Muna, 2018). Within these homes, young CHamoru men, the Ulitao, were taught an assortment of vital survival skills and cultural protocols. The Guma' Ulitao acted as an educational space, where young CHamoru men learned trade skills that they used throughout lives such as, navigation, canoe building, warfare, and the construction of latte-homes (Cunningham, 1992). During their training, the Ulitao were also given the opportunity to learn sacred sexual knowledge, which prepared them to engage in healthy sexual practices, while

remaining respectful to their partners. The idea of educating others about sex was not a concept one was to shy away from, instead it was viewed as a vital life skill that a person would need to successfully function in society. CHamorus did not consider sex a taboo subject because they believed that it was natural part of life that youth needed to be prepared to engage in (Marsh & Muna, 2018).

As part of the comprehensive sexual training, young, unmarried women were brought in from other clans to assist the young bachelors. These women were known as the Ma' Ulitao and it was their responsibility to teach the Ulitao about sex (Salas, 2018). In CHamoru society, the Ma' Ulitao were highly valued and the status of their families were immediately elevated as a result. These women were of great importance to CHamoru society because they were tasked with keeping sacred knowledge. When the Ma' Ulitao finally reached the end of their teaching tenures, CHamoru men viewed them as suitable marriage partners. They knew that if a woman served as a Ma' Ulitao, she was experienced and highly educated about sex. The prestige of her former position was indicative of her desirability as a partner, most especially if she were to get pregnant while still living in the Guma' Ulitao (Salas, 2018).

It was found that once these young women and men left the Guma' Ulitao they were "more mature, equipped for adulthood, and ready for a committed relationship" (Marsh & Muna, 2018, para. 4), indicating that both young CHamoru men and women greatly benefited from this education. Despite the positive influence the Guma' Ulitao was having on CHamoru youth, Spanish missionaries found the practices that occurred amongst the Ma' Ulitao and the bachelors vulgar and disgusting. Pacific scholars Kelly Marsh and Brian Muna (2018) further explain that the Guma' Ulitao was "despised by the Spanish missionaries who settled in the Mariana Islands

in 1668. Missionaries preached outside *i mangguma' uritao* and burned them down in an effort to end what they viewed as the 'sinful practices' of premarital sex that occurred inside" (para. 6). The burning and eventual closing of these knowledge houses became the catalyst for altering CHamoru conceptions of sexuality. Sex, which was once an open subject, was now shrouded in silence and left to dwell behind closed doors.

Through the collision of Christianity with indigenous values, Christian views of sexuality transcribed themselves onto native sexual views. The calculated transformation of sexuality was meant to silence and eradicate indigenous peoples, not to protect them through an educational process that contributes to what Kaomea (2014) called the *settler colonial elimination project*[6]. In the Hawaiian context, "American settlers sought to eliminate and replace our Native Hawaiian society and these Native Hawaiian sovereigns in our native land" (p. 125).

Reinforcing the settler colonial elimination project, a professor at the University of Guam attributes her lack of sexual knowledge, as a child, to the structure of the Catholic school. She recounts that she had to look for sexual information outside of her K-12 education,

> the only reason why I learned the kinetics of sex was because I took a psychology class at UH. I was in Catholic school, Academy. They were not going to do anything of real kind of significance, but because I was a Psych major they had a psychology of sexuality class. (personal communication, 2018)

Like the professor's experience, one of Guåhan's former legislators recalls that sexual discussions were largely left out of his schooling,

[6] This builds off a larger phenomenon that explains the motivations behind settler colonialism, where historically the logics of eliminations (i.e., removal, confinement, abduction, religious conversion, assimilation, etc) have been used to "eliminate large numbers of indigenous peoples from official reckonings of who counts as 'authentic natives'" (Kaomea, 2014, p. 127; Wolfe, 2006).

> I was in the Catholic private school system from kinder to eighth grade, even high school. I think it was only tenth grade or eleventh grade, was the only time that we had health education. I mean early on we had P.E., right? But never talked about sex or anything, and maybe that's why my wife and I had our…you know we're one of the statistics of teen pregnancy. (personal communication, 2018)

Reflecting upon his experiences, he continued by sharing that he noticed that this lack of sexual information transmitted itself into his role as a father. Recently, he and his wife decided that it was time to give their adolescent son "the talk." Recalling the buildup to the discussion of the birds and the bees he remembers that

> it was kind of filtered. It was kind of hard for me to even start to say because it's that uncomfortable. He looks at me like "what are you talking about?" Of course, I don't do those things, and things like that. But I think it will be easier if there is that type of discussion in schools and perhaps that's what we have to do is look at the different levels, the different levels of when we should. (personal communication, 2018)

Though one can argue that reinserting the values of the Guma' Ulitao can be the solution for solving our health issues, solving Guåhan's sexual disparities is far less simplistic.

As one public health administrator in Guåhan cautions, we must be cognizant of the role the Catholic Church still has today. As a longtime advocate for sex education, she mentions that

> no matter what we are always going to be a Catholic community. The church is always going to be first and foremost and abstinence is always going to take priority, no matter what. We always want our kids to be abstinent, whether they are going to do that? It's really great if they can, but not every kid will have the social understanding or the skills

> to say yeah this is going to be the choice I make. Some people, and some kids won't. (personal communication, 2018)

Knowing that it will be difficult to control or even to extinguish a behavior altogether, sex education in Guåhan must be careful to discretely navigate the fine lines between religion and sex. One health practitioner in Guåhan who works with many young adults in the island felt that it was important to write a sexuality curriculum that not only mirrored the culture of the kids, but one that would not isolate them by judging their sexual behaviors. When writing curriculum for Pacific youth, she said it was imperative that they "did not write it from the perspective of any kind of value judgment…The whole religious overlay is very thick and the judgment that comes with that, because that is typical in Rota and Chuuk (other islands in the Micronesia)" (personal communication, 2018).

POSITIONALITY

Having outlined some of the influences that impact sexual health, I will incorporate autoethnographic accounts of my life that illustrate how these factors have shaped my sexual imagination. However, I do feel that it is critical for other things about myself to be known before moving forward with this dissertation. First, I would like to make it clear that all the stories in this dissertation come from my perspective of these accounts. It is not reflective of the people in these stories and it is also not a reflection of everyone's upbringing in Guåhan. My stories may not relate to everyone's experience, but it can reflect how the island's sexual landscape has influenced and continues to influence others. I was born and raised in Guåhan, and I spent most of my life growing up in the southern part of the island, home to the largest concentration of CHamorus.

Therefore, I always knew that I was CHamoru, but I also grew up knowing that that label meant being raised in a Catholic family. I grew up in a family neighborhood where I spent my days hiding in the jungles, running up and down the road, or sneaking to the back of my uncle's ranch (that was the first time I ever saw an animal penis). I grew up mostly sheltered from sex, apart from seeing a pig expose himself.

As a child, my mother would often tell me when I misbehaved that I would have to pray the rosary or read the bible. Oddly enough, she often told me that the only boyfriends I needed were her and my books. I retrieved sexual health information from the pages of *Cosmopolitan* and episodes of *Sex and the City*. No one talked to me about sex; I instead learned through the World Wide Web (this was the early 2000s after all) and by reading my older sister's forgotten copy of *Sex for Dummies* by Dr. Ruth. I never asked anyone any questions, but I do credit my sister for escorting me to my first pap smear. Understanding my educational journey is important to this study because by situating my beginnings as one that is common of most CHamorus in Guåhan, it illustrates that shifts in sexual imaginings can occur.

In my narrations, I share specific moments that changed my sexual consciousness. However, I would like to note that I only became more aware of the sexual contradictions that exist in Guåhan while I was in high school. There my peers were navigating sex talks almost daily and finding where their behaviors fit into sexual spectrums. We had to do most of that on our own; there were no lessons or classroom activities to assist us. After graduating, I decided that to move sex education forward I would have to acquire degrees in various academic fields. I earned a Bachelor of Arts in psychology and a Master of Public Health so that my combined skill set would inform how to create a sexual health curriculum that looks beyond the clinical, sterile

world that sex education is currently stuck in. Knowing the power of curriculum, I knew that my last step would be to get a doctorate degree in Education, specifically in Curriculum. Marrying these fields together, I wanted to create a curriculum that taught students about their sexual wellbeing, inclusive of skills surrounding communication, negotiation, and relationship development. Therefore, this dissertation serves as a map for crafting a more comprehensive, culturally tailored sex education curriculum to influence a shift in Guåhan's current sexual epistemology.

DISPOSING THE EXPLOSIVE ORDNANCE: CHAPTER OUTLINES

After mapping the sex education landscape of Guåhan, this study argues that there are ways for sex education curriculum in Guåhan to defuse the cultural bomb that Catholicism and American patriarchy carefully set. To defuse this bomb, I engage with: (1) the colonial impacts of Christianity and patriarchy on sexual narratives, (2) the reimagining and (de)constructing of sexual discourses shaped by dominant, colonial narratives, and (3) the potential impact of inserting CHamoru epistemology into lessons surrounding sex and sexuality. By exploring these areas, I argue that sex education must be used as a tool to eradicate conflicting, colonial perspectives about sex by instead rooting curricula in the native frameworks of our students. Once the discourse has shifted, then we will be able to defuse the cultural bomb that is ticking faintly behind us.

To outline this study, Chapter 1 argues that the shifts in indigenous sexuality have translated into a confusing, awkward, and at times dangerous sexual landscape that CHamorus must traverse with little to no guidance. Kanaka Maoli anthropologist Ty Tengan (2008) in his

book, *Native Men Remade: Gender and Nation in Contemporary Hawai'i*, illustrates the colonial consequences that have transformed native bodies with his concept, *ritual slippage*. A phenomenon in which indigenous peoples must consciously slip between their modern and maoli identities, but contemporarily the separation and securing of either identity has become nearly impossible. Chapter 1 continues arguments made in the introduction with a deeper analysis of the influence that Catholicism has had in shaping sexual discourse in Guåhan as well as what role the American military plays in creating hegemonic, masculine ideals. By further exploring the role that both Catholicism and the American military have had on CHamoru sexuality, this chapter vividly carves out the current sexual atmosphere that exists in Guåhan as CHamorus are forced to slip in and out of their indigenous and Western identities.

In Chapter 2, this study delves further into the sex education landscape by specifically looking at Guåhan's educational institution. In this chapter, I question why despite thousands of dollars in funding, sex education continues to be shrouded in silence and typically non-existent in Guåhan's classrooms. What barriers exist in Guåhan that have contributed to the absence of sex education curriculum in public school classrooms? How do educators envision sex education, if at all? Currently, Guåhan receives federal funds annually to implement sex education. In this chapter, discussions of sex education will illustrate how the silence around sex connects to the environment mentioned in previous chapters. Eight key informant interviews with lawmakers, educators, and public health administrators are used to examine any existing barriers that hinder sexual health discussions in the island's classrooms. Interview findings also link together educators' feelings towards sexual education. What barriers and successes have

there been in Guåhan's push for sex education? What occurs in schools today and how comfortable are educators with answering students' questions about sex?

Chapter 3 covers the growing number of sexual health disparities that exist between CHamoru youth and their non-indigenous peers. Data collected via the biennial Youth Risk Behavior Survey (YRBS) conducted by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) plot the differences between these two groups. Data are analyzed across six testing periods (YRBS 2007, 2009, 2011, 2013, 2015, and 2017) to project ten years of behaviors for both middle and high school youth in Guåhan. Concentrating on the *Sexual Behaviors* and *Unintentional Injuries and Violence* sections of the survey, this study focuses on the sexual behavior patterns and experiences of students, paying close attention to the students' current sexual activity as well as their reported contraceptive use or non-use as well. Questions pertaining to sexual and dating violence were also analyzed as domestic violence and rape rates continue to increase in Guåhan.

In Chapter 4, I conduct a curricular analysis. In this chapter, I compare a current GDOE sex education curriculum (*Respect*) with existing culture-based sex education curricula (*Navigating Personal Wellbeing and Sexuality in Chuukese and Chamorro Communities* and *Pono Choices*). Each curriculum will be evaluated for three main things: (1) alignment to local and national health education standards, (2) alignment to the CDC's critical sexual education topics, and (3) depth of cultural inclusion. By comparing, native sex education curricula to GDOE's current sex education curriculum, this study will consider if native sex education models can serve as solutions to the health inconsistencies that we are seeing in Guåhan.

In the final chapter, I weave together aspects of poststructuralism, postcolonialism, indigenous feminism, queer theory and gender complementarity as the core pillars needed to reimagine sex education. As Caputo articulates from Derrida's theory "deconstruction might therefore best be thought of as an 'inventionalism'…it is the relentless pursuit of *the* impossible, which means, of things whose possibility is sustained by their impossibility…are actually nourished and fed by it" (Biesta, 2001, p. 33). By encouraging our students to even consider the impossible, let alone allow themselves to be immersed in it, we can teach them to deconstruct by giving them the space to (mis)understand. Only then can CHamoru youth reconstruct and redefine what it means to develop and communicate within intimate relationships. CHamorus, prior to foreign interference, celebrated sex and sexuality by encouraging the idea that it is a natural and necessary part of life.

By embedding CHamoru frameworks and counterstories into sex education, this chapter explores the effects of reinserting a more balanced, indigenous epistemology into Guåhan's sex education model. With this knowledge shift, sex education can create additional spaces of learning that deconstruct colonial logics and instead serve as places of cultural resurgence. Utilizing the theories and frameworks discussed throughout this study, the people of Guåhan can recreate a sexual environment where children are free to ask sexual questions and are comprehensively prepared to engage in sexual acts. Sex education curriculum, centered around CHamoru epistemologies, can reawaken and inspire students so that they can reimagine a world in which sexuality is no longer suppressed but is instead seen as a natural part of life once again.

Chapter 1: Echoing Foreign Words with a Native Tongue: The Sexual Landscape of Guåhan

One of my first conscious accounts of sexual policing happened when I was thirteen years old. I just began my first romantic relationship, at the time we embodied the typical popular person dates the nerd (I, of course was the latter), which already had me feeling self-conscious and awkward in my prepubescent body. Unbeknownst to me, as he would continually try to show me little displays of affection whether it was holding my hand or even walking me to class, I found myself going rigid and numb, as if my body were sending itself into shock, not because I had butterflies in my stomach but because I was paranoid enough to think that someone would run up to a pair of thirteen year olds and tell us that what we were doing was wrong.

After months of dating, I felt myself continuously policing my own behavior, "Were others disapprovingly shaking their heads whenever we went on a date?", "Was I being labeled as a slut for expressing my affection?", or "Did dating someone at my age make me a whore?" He did not stand a chance. I was convinced that "sexual police" officers were going to stamp a scarlet A on my chest for being ***willing*** *to romantically acknowledge him without consequence (yes, even something as simple and mundane as holding his hand filled me with anxiety). From the way, I reacted to any kind of physical touch, he was unknowingly dating the equivalent of a sexually repressed mannequin!*

One year later… I tried to unclench my already white knuckles from the phone receiver. I was mentally willing myself to speak. In this moment, my former partner, who suffered

through a relationship with the sexually repressed mannequin was trying to tell me that said relationship was over. In almost a whisper, I heard him say "I want to see other people. I want to see what else is out there." I felt my breath catch as the walls around me started to blur into fuzzy, ominous shapes. I did not fight him; I could not beg him to stay. There was no way I could confidently tell him that there was no need to do that. For months, I went about my life, going through the motions of school and extracurricular activities simply because I had to. Almost a year after the breakup, I began seriously dating someone else. With this new relationship, I felt myself suppressing pieces of that mannequin away, for fear that I would lose someone else because of it.

For years, I tried to analyze my first heartbreak. How was I conditioned to see intimate relationships as things to be policed? Why was I so anxious about even acknowledging the existence of such relationships? This chapter will unpack the questions from my teenage past. With more than 350 years of foreign interference, I argue that contemporary CHamoru sexual norms more closely resemble those of the colonizers.

In this chapter, I also argue that as the two sexual worldviews, indigenous and Western, collided into each other they carve out a confusing, awkward, and at times dangerous sexual landscape that CHamorus must traverse with little to no guidance. Kanaka Maoli anthropologist Ty Tengan (2008) in his book, *Native Men Remade: Gender and Nation in Contemporary Hawai'i*, illustrates the colonial consequences that have transformed native bodies with his concept, *ritual slippage*. Tengan's concept emphasizes that for indigenous peoples, specifically

Hawaiians, they must consciously transfer between their modern and maoli[7] identities, but contemporarily the separation and securing of either identity has become nearly impossible. Tengan (2008) describes that for many of the Hawaiian men in the Hale Mua[8], they felt self-conscious whenever they would wear their traditional malo, a loincloth which only covered the genitals and not the buttocks. While wearing the malo, many of the men were anxious and preoccupied. One of the men, Sam Kaʻi, expressed that the men were constantly wondering, "Will this damn thing stay on? Will I embarrass myself?" (Tengan, 2008, p. 85) The vulnerability of the men epitomizes the conflict that persists when people are engaging in their indigenous practices. Even in safe spaces, the men brought with them their introduced worldviews, which in this case made them uncomfortable and anxious about accidentally revealing their genitals.

Considering Tengan's *ritual slippage*, in this chapter I examine the "modern" CHamoru identity. To do so, I investigate the influence that Catholicism has had in shaping sexual discourse in Guåhan as well as what role the American military plays in creating hegemonic, masculine ideals. Additionally, I analyze the shifts that occurred in CHamoru epistemology to piece together the current sexual landscape of Guåhan. How did CHamorus view sex(uality)? How do CHamorus view sex(uality) today? If any differences, what events have contributed to these changes? To answer these questions, I outline the changes of different foreign powers, and specifically look at critical historical events that altered precolonial sexual norms.

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[7] Meaning true, with ritual slippage maoli is meant to signify one's indigenous/native identity
[8] House of men

AVOIDING THE COLLISION

The mapping of the sexual landscape of Guåhan is critical to this study because to properly diffuse Wa Thiong'o's cultural bomb, curricular materials in Guåhan must center itself around a native lens. However, it is not as simple as merely inserting indigenous beliefs and values into curricula. Without the critical perspectives of poststructuralism and post colonialism, students may fail to understand the deep philosophical reasoning behind indigenous concepts of sexuality. Native sexuality and Western ideology have been on a collision course since they first encountered each other.

For example, in Turtle Island, Indian communities recognize a third sex that transcends and moves beyond the gender binary. However, Western foreigners have forcibly tried to understand the third gender on their own terms by convoluting non-cisgender identities into one term that encompasses multiple Native American tribes with different traditions, like the construction of the *berdache* identity (Walters, 2007).

> For hundreds of years, colonized people throughout the world have been the subject of efforts to describe the world according to narrow colonialist parameters. This was particularly marked in North America where the blanket term "berdache" was used to describe homosexual orientation…such usage was inappropriate and ignored the existence of hundreds of Native American tribes, each with its own distinct language. Many of these languages had their own culturally specific terms to describe different forms of sexual orientation. (in Hutchings and Aspin, 2007, p.19)

To accommodate Western understanding, the richness of the third gender has been distilled and diluted into one term. By blending gender identities and sexual orientations into rigid concepts, it

became more difficult for native students to understand sexual identities beyond the standing binaries. This distillation reflects what Fanon (1967) warns us against as he cautions the colonized to leave the past behind. Instead of being suffocated by the past, sex education curricula can be used to shed polarized views of gender and sexuality. Instead, materials and classroom activities can be used to acknowledge the complexity of our sexual identities and their inability to be packaged into social binaries.

Additionally, adherence to these Western notions of sexuality are especially dangerous as it disconnects indigenous people from their cultural identity. In the anthology entitled, *Sexuality and the Stories of Indigenous People*, Te Taite Cooper, a Māori PhD student, criticizes the way indigenous people continue to use Western concepts to understand sexuality. In his essay "Why do Māori Come Out of Closets?," he questions why queer Māori feel the need to come out of a closet. He explains that "by living in and coming out of closets, takatāpui[9] have lost irretrievably a way of being Māori…I do not see how such a colonised thinking can be passed on to our children" (Cooper, 2007, p.142). As shown in Cooper's article, the imposition of Western sexual constructions has very tangible effects on the native imagination.

Ideal sex education for CHamoru youth should be repurposed to undo the damage caused by the intrusion of colonial ideologies in the CHamoru mindset. Activities should be centered around reconnecting youth to their ancestral worldviews.

As Fanon and later writers such as Nandy have claimed, imperialism and colonialism

brought complete disorder to colonized peoples, disconnecting them from their histories,

[9] Māori word meaning, "intimate companion of the same sex" (Hutchings and Aspin, 2007, p. 15)

their landscapes, their languages, their social relations, and their own ways of thinking, feeling, and interacting with the world. (Smith, 2012, p. 29)

This dissertation argues that effective sex education can serve as an avenue for working through this harm by allowing students to unpack several "truths" about sexuality. Freire (1993) believed that, "education can function as 'the practice of freedom' the means by which men and women deal critically and creatively with reality and discover how to participate in the transformation of their world" (p. 34).

Åpaman ti Manguekuentos i Famalåo'an

One way to free students from their colonial realities is to introduce students to their less sexually conservative CHamoru narratives. Prior to foreign interference, in the Marianas[10], CHamorus once organized themselves around the rules of a matrilineal society. Within this societal structure, roles were balanced between men and women, with a few exceptions. For example, CHamoru women had more power over resources, such as land (Cunningham, 1992). In addition to this power, any decisions made by women concerning the children and the home were left unchallenged by men. CHamorus traced their genealogical roots through their mothers and her clan. Therefore, men could not make any of those decisions unless they consulted the women first (Leon Guerrero, 2014). One last significant advantage that CHamoru women experienced was that protocols that governed intimate relationships, especially marriage, tended to favor women more than men.

[10] When referring to pre-contact Guåhan, I will use the Marianas and Guåhan interchangeably. In the archive, historical accounts in the Northern Marianas and Guåhan do not begin to separate until the start of the Naval Era in Guåhan.

In CHamoru society, marriage was understood as a fluid contract. Clans would agree that a couple should be together. However, if after a disagreement, the couple decided to dissolve the relationship, they were free to do so. Despite the flexibility of these “contracts”, adultery was considered a punishable offense. The consequences of such acts were far more brutal for men than they were for women. For example, if a CHamoru man were to cheat on his wife, the woman was free to take the child(ren) and all the property to punish the man. Some accounts also mention that in rare instances, the scorned wife would kill her husband herself or would ask her clan’s members to kill him (Murphy, 2014).

However, if the situation were reversed and a CHamoru woman was to cheat on her husband, the man could only claim vengeance on the woman’s lover by either beating or killing him. Unlike CHamoru men, “adulterous” women could leave the relationship unscathed. Oftentimes, the man’s family would tell him that it would be beneficial for him to just forgive his wife for her indiscretions. However, if he chose to leave her, the husband had no right to take the child(ren) or the property with him because they rightfully belonged to the woman (Murphy, 2014). Illustrating this point, in 1700, Jesuit historian Charles Le Gobien wrote that, “the wives are given all the rights attributed to husbands elsewhere. The woman has absolute command in the home. She is the mistress, she has all the authority, and the husband cannot dispose of anything without her consent” (see Souder, 1992, p. 52).

The Colonial Agenda: From Matrilineal to Patriarchal

Upon witnessing these arrangements, the Spanish missionaries were appalled by the degree to which these practices contrasted with the beliefs of the Catholic Church.

Understanding the authority that CHamoru women exercised, missionaries felt that one way to shift the power was to systematically alter the societal structure of Guåhan. They dismantled the few privileges women experienced in Guåhan's matrilineal society by enforcing a patriarchal[11] one to effectively disenfranchise CHamoru women (Souder, 1992). Historically, the Church has been notoriously patriarchal. British philosopher Sir Robert Filmer argued in 1680 that "patriarchal authority is legitimate because it resembles families" (see Stevens, 1999, p. 130). Though Filmer's argument was meant to legitimize the European monarchy, his argument still tells of the attitudes of the time. Quoting from the bible, Filmer furthers his support of the patriarchal structure by saying that the "fatherly right of sovereign authority is substituted properly by God, from whom he receives his royal charter of an universal father" (see Stevens, 1999, p. 130). The introduction of Catholicism with its patriarchal values catalyzed the disenfranchisement of CHamoru women.

The entire purpose of this societal shift was to change the gender power dynamic to favor men. As explained by scholars Kathy Ferguson and Monique Mironesco (2008) in their anthology, *Gender and Globalization in Asia and the Pacific: Method, Practice, and Theory*, "patriarchy devalues women as persons but values women's bodies as sexual opportunities for men" (p. 345). Henry (2015) expands that by stating that in patriarchal societies young men are taught that when "one controls others in a manner that exerts power over an individual" then their identity becomes "congruent with the idea of being a 'man' in general Western society" (p.

[11] This change from matrilineal to patriarchal does not imply that they are opposite to each other. CHamorus were not a matriarchal society, which gave absolute power to women over men. They were instead described as a matrilineal society where CHamoru women were given special privileges since lineage and clan membership were traced through them.

192). These unspoken rules emphasize gender roles that place men in control of resources, institutions, means, and labor, often to the detriment of women.

With the mass conversion to Catholicism, changes made by the Church are still seen today in Guåhan. In his dissertation, “Negotiating Manhood: Chamorro Masculinities and US Military Colonialism in Guam, 1898-1941”, CHamoru historian James Viernes (2015) explains that former University of Guam president and Congressman of Guåhan Robert Underwood argues that in the CHamoru mindset,

> religion was more than simply religious. It was a socializing agent through which identity, continuity and good social order could be affirmed…As such, it became a symbol of culture as well as religion and to separate the two would rip the process from a context in which its true meaning can manifest itself. (p. 19)

Like Guåhan, noted sex education scholar, Kristin Luker explains in her book, *When Sex Goes to School: Warring Views on Sex- and Sex Education- Since the Sixties*, that religion became the cornerstone onto which American sexual conservatives laid their values upon. After researching decades of American sex education debates, Luker (2006) explains that, “mostly, religion gives people a vocabulary, a cultural tool kit, with which to talk about the issues that sexuality raises, and a set of templates for understanding alternative visions of family life, not to mention the larger world” (p. 21). In the case of Guåhan, missionaries sought to reeducate newly converted CHamorus and teach them about the doctrine of the Church. As argued throughout this chapter, Catholic missionaries would use the marital institution as well as the Guma’ Ulitao as the sites for these cultural conversions.

THE THIRD RING OF MARRIAGE: SUFFER…RING

As early as 1668, one of the first and arguably the most drastic societal change occurred when Catholic missionaries decided to entice CHamorus into the faith through the Sacrament of Holy Matrimony. Pale Diego Luis de San Vitores, a Jesuit priest who is credited with bringing Catholicism to the Marianas, noted in his accounts that many CHamoru men were willing to convert to the faith when they began to observe that some of the newly converted CHamoru wives were now "obedient, diligent, and circumspect" (Souder, 1992, p. 53) to their husbands. The Spanish missionaries told CHamoru men that if they wanted their wives to act in the same manner then they would have to participate in the Sacrament of Holy Matrimony. Realizing that this change would shift the controlling power in their favor, CHamoru men willingly converted to the Catholic faith.

Though there were some converts amongst the women, many of them still adamantly opposed the rules of the Sacrament and instead viewed it as a despotic directive. CHamoru activist and scholar Laura Torres Souder (1992) explains in her book *Daughters of the Island: Contemporary Chamorro Woman Organizers on Guam* that many CHamoru women openly expressed their disagreement with the institutionalization of marriage. In the 1700s, French priest Father Charles Le Gobien wrote in an account that,

> Marriage presented great difficulties…Above all, the women accustomed to dominate and change husbands whenever they please, could not subject themselves to a maxim which was contrary to their natural levity, and they considered the law which obliged them to live with their first spouses until death a real tyranny. (see Souder, 1992, p. 52)

By December 1680, just twelve years after San Vitores' arrival, Jesuit priest Father Antonio Jaramillo noticed a significant power shift. In his report to the Council of Indies, Jaramillo writes

> In their former life, when these women were living with their parents in the house, they were used to observing that the authority figure of the household was the woman, she was in command and the husband obeyed, but now the roles of husband and wife have been inverted. The husbands are the heads of household and they [the women] have accepted the civilian obligations of marriage. (Brunal-Perry, 2018, para. 17)

Christian marriage drastically altered the makeup of CHamoru relationships and Jaramillo's observation highlights how the religious toolkit became the means to normalize these new rules and protocols.

In addition to shifting power amongst CHamoru couples to favor men, the new marital institution prohibited divorce practices. Women and men were no longer able to enter and exit their intimate relationships freely. They were now forced to stay married to their husband or wife. As CHamorus converted in larger numbers, religion made these sexual changes more digestible. No longer calling these practices tyrannical, CHamorus were more accepting of and accommodating towards these shifting sexual boundaries. Souder (1992) concludes "in time Chamorro women embraced the Catholic faith and observed the Sacraments with zeal" (p. 53).

Overall, Catholicism had a significant influence on CHamoru sexual thought. During a University lecture entitled, "Hispanicization as a Sociohistorical Process on Guam," Underwood (1978) explained that Christianity with its "strict sexual code was the new ideal…by current standards it is stifling and denies basic human sexuality." Under the newly established rules, sexual taboos were policed and regulated through the Catholic doctrine. In accordance with the

Catholic doctrine, sexual acts were to be performed among only couples joined in marriage. Resulting from this change, CHamorus were no longer able to explore and freely engage in sexual acts of their choosing (Underwood, 1978). These views sharply contrasted the indigenous, CHamoru views of sexuality that preceded colonization. Like Guåhan, across the Pacific, Hawaiians experienced a similar shift in sexual and relationship boundaries.

Goodyear- Ka‘ōpua (2014) writes that, "Christian marriage, as advocated by missionaries and later enforced by Hawaiian kingdom law, emphasized sanction by church and governmental authority, obedience, lifetime monogamy, female subordination, and the permanent binding of a couple" (p. 31). Reinforcing these sentiments, Goodyear-Ka‘ōpua (2014) writes that Hawaiian studies scholar Leilani Basham argues that "Christian marriage caused considerable violence to the plurality, joy, and fluidity of Hawaiian practices of gender and sexuality" (p. 32). Goodyear-Ka‘ōpua and Basham both illustrate how the formalization of marriage acted as a colonial tool to ensure the shifting of native sexual views. Natives became more accepting of these new rules as long as they were presented to them according to the guidelines of the cultural toolkit that their new religion provided.

THE USHERING OF A NEW SEXUAL POWER

Building upon the patriarchal foundation set by the Spanish, in 1898 after "winning" Guåhan, the Americans created policies that would further institutionalize and control the way CHamorus viewed sexuality. Only a mere nine months into his term, the appointed Naval Governor Richard Leary was already hard at work trying to educate the natives by systemically embedding patriarchal values by way of Executive Orders. Once decreed, these orders "allowed"

CHamorus to successfully conform to Western society. For example, General Order No. 5, and later Executive Order No. 308[12] served as guidelines for CHamorus to use when conducting themselves in committed relationships (Souder, 1992). These orders set more limitations on women by mirroring the power dynamic initially introduced by the Spanish missionaries.

General Order No. 5 was issued to get CHamorus to stop what the Americans felt were disgraceful sexual acts. The Americans wanted CHamorus to learn that it was inappropriate for them to have casual sexual relationships, especially if they resulted in children out-of-wedlock. By September 15, 1899, under the stipulations of General Order No. 5,

> The existing custom of concubinage, rearing families of illegitimate children, is repulsive to ideas of decency, antagonistic to moral advancement, incompatible with the generally recognized customs of civilized society, a violation of the accepted principles of Christianity, and a most degrading injustice to the innocent offspring, who is not responsible for the condition of his unfortunate existence. The aforesaid custom is henceforth prohibited, and is declared to be an offense punishable after November 3rd, 1899, by fine or imprisonment, and all persons in this island so living together out of the bonds of wedlock are commanded to procure from the Government the necessary marriage license and to be married by either the civil or church authorities, or by both, in order that their children may become legitimized. (Guampedia, 2018, para. 6)

The Naval Government was incredibly determined to right these perceived wrongs that they allowed a grace period of a month and a half, so that couples in Guåhan were given their marriage licenses and the subsequent civil ceremony free of charge.

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[12] This Order was introduced by another Naval Governor, William Gilmer.

Almost twenty years after General Order No. 5, Executive Order No. 308 marked another evident shift in CHamoru society. In accordance with Executive Order No. 308, the Naval Governor William Gilmer announced that effective April 3, 1919, "a married woman should bear the surname and follow the nationality of her husband; and further that children should bear the surname of the father" (Champaco Mendiola, 2018, para. 15; Souder, 1992, p. 45). As an additional stipulation of the order, CHamorus were told that they would have to "Americanize" the names of their children, which symbolically severed the child's name from the lineage of the child's mother and further dismantled the matrilineal structure CHamorus had governed themselves around for thousands of years. Although current Guåhan law no longer dictates which surname a child should hold, nearly a century after its enactment, Executive Order No. 308 is still being practiced. Many CHamorus choose to have their children carry both surnames of their parents, but with the mother's surname, in place of a middle name, and with the father's surname, as the child's legal last name. General Order No. 5 and Executive Order No. 308 were created to control and institutionalize sex and marriage, and they were successful in doing so.

These orders further imbedded conservative views of sexuality into the CHamoru mindset, especially since violations of said orders usually resulted in punishment. Almost a century later, Luker's (2006) writings reflect that American motivations for policing sex has not changed much. She describes that, "for conservatives, sex is sacred, while for liberals, it's natural, and sacred sex demands formal structures, namely marriage, to protect it, while sex does not" (p. 99). Sexual conservatism, a direction that naval Guåhan leaned heavily towards, viewed the marital institution as the warden of sex and, in the CHamoru context, the patriarchy as the prison that held it all together.

THE PURITY MYTH

There are a few "truths" that sex education must address to dismantle these limiting, conservative Western sexual views. The first "truth" that sex education should unpack, is one that has been long contested in sexual health circles, virginity and the policing of pleasure. Author Peggy Orenstein (2016) in her book, *Girls and Sex: Navigating the Complicated New Landscape*, critiques American sex education and argues that, "we'd performed the psychological equivalent of a clitoridectomy on our daughters: as if we believed, somehow, that by hiding the truth from them (that sex, including oral sex and masturbation, can and should feel fabulous) they won't find out, and so will stay 'pure'" (p. 72). In many sex education classes, no matter how progressive the material is, topics such as "the location of the clitoris, masturbation, and female orgasm went unmentioned" (p. 112) for fear that doing so would encourage youth to have sex. By "protecting" our youth from sex, we give the impression that sex is something to fear or more importantly something that they should desire or enjoy. Author and sexuality activist Riki Wilchins (2014) in her book, *Queer Theory, Gender Theory: An Instant Primer*, argues that as a result of this fear, "knowledge of sex had become increasingly disconnected from pleasure. It was focused almost solely on how to prevent sin" (p. 56).

In Western discourse, virginity draws the boundaries that police sexual behavior. Definitions of virginity are still hotly debated in the sex education world since there are no structured medical definitions for professionals to draw from (Valenti, 2010, p. 19-20). However, even without these clear definitions, Orenstein (2016) argues that, "our definition of 'sex' is too narrow. It is worth asking how putting this one act [oral sex] into a separate category [of virginity] is keeping girls (and boys) safer from disease, coercion, betrayal, assault...what it

means for gay teens, who can have multiple sex partners without heteronormative intercourse" (p. 100-101). Even contemporary conversations still draw out blurry lines, depending on who is asked, many have argued that oral sex does not affect virginity or that sex only counts when the penis goes into a vagina. As such, these limiting sexual distinctions can put sexually active youth in danger.

With the extreme promotion of virginity, young girls are told to "save" themselves for marriage. American feminist author Jessica Valenti (2010) writes in *The Purity Myth: How American's Obsession with Virginity is Hurting Young Women* that girls are often told that they must remain pure; otherwise they will be "damaged goods" (p. 23). With this messaging aimed particularly at young women, virginity is then used to support the promotion of patriarchal values by inserting a double standard that punishes girls more harshly for being sexually active. For example, contraception has been negatively advertised as something only "bad girls who have planned out sex use, not girls who are caught in the heat of the moment" (Valenti, 2010, p. 37). Therefore, girls who are seen buying condoms or going to a doctor in search of birth control are girls who have premeditated motives to be sexually active. They are "bad girls" who are choosing to give themselves away by defiling their bodies before marriage. Such messages become troublesome because Guåhan is a small island, with a population of approximately 170,000 people, where you can run into a relative or acquaintance at any point in time. Therefore, it is unsurprising that such a large majority of youth in Guåhan choose to forgo using protection when they have sex (CDC, 2017).

Combined with the policing of virginity, American society also heavily regulates female sexual behavior. Sexuality professor and attorney J. Shoshanna Ehlrich explains in her book,

Regulating Desire: From the Virtuous Maiden to the Purity Princess, that women have often been viewed as “sexual gatekeepers”, who must “slow their boyfriends down and help them to learn balance in a relationship through sexual abstinence” (Ehrlich, 2014, p. 140). In the fight against regulation, female reformers demanded that “men be held to a female standard of behavior” (Ehrlich, 2014, p. 42). Their intention was not to sexually liberate women by allowing them to enjoy the same lenient sexual standards that men enjoyed. Instead, female reformers wanted everyone, men and women alike, to be held to the same restrictive sexual boundaries. Female reformers wanted women and men to be on equal footing. During this time, in the 1800s, any woman who transgressed sexually was punished more harshly than males (Ehrlich, 2014). Despite the reformers’ efforts, by the 1840s, society still believed that women should remain chaste, pure beings who had to rein in and regulate male sexuality. Lavinia Dock, a purity reformer turned social hygienist, proclaimed in 1910 that, “the double standard tacitly permits men to indulge freely and unchecked in sexual irregularity…but it dooms the women who are necessarily involved in these irregularities to social ostracism and even to complete degradation” (see Luker, 2006, p. 42).

Many of these beliefs are still alive today, conversations about rape culture and body shaming illustrate the severe policing of female sexuality. Common questions such as, “What was she wearing?” or “Why did she get that drunk?” highlight the belief that women must act a certain way to counter the disproportionate rates of sexual violence and rape that plague women in America. The image of the pure woman is so entrenched in sexual repression that while interviewing people throughout America, Luker (2006) had one woman share that in the United States, “male sexuality is very different from female sexuality and that daughters can only lose

by being sexually active before marriage. Virginity is a special gift a young woman can give her husband, one that sets her apart from all others" (p. 28). Without her virginity, a woman ran the risk of being unmarriageable. Historically, there is no expectation that men must be virgins when they get married.

Orenstein (2016) brings the argument full circle by concluding that sex education should teach youth that, "their sexual status, regardless of what it is, is not the measure of their personhood, their morality, their worth" (p. 94). To dispell the "purity myth," sex education curriculum for CHamoru youth can utilize indigenous narratives to promote the ideals that Orenstein mentions, since strict sexual boundaries were not always dominant in CHamoru society. As discussed in the Introduction, the Guma' Ulitao was the site for sex education in precolonial Guåhan. Young men were brought there to learn life skills and young women came from other clans to assist in their sexual training. Mothers were known to encourage their daughters, chosen as Ma Ulitao, with songs (Clement, 2011, p. 51). In 1818, French navigator Louis Claude de Freycinet (2003) recorded the song *Hudjong Akaga*,

Hudjong akaga makanno!	Go out my dear girl to be eaten
Sa pago nai um mannghi	Because right now you are delicious.
Sa guin la-muna um daghi	Because later, you will be frustrated
Dja um hago pulan sapit	and you will be the one suffering (p. 127)

Historian Michael Clement (2011) in his dissertation, "*Kustumbre*, Modernity and Resistance: The Subaltern Narrative in Chamorro Language Music," explains that this song is filled with sexual innuendo,

> *Mannge* (delicious) used in this way is a reference to sexual attractiveness. The metaphor of eating in the song can be understood as a reference to sex. The term *dahgi* translated by Freycinet as frustrated is likely the same as the modern word *dagge* which in modern Chamorro means taro or another root crop that is overripe and not edible. In this context, it is likely that frustrated can be understood to mean that the women might be seen as less attractive as she becomes older and have trouble finding suitors. (p. 51)

Hudjong Akaga stands as a tribute to the open sexual environment that CHamorus enjoyed. Given Clement's interpretation and the purpose of the Guma' Ulitao, one can argue that CHamoru mothers were telling their young daughters to relish in their sexual vitality.

However, the open sexual environment was short-lived. With the introduction of Catholicism, new behavioral codes were implemented throughout the island. Catholicism introduced an "alien moral code" which severely limited a CHamoru woman's place in society (Souder, 1992, p. 155). Mirroring the clitoridectomy that Orenstein mentions, "traditional Christianity taught that reproduction was the only rationale for sexual activity and that all nonreproductive sexuality was sinful" (Bronski, 2011, p. 85). In the Christian imagination, sex was a sterile activity, meant only for procreation.

For CHamorus, the policing of sexuality was not confined to the Guma' Ulitao. Throughout Guåhan's history, the regulation of sexuality has been critical to ensuring the creation and maintenance of a stable, thriving economy dependent on human labor. In the aftermath of the Spanish-CHamoru wars, it was documented that "[CHamoru] women apparently chose to terminate pregnancies rather than give birth to children whose 'freedom' would be denied" (see Souder, 1992, p. 158). To counter such rebellious acts, King Philip V of Spain

issued a royal decree that demanded that CHamoru women only do activities that would be gentle on their bodies, leaving hard labor exclusively to the men. The new law was issued so that women could "focus their attention on building up the labor force. Women who voluntarily had abortions were whipped and sentenced to forced labor" (Souder, 1992, p. 159).

Illustrating these limitations, in other colonized communities, the new sexual code was regulated simply with the intention to create the most productive, effective labor force (Child and Klopotek, 2014; Goodyear-Ka'ōpua, 2014; Kaomea, 2000). Many could argue that this may no longer be the case, but even philosopher Karl Marx pointed out that to maintain a productive labor force one must control the sexual means of the proletariat. Marxism argues that in Western society sex was only for production of offspring not for bodily pleasure because

> ideally, capitalists would like to see laborers become almost machinelike. Anything that interferes with maximizing production, such as emotional or erotic feeling, is an impediment to efficient production. In short, in the market economy of the nineteenth century, capitalists tried to desexualize laborers and fashion their bodies and physical movements to the machinery of production. (see Seidman, 2010, p. 14)

Sex that humans enjoyed were "at odds with capitalism's need for disciplined, work-oriented, productive workers" (see Seidman, 2010, p. 15). The desexualization of workers was so powerful that stringent sexual boundaries still exist in the American mind today. For CHamorus, virginity became one of the most confining boundaries.

Souder (1991) documents the damage done by these sexual restrictions by explaining that, "a virginity cult, double standards, and patriarchal attitudes regulated women to the domestic sphere and subjected them to their husbands' authority" (p. 443). Souder continues her

argument by stating that these changes enforced extreme limitations, particularly on CHamoru women, since now the "new ideal personified by the Blessed Virgin Mary became the new measuring stick for appropriate female behavior [in Guåhan]" (p. 155). In the classroom, educators in Guåhan can introduce students to the CHamoru epistemological view of virginity, to unravel this truth.

By incorporating the ideas of the Guma' Ulitao into sexual health discussions, educators can illustrate how the CHamoru epistemological view of virginity contrasts the American purity complex. Prior to colonization and mass conversion to Catholicism, CHamorus felt that virginity held no value. They instead believed that having a wealth of sexual experience was an asset because it was important that a person be knowledgeable about how to engage in sex in a safe and respectful manner. CHamoru women were expected to be just as well-versed in sex as CHamoru men were. To further illustrate this point, pre-Catholicism, CHamoru women were considered undesirable and uneducated about sex, if they were still virgins. This perceived naiveté made others feel that the person would be an unsuitable "marriage" partner. A woman's sexual inexperience was also symbolic of her inability to find a sexual partner and gave no indication to CHamoru men as to whether she could have children (Cunningham, 1992).

VIOLENT MILITARIZED MASCULINITIES

The second "truth" that sex education should unpack are the dangerous effects that hegemonic masculinity can have on a community. After World War II, Guåhan became a possession of the American empire where it "enjoys" the political status of unincorporated territory populated by second-class American citizens. Given the powerlessness of Guåhan's

government, CHamoru men were treated as innately feminine because Guåhan itself became feminized. When tracing the roots of militarization in Guåhan, CHamoru historian and professor Anne Perez Hattori (2004) explains that in the American imagination the island became "a space available for the colonial penetration of a masculinized naval establishment" (p. 92-93).

Another effect of this colonial penetration was the image of Pacific peoples that was communicated back to the international community. Through colonial processes "Americans and Europeans have frequently represented Pacific Islander women as 'feminine,' or as 'pleasure-oriented and easily subordinated to Western desires'" (see Camacho and Monnig, 2010, p. 154-155). Within the American theatre of the Pacific, islanders are consistently cast as "emasculated damsels in distress" and Americans as "benevolent bearers of justice and freedom" (Dvorak, 2008, p. 59). To communicate the effects of these processes, sex education should emphasize that colonial powers not only feminize our islands as a means to justify exploitation, but that they also feminize its peoples for the same reasons. Highlighting these feminizations are important because they contribute to masculinity crises amongst men in Guåhan.

Contemporarily, professors Keith Camacho and Laurel Monnig (2010), in their anthological piece, "Uncomfortable Fatigues: Chamorro Soldiers, Gendered Identities, and the Question of Decolonization in Guam," argue that feminized CHamoru men found solace in the American military because it served as a path for them to "remasculinize their emasculated images" (p. 160). These men viewed the American military as one of the only places where they could "achieve a masculinity based on notions of family, leadership, providing, [and] strength" (p. 161). This analysis is significant to Guåhan today because the island currently has one of the highest military enlistment rates in the nation, and is a place where recruiters never fail to meet

their quotas (Aguon, 2008; Camacho and Monnig, 2010). The American military became the proving ground for men to assimilate to masculine ideals. Therefore, it is unsurprising that CHamoru men gravitate toward the colonial, masculine military set in front of them because their options are deliberately limited.

With the military as their masculine model, Māori scholar Brendan Hokowhitu (2015) in his book chapter, "Taxonomies of Indigeneity: Indigenous Heterosexual Patriarchal Masculinity," argues that native men are left subject to "heteropatriarchal, hypermasculine, stoical, staunch, and violent discursive formations; often channelling them into destructive behaviours" (p. 94) because they are left out of all other masculine pathways. Within the confines of the hypermasculine environment of the American military, young men learned through a hegemonic masculine lens that to be a man meant to, "assert power and control by subordinating Indigenous women and women of colour, as well as white women (where circumstances allow), other Indigenous men who are considered physically and intellectually weak, and those who do not express a heteronormative identity" (Innes and Anderson, 2015, p. 11). These lessons on masculinity then become dangerous because they encourage behaviors that contribute to domestic and sexual violence (to be discussed in Chapter 3).

Additionally, the normalcy of this militarist violence became so commonplace that former Archbishop Anthony Apuron, felt that it would serve as an appropriate comparison for Catholics to oppose Bill 185, which sought to legalize same-sex marriage in Guåhan. On October 2009, the Archdiocese of Agana issued a three-page letter entitled, "Archdiocese of Agana on High Stakes of Bill 185." The widely circulated letter urged members of the Catholic community

to vehemently oppose the bill. It even went as far as to praise cultures that violently reprimanded members of the same-sex community. The letter stated that,

> Islamic fundamentalists clearly understand the damage that homosexual behavior inflicts on a culture. That is why they repress such behavior by death. Their culture is anything but one of self-absorption. It may be brutal at times, but any culture that is able to produce wave after wave of suicide bombers (women as well as men) is a culture that at least knows how to value self-sacrifice. (see Camacho, 2015, p. 164-165)

Pushing aside the shocking effect of this statement, the Church meant to guilt the gay, Catholic community into renouncing their sexual preferences by propositioning militarized violence as the beacon of morality.

Considering the Archdiocese's use of violence to frame their argument, Kanaka Maoli Americanist J. Kēhaulani Kauanui (2008) asserts that when one's gender socialization occurs within a militaristic framework it contributes, "to sexism and violence in home communities by setting new standards about what is considered culturally appropriate" (p. 285). Bronski (2011) articulates that, "violence is as American as cherry pie… historically, America is a violent society" (p. 241). America has used its masculine ideals throughout history to justify systemic violence that disenfranchises or pushes the "deviant" to the margins of society (Bronski, 2011). Militaristic gender socialization, in Guåhan, has manifested itself as actual violence. In 2015, it was reported that Guåhan had the second highest rate of reported rape in the nation, only behind Alaska (Miculka, 2015). Unsurprisingly, that same year, the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention's (CDC) biennial Youth Risk Behavior Survey (YRBS) also revealed that amongst

high schoolers, 16% of females were physically forced to have sexual intercourse, with 18% also reporting that they experienced sexual dating violence (CDC, 2015).

Internist Ellen Bez from Healing Hearts Crisis Center in Guåhan revealed that not only is sexual violence prevalent in the island, but silence amongst male victims is common. Men are afraid to come forward and say that they have been victims of sexual violence or rape because it makes them appear too vulnerable. Bez shared that, "boys, you know, traditionally have to be tougher and braver. There tends to be more shame associated with boys who have been raped" (Miculka, 2015, para. 41). Whenever boys are sexually violated or harassed, it does not fit into their masculine persona, therefore they are taught to be silent about it. Such silences, make it difficult for young men and women to process sexual boundaries or to even engage in the act safely. Sex education needs to help youth work through these sexual health constructions so that they can develop healthy relationships with not only their intimate partners, but most importantly themselves. Using poststructural and postcolonial frames, sex education curriculum can show that "as creations of conquest, forms of colonial masculinity are not natural, necessary, or permanent, any more than is colonization itself" (Morgenson, 2015, p. 39).

One way sex education can be used to highlight and unravel the tightly wound connection between the military and hypermasculinity is to introduce students to the origins of Gay America. Seidman (2010) explains that World War II thrust some men into "all-male environments" for the first time. For many of these men, especially ones who blocked their homoerotic longings, "the military was both scary and potentially exciting" (p. 61). In historian John D'Emilio's book, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities*, he explains that the comradery and closeness that the military environment encouraged became the site for discovery and

experimentation amongst men and women during World War II. It was exposure to these environments that prompted former soldiers to settle in large cities, such as Chicago, New York, San Francisco, and Los Angeles, because within the anonymity of the metropoles gay men and women explored their newfound feelings (see Seidman, 2010). Despite its violent rejection of homosexuality today, the military did not always function in that way. Many men and women in 1940s America found solace within the military and are thankful that the isolation it provided allowed them to experience living as their authentic selves. Sex education can be used to highlight how these transformations happen within institutions by explaining that attitudes about sexuality and gender are not as innate and immovable as we make them seem.

NAVIGATING THE HYPERSEXUALIZED ENVIRONMENT

The third "truth" that sex education must confront is that today teens and young adults are constantly bombarded with sexually explicit messaging and advertisements. When researching pornography in America, professors Carmine Sarracino and Kevin Scott (2008) reported in their book, *The Porning of America: The Rise of Porn Culture, What It Means, and Where We Go from Here*, that "girls, aged twelve to fourteen, with a high consumption of media with sexual content, are 2.2 times more likely to have sexual intercourse over the next two years than those with a low diet of the same material" (p. 194). With endless access to media, young boys and girls are becoming more and more distracted by sex. They are taught from an early age to normalize sex, but not necessarily in the way that sex educators want them to. Instead of making young people more positive about their bodies and their sexuality, Seidman (2010) argues that, "a capitalist sexual culture promotes tolerance, but it wants to make sex more open

and acceptable solely so that sex can be used to sell goods, to attach the individual to consumerism, and to turn people's attention to personal fulfillment rather than class inequality and political action" (p. 18).

Advertisements are also known to promote the idea that women should remain submissive to their partners which only further suppresses their ability to exercise agency. Simpson Rowe, a longtime sex educator, explained that media advertisements teach young women and men that girls are supposed to be "'nice and polite and caring and compassionate about others' feelings… they're so ingrained, a lot of women think this is how they're supposed to be when faced with an unsafe situation, and they're afraid of being seen as rude. The word that comes up a lot is *bitchy*" (see Orenstein, 2016, p. 197). To protect their reputations, young people then become so preoccupied with their public image that it completely changes how they perceive themselves. Investigative journalist Nancy Jo Sales (2016) in her book *American Girls: Social Media and the Secret Lives of Teenagers,* wrote that

> the APA surveyed multiple studies which found links between the sexualization of girls and a wide range of mental health issues, including self-esteem, anxiety, depression, eating disorders, cutting, even cognitive dysfunction. Apparently, thinking about being hot makes it hard to think: 'Chronic attention to physical appearance leaves fewer cognitive resources available for other mental and physical activities.' (p. 14)

The results of the American Psychological Association's study become especially troublesome because other neurological studies have found that "social media use lights up the reward centers in our brains, causing our hormones to dance. Girls talk about the 'dopamine jolt' some researchers say their brains experience when they get 'likes' on their posts and photos" (Sales,

2016, p.10). Young girls then become accustomed to that feeling and begin to obsess over the number of "likes" that their posts are getting. Many of the girls who were interviewed in Sales' book explained that the amount of "likes" they received reflected their "hotness" level (Sales, 2016).

Social media has played a vital role in just how sexy young people feel because it has now become the foundation for which their self-worth rests upon. With the constant exposure to sex, adolescents learn early on that to be considered attractive they must be sexy (Orenstein, 2016). How does this change the self-esteem game for young adults? Renowned filmmaker Jean Kilbourne critiqued social media saying that it gives young people impossible standards to live up to. Being exposed to a hypersexualized environment, leaves adolescents with flawed assumptions of what perfection is or what it can look like. Perhaps one of the most dangerous consequences of this overexposure is that hypersexualization "creates a heightened sense of competition and inferiority" amongst young girls, where they begin to feel a "bigger sense of shame of not being able to look like that girl I actually know – even if it's a Photoshopped version of that girl" (see Sales, 2016, p. 70).

As the popularity of social media continues to grow, educators are becoming more apprehensive about the influence it is having on youth. Not only is social media shaping adolescents' self-image, but it is changing the way they interact with one another. Before social media, communication was limited to face-to-face interactions that only occurred during and after school or for the few hours that adolescents saw one another on the weekends. Now, they have access to each other twenty-four hours a day with the ability to reach their peers with just the use of their fingertips. Sales (2016) revealed that young teens she interviewed shared that

"kids were 'meaner' online than they were in person, and that they themselves had been meaner on social media than they would be if they were talking to someone face-to-face" (p. 137).

Mirroring the emerging behavioral trends of American adolescents, an administrator at the Guam Department of Education revealed that cyberbullying is beginning to be a problem in Guåhan. The institution provides professional development trainings to educators on topics like sexting and cyberbullying. However, they are becoming increasingly concerned because unlike physical bullying, cyberbullying "is still difficult to see in practice. You have to be familiar with the particular social media platform and practice it to be able to detect the cyberbullying…it happens almost in an indirect way. It's 24 hours" (personal communication, 2018). Cyberbullying has changed the playing field because now kids can harass one another in ways that may be undetectable to adults. For example, the same administrator shared that there was an incident in one of the public schools in Guåhan where,

> parents felt that the administrator was not addressing cyberbullying, and they'll bring in their evidence. There will be screenshots of messages of tweets and I can see why the administrator didn't piece it together because here's something where no one is saying anyone's name, but everyone knows who everyone is talking about. It goes viral so certain people know and certain people don't know…A lot of them involve relationships and some of it involves pictures, people sending pictures of…nude photos of another person, those things combined are cyberbullying abuse. So, that's a big learning curve that we still have to go through. (personal communication, 2018)

With these new avenues for access, young adults do not have to worry about censoring themselves because of the anonymity that computers and other technological devices provide

them. As a result, adolescents are learning to engage with each other in new ways and sex education curriculum must be prepared to address that. Curricular materials must teach students how to successfully navigate the complicated and at times conflicting messages about sexuality. Sex education needs to incorporate "media literacy" which allow students to

> develop skills that enabling [sic] them not merely to view ads passively and naively, but to see *through* them—to see the underlying assumptions, the implicit and encoded messages, in commercials on television as well as in Internet and magazine ads. (Sarracino & Scott, 2008, p. 218)

We are entering a new age of sexuality, one that requires young people to critically deal with digitally altered advertisements and cyberbullying. Sex education must provide youth with the tools to develop healthy behavioral skills in their anonymous, twenty-four hour worlds.

As suggested by health professor Janet Heller and education professor Helen Johnson (2013) in their article, "Parental Opinion Concerning School Sexuality Education in a Culturally Diverse Population in the USA," when parents know the consequences of the hypersexualized environment, that alone can become a huge motivating factor for them to support sex education in schools. In their study, Heller and Johnson determined that an overwhelming majority of parents, 80%, were supportive of a variety of sex education topics. They felt that topics such as, sexual orientation, condom usage, testing for sexually transmitted diseases, etc. were appropriate to discuss with their children. However, the four topics that received the least amount of support were: abortion, anal sex, masturbation, and oral sex. Heller and Johnson (2013) concluded that with these parents, they may have wanted and even supported the idea of promoting abstinence to their children, but they also recognized that their children might choose to become, or in some

cases remain, sexually active. As a result, the parents felt that it was also imperative that sex education be used proactively to arm their children with the tools and skills to make healthy sexual choices and to avoid serious health risks.

UNRAVELING THE SILENCE

To address these sexual "truths", sex education in Guåhan must take on the delicate task of balancing closed views of sexuality with a hypersexualized environment. Adolescents are bombarded by the constant, almost daily exposure to conflicting messages about gender, sexuality, and relationship development. Therefore, sex education must help them navigate the contemporary sexual landscape. Activist Laura Kaplan (1995) in her book, *The Story of Jane: The Legendary Underground Feminist Abortion Service*, recalls the dark days before *Roe v. Wade*, when pregnant women were left to the mercy of clinical practitioners for medical information. She wrote that in 1970s America,

> few women thought they had a right to such basic information, as if their bodies did not belong to them. Those who wanted the information had no idea where to look; those who looked couldn't find anything. Without access to information women were vulnerable to misconceptions and myths passed through the grapevine and dependent on what their doctors deigned to tell them. Many women had all kinds of erroneous ideas about conception. They thought they couldn't get pregnant the first time they had sex, or while they were menstruating, or if they didn't have an orgasm. (p.138)

In those days, Kaplan's organization, *Jane*, established an underground abortion service where members would assist women in securing safe abortions by connecting them to willing

clinicians. Overtime, the demand for abortion services increased so substantially that soon members of *Jane* took matters into their own hands and began performing abortions themselves. Kaplan (1995) revealed that they saw women transform before their eyes because *Jane* was not just about providing women with the health services they needed, but the organization hoped to make women feel in control. Clients of *Jane* now had the ability to "ask intelligent questions, demand answers and refuse treatment. They were less likely to be mistreated by the medical profession. Women had to know how their bodies worked; to not know was to risk their lives" (Kaplan, 1995, p. 139). When women were finally given the means to access reproductive and sexual health information on their own, they felt more empowered than ever (Kaplan, 1995).

ALL THINGS CONSIDERED…

However, it is not enough to simply expose Guåhan's students to sexual health information. Souder (1991) argues that studies in Guåhan must be careful to "address and analyze issues in the context of the social, economic, military, and political forces that have contributed to the shaping of the Chamorro [female] experience" (p. 445). The CHamoru experience is one wrought with contradictions and negotiations that people must navigate around daily. Colonial ideologies are interwoven into the memories of CHamorus, working collectively to impose silences upon sex and gender constructions in Guåhan (Souder, 1991).

The closed-off way that Guåhan's students have been socialized into sex becomes an important factor when thinking about the way students choose to be informed about sex. Clinical psychologists Monnica Williams and Laura Bonner (2006) in their article, "Sex Education Attitudes and Outcomes among Native American Women," found that Native American women

"were more satisfied with sex education from friends, books, and the Internet than that received from parents, schools, clinics, and doctors" (p. 5). In this community, they found that youth were more comfortable confronting a computer rather than a person with their sexual health questions. Youth felt they could ask any question that they wanted without fear of judgment. Guåhan's teens are likely to feel the same way because their parents are probably also uncomfortable talking about sex.

As expressed in the Introduction, like the discomfort felt by parents, many health educators in Guåhan are hesitant about navigating sexual questions with their students. After interviewing teachers in Nepal, Shrestha et al. (2013) in their article, "Better Learning in Schools to Improve Attitudes toward Abstinence and Intentions for Safer Sex amongst Adolescents in Upper Nepal," discovered that teachers did not want to teach students about sexuality for fear that society would judge or criticize them. They did not feel confident enough to discuss taboo subjects. The way that parents and teachers feel about sex can have the effect of trickling down to the children because they can sense the anxiety that adults have about sex. These kids may then feel uneasy about approaching others with questions about sex.

In the next chapter, this dissertation argues that when educators are more at ease about discussing sexual health, the classroom can serve as a sanctuary for students to navigate the complexities of sex. Sex education should instead be a tool to break the silence surrounding sex. Children need to know that sex is natural and it will continually change and progress as they go through life. They need to know that they can ask questions about sex without judgment or feeling shame for their interests (Powell, 2008). Thinking about such things becomes especially important when creating and advocating for sex education curricula for Guåhan's youth. Once

the classroom is open to sexual discussion, it will give students the confidence to ask complex questions by making the classroom a safe space for them to explore their curiosities.

Chapter 2: Ni Ngai'an Na Bai Hu Fa'nå'gue Enao: Sex Education in Guåhan

In 2017, I was walking my WG101, Introduction to Women and Gender Studies Class through consent scenarios that I borrowed from Pono Choices. We were discussing contraception, responsibility, and ways to engage your partner in the "sex talk." Laughing along with my students as we mentally tried to navigate through each scenario, we came upon the case study of Carla and Sara, a lesbian couple who wanted to talk about the right time to have sex. Halfway through the discussion, a student raised her hand and asked, "How do lesbians get sexually transmitted diseases?" I admit I paused for a moment because I thought the question was strange. Shouldn't everyone know that we are all at risk for STDS, no matter who we sleep with? I answered, "Oral sex, can be one way. How many of you know what a dental dam is?" My question was met with twenty-nine confused faces, "Dental dams?" I wondered, "Why were my students looking at me like that?" It took days for that moment to make sense. I forgot that sex education conversations, even the most comprehensive ones, focused so much attention on the male condom and framed contraception as methods to prevent pregnancy, that it in many ways isolated and marginalized many identities along the sexual orientation spectrum. Why had this not occurred to me immediately? Why did it take my student asking me what I perceived to be a simple question, for me to figure it out?

This chapter will delve further into the sex education landscape by focusing on Guåhan's educational institution. For the first part of this chapter, I connect the silences around sex, as discussed in the previous chapter, to the "two cultural worlds" that make up indigenous identities. How can the Guam Department of Education navigate these complexities so that sex

education promotes healthier sexual behaviors? What barriers exist in Guåhan that have contributed to the absence of sex education curriculum in public school classrooms? How do educators envision sex education, if at all? For the second part of this chapter, I will study the internal practices of GDOE and its impact on healthcare providers in the island. Eight key informant interviews with lawmakers, educational administrators, and public health administrators will be used to examine to examine Guåhan's sex education landscape. With each person having over ten years of experience in their respective field, their answers will inform how we can eliminate any existing barriers that hinder sexual health discussions from being brought into the island's classrooms. Interview findings will also link together educators' feelings towards sexual education. What barriers and successes have there been in Guåhan's push for sex education? What occurs in schools today and how comfortable are educators with answering students' questions about sex?

As illustrated in Chapter 1, the sex education landscape has been heavily influenced by foreign powers, and the classroom became their main site for assimilation. Underwood (1987) in his dissertation, "American Education and the Acculturation of the Chamorros of Guam," writes that the assimilation of CHamorus to Spanish ideals was so successful that when Americans came to claim their "spoil of war" in 1898, they were surprised to find that CHamorus,

> did not meet their preconceived notions of Pacific Islanders. That is to say, they wore Western clothes, farmed as well as fished and had been Christians for over two centuries. They were unlike the surrounding islanders in the rest of Micronesia and reflected in their culture and lifestyle 200 years of contact with Europeans. (p. 1)

CHamorus were more Westernized than the Americans expected. They thought that their newly acquired territory would be home to a barbaric, savage people in desperate need of some civilizing. Despite finding the complete opposite, the Americans still felt that CHamorus needed some reeducating and the formal school system was going to be the place to do it. During the Naval Era of Guåhan, schools were meant to be the sites for instilling young CHamorus with American values even if they ran counter to their own beliefs. The school system put CHamoru and American ideals on a collision course towards each other since its primary focus was to,

> bring the younger generation into the “modern” world and turn them into loyal, patriotic American wards (both politically and culturally). The schools eventually generated negative attitudes among the people toward their own language and culture. These changed attitudes eventually resulted in changed behaviors. Consequently, the schools were the major agents of not just cultural assimilation to the "American way of life," but the decline of the Chamorro language and culture. (Underwood, 1987, p. 3)

The American social experiment was so successful that today all instruction is done in English. In the formal school system, the performance of students is measured with standardized tests developed in the United States, with *their* students in mind. Therefore, the Guåhan educational system rests upon a conservative, American foundation that limits sexual health conversations.

EXERCISING RESPETU

Considering the conservative nature of Guåhan’s sexual landscape, I use the CHamoru value of *respetu*, or respect when analyzing the results of these interviews because of a warning given by CHamoru attorney Anita Arriola. Being a significant figure in the pro-choice

community during the 1990s abortion debates in Guåhan, Arriola shared that her unpopular stance on abortion was strongly contested by the Catholic Church. However, she was careful to mention that in Guåhan such heated and controversial topics must be handled cautiously because of how connected people are to one another. Reflecting on the debates, she concluded that even during the most intense moments women on both sides of the issue still adhered to the value of *respetu* (Arriola, 2016).

The women of Guåhan ensured that the debates did not get heated in the way that abortion debates did in the states. She attributes these differences to *respetu*. Arriola (2016) explains that women knew, "we're going to call on each other, and we're not going to do this 'in your face, you know political, you know, speech or demonstration that happens so much in the states.'" In an island as small as Guåhan, it was understood that even with opposing beliefs one should never take ideological differences too far. CHamoru women knew that somehow everyone was related or connected to each person, so there really was no room for mudslinging or other vicious maneuvers. Arriola shared that more aggressive and isolating tactics were a part of what she called the "American rhetoric". During this time, across the United States, many abortionists lived in fear of being physically hurt or worse. Psychologist Diane di Mauro and sociologist Carole Joffe (2009) in their book chapter, "The Religious Right and the Reshaping of Sexual Policy: An Examination of Reproductive Rights and Sexuality Education," historicized the abortion debates saying that in the United States,

> since 1993, seven members of the abortion-providing community have been murdered, six at their workplaces and one in his home. Thousands more have been terrorized, the

> clinics where they work have been vandalized and firebombed, and in 2000 more than half of all abortion providers experienced some form of antiabortion harassment. (p. 59)

Arriola felt that such demonstrations had no place in Guåhan, even with a topic as heated and controversial as abortion. There were active protests and public criticism from the Catholic Church, but for the most part abortion remained a "respectful discussion…way more than occurs in the United States" (Arriola, 2016). To avoid more forceful tactics and to maintain the CHamoru environment of *respetu*, the pro-choice camp of Guåhan had to be more strategic and creative in their approach.

For example, in 1990, women for choice decided that they would challenge the anti-solicitation clause in Guåhan's new abortion law. They wanted to highlight the ridiculousness of the provision because no other place, states and other territories included, in the United States passed such a restrictive law. Therefore, Anita decided to contact Janet Benshoof, an attorney with the American Civil Liberties Union's Reproductive Freedom Project (ACLU RFP). The two women strategized and soon Benshoof flew to Guåhan to attend a meeting for the Rotary Club. At the meeting, she pulled out the Hawai'i yellow pages phonebook and started to list clinics that women could go to, to get abortion services. By providing information on how women could undergo abortions, Benshoof intentionally violated the anti-solicitation clause because it was "probably the biggest way to get everyone's attention…to highlight how bad the law was and also how extreme it was" (Arriola, 2016).

Pro-choice supporters were also careful to ensure that they were in control of their narrative. It would do no good for women who advocated for pro-choice to verbally attack and publicly humiliate pro-life supporters. Women and Gender Studies scholar Vivian Dames (2003)

in her book chapter, "Chamorro Women, Self-Determination, and the Politics of Abortion in Guam," wrote that the pro-choice camp instead coined the term "Critical Catholics." Advocates for choice explained that, "being pro-choice does not reflect a rejection of their Catholic faith but rather the adoption of a stance as a 'critical Catholic,' one who does not accept uncritically the teachings of the church-or any authority" (p. 374). Many pro-choice supporters claimed that being able to get a Catholic education, especially at the island's only girls' school, was the very reason why they support women's rights to make their own choices. Though this tactic may seem controversial, when interviewed, Arriola (2016) found that it was highly successful. She shared that the tactics of the pro-choice camp

> got the attention of a lot of congress people like Barbara Boxer and you know George Miller who…who oversaw a lot of Guam issues you know in their committees in Congress. And they were just appalled about the law. And so, it definitely worked because there was a lot of attention paid…not the type of attention that the Governor wanted because it was a lot of negative attention but it worked in terms of making sure this kind of an issue should not…this kind of a law should not go into effect in Guam. (Arriola, 2016)

As a result, Guåhan's law still adheres to *Roe v. Wade*. There is a small window in which abortions can happen without reason, and then there are additional stipulations that have been included into the law in the past few decades. A more detailed analysis of Guåhan's abortion laws will be discussed in Chapter 3.

JUMPING BACK TO MOVE FORWARD (INDIGENOUS FEMINISM)

As illustrated by the 1990s abortion debates, to responsibly include native narratives sex education should be grounded in indigenous feminist theory because it ensures issues are looked at with a decolonial lens. Poststructuralism critiques the existence of universal truths, while postcolonialism critiques the empires that construct those same truths. Indigenous feminists understood this concern, which is why they were rightfully skeptical of how western feminist ideologies excluded the experiences of indigenous women. Acknowledging that all these critical theoretical lenses must be applied, Souder (1991) cautions scholars in Guåhan when considering the CHamoru experience "analysis that ignores the colonial reality on Guam today is inadequate and unacceptable to emerging female Micronesian scholars" (p. 445). Trask (1996) illustrated the contentions between feminist ideology and indigenous feminist ideology when she reminded indigenous women that they must be conscious and critical of the motives of their colonizers. She argued that, "white American feminist women are still American. Their loyalties are to the United States of America" (p. 910). Trask's concerns reflect those of Black feminists who emerged to create the movement of Third Wave feminism, which called for the critique of one's intersecting identities and how these conflicts contributed to one's privileged or oppressed state.

Even with thousands of miles of ocean between them, CHamoru scholar Laura Souder observed many of the same things as Trask. For the women of Guåhan, Souder discusses that "…some Chamorro women are skeptical about feminism because it can easily serve as another imperialistic tool." This conflict arose simply because

> social goals differ markedly. Unlike many American feminists who seek radically to alter established institutions and build a new society, some Chamorro women feel that

traditional institutions through which women are able to wield power and authority should be preserved. (Souder, 1991, p. 444)

Indigenous feminists believe that we need to reinstate traditional practices that provided women power. For example, Western feminists found that motherhood often limited women to fulfill their nurturing roles, which kept them in their homes. One side of western feminism maintains the idea that motherhood has "been one of the anchor points for denying women rights and equality and for discriminating against them" (Neyer & Bernardi, 2011, p. 164). Indigenous feminists, particularly CHamorus, instead felt that motherhood was an avenue of power. As observed by Pale San Vitores in the 17th century, women in CHamoru society were the sole decision makers in matters of the children. If a man were to defy her orders, he could be physically punished (Thompson, 1947). Children also lived with and were educated by their mother's clan. They often saw their mother's brothers as their male role models (De Oro, 2018).

Considering the arguments of indigenous feminism, this study acknowledges that indigenous theories should be at the center of sexual reconstruction and reimagination. These processes cannot get trapped in Western frameworks, in which we merely apply native culture superficially. English professor Leah Sneider (2015) in her book chapter, "Complementary Relationships: A Review of Indigenous Gender Studies," argues that "an Indigenous feminist approach" needs to be deeper so that it "addresses the colonial ideologies that inform constructions of gender, race, class, nationality, physical ability, and sexuality" (p. 73). The colonial realities and identities that CHamorus live with should be used to build the foundation of sexual thought. Sex education can be used to reconstruct the egalitarian gender practices that CHamorus once enjoyed.

SEX EDUCATION IN GUÅHAN

In Guåhan, native frameworks are rarely, if ever, incorporated into sex education curriculum. Contemporarily, Guåhan's teens are continually bombarded with mixed messages about sex. In the early 2000s, high schools around the island had yet to have any type of formal sex education. Instead, discussions surrounding safe sex and contraception were confined to the health education classroom. Even when these discussions occurred, pertinent sexual health information was often minimal or specific sections were skipped over entirely. I recall, in 2008, I attended a public high school where pregnant students and their expectant partners were required to attend parenting classes, to prepare for their new roles. Considering these practices, this study looks at why with the limited reproductive health discussions it is deemed acceptable to provide comprehensive lessons in parenting instead of mandating that students learn how to protect themselves sexually? Luker (2006) explains that for Americans the lack of sex education is nothing new because it takes very little priority in the American educational system. She wrote that in 1999,

> the Kaiser Family Foundation survey of teachers found that three out of four of those actually charged with teaching sex said that in their schools, the subject was covered in only a few class periods, sometimes as few as one. Fewer than one sex educator in ten reported teaching a course that lasted even an entire semester. (p. 251)

Today, since criteria for the sex education classroom are guided by and created for the American education system little is done to enforce sexual health education in Guåhan's public schools.

In 2010, the Guam Department of Education (GDOE) revised its *K-12 Content Standards and Performance Indicators* for the first time since its adoption, more than a decade before.

During this round of revisions, Superintendent Dr. Nerissa B. Underwood established a cadre of GDOE educators, with at least three years of teaching experience and a teaching certificate, to update all content areas across all grades (Guam Department of Education [GDOE], 2010). Once the teams were created, GDOE contracted the Pacific Resources for Education and Learning (PREL) to work with the teams to ensure that all standards were nationally aligned. PREL evaluated and updated all content standards using a combination of "national standards, exemplary state standards, and the 1996 Guam DOE standards" (GDOE, 2010, p.iii).

The Health Standards team was no exception to this rule. Instead of tailoring health education content to the needs of Guåhan's students or even explicitly including sexual health standards (the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention outlines model content standards), the team took the standards from the Joint Committee for National School Health Education Standards (NHES), which was developed with members of nationally recognized American organizations, that is, the Association for the Advancement of Health Education, the American Public Health Association, the American School Health Association, and the Society of State Directors of Health, Physical Education, and Recreation, to name a few (GDOE, 2010). The standards adopted through this revision are the ones that are used in Guåhan's classrooms today. For this study, standards are especially important because they are used to guide GDOE's curricular content. When interviewed, one education administrator mentioned that when GDOE went through its process of adopting Common Core (CC) the

> [CC] standards, themselves, would have not been the big piece…what the CC allows us to do…it allows us to anchor our initiative on a national movement because we said we were going to create our alignment using our Guam standards, there wouldn't have been

a national push; teachers would have been like, oh okay, so we're just doing this? Why are we doing this at this point? We've had these standards for so long. So, when we got the CC, we thought oh this is perfect. (personal communication, 2018)

The weight of nationally recognized standards made it easier to get GDOE educators on board, otherwise they would have just seen curricular revisions and updates as nothing more than a nuisance.

For sexual health, these anchors do exist. In the United States, the NHES were first published in 1995 to "establish, promote and support health-enhancing behaviors for students in all grade levels—from pre-Kindergarten through grade 12" to do so the NHES "provide a framework for teachers, administrators, and policy makers in designing or selecting curricula, allocating instructional resources, and assessing student achievement and progress" (CDC, 2018, para. 1). After the establishment of NHES, the CDC took things a step further and developed an evaluation tool known as the Health Education Curriculum Analysis Tool (HECAT). The HECAT has a module devoted specifically to Sexual Health, where educators can find content standards for grades Pre-K to 12 (CDC, 2019).

Despite these existing guidelines, in Guåhan, students typically do not attend formal sex education classes. Guåhan's current health education standards instead include vague standards that merely suggest sexual health discussions in grade four until high school. Even with the detailed *Sexual Health* module in HECAT, one could argue that the exclusion of reproductive health was deliberate because there are no direct guidelines for sexual health. Instead, in GDOE's health education standards, sexual health content is hinted at using euphemisms, such as "injury prevention" and "harm reduction" (GDOE, 2010).

For example, in middle school, Health Education Standard 1.4 in *Core Concepts* states that students should be able to "describe ways to reduce or prevent injuries and other adolescent health problems" (GDOE, 2010, p. 211). An example is then provided to the teacher so that they can meet the standard. For MS 1.4, the example is "know that abstinence from sexual behaviors can prevent pregnancy, sexually transmitted infections, and HIV/AIDS" (GDOE, 2010, p. 211). There are no standards that directly address sexual health, instead the mere use of the word sex is confined to the examples for the standards. High school health education is no different. For example, to meet Health Education Standard 8.6 in *Health Advocacy,* students must be able to "develop and articulate personal opinions about health issues" (GDOE, 2010, p. 239). Educators are then provided with an example to meet that standard, which states, "prepare a persuasive speech explaining the importance of HIV testing and counseling of sexually active youth" (GDOE, 2010, p. 239). Therefore, sexual health discussions are *suggested*, but there really is no enforcement or implementation. Teachers could easily incorporate activities that emphasize the dangers of drinking alcohol to meet the middle school standard of injury prevention and the high school standard of developing personal health opinions. There is no reason why teachers would have to ensure that sexual discussions even occur in their classrooms, especially if they are within the parameters of the standards.

Since sex education in the island stands on shaky ground, tactics to incorporate sex education into Guåhan's classrooms are starting to mirror the same strategies used by pro-choice supporters during the 1990s abortion debates. A longtime education administrator shared that sex education is really limited. To a small extent sexual health is "covered in every health classroom

in every school district…it's about two or three weeks" (personal communication, 2018). Therefore, educators must be more creative when broaching sexual discussions. He revealed that,

> the topic would only be really focused on during health classes. Health teachers are totally fine with it because that's what they teach. I know that it's not in the standards, but it is in the textbook. So, when we adopt a textbook, we adopt a standard textbook for that particular subject. So, there's definitely units on health education and sex education and reproduction. (personal communication, 2018)

The existence of sexual health material in the adopted textbook gives the Guam Department of Education leverage to advocate for such discussions to take place in the classroom. Though this can be a good tactic, it is a long way from having sex education fully implemented in all classrooms across the island. Since reproductive health content only exists in the health education textbook, within the Guåhan school system "it would be very rare that it would be discussed outside of the health class" (personal communication, 2018). Therefore, only health teachers are really protected by this strategy because each team of teachers determine collectively what they will discuss in their classrooms, and the textbook acts as their safety net to introduce more controversial topics (personal communication, 2018). Combined with the absence of sex education standards and the limited protections extended to educators, teachers who are uncomfortable having sexual health discussions with their students can justifiably bypass chapters that include reproductive health material without fear of being reprimanded or evaluated poorly.

For the few teachers who teach sexual health, lessons are brief and focused on basic safe topics such as, reproductive anatomy and puberty. These discussions deliberately exclude more

controversial sexual health topics surrounding sexual orientation, gender identity, abortion, or domestic violence, which leave significant gaps in the student's sexual knowledge. Therefore, many students in Guåhan end up leaving their classrooms more confused about sexual health prior to entering it (Aoki, 2013).

A university professor in Guåhan shared that in her work as a service provider for the island's youth, she found sexual discussions to be fragmented. She shared that the main reasons for the fragmentation was the risk that was associated with reproductive health. After decades of counseling youth, she observed that sex education required "a lot of advocacy to be able to get something like that implemented, but that really should not be the case" (personal communication, 2018). In Guåhan, sex education is not something that people readily accept.

In 2013, a local newspaper in Guåhan, the *Pacific Daily News*, reported that two high school teachers were reprimanded for talking to their students about sex. While attending an education workshop, two health educators (who chose to remain anonymous) revealed that their schools punished them for teaching sex education. For one of them, once the parents of their students discovered that s/he was discussing sex with their children, they were outraged. The parents put intense pressure on the administration to discipline this teacher. The administration had no choice and docked the educator's pay (Aoki, 2013). The deliberate silence imposed upon sexual discussions has frightened teachers. Teachers are undeniably aware of the liabilities associated with talking to their students about sex. As mentioned in the previous chapter, many educators in Guåhan are already uncomfortable answering students' questions and will instead send the child to either the nurse or a counselor for answers (personal communication, 2016).

Another obstacle for sex education is not just the community-at-large, but school administrators act as barriers themselves. When interviewed, outside health service providers shared that they are usually kept out of schools by gatekeepers. One provider expressed his frustration with navigating the system because it demanded that they seek out individual school administrators who would be supportive of sexual health discussions. For decades, he led educational workshops to advocate for sexual minorities in the island, and in that time, he noticed that there is no consistency in GDOE. There were moments where one administrator would be welcoming towards their organization, and then at another school, the administrator would share that they were uncomfortable with providers coming in to talk about sex. One behavioral health provider experienced similar inconsistencies,

> I don't know if right now Guam is overly conservative. It's really, from my experiences with principals, who are the gatekeepers. We are trying to work at getting it into the curriculum because right now with sexuality curriculum one school *might* do it so it's not consistent. (personal communication, 2018)

The unpredictable way that sex education curriculum is applied can send mixed messages to educators and to the Guåhan community as well. Students are not prepared to make sexual health decisions, and they really are at the mercy of their teachers and schools. Additionally, these irregular practices are even more difficult to comprehend since Guåhan receives federal funds annually to implement sex education. What happens to the programs that are established and the curricular materials that are purchased with these monies?

Sex Education in Guåhan- Funding Sources

Mirroring the contrasts between pre-contact CHamorus and their Western colonizers, one could argue that Guåhan is still heavily influenced by the same sex education debates that exist in the contemporary, American imagination. Luker (2006) summarizes these arguments by stating that,

> the key difference is that for conservatives, the way to deal with temptation and sin is to avoid them, and the further one can keep away from them, the better. For liberals, however, the best way of dealing with hormones (and impulsive behavior generally) is to get children into the habit of making thoughtful decisions. (p. 190)

Despite receiving hundreds of thousands of federal dollars to implement sex education, Guåhan still finds itself leaning towards more conservative, American views. For fiscal years 2013-2018, the Guam Department of Education's Curriculum and Instruction (C&I) Office was awarded $2 million in Personal Responsibility Education Program (PREP) funds to incorporate sexual health into health education. For the first three-year cycle, C&I was granted $416,667 each year. In 2016, the grant was then extended for another five years, where they were given $250,000 each year to implement sex education (personal communication, 2018). PREP grant funding is set to end by September 2020.

C&I applied for the grant in hopes that funding would allow them to respond to the growing number of teenage pregnancies coupled with the high rates of risky sexual behaviors that high school students were engaging in, which will be discussed in Chapter 3. To meet this goal, in 2013, GDOE used PREP funds to purchase *Safer Choices*, a STD, HIV, and teen pregnancy prevention program for high schoolers. Content in the *Safer Choices* program,

emphasized using protection during sex as the *safer choice* and abstinence as the *safest choice*. According to PREP coordinator, Paul Nededog, the curriculum was a small step for the department. *Safer Choices* was incorporated into high school health education classrooms for the first time, but it has yet to be added to the "standard curriculum for the Guam Public School System" (Wells, 2016, para. 7). Despite the curricular limitations, the implementation of this grant provided some optimism for educators since it seemed that the culture of the sexual health classroom was beginning to change.

However, the celebration was short-lived. In response to the introduction of *Safer Choices*, authorities in the Catholic church were vocal in their opposition to its implementation. To reiterate the importance of only discussing abstinence with students, in April 2016, Father Walsh, a member of the vocational institution for Catholic seminaries in Guåhan, wrote an op-ed for the *Pacific Daily News* entitled "Walsh: Sex meant to create children". A concerned Walsh wrote,

> without a reason to be chaste, those who do not have a character shaped by chastity have no protection from the temptation to slip into bed with someone whenever the opportunity presents itself. Because they have a condom in their pocket, they think that they have nothing to fear. Their education system, which should be alerting them to the insanity of that way of thinking, is instead… cooperating in setting them up for sexual exploitation by giving them a distorted picture of what sex is all about. (Walsh, 2016, para. 12)

Walsh was outraged that the curriculum would even discuss contraceptive methods with students. Concerned for the wellbeing of Guåhan's young adults, Walsh simply felt that sex

education should only promote one message: "Do not have sex!" He felt that by discussing sex the curriculum would be encouraging youth to have sex by creating the illusion that they could successfully have sex safely (Walsh, 2016). As Walsh's comments illustrate, sex education is a controversial issue in the island since Catholic authorities feel apprehensive about openly discussing sex with children. Such opinions carry with it a tremendous amount of power, since approximately eighty-five percent of Guåhan's population is Roman Catholic (Central Intelligence Agency [CIA], 2019).

When *Safer Choices* was implemented in classrooms throughout the island, news of the curriculum not only prompted oppositional op-eds from priests, but it called the attention of the Archdiocese of Agana. An administrator at the Guam Department of Education recalls the controversy the curriculum generated. He shared that,

> we got summoned to the Chancellery because they did not like the idea…that abstinence was an *option*. We are obliged to inform students as part of program, not having sexual intercourse is clearly an option…it's clearly a choice that you make, but if you do decide to have sexual intercourse, this is how you use a condom, this is how you… (personal communication, 2018)

The Catholic Church was uncomfortable that GDOE was supporting discussions that did not clearly tell students that abstinence was the only option. Mirroring Walsh's comments, the Archdiocese felt that educating students about contraceptives and other forms of sex were dangerous for Guåhan's youth because it sent mixed messages. They continually accused GDOE and chastised them for being irresponsible because they were condoning sexual behaviors (personal communication, 2018). However, the criticism did not last long because within a

week's time now former Archbishop Apuron along with several other priests were accused by former altar servers of committing rape and sexual assault (to be discussed in the following chapter). The same administrator mentioned above described the impact that the cases had on the Church's stance on sex education,

> right after that, we weren't rubbing it in, but we kept…we responded back to them. It was a Deacon and the other guy. We're waiting for our follow-up and we're waiting to engage with you on this matter. [They said] Oh, oh we'll get back to you and then a month later, hey we're waiting for our follow-up, we're ready to have a discussion with you. [They replied] Oh, we're not ready at this time. So, they basically dropped it, if that didn't happen with Apuron; I think they would have tried to go on this full-force attack with the department where… you guys are immoral because you're teaching students about having sex. (personal communication, 2018)

The allegations against the Church completely derailed the Archdiocese's ability to comment on sex education. Therefore, with the sex abuse cases still ongoing, the Catholic Church has yet to have a discussion with GDOE about *Safer Choices*. Despite the controversy with the Church, GDOE still considers *Safer Choices* a success. In 2016, Nededog reported that the curricular evaluation was mostly positive. He shared with the local community that,

> the PREP Performance Measures exit survey reported that 54 percent of the 2,121 students surveyed were much less likely to have sexual intercourse in the next six months, 36 percent reported being much more likely to use a condom, and 27 percent reported being much more likely to use birth control. (Wells, 2016, para. 9)

Nededog credited the success of the curriculum to the support of the school administrators because they continued to implement the program despite the controversy (Wells, 2016). Today, Cycle 2 of the grant is still ongoing, and GDOE purchased another prevention program entitled, *Making Proud Choices!*

Despite the existence of *Safer Choices*, the Guåhan community is still divided about the effectiveness of the program. Private, Catholic schools in the island do not engage in sexual health discussions with their students. Brandon Santos, a student at the island's only all-boys school, Father Duenas Memorial School, shared that, "many topics and areas, such as contraceptives, are treated as sensitive. It came up from time to time during conversations with the instructor, but they were not really part of the lesson" (Dedicatoria, 2015, para 3). Additionally, Leonardo Orsini, who attended the public school just down the road, George Washington High School, felt that *Safer Choices* was missing a very significant piece because it isolated sexual minorities. When interviewed, he told the *Pacific Daily News* that,

> I definitely think the sex education I received in school was heteronormative. I, as well as my fellow peers, were never taught about sex education in regards to LGBTQIA people. I think it's important to teach about sexuality in schools as it's very much relevant to youths. (Dedicatoria, 2015, para. 5)

As stated earlier, GDOE is making small strides forward in terms of sex education, but the existing curriculum still silences the sexually deviant, which continues to be dangerous for youth who fall into those categories.

With an example like the *Safer Choices* controversy, it is no surprise that health education discussions in Guåhan mirror American ideals. As Luker (2006) traces the shifts in sex

education in America, she noted that, "sex education teachers no longer assume that their mostly liberal values are shared by everyone. They know that sex is controversial, and they tend to restrict themselves to some of the more clinical and sometimes boring aspects of sexuality" (p. 234). Orsini's comment illustrated this point, when he observed that more divisive topics like LGBTQIA orientations were left out of the conversation. In America, sex education was only used to "emphasize the physical changes and what was going to happen to you, not making decisions about sex" (Luker, 2006, p. 110). Following these guidelines, in health education classrooms throughout Guåhan, sex education was discussed in a distilled, clinical way. That was until 2015.

Responding to the Crisis: LaniKate Curriculum

In 2015, the Office of the Attorney General of Guam reported that, "more than 80 percent of the more than 700 people listed on Guam's sex offender registry last year were listed for sexually assaulting a child" (Miculka, 2015, para. 1). It was also announced in February of that year that Guåhan had the second highest rate of reported forcible rape, 64.2 reported rapes per 100,000, in the nation. Guåhan's rate was only lower than Alaska's, 87.6 reported rapes per 100,000 (Elmore, 2017; Miculka, 2015). In response to these statistics, nearly seven months later, former Attorney General of Guam, Elizabeth Barrett-Anderson established the LaniKate taskforce. The taskforce hosted a curriculum training at Carlos L. Taitano Elementary School, where over one hundred and fifty GDOE elementary teachers were trained in the packaged health education curriculum, *My Body is Special: A Sexual Abuse Prevention Curriculum*. The curriculum was broken into three parts by grade levels: (1) *My Body is Special* for Pre-K to 2nd

grade, (2) *My Body, My Boundaries* for 3rd grade to 5th grade, and (3) *Respect: A Sexual Abuse Prevention Curriculum* for middle and high school (Eugenio, 2016). Barrett-Anderson shared that the training was "part of an effort to educate Guam public school teachers on age-appropriate curriculum for child abuse prevention" and emphasized that "this curriculum is so important because it teaches children to recognize when sexual abuse might happen, the skills to protect themselves and to know how to get help" (Hernandez, 2015, para. 2-3).

Following the training, Guam Department of Education Superintendent, Jon Fernandez, reported that the department, "plans to implement a sexual abuse prevention curriculum for kindergarten through 12th grade starting in the 2017-2018 school year" (Hernandez, 2015, para. 5). With the implementation of this curriculum, it became the one instance in which this topic was addressed at the elementary level (personal communication, 2018). Upon adopting *My Body is Special*, Barrett-Anderson and Fernandez predicted that there would be a sudden increase in reported sexual assault cases involving minors. They noted that the increase "could only mean the new curriculum is successful in teaching students how to better protect themselves and how to report any sexual assault if it happens to them or to someone they know" (Eugenio, 2016, para. 2).

In April 2018, their prediction came true. At Upi Elementary, a public elementary school in Guåhan, two young students came forward reporting sexual abuse. The girls accused a one-to-one aide, Sean David Cruz, of forcing them to engage in sexual acts in the school's bathrooms. Cruz, who was employed with GDOE since October 2015, victimized an eight-year-old and a seven-year-old student. The girls were told not to say anything about what occurred in the restrooms. Exhibiting incredible bravery, they both told the school nurse what happened. The

nurse reported the incidents to the Guam Police Department. Soon after the allegations, Cruz admitted to the crimes and was therefore charged with "first-degree criminal sexual conduct as a first-degree felony with a special allegation of vulnerable victim" (Sablan, 2018, para. 2) and three counts of misdemeanors (Carrera, 2018). An educational administrator at GDOE, attributed the girls' courage to come forward to the curriculum introduced by the LaniKate taskforce. He shared that since the incident parents were more encouraged to talk about these issues because they knew about the *My Body is Special* trainings. GDOE educators also agreed that since introducing the curriculum students have felt safe reporting sexual abuse and harassment to school employees (personal communication, 2018). The taskforce has plans to incorporate new topics such as, sexting and cyberbullying into the existing curriculum (Eugenio, 2016).

Even with the success of *My Body is Special,* educational administrators were careful to point out that the involvement of the Attorney General was critical to getting the curriculum into classrooms. The weight and authority of the Attorney General propelled the curriculum forward because with any "controversial type of content, there will be people who are looking to see is this something that the Superintendent, the Deputy, the Central Office are they going to be okay" (personal communication, 2018). GDOE disclosed that "with the LaniKate taskforce curriculum, because that has the power of law behind it, and it was adopted by the board…joining forces with the Attorney General is important, is a big signal to all of our teachers and our administrators that we want you to address this." (personal communication, 2018). The content of the curriculum was pretty progressive asking "students as early as kindergarten to use the word penis. This is the word penis; this is vagina; these are breasts and so forth" (personal communication, 2018). Administrators at GDOE were certain that without the Attorney General

the entire project would have unraveled. They concluded their discussion of *My Body is Special*, by stressing that "without that [support of the AG], I guarantee nobody would have even touched the topic. That's a big piece" (personal communication, 2018).

Even with an increase in communication, educational administrators were concerned that the cultural piece is missing. Despite some students feeling more empowered to report sexual abuse, administrators noticed that a certain demographic of students did not feel the same way. They reported having trouble communicating the need to report to students who are new to Guåhan or who belong to cultural minority groups in the island. One administrator shared that,

> I do know that there are some teachers who have brought up discussions with girls who just say I'm just supposed to…and if this happens, am I supposed to say something? What if I don't want to say anything about it? … So, we are still navigating that cultural piece especially if they are new to the island because they don't know that it is a crime and this is from both the victim standpoint and the perpetrator. (personal communication, 2018)

These concerns and conflicts highlighted how significant culture is to sex education. Curricular material should be age-appropriate, medically accurate, and even engaging, but it should still speak to students using their cultural lens so that it reduces the likelihood that students will not retain reproductive health information.

There are additional concerns that go beyond just culture, some members of GDOE felt that the curriculum does not get to the root of sexual abuse and harassment. One educational healthcare provider shared that regarding sexuality curriculum he still feels that, "we're [GDOE] always responding to the negative aspects of sexuality, when there's a sexual assault or maybe a

teen pregnancy, sexual harassment issues" (personal communication, 2018). *My Body is Special* is a step forward, but work still needs to be done to more precisely tailor it to Guåhan's youth. The following chapter will critically look at how *My Body is Special* and other sex education curricula incorporate culture and what improvements are needed, if any, to address the uniqueness of their respective students.

Despite some of the issues with *My Body is Special*, the Guam Department of Education noticed that the introduction of the curriculum began to change opinions about sex education. The curriculum shifted ideas of responsibility because "instead of pointing fingers and blame, the idea is that if we are all educated together then we can figure this out at school and at home. That way if our kids are in distress, then somebody is there for them" (personal communication, 2018). Administrators also shared that parents were now inquiring about how to get the curricular materials. They wanted to be prepared in case their child(ren) came home wanting to discuss or ask questions about sex or sexual assault (personal communication, 2018).

The Sound of Silence- Guam Department of Education as a Delivery System

As evidenced with *My Body is Special*, all interviewees agreed that the best approach to getting sexual information to Guåhan's youth was through education. They all felt that GDOE was the best avenue for delivering sexual health because of its institutional reach. A longtime healthcare administrator disclosed that,

> they [GDOE] are the ones who have to implement the sex education in schools. They have our clients in their schools, in their classrooms. So, it's good that some of them are referring them to public health, but some of the students don't have access to

> transportation and that's a big barrier when it comes to showing up at the clinic. (personal communication, 2018)

Institutionally, GDOE was always supposed to function this way, but in Guåhan that has not always been the case. The administrator went on to add that currently

> (G)DOE is not the coordinating body. They were supposed to have that coordinating body, but I don't know what happened. So, that's where the gaps, coordination because we used to go and train their counselors, where they can go for resources, where they can get condoms. But, they are supposed to be ordering materials, ordering visuals, ordering what materials they need for that curriculum, but I don't know where that is. (personal communication, 2018)

One could argue that the public health system was designed to address the health needs of a community. So why is it more efficient to have sexual health education run through the educational institution instead? In an island, like Guåhan, the main issue becomes access. The island has one, centralized school system, which makes GDOE the ideal organization for most initiatives. After decades of serving Guåhan's youth, a healthcare provider shared that, "DOE needs to take the lead. They are the primary school system on Guam and it is a very important aspect of educating a child holistically, not just part of your physical health, but your sexual health" (personal communication, 2018). From an access standpoint, providers agreed that GDOE needs to be the agency to initiate sexual health directives. Even with the promise of free services, many of the public health centers have reported time and access limitations that do not necessarily exist in the GDOE system. Within the healthcare system,

> when it comes to the sex education part, I would say that it's spent very little, not a lot. To really educate that client on what the whole health reproduction is; what does that mean to them? Ours is a 20-min risk reduction; behavioral… They come in and we talk about the risks, but that's 20 mins with them and then where do they go to get support, more, additional support to ensure that they do not fall through the cracks because they can leave with condoms, knowing that they are STD/HIV negative, but then they put themselves back at risk again. So, we can't really spend that time, to really engage them in understanding their reproductive health, and their overall health. (personal communication, 2018)

Non-profit healthcare providers shared that they have the same restrictions, so they must be more creative when doing outreach. To assist clients,

> having a day like June 27 (recognized National HIV Testing Day) where they can come and get a free HIV test from us is an opportunity for us to give them a condom as a contraceptive. So, we give them condoms during those days, and they get a little bit of as much as we can squeeze into our discussion with them on sex behaviors. For the little window, we sit with them and talk with them about a safe plan, safe sex behavior plan. We are able to do that. (personal communication, 2018)

However, providers shared that packing so much sexual health information into short sessions can be an incredibly frustrating process for both the client and the healthcare provider.

> It could be vicious cycle because they [clients] will come back to our clinic and we'll still talk to them about the same risks, so if they have no understanding about their body parts, yeah maybe they get it at Health Class 101, okay so maybe they've also heard about HIV

> in school, family planning, you know it's touched upon in our health class, but then do they have those skills to really acknowledge, to practice what it means to protect themselves, their bodies, their anatomy- whether it's a male or a female? (personal communication, 2018)

The schools by far have the most access with younger clients. Instead of twenty minute windows, the health education classroom can meet with students for an hour or more (minutes per class block vary by school) for one academic year in high school and one semester in middle school (GDOE, 2019; GDOE, 2017; GDOE, 2009). Therefore, schools become

> an important point of entry; the kids are with the teachers eight hours a day. You know, the teachers know their students. So, the students feel I am going to talk to my teacher because I am sexually active and I don't know what to do, that would be a really big plus for those teachers to help those students. So, if they are able to implement that curriculum and take that extra step, prevention counseling, is available and the teachers are not going to get blasted I think that would be a win for everybody. (personal communication, 2018)

Since the implementation of *My Body Is Special*, GDOE administrators are more confident in their ability to be the delivery system for sex education. They shared that in the long-term, they hope to "build those types of (sexual health) services to reach those young kids, so the goal is really to strengthen the delivery system" (personal communication, 2018). However, even with the increased access to students, simply putting sex education into public school classrooms does not fully address another looming obstacle: parents.

Conservative opponents of sex education have for decades argued that putting sex education in schools violates the parental right "to educate their children about sex" (Luker,

2006, p. 167) because it “muddies the boundary between them. It puts in the hands of children information that the parents may not have” (Luker, 2006, p. 162). Despite these critiques, studies have shown that simply placing the responsibility of sex education into the hands of parents can be ineffective since youth do not like to discuss sex with their parents (Meschke & Dettmer, 2012; Williams & Bonner, 2006). One specific factor that led students to seek sexual health information from sources, other than their parents, is comfort. In studies, children have reported knowing that sex was a controversial topic in their cultures, therefore they assumed their parents would be uncomfortable having “the talk” (Meschke & Dettmer, 2012).

As illustrated by Aoki (2013) earlier in this chapter, these situations mirror the sexual landscape of the island. Currently, parents in Guåhan have beliefs that mirror those of sexual conservatives in the United States. Luker (2006) explains that sexually conservative parents believe that children have

> a certain natural innocence, which can only be corrupted by talking to them about sex, especially before high school, they want a minimum of information. Information just makes young people jaded, they think, and gives them ideas that they would not otherwise have had. (p. 195)

Like sexually conservative Americans, many parents in Guåhan feel that information should be limited so as not to encourage their children to engage in sex. As expressed in the previous chapter, it is significant to note that parents may also be hesitant towards sex education because they went through the same school system as their children. They were ingrained with the belief that sex was not an appropriate topic for youth. Thus, no one talked to them about sex. Therefore, even if a few parents try to have “the talk” with their kids, there is a risk of

misinformation and inaccurate information being transmitted because they were not formally educated themselves.

However, no matter how uncomfortable these discussions have been, educators and health service providers in Guåhan agreed that parental support and buy-in is a must to maximize the effectiveness of sex education. Many shared that it must be a joint effort. "Parents need to reinforce it and then schools to reinforce the basics of sex education. Sex Education 101 and whatever that will be and the curriculum that the schools have developed have to be reinforced" (personal communication, 2018). One legislator even went as far as to support the idea of adult sex education classes. He said that the structure can be "as simple as timing it when the kids will be learning about this a month from now, and the kids will have that type of information. So that it helps them to make it easier for them to discuss with their kids" (personal communication, 2018). The same legislator also expressed that these open lines of communication can ease parents' anxieties about having sexual health discussed in the classrooms because they will be informed enough to address any additional questions that their children have or to even voice their concerns if they are uncomfortable with classroom discussions.

All the interviewees unanimously agreed that parental support is the first step to changing attitudes about sex education because parents are such a powerful advocacy group. As demonstrated with *My Body Is Special*, if parents buy-in, then it can "change the whole dynamic of what exists today" (personal communication, 2018). Despite being relatively new, the curriculum has encouraged students to come forward when they have been sexually abused or raped. Therefore, with parental and institutional support, we can change the dynamics of health education classrooms even more. Education scholars Noah Borrero, Christine Yeh, Crivir Cruz,

and Jolene Suda (2012) in their article, “School as a Context for ‘Othering’ Youth and Promoting Cultural Assets,” argue that “the school context is also a powerful socializing agent that reinforces an ‘institutional ideology,’ and shapes students’ expectations” (p. 2), which is why GDOE is the best delivery system for sex education in the island. Utilizing a centralized system that sees youth multiple times a week is the best avenue to deliver sex education curriculum that works towards preventing unsafe sexual behaviors rather than continually reacting to sexual health crises in the island.

WHAT PATH DO WE TAKE? SEX EDUCATION POLICY AND LEGISLATION

Similar to the concerns regarding the deliverance of reproductive health information, healthcare providers have critiqued sex education in Guåhan because they feel that it is practiced inconsistently. A founder of a non-profit shared that he felt that the solution would be to implement policy.

> I think the way that you make that inconsistency go away is that you once and for all have policy, whether that’s legislative policy or Board of Education policy. And then, you have some real strict enforcements around that because having policy is one thing, but having enforcement around it is another. (personal communication, 2018)

In 2014, former Speaker Judi Won Pat attempted to write a bill that would mandate sex education in Guåhan’s schools. Won Pat invited several stakeholders from various government of Guam agencies to act as an advisory committee for the bill. Members included representatives from the Guam Department of Public Health and Social Services’ HIV/STD Division, the Attorney General of Guam’s LaniKate taskforce, and the Guam Department of Education’s

Curriculum and Instruction Office. After several meetings were held, the committee was hopeful that the legislation would pass. They felt that passing a sex education bill would have "closed these gaps and made it so that teachers who wanted to teach it had some sort of legal backing to do it" (personal communication, 2018). It would have given sex education the teeth it needed to demand its inclusion in Guåhan's schools. Unfortunately, years later, no such bill exists and even current legislators are skeptical that any bill will ever exist. To this day, members of the advisory committee are unsure why the bill never came to fruition. However, one senator highlighted a very important factor when he stated that "it [sex education] is an issue that no one has really tackled and said whose responsibility is it? Is it the parents? Is it the home? Is it the schools? Perhaps, I do not know" (personal communication, 2018). Today, healthcare professionals feel that legislation is the answer because it will clarify whose jurisdiction sex education should fall under. They also feel that if the bill gives the responsibility to them, then it would solve the issues that they have with the schools' gatekeepers. They could go into schools and cite the existing law to redirect unsupportive school administrators and gatekeepers (personal communication, 2018).

On the other hand, educational administrators feel that neither educational policy nor legislative intervention is the answer because both approaches make the issue too public. GDOE does acknowledge the power that Board Policy has, but they are also concerned about timing. One administrator shared that,

> if it were a board policy, it would carry a great weight for sure. Board policy would definitely set the tone and set the parameters, but again if you bring that topic to the board for action, you need to also understand that it might go a different way, depending on the

board, and their feelings about it, and their need to be educated about it. (personal communication, 2018)

They cautioned that unless you are confident that the Board will be supportive, it is best that controversial topics are not brought up. Given the conservative nature of Guåhan's environment, administrators instead suggest a more "fly under the radar" approach.

> We are approaching it maybe more of an insurgent type of approach, we do it through the use of federal grant money, which allows us to do these activities, which is good. We do it through the lens of being a public agency trying to help a variety of needs for the students, of which this is one particular area. We combine it by using health standards, through the use of health content areas where you integrate. You have to do what makes sense, but I think at this point we don't have an explicit board policy. (personal communication, 2018)

Therefore, instead of creating policy or legislation, those in GDOE feel that it is best left in the hands of the health teachers who collectively decide what content to cover. For example, an educational administrator compared the sex education issue to the evolution versus creationism debate that occurs in the United States saying that,

> we don't address it directly because I think people number one, considering that we are 85% Catholic and the rest are still Christian, it doesn't come up as much. Basically, our teachers say well if it's in the textbook and by virtue of the board adopting the textbook then we discuss it. (personal communication, 2018)

Though in conflict with healthcare providers, educational administrators prefer to let health teachers determine the content. Considering these viewpoints, culture-based sex education

curricular materials and texts become particularly significant because they will allow teachers in Guåhan to disseminate sexual health information in a way that limits confrontation. Most of the interviewees acknowledged that GDOE is the best institution to deliver sex education to children and adolescents, but they were hesitant in creating a clear policy on the issue. As mentioned earlier because of the controversial nature of sex education, representatives of GDOE suggest getting culture-based sex education content in classrooms through curriculum instead of inviting criticism by way of legislation or board policy.

Chapter 3: (De)constructing Sexuality: Regulating Desire and Sexual Contradictions

"Francine, what is this?! Why did this show up on the insurance bill?!" I heard my mother's voice echo off the walls of our house and I felt my body jerk alive with apprehension. I was sixteen years old and I knew this was the moment I had to confess what I did. As I approached her, I felt the dead weight of my legs as I willed my feet to continue moving. When I finally reached her, innocently, I asked, "What are you talking about?" with the offending bill nearby on the table. Shaking and visibly struggling to keep her composure, she simply asked, "Why is there a charge for a birth control prescription?" I felt my breath catch in my throat as my brain struggled to produce any type of response. There was no right way to tell my mother that I was no longer a virgin. After the initial confession, my mother rattled off threats that made me envision chastity belts and house imprisonment. Her words ricocheted through the air, until finally they were caught in folds of silence. It took her a week to finally talk to me, before that the only sounds that remained in my home were my father's footsteps as he tried to tiptoe around the minefield my mother cleverly crafted. The weight of my mother's reaction stayed with me, weaving and embedding itself into my memory. It is 2019, and despite her being gone for over ten years, that unshakeable moment and her stark disapproval greatly influenced my sexual reality.

As the story with my mother illustrates, in Guåhan, sex can be a difficult topic for parents to discuss with their children. As demonstrated in earlier chapters, the silence around sex is so deeply embedded in Guåhan society that youth are unable to easily get comprehensive sexual

health information. They are left hoping that they get that one teacher who will bring it up or that they will have parents or relatives who will answer their questions. Other times, youth are left to the mercy of their friends or to the deep throes of the internet.

When piloting the *Navigating Personal Wellbeing and Sexuality in Chamorro and Chuukese Communities* curriculum, in Chuuk, creator Dr. Lisa Linda Natividad shared that health practitioners would tell her about the lack of sexual knowledge in the community. Sex is considered such a taboo topic that information is rarely transmitted amongst members of the community.

> As adults, knowing your body…Kiki (who is from Chuuk) tells this story about how they did outreach in one of the outer islands in Chuuk and when she goes she couldn't believe that women didn't realize that they had more than one hole down there. So, can you imagine the degree of the limited self-awareness that you have of your body, if you don't even know that you have more than one hole down there? So, that's very indicative of how if we don't inform and educate a community then they are not going to know. So, it's really, really important. (L. Natividad, personal communication, September 2018)

Considering these realities, how has this inconsistent access to sexual health information impacted how youth in Guåhan relate to and engage in sexual acts?

This chapter will first plot the sexual behaviors and experiences of middle and high school youth in Guåhan by analyzing the CDC's YRBS. For this study, I will specifically compare the data gathered from CHamoru[13] youth and their non-indigenous[14] peers to plot

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[13] For the YRBS, all data pertaining to CHamoru youth are reported under the category Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander (NHOPI). Therefore, for YRBS data collected from Guåhan the terms will be used interchangeably.

significant differences in the sexual behaviors and experiences between these two groups. The second part of this chapter will analyze sex scandals and abortion debates that have occurred in Guåhan over the last few decades. After nearly fifty years of silence, over 200 victims sued the Archdiocese of Agana claiming that the institution protected the priests who sexually abused them. The cases are ongoing and new laws were implemented in Guåhan to respond to the crisis. The cases continue to be contentious because of the power of the Church. Additionally, the chapter also outlines the abortion debates of the 1990s to understand how views of sexuality influenced how both camps, pro-choice and pro-life, framed their stances on the issue. By critically analyzing these events, this chapter will trace the consequences of having a highly regulated sexual environment combined with a lack of sexual health information.

Though it sounds simple, the analysis of these events will not be because of the imposed silences of certain CHamoru voices. Therefore, this study must be careful not to directly challenge the Catholic colonial structures that exist in contemporary Guåhan; otherwise, it will be easy for community members to completely dismiss the idea of a culture-based sex education curriculum. Instead, it is critical to recognize as Diaz (2010) theorizes that CHamoru identities are intertwined and hidden by *thick veneers* typically worn by the CHamoru Catholic. These veneers are comprised of "cultures whose histories of interweaving yield no clearly demarcated layers or boundaries of what is and is not Native, in analytic favor of attention to historical and cultural processes of stimulation with(in) Christianity" (p. 27).

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[14] This category will be calculated from youth who identify as Asian, as they are the next largest group. If the data represents more individuals outside of this group, then it will be stated.

To see beyond these veneers, analyses of these events must consider how heavily dependent CHamoru memory is on sexual constructions made by Western, foreign powers. Bronski (2011) mentions that "people who did not adhere to Christian concepts...were less than human; they were like animals. This qualified them to be deprived of individuality, liberty, and life itself" (p. 5). Therefore, we have to look at what lies beneath. Buried between these veneers are archives of sexual knowledge, but we are not conditioned to see them. Administrators Jessica Hutchings and Clive Aspin (2007) in their introduction of the anthology, *Sexuality & the Stories of Indigenous Peoples*, argue that Pacific narratives are shaped and written so that "information was distorted or reconstructed in order to make it more palatable to the colonising powers" (p. 18). They further explain that "only a veener of information has been passed on to us today [as a result of colonization], and this has meant that there are few certainties about how (Māori) expressed their sexuality in historical times" (p. 17).

In agreement with Hutchings and Aspin, Diaz (2010) explains that, in Guåhan, Catholicism created an atmosphere of silence around indigenous narratives, so that only hegemonic ones would thrive. He articulated this point by explaining that during the Catholicization of Guåhan,

> it is as if the Natives get to speak only for, or against, the truths of the Church, expect that they do not get to express their own experience because at the end of the day their testimonies are delivered strictly for the purposes of authenticating the testimony… such constraints are the colonial conditions under which Natives get to "speak." (p. 69)

By uncovering, incorporating, navigating around, and weaving in native counter discourses, sex education can be a medium to enlighten and sexually liberate youth by exposing them to new voices.

DISCOVERING THE UNFAMILIAR

In addition to Diaz, textual analyses in this chapter will also employ Shklovsky's theory of the familiar. Kaomea (2003) writes that Shklovsky posits that as we are exposed to phenonmena with consistent regularity, we begin to see it as normal. These scenarios of daily life become "stale, blunted, and automatized...we do not see it, hence we cannot say anything significant about it" (p. 15). What sexual ideologies have been covered by the sexual canon, leaving them to the realm of the unfamiliar? To answer this question, I will look through CHamoru historical accounts, newspaper articles, and existing curricular materials to reveal hidden sexual perspectives. By "reading between the lines," narratives will reveal who were the noble savages and who were inversely labelled the sexual deviant.

Delving into the realm of the unfamiliar is imperative for sex education because Guåhan sterilizes sexual conversations. Children are often given censored discussions of sexuality, but these very children are the ones who suffer from some of the highest rates of sexually transmitted diseases and who are likely to engage in risky sexual behaviors as early as middle school. These rates are so significant that a longtime health service provider in Guåhan observed that, "when you look in our community, as a colonized people, we are not a very healthy community in that sense…We are majority in our community, yet our health outcomes mirror those of minority communities, stateside" (personal communication, 2018).

In 2012, the populations with the highest rates of chlamydia, were those under the age of twenty-five (61% of cases) and a similar trend was found with gonorrhea (54% of cases). Of those cases, CHamorus (28% of the cases) and Micronesians (28% of the cases) are still among the most affected by gonorrhea. The same pattern is seen when looking at chlamydia rates, CHamorus make up 36% of cases while Micronesians make up 28% of the cases (Guam Department of Public Health and Social Services, 2012). In 2017, the rate of chlamydia in Guåhan was 663.3 cases per 100,000 as compared to the United States' rate of 528.8 cases per 100,000, ranking 4th highest in the nation amongst all states and territories (CDC, 2017).

Despite the high rates of chlamydia and gonorrhea, Guåhan has had a consistently low prevalence rate for human immunodeficiency virus (HIV), with less than ten cases a year from 2007 to 2015 (Guam Department of Public Health and Social Services, 2017). A public health administrator shared that Guåhan has been able to keep HIV rates relatively low, especially amongst the island's youth.

> We have really had success stories with HIV. HIV is really low; it's the lowest in the region. With chlamydia [rates], I am surprised that HIV has not entered into the 21 and under population. Either it's just not in that population or it will get into that population because if HIV entered into the 15-19, then it would be a disaster with HIV. (personal communication, 2018)

Though public health has been vigilant in keeping HIV rates controlled, the other sexually transmitted disease trends are becoming truly alarming since one of the most dangerous consequences of a STD is that it can render its victims infertile and increase their susceptibility to HIV/AIDS (CDC, 2019). Globally, HIV/AIDS is already beginning to affect entire countries.

As explained by economists Tony Barnett and Alan Whiteside (2002) in their book, *AIDS in the Twenty-First Century: Disease and Globalization*, AIDS is beginning to dictate the way that people manage their lives; it is "changing not only individual lives but also the trajectories of whole societies" (p. 13).

Considering the high STD rates amongst Guåhan's youth, for this study I explored the sexual behavioral patterns of this demographic by analyzing data from the YRBS. Using the *Sexual Behaviors* and *Unintentional Injuries and Violence* sections, I analyzed the sexual behavioral patterns and experiences of students, paying close attention to the students' current sexual activity, their age of initiation, and reported contraceptive use or non-use as well. Questions pertaining to sexual and dating violence were also analyzed as domestic violence and rape rates continue to increase in Guåhan. All data were taken directly from the CDC's website, available through the Youth Online Data Analysis Tool. Data were pulled from both the Middle and High School YRBS for the territory of Guam across six testing periods (YRBS 2007, 2009, 2011, 2013, 2015, and 2017) to project ten years of behaviors.

HIDDEN BENEATH THE THICK VENEERS

Sexual behavior trends show that Guåhan is at a critical time and has been for nearly a decade. The 2017 YRBS revealed that of the high school students in Guåhan surveyed, approximately 33.6% of teens had been sexually active with 24.0% remaining sexually active. Of those sexually active teens, 28.7% identified as Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander (NHOPI), making them significantly more likely to have engaged in sexual acts than any other

group of teens[15]. It was also revealed that NHOPI high schoolers were significantly more likely than other teens to have engaged in sex for the first time before age thirteen years (5.1%) and to have had sexual intercourse with four or more people during their life (10.3%; see Table 1).

Noting this trend, a health service provider in Guåhan cautioned that we need to be sure that sex education curriculum does not teach from a place of morality and judgment. She mentioned that, "the YRBS clearly indicates that our kids are having sex, lots of sex. So, it's really naïve to think that we should not educate them on sex education, if we already know that they are having sex. To me, the value-laden doesn't really have a place because the data speaks already" (personal communication, 2018). These statistics are not surprising, given that they have remained the same since the 2007 YRBS.[16] NHOPI youth have consistently remained more likely than their non-indigenous counterparts to engage in sexual activity.

Concurrently, the YRBS reported that sexually active teens were practicing risky sexual behaviors. At first it is difficult to see this grim picture because the 2013 and 2017 YRBS revealed that high schoolers in the United States overall were significantly more likely than high schoolers in Guåhan to have engaged in sex and to still be sexually active (CDC, 2018). However, the trend begins to shift when looking at protective sexual behaviors. Since the 2001 YRBS, for more than fifteen years, the CDC results have shown that high schoolers in Guåhan were significantly more likely than high schoolers in the United States overall to not use "condoms, birth control pills, or any method of birth control during last sexual intercourse" (CDC, 2018). So even though Guåhan's youth are less likely to engage in sex, they are and have

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[15] The group "multiple race" was excluded from this analysis since it is likely that many of the youth who identify in this pool also identify as NHOPI.

[16] The only exception was in the 2015 YRBS where there was no significant difference between the rates of NHOPI youth who had sexual intercourse before age thirteen years, when compared to their non-indigenous peers.

been more likely to engage in risky sexual behaviors. Of those teens engaging in these risky sexual behaviors, high percentages of teens who identified as NHOPI did not use a condom during last sexual intercourse (65.1%), did not use birth control during last sexual intercourse (92.6%), or did not use any method to prevent pregnancy (34.3%; see Table 1) (CDC, 2017).

Table 1: *2017 Youth Risk Behavior Survey (High School)- Guåhan*

Behavior	NHOPI (%)	Overall (%)
Sexually Active	39.5	33.6
Remaining Sexually Active	28.7	24.0
Sex before 13	5.1	4.2
Intercourse with 4 or more people	10.3	8.4
Did not use a condom	65.1	64.9
Did not use birth control	92.6	92.9
Did not use any prevention method	34.3	33.0

The 2017 YRBS also reported that Guåhan's high schoolers were more likely than teens throughout the United States to experience sexual violence (11.9% versus 7.4%; see Table 2) and physical dating violence (13.3% versus 8.0%; see Table 2). Both statistics tell a troubling picture, but sexual violence is not new for Guåhan's teenagers. Since 2007, when asked about being physically forced to have sexual intercourse, a significantly higher portion of Guåhan's teens answered yes when compared to teens throughout the United States.

Table 2: *2017 Youth Risk Behavior Survey (High School)- Guåhan and the United States*

Behavior	Guåhan (%)	United States (%)
Sexual Violence	11.9	7.4
Physical Dating Violence	13.3	8.0

As discussed in Chapter 1, these trends are unsurprising given that militarized masculinities have found their way into Guåhan society. Philosopher and gender scholar Tom

Digby (2014) in his book, *Love and War: How Militarism Shapes Sexuality and Romance*, explains that

> in a society where a faith in specifically masculine force prevails, men will routinely use force to solve ostensible problems. And, in the context of heterosexuality, if those men see some of their problems as emanating from women, maybe it should also be no surprise when they resort to violent force as a way of coping with what they consider to be "woman problems". (p. 10)

The effects of this method of "problem solving" is already affecting Guåhan youth. When stratified by gender, the 2017 YRBS reported that high school age NHOPI females experienced sexual violence (19.1% F; 11.0% M) and sexual dating violence (12.2% F; 3.9% M) at a significantly higher rate than their male counterparts. Orenstein (2016) argues that the reprecussions of such behaviors can have devastating effects on youth since "those experiences prime girls to be victimized again in young adulthood" (p. 111).

For the past decade, data compiled by the CDC have slowly pieced together the island's bleak reality. Despite these statistics, one public health administrator remains optimistic. She hopes that this information will get discussions about sex education going

> because in the end people are never going to agree with what we do. People are never going to want to agree with what we do, but if you have data, good hard data to back it up I think that's going to be a very critical decision on the parents' side…I mean it has to happen now. Not now, but we don't want another few years to go by and then you are seeing another generation being in the same situation. It is a cycle; it's a vicious cycle. (personal communication, 2018)

Conveying a similar urgency, another healthcare provider in Guåhan shared that "the alternative of not having the [sex] education is too great a risk for our kids; it really is" (personal communication, 2018).

THE APURON DYNASTY

Just as the warning above suggests, the evils from Pandora's Box were unleashed upon Guåhan society in 2014. John C. Toves, a resident of California, accused the highest ranking official of the Archdiocese of Agana, Archbishop Anthony Apuron, of sexually molesting his cousin. Toves came forward wanting to pursue the case, on behalf of his deceased relative, but was denied access to the archdiocese's sexual abuse response coordinator, Deacon Larry Claros. The Catholic Church would not allow Toves to meet with them claiming that the "Archbishop is innocent and an investigation into Toves' claims was not necessary" (Stole, 2016, para. 36). Toves' allegations were put to the side, and it would be almost two years before other victims would come forward. However, Toves' claims became the catalyst that would set off over 200 sex abuse claims against the Archdiocese of Agana and other well established institutions in Guåhan society.

In 2016, after feeling immense guilt over what happened to her son, John Quinata, Doris Concepcion urged the people of Guåhan to confront these cases head on and to demand that Church authorities and their clergy be held accountable for their actions. Concepcion did not learn about the abuse that her son endured until he was on his deathbed. For all his life, Quinata struggled with the memory of the rapes that occurred at the hands of Apuron. Concepcion revealed that he often talked about suicide and would even tell others that he was Jewish. He

later started to use drugs to cope with the trauma and would often withdraw from everyone. She said that she wanted people in Guåhan to know what happened to her son because,

> it is happening in our backyard. Please listen to your children. Don't sweep it under the carpet, because that's what's been going on. We were not allowed back then to say anything derogatory about the priest. We took the priest's word for everything, and little did I know that they were doing this to our children. That's the message I want to be heard. (Eugenio, 2016, para. 21)

For many of these men, it was difficult for them to come forward because in a community that is predominantly Catholic, priests are venerated.

Maresa Aguon, a program manager with the Healing Hearts Rape Crisis Center, stated that for "victims it's difficult to report the incident right away because the perpetrator is often someone looked up to in authority. The victims are sometimes also convinced by the perpetrator that no one would ever believe them" (Eugenio, 2016, para. 13). For many of these victims, they remained silent simply because they felt no one would support them. For the few who revealed the abuses when it happened, they shared that their reports often went unacknowledged. One victim, Vicente T. San Nicolas, corroborated these claims, when he shared that

> other priests and archdiocese representatives, including the bishop at the time, Baumgartner, were aware of [Father] Brouillard's sexual abuses but deliberately remained quiet and withheld the information from third parties, including San Nicolas' parents or guardians and law enforcement authorities, in order to protect the priest. (Eugenio, 2016, para. 16)

Father Louis Brouillard was a priest, boy scout leader, and high school teacher in Guåhan for over three decades. Events detailed in abuse cases against Brouillard are said to have occurred between the 1950s and 1970s. Despite his passing in October 2018, Brouillard is the only defendant in the Guåhan cases who has signed an affidavit, where he admitted to sexually abusing children in the island (Eugenio, 2018).

Brouillard's cases revealed a disturbing pattern. When interviewed, the former priest confessed that he told his superiors and other priests about his transgressions. Instead, of reprimanding Brouillard, Baumgartner simply told him to "try to do better and say prayers as penance" (Eugenio, 2018, para. 58). Brouillard was never tried for criminal charges, and was instead allowed to leave Guam, so he could live a "quiet" life in Minnesota in 1985. Before filing for bankruptcy, in 2013, the Diocese of Duluth in Minnesota released a list of clergymen who had been named in sexual abuse incidents. Brouillard was on the list (Eugenio, 2016). So, even sending Brouillard to another parish did not solve the problem. The former Guåhan priest stayed on the Archdiocese of Agana's payroll for over thirty years and even had his legal fees paid by the Archdiocese. David Sablan, from the Concerned Catholics of Guam, a group of protestors who have demanded justice from Apuron and the Church since the start of these cases, has continually criticized the Archdiocese of Agana for its leniency towards Brouillard.

In addition to feeling that no one would believe them, it took many of the victims decades to come forward because of the stigmatization of male rape. Dr. Ellen Bez shared that male victims often feel more embarrassed to come forward and it is not unusual for them to "wait many years, sometimes more than half their life before coming forward about being sexually assaulted" (Miculka, 2015, para. 44). In the American sexual canon, men should not *allow* rape

to happen to them because sexual violation means not being in control. Within a patriarchal society, a man's inability to prevent or avoid sexual abuse may cause others to question their masculinity and their status as men. In the Archdiocese of Agana cases, these added layers of aggressive masculine socialization and the belief in the piety of the clergy made it easy for the Catholic Church to silence these victims and to protect their priests for more than fifty years.

Once the flood of sex abuse cases became publicly known, lawmakers in Guåhan felt that it was time that new legislation was drafted so that victims could seek reparations for these crimes. At the time, Guåhan's law limited victims' ability to pursue civil cases against their perpetrators. In early 2016, Guåhan had a three- and one- year statute of limitations for sexual abuse cases, involving a minor, that occurred before 2011. Even then, only first- and second-degree sexual abuse crimes committed after 2011, would not have a statue limitations. The law was not retroactive, therefore if a person was sexually abused as a child, but was already over 21 years of age in 2011, then they could not press charges against their abuser (Raymundo, 2016; Stole, 2016). Given that many of these allegations occurred over fifty years ago, there was no way that these victims could seek justice under the current law. On September 12, 2016, after much heated debates, the Guam Legislature in a 13-0 decision passed Public Law 33-187. Introduced by then Senator Frank Blas, Jr., PL 33-187 removed the statute of limitations for victims of child sexual abuse. The bill covers cases that were not covered under the 2011 law so that "victims of child sexual abuse could file civil charges against the perpetrator no matter when the alleged incident happened" (Raymundo, 2016, para. 12).

Under the new law, victims were also given more rights. They were now able to file civil suits against their alleged perpetrators and the institutions that protected them. Institutions were

viewed as “aiders and abettors” who should be held accountable for their role in ignoring these allegations (Pang, 2016). Before the bill officially became public law, the Archdiocese of Agana vehemently protested its passage by submitting a petition with over 4,000 signatures, urging then Governor Eddie Baza Calvo to veto the bill. The Catholic Church of Guam claimed the passing of such a law would bankrupt the Church and jeopardize its ability to provide Catholic education to thousands of Guåhan’s students as well as give services to those in need (Eugenio, 2016; Raymundo, 2016). The Vatican also stated that as per canonical law they are the only ones who have legal jurisdiction to try bishops who have allegations of sexual abuse against them. Despite the continued pressure from the Church, on September 23, 2016, Governor Calvo signed the bill into law, which now allows victims, in Guåhan, to legally sue perpetrators and any individual or institution that abets them.

Even with the passage of this law, that November, former Senator Frank Blas, Jr. lost his bid for reelection. Many cited his introduction of PL 33-187 as the factor that cost him the election. Blas was later interviewed about the loss, he said, “I know what I did was right, even if it cost me the election. If I’m going to be criticized for doing the right thing, then it’s OK” (Eugenio, 2016, para. 7). Former Speaker Benjamin Cruz supported Blas’ bill because it has been a long time coming. In an interview with the *Pacific Daily News*, Cruz mentioned that he tried to introduce the same bill in 2010 and 2011, since he suspected that child sexual abuse was occurring within the Archdiocese. The bills however did not make it onto the floor. Reflecting on those bills, Cruz said,

> we weren’t ready to address it back then. I’m glad we’re now addressing it. It is necessary... And I hope that the archdiocese, going forward, will understand that it cannot

and should not allow these things to happen because too many children are destroyed in the process. (Eugenio, 2016, para. 13)

Despite the passage of PL 33-187, victims in Guåhan would still undergo a lengthy legal process before they would get any sense of justice. By March 30, 2017, only six months after the passage of the law, over eighty-nine disqualification notices were filed from all eight Superior Court of Guam judges. With fifteen sex abuse cases filed in local court, each judge recused themself from anywhere between two to fourteen of these cases saying that they had conflicts of interest that could potentially call their objectivity into question (Eugenio, 2017). Many of them shared that they had familial ties to clergy members or Church staff who were employed with the defendants at the time of the abuses. Some even mentioned that their relationship to the Church and having children who attend Catholic school in Guam can give the appearance of bias in favor of the Archdiocese (Eugenio, 2017).

As demonstrated in the local courts, hearing sex abuse cases that indict one of the most powerful institutions in Guåhan can be rather difficult. The Church's power over sexual narratives allowed many of these incidents to be swept under the rug because it was difficult for people to believe that men of God who have taken a vow of celibacy could commit such crimes (Eugenio, 2018). Since the passage of the law, more than two years ago, there are 174 child sexual abuse cases were filed against the Archdiocese of Agana. In addition to the Archdiocese, other defendants in the Guåhan cases include the Boy Scouts, the Capuchin Friars, and the Sisters of Mercy (Guam Daily Post, 2018). Prosecuting attorney David Lujan claims that it took his clients decades to come forward because of the influence of the Catholic Church in Guåhan. When interviewed by Radio New Zealand, Lujan shared that, "the church was very, very

powerful and everyone knew it. You know, the island was 98 percent Catholic then, and so the culture was to shut the kids up. You don't talk that way about a priest" (Tahana, 2018, para. 8). Lujan also mentioned that often the Church would not deal with these cases, they would instead shuffle the priests from parish to parish or force them to live the same "quiet" lives that Brouillard lived until his death in October 2018 (Eugenio, 2018; Tahana, 2018).

Today, the Guåhan cases are far from over. Instead of trying these cases in court, the victims and the Archdiocese have agreed to mediation. Sessions for mediation were held from September 17, 2018 to September 21, 2018 (Eugenio, 2018; Toves, 2018). Unsuccessfully, only eight of the almost two hundred cases were settled with more cases still being filed. Therefore, on January 9, 2019, the Archdiocese of Agana filed for Chapter 11 bankruptcy so it can "restructure its finances and pay off the plantiffs in nearly 200 clergy sex abuse lawsuits" (Gilbert, 2019, para. 1). In accordance with its bankruptcy filing, attorneys for the archdiocese requested for the "bar date…the deadline by which all clergy sexual abuse claims must be filed" to be August 15, 2019. As of June 2019, with only two months left, two hundred and twenty-three claims have been formally filed against the Archdiocese of Agana and its clergy (Gilbert, 2019, para. 3).

Concurrent with the mediation hearings and court filings, former Archbishop Anthony Apuron was found guilty of sexually molesting minors in Guåhan during his Vatican tribunal. An appeal was filed, but unless the verdict is overturned it was announced that Apuron "no longer had pastoral and administrative power and authority," especially since such powers were stripped before the results of his hearing (Eugenio, 2018, para. 14). Nearly a year later, it was

decided on April 4, 2019 that Apuron's verdict would be upheld. He was publicly "removed from office and prohibited from living on the island" (Pullella, 2019, para. 4).

By considering the Archdiocese cases, students can examine why the victims chose to remain silent for decades and how constructions of masculinity contributed to that silence. Many of the victims who were young boys at the time expressed feeling fear that no one would believe them. In a highly-Catholicized island, priests are venerated individuals who parents trust to care for and guide their children. Additionally, for decades, Guåhan's priests were protected by the façade of purity that Catholicism afforded them because of the vow of celibacy during ordination. Sex education can give students the tools to deconstruct the institutional power of Catholicism by unpacking how its ability to control sexual discourse has allowed it to hide hundreds of cases of sexual abuse while maintaining patriarchal ideals of virginity and chastity.

ABORTION

Like the web of silence that encased the sex scandal of the Catholic Church, another controversial issue, abortion, hid itself behind a perceived universal sexual truth. As mentioned in Chapter 1, CHamorus did not view abortion with the same strict, moral lens that Christianity views it from today. From 2008-2016, CHamoru women made up the largest percentage of women who had abortions, over 50% each year (Esperansa Project, 2017). It was also reported that a large group of women, more than 20%, who had abortions performed were under the age of twenty-two. No matter what your beliefs are about abortion, these statistics are striking because it tells us that for the last decade it has been Guåhan's young CHamoru women who have found themselves pregnant at a time in which pregnancy was not an option for them. Why

is it that a specific demographic of women in Guåhan have consistently been the ones to seek out abortion services? In the previous chapters, I outlined how sexually conservative Guåhan is, especially with its deep religious roots. So, what is happening that abortion rates have remained high and stagnant amongst CHamoru youth? By tracing the 1990s abortion debates in Guåhan to the 2018 gubernatorial race, this study seeks to uncover what role sex education can play when shaping sexual health dialogue and content.

As briefly discussed in the introduction, Guåhan is currently an unincorporated territory of the United States. Therefore, the island is obligated to follow all federal mandates and to have its laws undergo congressional oversight and approval. By 1978, the first abortion law was introduced by former Senator Concepcion Barrett. Senator Barrett introduced the law so that Guåhan would comply with the recently established ruling of *Roe v. Wade*. Under the new law, abortions could be performed in the island within the first 13 weeks of pregnancy without having to justify the procedure. Women were then allowed a narrower window during the 14th to the 26th week of pregnancy to have an abortion but only if the unborn child was found to have a "grave physical or mental defect" (Pesch, 2016, para. 3).

For some time, the issue of abortion seemed resolved, until the introduction of Bill 848-20, twelve years later. Under the provisions of the bill, women in Guåhan would not be allowed to have abortions unless the life of the mother was endangered. Encouraged by the results of *Webster v. Reproductive Health Services*[17] particularly for upholding the pro-life belief that life starts at conception, then Senator Belle Arriola decided to introduce a pro-life driven bill that

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[17] This landmark case was decided nearly 16 years after the decision of *Roe v. Wade*. *Webster v. Reproductive Health Services* ruled in favor of the state of Missouri to restrict the "use of public funds, activities, employees and

would severely limit a woman's ability to have abortions in Guåhan (Dames, 2003, p. 371). Senator Arriola crafted the bill to also include an anti-solicitation clause, where anyone who provided information about abortion services would be punished and fined (Arriola, 2016). With growing concern about the limitations of the new bill, three Democrat legislators countered by drafting Bill 842-20. This new bill would allow women to have abortions but only in special circumstances, where the pregnancy was a "result of rape, incest, or when the fetus is believed to be grossly deformed" (Dames, 2003, p. 371). The two bills were introduced for legislative action.

Nearly five months later, Attorney General Elizabeth Barrett-Anderson issued a statement calling both bills a violation of a "woman's constitutional right to privacy, as enunciated in *Roe*" (Dames, 2003, p. 372). On March 8, 1990, after both sides weighed in, Senator Arriola redrafted the bill to include legally defining the fetus as "the unborn" (Dames, 2003, p. 372). By unanimous vote, the bill was codified as Public Law 20-134, marking the passage of one of the most restrictive abortion bills in the United States and its territories. Pro-choice activists were surprised by the unanimous support since some female senators were known for having feminist views. Unwavering in her faith, Senator Arriola attributed the passage of the bill to the "formidable presence of Archbishop Anthony Apuron and the Christian Mothers in the legislative hall when the vote was taken" (Dames, 2003, p. 372).

In addition to the reach of the Catholic Church, the 1990 abortion debates were unique in that activists on both sides began to interweave their beliefs about abortion with the right of self-

facilities for the purposes of performing or assisting in abortions and encouraging or counseling a woman to have an abortion, if unnecessary to save her life" (American Psychological Association, 2018).

determination or deciding one's method of governance. In Guåhan, the pro-life camp linked pro-choice sentiments with an anti-colonial agenda. They made phrases and slogans such as "Saving the Fetus" become synonymous with "Liberating Guam" and "Saving the Chamorro people." By doing so, activists verbalized their support for the people of Guåhan to exercise their right of self-determination, and they were careful to emphasize that they felt that abortion would be counterproductive to that movement. They claimed that if women were given the right to abort then such acts would effectively get rid of future followers and members of the island (Dames, 2003).

On the opposite end of the spectrum, the pro-choice camp in Guåhan also felt that self-determination needed to be addressed when tackling the issue of abortion, but for different reasons. First off, they greatly differed in their definition of the fetus. Pro-choice activists argued that the woman who is a social and physical being has rights that supersede that of an embryo (Dames, 2003). Pro-choice activists also argued that the island's lawmakers were acting like colonizers because they were not allowing women the right to govern their own bodies. By pro-choice standards, freedom for a woman meant that she should have the ability to make an informed choice about "whether, when, and with whom they should have children" (Dames, 2003, p. 374).

Despite their opposing views, both camps agreed that the issue of self-determination and decolonization had to be at the forefront. They concluded that given Guåhan's political status, it would be difficult to create legislation regarding abortion or reproductive rights because policymakers in Guåhan have limited political clout. They can create laws, but if the United States Congress disagrees with such laws, then they have the power to change it. It was not

enough to argue about abortion because the island does not have a political status that would give lawmakers the ability to legally decide what the parameters around these issues should be (Dames, 2003).

Despite the conclusions made by the camps in the 1990s, abortion is still a highly controversial topic in Guåhan. For the last few years, several bills have been passed that have attached more "strings" to abortion practices on the island. Since the constitutionality of Senator Arriola's bill was called into question, Guåhan legislators have become more strategic in combating abortion. Instead of trying to pass similar restrictive legislation, they passed laws that have made it more challenging for abortionists to provide services in the island. Such practices are unsurprising and even mirror American ideals, especially during George W. Bush's administration. Di Mauro and Joffe (2009) traced Bush's appointments to government positions and committees writing that "those named to positions relating to reproductive and sexual health policies were often chosen on the basis of their adherence to prolife positions rather than their professional credentials. Furthermore, such vetting took place even in areas removed from sexuality and reproduction" (p. 51). Bush was sure to appoint only people who would advocate against abortion as heads of American agencies and departments. During his administration, America saw some of the most restrictive guidelines that severely limited federal funding for reproductive health services (Di Mauro & Joffe, 2009).

Following Bush's tactics, attorney Anita Arriola (2016) shared that the goal of pro-life supporters is "not to pass outright abortion bans because I think that they believe that's probably not going to go anywhere, that ban will probably not be upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court. So, their strategy now is just to erode it little by little." Currently, there are already several

restrictions built into Guåhan law that arguably reflect pro-life beliefs. As it stands, women seeking abortion services must receive counseling in which physicians are obligated to tell them: (1) medical risks of an abortion, (2) the gestational age of the unborn child, and (3) the anatomical and physiological features of the unborn, to name a few. After their session, the woman is then sent home to wait twenty-four hours before she can have the abortion done (Guam Code Annotated, 2018). Also, included in the Guam Code Annotated, Title 10 Section 3218, is the requirement that all abortion providers submit their reports within seven days of the abortion. Arriola (2016) argues that such laws exist to

> penalize abortion providers. I don't really see the point to something like that, but they are trying to make it harder and harder and more regulated for abortion providers. I suppose to be caught in some of kind of web of criminal wrongdoing so that they can punish these abortion providers. They seem to be more punitive than anything else.

However, even with all these restrictions in place, lawmakers continue to propose legislation that will restrict abortion services. In January 2018, Senators Dennis Rodriguez, Jr., Joe San Agustin, and Telena Nelson introduced Bill 232-34, otherwise known as *The Unborn Child Protection Act of 2018*, that would narrow the window for abortions in Guåhan. Under the current law, a woman can

> have an abortion on Guam within the first 13 weeks of pregnancy…as late as 26 weeks into the pregnancy provided the unborn child has a grave physical or mental defect or the pregnancy is the result of rape or incest. Abortions are allowed at any point in the pregnancy if the mother's life is in danger or if the pregnancy would gravely impair her physical or mental health. (Limtiaco & Williams, 2018, para. 1-2)

Bill 232-34 sought to change that 26-week window to 20 weeks, making it so that outside that window abortion would be prohibited "unless the life of the woman or the unborn child are at risk, or unless the woman is at risk of substantial and irreversible damage to a major bodily function" (Limtiaco & Williams, 2018, para. 4). By February 2018, the bill failed.

WE LOVE LIFE

For decades, Guåhan's political arena has been flooded with pro-life legislative endorsements, until the 2018 Gubernatorial Race. In October 2018, the Democrat gubernatorial team of Leon Guerrero-Tenorio faced off against Republican gubernatorial team Tenorio-Ada and gubernatorial Democrat write-in team, Aguon-Limitaco. Of the gubernatorial hopefuls, Ray Tenorio and Frank Aguon have publicly stated their pro-life stance. Aguon is also known for supporting the bills mentioned above. Contrary to her opponents, Lourdes Leon Guerrero has always acknowledged her pro-choice preference and has even publicly testified against existing and proposed abortion bills. During the election, both Tenorio and Aguon openly challenged Leon Guerrero's stance by using it as a means to sway voters away from the Leon Guerrero-Tenorio team.

After the Primary Election, the Aguon-Limtiaco gubernatorial team formally announced their decision to launch a write-in campaign after losing by only a couple hundred votes. Three weeks before the General Election, they gathered their supporters at a rally in which former Superintendent of Education and Senator Nerissa Underwood opened the event with a prayer and a speech. Underwood used this platform to express her concerns over Leon Guerrero's views on abortion saying,

> because like you and Frank and Alicia. We believe in nothing in common and we are not ashamed to say it. The first thing that we believe in is that we believe in God…You know what happened, a few weeks ago, I was really really concerned about the fact that there are voices out there promoting the freedom of people to make choices about whether an unborn child lives or they die…I was critiqued, they said this is not a single-issue election. I said yeah it's not a single issue election of course, but it is THE issue. It is the primary issue that we should be talking about because you see many of us we go to church or some of us don't, but we always say to each other I'll pray for you…It takes a lot for us to dig deep down inside to ask yourself whether if you can support leadership that can put the choice of another person over the life of an unborn child and so for that reason I stand behind Frank and Alicia and I stand behind all of you. (Aguon-Limtiaco, 2018)

Following Underwood, Aguon asked voters, "Do we want a leader who believes abortion is the way to build a better community?" The audience responded with a resounding, "No!" The question was meant to incite doubt in Leon Guerrero's ability to lead the island. While reporting about the rally, a local news outlet, *PNC News*, concluded that "any pro-choice candidate facing this level of passion on an island that's still mostly Catholic—and otherwise largely Christian—isn't likely to make much headway spending a lot of campaign time debating this topic" (Marchesseault, 2018, para. 6).

Leon Guerrero tried to do exactly that. Days after the rally, when interviewed by *Newstalk K57*, Leon Guerrero urged voters to not let her view on abortion define her administration. She shared that regarding the issue,

> it's never been won, and so I won't even go there, because, you know, that's a very personal choice. That's a very personal choice. And it should be …with the mother and the husband, the doctor, and any other guidance that she needs to make that decision…I'm not a single-issue person. I'm not even running on that issue. I'm running on improving the lives of our people. (Marchesseault, 2018, para. 13-14)

Despite her urgings, abortion was continually brought up by both of Leon Guerrero's opponents.

Weeks before the general election, at a debate hosted by the Guam Medical Association, both Tenorio and Leon Guerrero were asked their opinion on abortion services. Tenorio declared that, "life begins at conception, period. Ladies and gentlemen, right to life. We must protect every life. We must be compassionate. Remember our faith" (O'Connor, 2018, para. 5-6). Leon Guerrero refuted Tenorio by sharing Guåhan's child abuse statistics. She mentioned that in the last few years, "more than 600 kids were reported physically abused. Approximately 371 kids were reported to have been sexually abused. More than 1,000 kids had been documented as physically neglected" (O'Connor, 2018, para. 8). After sharing these numbers, Leon Guerrero challenged Tenorio by asking how he helped those kids. She shared that her former career as a nurse should prove to everyone that she loves life (O'Connor, 2018).

Despite her explanation, one day after the debate, protestors stood outside the Bank of Guam in Hagåtña[18]. A small group of women held signs that said, "Stop the killing. Say No to their supporters," "Abortion stops a beating heart," and "Life begins at conception" (Kerrigan, 2018, para. 2). When interviewed protest organizer, Maria Espinoza shared that, "I'm overwhelmed by the fact that we have a candidate running for governor who supports abortion.

[18] Leon Guerrero's family bank where she formerly served as President

We must protect life" (Kerrigan, 2018, para. 4). Even though the Catholic Church stayed quiet during this past election, mostly due to the aforementioned sex scandal, candidates and voters alike were still critical of Leon Guerrero's views on abortion. Throughout the race, she continually defended her pro-choice stance because it made many question whether she was a suitable candidate for the highest office in Guåhan. Despite her beliefs directly challenging Catholic ideals, in early November, Leon Guerrero was officially certified as the island's next Governor. For the first time, Guåhan elected a Governor who publicly takes a pro-choice stance on abortion because historically candidates have only expressed pro-life sentiments.

Mirroring Leon Guerrero's quality of life argument, Christianity has a sect of people who criticized the pro-life movement for not taking the child's life beyond birth into consideration. They instead refer to themselves as advocates for a pro-birth movement, not a pro-life movement. One of the most vocal of this camp, Sister Joan Chittister, stated,

> I do not believe that just because you're opposed to abortion, that makes you pro-life. In fact, I think in many cases, your morality is deeply lacking if all you want is a child born but not a child fed, not a child educated, not a child housed. And why would I think that you don't? Because you don't want any tax money to go there. That's not pro-life. That's pro-birth. We need a much broader conversation on what the morality of pro-life is. (see Palombo, 2013, para. 15)

Supporters of the pro-birth movement question how individuals who want to protect life will ensure that society is set up to "promote fiscally-responsible behavior, the ABCs[19], and safe sex to proactively reduce the number of unwanted births that could end in abortion" (Pastor,

[19] Refers to "abstinence, birth control, and making mature choices" (Pastor, 2018).

2018, para. 8). No matter what side you are on, a pro-birth highlights the importance of a proactive strategy because Guåhan has high rates of child abuse. With increased access to resources and sexual health information, then we might have a better chance of creating abortion laws that both sides can live with. More importantly exposing students to movements, like pro-birth, allow them to understand just how socially constructed sexuality really is. As shown above, the pro-birth movement has Christian advocates who believe that definitions of life should be broadened. They do not necessarily follow strict, religious beliefs that life begins at conception.

To further complicate the conversation, in addition to the pro-birth argument, sex education can introduce students to CHamoru abortion practices. When interviewed, Arriola (2016) was careful to point out that abortion was not always demonized in CHamoru society. It was practiced amongst our suruhanas, traditional practitioners of medicine, who would give women certain herbs that would induce abortions. She also emphasized that "every article, every writing that we had ever seen and read about showed that you know abortions in CHamoru culture predated Catholicism" (Arriola, 2016). By excluding indigenous medicinal practices and the pro-birth movement in sexual health discussions, it seems that we fail to heed Foucault's critical eye and Fanon's warnings of the structural nature of colonialism. By highlighting divisive topics like abortion, in sex education, students will get the opportunity to analyze who controls and creates sexual discourse.

Chapter 4: I Håfa Ti Ta Sasaganan Siña Ha' Ha Goggue Hit: Reawakening Indigenous Health Models

"Did you hear? Did you know she's pregnant?" I could hear people asking these questions in hushed tones throughout the halls of my middle school. Days later, I still heard students whispering, "She's so young. How is she going to be a mother?" I paid no attention until I realized they were talking about a twelve-year old girl. At first, I thought my classmates were whispering about a teacher or a school aide; I never would have guessed they were inquiring about a girl younger than me! I never met this girl, but hearing her story stirred something in me. I think about her often because I wonder how her life is going. If she had the baby? If she did, is she happy? Did she have support when making decisions about her future child or the possibilities of motherhood?

Years later, this story still haunts me because that young girl's story was not an anomaly. There are kids, just like her, navigating the challenges of parenthood during and even before finishing high school. After extensive research, the factors contributing to this trend became much clearer. There were inconsistencies in the way sexual health is taught that it affects students who are expecting children. Therefore, in this chapter I look specifically at existing curricular materials, i.e., *Respect: A Sexual Violence Prevention Curriculum, Navigating Personal Wellbeing and Sexuality in Chuukese and Chamorro Communities*, and *Pono Choices*, and, with a discerning eye. I will be analyzing curricular modules for sexual narratives just as much as I will be for sexual silences. In this chapter, I compare current GDOE sex education curricula with existing culture-based sex education curricula used throughout the United States. Each curriculum will be evaluated for three main things: (1) alignment to local and national

health education standards, (2) alignment to the CDC's critical sexual education topics, and (3) depth of cultural inclusion. By comparing, native sex education curricula to the existing sex education curriculum for GDOE, this study will consider if native sex education models can serve as solutions to the health inconsistencies that we are seeing in Guåhan.

CURRICULAR ANALYSIS

For this study, three curricula were chosen for analysis: (1) *Respect: A Sexual Violence Prevention Curriculum*, (2) *Navigating Personal Wellbeing and Sexuality in Chamorro and Chuukese Communities*, and (3) *Pono Choices*. The first curriculum, *Respect*, was chosen because it is the curriculum that is currently in Guåhan's schools. A product of the collaboration between the Guam Department of Education and the Guam Office of the Attorney General, *Respect* is in Guåhan's secondary schools as a sexual violence prevention tool. This curriculum was chosen as opposed to *Safer Choices* because *Respect* was considered more successful. Parents responded more positively to *Respect*, and the support of the former Attorney General of Guam also gave the curriculum more weight (personal communication, 2018). The second curriculum that was chosen for this study is *Navigating Personal Wellbeing and Sexuality* because it is the first ever locally created sex education curriculum for CHamoru and Chuukese youth. The curriculum was written to address health disparities experienced by Micronesian youth in Guåhan, the Northern Mariana Islands, and Chuuk. Lastly, the third and final curriculum is the Native Hawaiian-based curriculum, *Pono Choices*. *Pono Choices* was chosen as a comparison for this study as it is written for youth in Hawai'i, who share a similar colonial history to Guåhan's native youth. In addition to their similar colonial histories with the United

States, *Pono Choices* is also a useful comparison tool since it incorporates many Native Hawaiian values that are like CHamoru ones such as, collectivism and reciprocity.

It is important to note that, alignment for Grades 9-12 was used for the curricula analysis because of the sexually conservative nature of the island. It is easier to argue for high schoolers to receive sexual health instruction as opposed to other education levels. The same was done when measuring alignment to GDOE's Content Standards and Performance Indicators.

Four evaluation tools will be used to measure three different aspects of the curricula mentioned above. Each curriculum will be analyzed in its entirety for (1) alignment to local and national health education standards, (2) integration of critical sexual health topics, and (3) depth of cultural inclusion. All areas will be weighed equally and their scores will be used to compare how well the curriculum meets the three areas overall. The first of the evaluation tools is the Health Education Curriculum Analysis Tool's (HECAT) *Sexual Health* module. This tool was developed by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention and will be used in this study to measure how the three curricula align with National Health Education standards. The self-constructed GDOE instrument was used to measure how the curricula align to local health education standards for high school in accordance with the *Content Standards and Performance Indicators*, updated in 2010 (see Tables 1-3). In addition to standards alignment, curricula models were also analyzed to see how well they incorporate sexual health. Incorporation of sexual health was measured using the sixteen recognized *Critical Sexual Education Topics* as identified by the CDC (see Tables 4-6). Lastly, cultural inclusion was measured using the Critical Framework of Review which measures curricula in three areas: (1) critical content, (2)

critical instruction, and (3) critical impact (Halagao, Tintiangco-Cubales, & Cordova, 2009; see Tables 7-9).

Respect: A Sexual Violence Prevention Curriculum

Noting the rise in sexual abuse and rape, in 2011, the "LaniKate Protehi Y Famagu'on Act" was encoded as Guam Public Law 31-97. The Act established the LaniKate taskforce, which brought together stakeholders, appointed from several Government of Guam institutions and non-profit organizations. A year after its establishment the taskforce issued a press release informing the public of their goals of

> providing training for school personnel, developing age-appropriate curriculum for students, educating and disseminating information to parents and guardians on the early warning signs of sexual abuse, expanding current counseling services and resources for those affected by abuse and providing emotional support were among some key elements identified by task force members to combat child sexual abuse. (Office of the Attorney General of Guam, 2012, para. 3)

Per the law, the taskforce was given the responsibility of developing strategies to combat child sexual abuse, which includes producing curricular materials for teachers to use.

In order to fulfill the responsibilities of the taskforce, during the summer of 2015, Guam Attorney General Elizabeth Barrett-Anderson traveled to Hawai'i along with Deputy Attorney General Carol Hinkle-Sanchez, to attend a three-day curriculum training in Honolulu. Upon returning, Barrett-Anderson hosted trainings for the *My Body is Special: A Sexual Abuse*

Prevention Curriculum[20]. For months, they trained hundreds of Guåhan's public school teachers on how to teach students about "personal space and the concept of 'good touch/bad touch'…and respecting others' boundaries" (Miculka, 2015, para. 20-21). During the trainings, Barrett-Anderson shared with teachers that an effective way to teach students about safety is to use examples that they can relate to. One method she mentioned was to introduce safety to students by "equating keeping their bodies safe to common forms of precaution, such as buckling a seatbelt and wearing a helmet" (Hernandez, 2015, para. 12).

Even though aspects of sexual health are covered in the modules, Hinkle-Sanchez was careful to mention that "the program isn't a sex education class and is focused entirely on promoting safety" (Miculka, 2015, para. 23). With this emphasis, the materials in *Respect: A Sexual Violence Prevention Curriculum* focus on identifying and preventing violence. When interviewed Superintendent of Education, Jon Fernandez, shared that the purpose of the curriculum was to break down the walls of silence. He explained that hesitancy usually comes from adults, "sometimes the issue is with us. The issue is with us as adults. Are we saying what we need to say with our kids? Are we having the conversations we need to have. Do they understand how to seek help…do they understand how to help themselves?" (O'Connor, 2016, para. 7).

Another longtime school administrator agreed with Fernandez, he shared that regarding sexual health,

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[20] The *My Body is Special: A Sexual Abuse Prevention Curriculum* is a packaged curriculum that is broken into three different versions, each one was written for different group of grade levels. For this study, *Respect: A Sexual Violence Prevention* Curriculum was analyzed since it was written for grades 9-12.

> I don't see a push from the community. I see a push from community groups [the Speaker and the taskforce] outside of that conversation with the folks that are there. It may not be that big a thing that the community wants to address. I don't know if that's a matter of they just don't want us to or they just want to take the typical island response of just don't talk about it because it's something awkward to discuss. If it were not for the LaniKate taskforce, I can guarantee you that, that topic would not be covered because of how we traditionally treat sexual violence and sexual assault within the family. (personal communication, 2018)

Guåhan is still largely hesitant towards implementing sex education, but strides have been made because of the buy-in from outside institutions and stakeholders.

Navigating Personal Wellbeing and Sexuality in Chuukese and Chamorro Communities

In 2017, Drs. Lisa Linda Natividad and Tim De la Cruz published the first ever CHamoru-centered sex education curriculum entitled, *Navigating Personal Wellbeing and Sexuality for Chuukese and CHamoru Communities*.[21] Through a grant from the Office of Minority Health Resource Center (OMHRC), Natividad and De la Cruz wrote a curriculum that would incorporate indigenous values into lessons on sexual health, suicide prevention, and drug/alcohol use. The curricular activities focused on having students critically analyze sexual messaging, sexual behaviors, and the communication styles that they engage with daily (Natividad & De la Cruz, 2017). The curriculum creators shared that they were initially

[21] The curricular analysis will focus on the curriculum specifically written for CHamoru youth. The facilitator guide incorporates both versions of the curriculum, however separate workbooks were created for each cultural group.

approached by Henry Ocampo, a Senior Program Analyst with OMHRC, to develop the curriculum.

Having worked in the region for over a decade, Ocampo, in his capacity with OMHRC, wanted to expand their healthcare services in the Pacific. After funding a needs assessment, OMHRC awarded grant monies to Natividad and De la Cruz to develop a HIV/AIDS prevention curriculum that would target those who were most affected, CHamorus and Chuukese. The main goal of the curriculum project was to develop materials that would help combat the stigma surrounding HIV/AIDS (personal communication, 2018). With their collective background in social services and community work, Natividad and De la Cruz were careful to write the curriculum from a perspective of enhancing overall health rather than having a curriculum that focused solely on sex. They shared that to get community support it was imperative that they use "the umbrella of personal well-being as opposed to selling curriculum that is just sex education-based because of the sensitivity of the topic, not just for Chuukese but even us CHamorus with the Catholic/Christian influences" (personal communication, 2018).

Natividad and De la Cruz held several focus groups in Guåhan and Chuuk to get a sense of what the community would be comfortable with. They found that the best way to approach the curriculum was to scaffold the content. They shared that a trust needs to be established amongst the group and that development takes time. Therefore,

> by the time they [participants] get to lesson five or six the cohesion, the "bondedness" of the participants is very high. Then they move into the personal sharing about suicide, family violence, those sorts of things or even the drugs and alcohol. So, in terms of that

progression I think it's very productive in terms of how the curriculum is laid out. (personal communication, 2018)

They felt that gradually building up to the more controversial and heavy topics would give participants time to get comfortable with one another. Though each module opens with an icebreaker, Natividad and De la Cruz still felt that creating an environment that encouraged open discussion would only develop if everyone felt safe.

Not only was the scaffolding method critical for establishing trust amongst the group, but it also controlled the depth of information surrounding controversial topics. The writers shared that,

> the point of the curriculum especially around sections like drug and alcohol is not to increase exposure. For example, if participants are not familiar with cocaine or intravenous drugs then you do not need to spend time on that. Have the discussions guide the course of the content and let the participants tell you the extent of their exposure to these things; the curriculum tries to avoid overexposure; one way to avoid the "we are teaching kids to have sex" talk. (personal communication, 2018)

Therefore, Natividad and De la Cruz were careful to write the modules in a way that would be relevant to the students. Following Wa Thiongo's view of what education should look like, *Navigating Personal Wellbeing and Sexuality's* curricular materials were "embedded in the cultural, really in the worldview, the way we think, the way we see the world, what our values are and what is critical to us" (personal communication, 2018). For the writers, scaffolding was not the only priority, they also wanted to cover a breadth of topics indirectly related to sexual health. They were careful to feature the collective nature of Guåhan society, by incorporating

modules that dealt with significant relationships that were not just romantic. The latter half of the curriculum, Lessons 7 to 10, include activities in which participants take responsibility for their behaviors by understanding how their actions impact not only themselves but their communities as well.

After years of writing and piloting materials, in 2017, the curriculum was officially published through University of Guam Press. A year later, on September 2018, Natividad and De la Cruz hosted the first ever training for the curriculum. Healthcare providers and educators from across the island were invited to attend the four-day training at the Guam Museum. Facilitators conducted the workshop as a trainers' model, so that all participants could go back to their respective institutions and train more facilitators to conduct the curriculum. After attending the workshop, one participant remained optimistic. In his work as a healthcare provider, he felt that the curriculum was shaped around "the type of thought that needs to go into programs…I know in that curriculum, you talk about domestic violence, substance abuse, especially for our brown people. It's relevant; kids definitely would connect" (personal communication, 2018).

Sharing this sentiment, when interviewed by the *Guam Daily Post*, school psychologist, Jon Guerrero disclosed that he was excited by *Navigating Personal Wellbeing and Sexuality* because "we're creating something that's created by us and for us; and that could be way more effective at treating existing social issues" (Cruz, 2017, para. 7). He added that such curricula are greatly needed because "historically, medicine and health care have been used as a means of control; and when we impose outside standards and values it changes how we see and treat each other as indigenous peoples" (Cruz, 2017, para. 7). The need to have indigenous sexual health curriculum

made by indigenous educators and healthcare practitioners is imperative especially around highly stigmatized and controversial subjects.

Pono Choices

In 2014, the teenage birth rate in Hawai‘i was only 25.1 per 1,000, making it the state with the 26th highest teen birth rate (CDC, 2015). One could argue that given the state's relatively average ranking that no drastic intervention would be needed to lower the teen birth rate. Just by looking at the statistic it is reasonable to infer that lower ranking states can look to Hawai‘i as a model to emulate. It is not until you take a closer, more intimate look at the data that you will begin to see the shocking health disparity that is being overshadowed by this average statistic.

Once disaggregated for ethnicity, the statistics show that for females between the ages of ten to fourteen, Native Hawaiians and Other Pacific Islanders[22] (NHOPI) made up 92% of the live births in 2013. When looking at females between the ages of fifteen to nineteen, NHOPI females also comprised the majority, making up 64% of live births (Hawai‘i State Department of Health, 2015). The data only reveal a fraction of the larger story. As cautioned by Dr. Penehira, these statistics are not particularly significant to this study, but they are important to note because they influenced the creation of *Pono Choices*. More importantly, trends in Hawai‘i's data show that, NHOPI are engaging in risky behaviors during sexual intercourse at a higher rate than their peers.

In 2013, the YRBS revealed that NHOPI youth made up the highest percentage of sexually active teens in Hawai‘i, 49.1%, of which 33.3% remain sexually active (CDC 2013).

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[22] The Other Pacific Islanders group comprise of CHamorus, Samoans, Tongans, Marshallese, Micronesian, and Fijians.

Not only were a large amount of youth already sexually experienced, but the survey also found that they were also engaging in risky sexual behaviors such as, not using any method to prevent pregnancy (19.8%). NHOPI youth are also the second highest percentage of teens who drank alcohol or used drugs before last sexual intercourse (24.6%) following youth who identified as mixed race (26.3%) (CDC, 2013).

As a response to this growing dilemma, from January 2011 to January 2015, the Office of Adolescent Health (OAH) awarded grant monies to ALU LIKE, Planned Parenthood of Hawaiʻi (PPHI), and the University of Hawaiʻi at Mānoa Center on Disability Studies (UH CDS) for the creation and implementation of curriculum that would support its Teen Pregnancy Prevention Initiative. Using the monies, the awardees wrote a sex education curriculum that would be centered around a Native Hawaiian framework in hopes of reducing the disparities. With the grant, the creators developed a Native Hawaiian, place-based sex education curriculum, called *Pono Choices* (Kobashigawa, 2013). *Pono Choices* was the first of its kind to be developed and implemented in Hawaiʻi. The curriculum is comprised of ten educational modules all focused on different areas of sexual health: reproductive anatomy, intimate relationship development, and healthy communication, just to name a few. To ensure cultural responsiveness, curricular lessons incorporate "Hawaiian cultural terms and practices that stress positive character development and making pono choices" (Center on Disability Studies [CDS], 2015, para. 1). Some of the lessons even center themselves around Hawaiian values surrounding teamwork and communication to encourage healthy relationships.

After its initial implementation in five of Hawaiʻi's schools, in November 2013, *Pono Choices* received unexpected controversy. In a crusade spearheaded by conservative Hawaiʻi

Representative Bob McDermott, *Pono Choices* was pulled from schools after hundreds of parents signed a petition for its immediate removal. The curriculum, referred to as *Porno Choices* by its opponents namely the Hawaiʻi Republican Assembly, was removed for being "medically inaccurate, not age-appropriate, and supposedly normalizing anal sex and homosexual behavior" (Milldrum, 2014, para. 5). Initially, the curriculum was implemented in several schools in the island, but was pulled for a month because parents felt that the content was too graphic for their children. They did not agree with the amount of detail about anal and oral sex that was being discussed with students (Mendoza, 2013). Another main point of concern was that opponents to the curriculum had issues with how *Pono Choices* promoted the "normalization of gay couples and sex" (Wong, 2014, para. 9) through the inclusion of same-sex couples in examples and role-playing exercises.

For weeks, the curriculum was intensely evaluated and was only reinstated after they followed recommendations made by the Hawaiʻi Department of Education (Wong, 2014). By mid-December, *Pono Choices* was back in classrooms and a few of the revisions included: (1) making the curriculum an opt-in program, (2) highlighting the increased risk of HIV/AIDS if one engages in anal sex, and (3) changing the definition of the anus (Wong, 2014). Most of the changes made were to address McDermott and the parents' initial complaints that *Pono Choices* was too graphic and made homosexuality seem too normal.

RESULTS

Standards Alignment

For *Navigating Personal Wellbeing and Sexuality in Chuukese and Chamorro Communities*, the curricular modules aligned to national standards with a range as low as 28.6% to 85.7% as measured by the CDC's Health Education Curriculum Analysis Tool (HECAT). Of the eight standards, only three content areas had more than 75.0% of their standards met: *Health Advocacy* (85.7%); *Accessing Valid Information* (77.8%); and *Practicing Healthy Behaviors* (75.0%; see Table 3). The curriculum met less than half of the standards for only one content area, *Goal Setting* (28.6%).

For local standards, the curriculum met a range of 50.0% to a perfect 100.0% of Guåhan's health education standards, as measured by the GDOE analysis tool. Of the eight standards, only three content areas had more than 80.0% of their standards met: *Communication Skills* (100.0%), *Decision Making* (85.7%), and *Core Concepts* (80.0%; see Table 3). Additionally, the curriculum performed poorly in one content area, *Goal Setting* (50.0%), by only meeting half the standards. When comparing the results of the HECAT and GDOE analysis, it revealed that *Navigating* lacked an emphasis on goal setting and building technological skills. However, the curriculum was particularly strong in giving a broad overview of core sexual health concepts and developing communication skills that lead to healthy decision making.

The range of information that the curriculum covers is unsurprising since Natividad and de La Cruz intentionally built the curriculum so that it would prompt conversations about not only sex, but one's overall wellbeing. Natividad and de la Cruz were aware that parents in

Guåhan and Chuuk may be hesitant to talk to their children about sex, so they decided to create a curriculum that would still allow children to follow their curiosities. They explained that the modules were designed with "natural instinct" in mind and the understanding that "they [students] are going to explore on their own, if they are exploring we want to make sure that they are exploring it in a safe way" (personal communication, 2018).

Table 3: *Standards Alignment- National and Guam Department of Education Health Education Standard- Navigating*

Standard #	Title	HECAT Standards Met (%)	GDOE Standards Met (%)
1	Core Concepts	30 out of 43 (69.8)	8 out of 10 (80.0)
2	Analyzing Influences	7 out of 10 (70.0)	8 out of 11 (72.7)
3	Accessing Valid Information	7 out of 9 (77.8)	3 out of 5 (60.0)
4	Communication Skills	4 out of 6 (66.7)	5 out of 5 (100.0)
5	Decision Making	5 out of 8 (62.5)	6 out of 7 (85.7)
6	Goal Setting	2 out of 7 (28.6)	2 out of 4 (50.0)
7	Practicing Healthy Behaviors	3 out of 4 (75.0)	4 out of 6 (66.7)
8	Health Advocacy	6 out of 7 (85.7)	4 out of 6 (66.7)
	Total	64 out of 94 (68.1)	40 out of 54 (74.1)

For *Pono Choices: A Culturally Responsive Teen Pregnancy and STI Prevention Program*, the curricular modules aligned to national standards with a range of 42.9% to a perfect 100.0%. Of the eight standards, four content areas had more than 75.0% of their standards met: *Goal Setting* (100.0%); *Practicing Healthy Behaviors* (100.0%); *Decision Making* (87.5%); and *Core Concepts* (76.7%; see Table 4). However, the curriculum also met only about half of the expectations for three content areas: *Communication Skills* (50.0%), *Accessing Valid Information* (44.4%), and *Health Advocacy* (42.9%). When scored overall according to HECAT guidelines, the curriculum covered close to two-thirds of the content that sex education should include (71.3%; see Table 4).

When measuring alignment to local standards, the curriculum met the full range, 0.0% to 100.0%, of Guåhan's health education standards, as measured by the GDOE analysis tool. Of the eight standards, half of the content areas had more than 75.0% of their standards met: *Goal Setting* (100.0%), *Decision Making* (85.7%), *Practicing Healthy Behaviors* (83.3%), and *Core Concepts* (80.0%; see Table 4). Additionally, the curriculum performed poorly in two content areas: *Accessing Valid Information* (40.0%) and *Health Advocacy* (0.0%). When comparing the results of the HECAT and GDOE analysis, it showed that content areas that were not being met were similar for both tools. The curricula did not allow students to practice critically evaluating and accessing health information, and activities did not encourage students to advocate for sexual health.

However, Pono Choices was strong with its emphasis in skill building. Its role-playing exercises allowed students to practice healthy behaviors and negotiation skills. In Module 9, students are asked to practice negotiating with one another. Students act out different situations, in which they must incorporate a refusal skill that *Pono Choices* deems the 4Rs: respect, refuse, reason, and redirect. These skills are especially important when deciding when or how one wants to be sexually active and *Pono Choices* does a great job of allowing students to practice those skills.

Table 4: *Standards Alignment- National and Guam Department of Education Health Education Standards- Pono Choices*

Standard #	Title	HECAT Standards Met (%)	GDOE Standards Met (%)
1	Core Concepts	33 out of 43 (76.7)	8 out of 10 (80.0)
2	Analyzing Influences	6 out of 10 (60.0)	7 out of 11 (63.6)
3	Accessing Valid Information	4 out of 9 (44.4)	2 out of 5 (40.0)
4	Communication Skills	3 out of 6 (50.0)	3 out of 5 (60.0)
5	Decision Making	7 out of 8 (87.5)	6 out of 7 (85.7)
6	Goal Setting	7 out of 7 (100.0)	4 out of 4 (100.0)
7	Practicing Healthy Behaviors	4 out of 4 (100.0)	5 out of 6 (83.3)
8	Health Advocacy	3 out of 7 (42.9)	0 out of 6 (0.0)
	Total	67 out of 94 (71.3)	35 out of 54 (64.8)

For *Respect: A Sexual Abuse Prevention Curriculum*, the curricular modules aligned to national standards with a range as low as 14.3% to 85.7%. Of the eight standards, four content areas had more than 75.0% of their standards met: *Health Advocacy* (85.7%); *Analyzing Influences* (80.0%); *Decision Making* (75.0%); and *Practicing Healthy Behaviors* (75.0%; see Table 5). However, the curriculum also met less than half of the expectations for three content areas: *Accessing Valid Information* (44.4%), *Core Concepts* (41.9%), and *Goal Setting* (14.3%). When scored overall according to HECAT guidelines, the curriculum covered a little more than half of the content that sex education should include (53.2%; see Table 5).

On the other hand, the curriculum met the full range of 0.0% to 100.0% of Guåhan's local health education standards, as measured by the GDOE analysis tool. Of the eight standards, half of the content areas had more than 80.0% of their standards met: *Communication Skills* (100.0%), *Practicing Healthy Behaviors* (100.0%), *Decision Making* (85.7%), and *Health Advocacy* (83.3%; see Table 5). Additionally, the curriculum performed poorly in two content areas: *Analyzing Influences* (18.2%) and *Goal Setting* (0.0%). Since the focus of the curriculum

was mainly reacting to sexual violence and how to prevent such acts, it scored poorly when covering topics and behavioral skills related to pregnancy prevention and protection against sexually transmitted diseases.

However, the analysis also revealed that the curriculum was strong in emphasizing advocacy through its role-playing exercises where students could identify healthy behaviors and engage in active communication. The activities teach students emotional skills that are built around empathy and compassion. For example, in Lesson 2, students learn how to dispel common myths about sexual violence when they critically analyze the victims' feelings and actions in different scenarios. Later in Lesson 3, they are taught these skills within the context of consent. In various activities, they practice how to identify when consent is given and how to ask for their partners' consent. Since the implementation of *Respect*, educators in Guåhan have already observed an increase amongst students reporting sexual abuse.

Table 5: *Standards Alignment- National and Guam Department of Education Health Education Standards- Respect*

Standard #	Title	HECAT Standards Met (%)	GDOE Standards Met (%)
1	Core Concepts	18 out of 43 (41.9)	7 out of 10 (70.0)
2	Analyzing Influences	8 out of 10 (80.0)	2 out of 11 (18.2)
3	Accessing Valid Information	4 out of 9 (44.4)	3 out of 5 (60.0)
4	Communication Skills	4 out of 6 (66.7)	5 out of 5 (100.0)
5	Decision Making	6 out of 8 (75.0)	6 out of 7 (85.7)
6	Goal Setting	1 out of 7 (14.3)	0 out of 4 (0.0)
7	Practicing Healthy Behaviors	3 out of 4 (75.0)	6 out of 6 (100.0)
8	Health Advocacy	6 out of 7 (85.7)	5 out of 6 (83.3)
	Total	50 out of 94 (53.2)	34 out of 54 (63.0)

When comparing all three curricula, *Navigating Personal Wellbeing and Sexuality* aligned the most with GDOE health education standards. Overall, the curriculum met close to 70.0% of the national (68.1%) and local (74.1%) health education standards (see Table 3).

Contrasting *Navigating*, *Pono Choices* performed the best when aligning to national health education standards, meeting 71.3% of national standards and 64.8% of local health education standards (see Table 4). Then unsurprisingly, *Respect* performed the poorest because of its narrow focus, meeting only 53.2% of national standards and 63.0% of local health education standards (see Table 5).

Incorporation of Sexual Health

Both *Pono Choices* and *Navigating Personal Wellbeing and Sexuality* met most of the critical topics for sexual health, apart from one area each. *Navigating Personal Wellbeing and Sexuality* does not cover the critical topic area, *Obtaining Condoms*. In Lesson 6: Safer Sex Techniques, students are taught how to put on a condom and are given the opportunity to practice. However, discussions on how or where in Guåhan or Chuuk they can obtain condoms are not held (see Table 6).

Table 6: *Critical Sexual Education Topics Identified by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention- Navigating*

Critical Topic	Met?
Create and sustain healthy relationships	Y
Influences of family, media, peers, technology, on sexual risk behavior	Y
Benefits of abstinence	Y
Efficacy of condoms	Y
Using condoms consistently and correctly	Y
Using condoms and other contraception to prevent STDs and pregnancy	Y
Obtaining condoms	N
Correctly using condoms	Y
Communication/Negotiation Skills	Y
Goal-setting/Decision-making Skills	Y
Transmission of HIV/STDs	Y
Health consequences of HIV, other STDs, and pregnancy	Y
Influencing and supporting others to avoid or reduce sexual risk behaviors	Y
Importance of limiting number of sexual partners	Y
How to access valid and reliable information, products, and services related to HIV, STDs, and pregnancy	Y
Preventive care to maintain reproductive and sexual health	Y
Total Met:	15/16 (93.8)

Pono Choices only partially covered the critical topic area, *How to Access Valid and Reliable Information, Products, and Services related to HIV, STDs, and Pregnancy*. The curriculum covers discussions on what HIV and STDs are, but they do not give students the opportunity to analyze where the information is coming from and whether that source is reliable (see Table 7).

Table 7: *Critical Sexual Education Topics Identified by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention- Pono Choices*

Critical Topic	Met?
Create and sustain healthy relationships	Y
Influences of family, media, peers, technology, on sexual risk behavior	Y
Benefits of abstinence	Y
Efficacy of condoms	Y
Using condoms consistently and correctly	Y
Using condoms and other contraception to prevent STDs and pregnancy	Y
Obtaining condoms	Y
Correctly using condoms	Y
Communication/Negotiation Skills	Y
Goal-setting/Decision-making Skills	Y
Transmission of HIV/STDs	Y
Health consequences of HIV, other STDs, and pregnancy	Y
Influencing and supporting others to avoid or reduce sexual risk behaviors	Y
Importance of limiting number of sexual partners	Y
How to access valid and reliable information, products, and services related to HIV, STDs, and pregnancy	0.5
Preventive care to maintain reproductive and sexual health	Y
Total Met:	15.5/16 (96.9)

Unlike the other two curricula, the *Respect* curriculum only met a fourth of the critical areas for sexual health. It does not cover topics related to other aspects of sexual health such as, contraception, STDs/STIs, and relationship development, to name a few (see Table 8). With its narrow focus of preventing sexual abuse, the curriculum mainly addresses risk reduction through critical thinking activities that develop their communication and negotiation skills. For example, in Lesson 2: Know the Truth About Sexual Violence, students are given scenarios in which they must identify if someone is being sexually harassed or violated. The curriculum then has them change the scenario so that the perpetrator is no longer committing sexual harassment or abuse. Students are also asked to analyze what the characters in the scenarios can do to respect each other and to address the violations committed.

Table 8: *Critical Sexual Education Topics Identified by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention- Respect*

Critical Topic	Met?
Create and sustain healthy relationships	N
Influences of family, media, peers, technology, on sexual risk behavior	0.5
Benefits of abstinence	N
Efficacy of condoms	N
Using condoms consistently and correctly	N
Using condoms and other contraception to prevent STDs and pregnancy	N
Obtaining condoms	N
Correctly using condoms	N
Communication/Negotiation Skills	Y
Goal-setting/Decision-making Skills	0.5
Transmission of HIV/STDs	N
Health consequences of HIV, other STDs, and pregnancy	N
Influencing and supporting others to avoid or reduce sexual risk behaviors	Y
Importance of limiting number of sexual partners	N
How to access valid and reliable information, products, and services related to HIV, STDs, and pregnancy	N
Preventive care to maintain reproductive and sexual health	Y
Total Met:	4/16 (25.0)

Cultural Inclusion

In terms of cultural inclusion, *Pono Choices* and *Navigating Personal Wellbeing and Sexuality* both used a specific cultural lens to guide their lessons, Native Hawaiian and CHamoru respectively. *Navigating* met nineteen of the twenty criteria (95.0%), only failing to ensure that "methods of instruction provide spaces, projects, assignments, and dialogue that 'encourage(s) students to become social agents'" (see Table 9). The curriculum does not explicitly allow students to be social agents for change, some of the lessons give them opportunities to collaborate with others, Lesson 10: Inafa'maolek: Working Together, and to analyze how their individual behaviors impact the larger community, Lesson 8: Family Violence.

However, Navigating is strong with its inclusion of counternarratives that place a CHamoru understanding of sexuality at the forefront instead of completely excluding it as other

curricula do. With the inclusion of legends and cultural practices, *Navigating* allows students to explore their identities as CHamorus and how that shapes their sexual ideals. For example, in Lesson 2, students practice communicating with one another through the practice of Kantan Chamorrita. As explained in the curriculum, Kantan Chamorrita is a

> poetic art form that was regularly practiced amongst CHamorus. Through spontaneous debate, CHamorus would use a call-and-response method, in which they would *adaggao*, or throw, verses back and forth. As the debate continued, verses became increasingly more difficult to create as each verse had to be four lines, in which the second and fourth line must rhyme. Celebrated for its hidden meanings and cleverness, *Kantan Chamorrita* was used as a measure of wits through which CHamorus would playfully tease, flirt and at times resolve conflicts. (Natividad and de la Cruz, 2017)

In this activity, students are taught how to playfully communicate romantic feelings and intentions with one another. By developing these communication skills, students learn how to establish boundaries and to ensure that consent is given and understood.

Table 9: *Critical Framework of Review- Navigating*

Critique	Met?
CRITICAL CONTENT	
Includes counternarratives	Y
Reflects micro- and macrolevels of analysis of CHamoru experience	Y
Content grounded in the body of resources on CHamorus	Y
Utilizes community-based research and sources of knowledge	Y
Includes primary sources	Y
Includes multiple subjectivities	Y
Addresses controversial topics	Y
Content promotes dialogue and critical thinking about CHamorus	Y
Engages students in constructing new knowledge about CHamorus	Y
Reflects connections to universal themes, issues, concepts, and events	Y
Content meets or exceeds respective local or national standards	Y
Content engages students in critical reflecting on themes of (1) identity; (2) the struggle for justice; (3) giving back to the community; (4) contributions to humanity	Y
CRITICAL INSTRUCTION	
Methods encourage the sharing of counternarratives	Y
Methods implement inquiry-based cyclical processes of critical praxis	Y
Methods of instruction encourage a process of decolonization	Y
Methods promote empathy and perspective taking	Y
Methods engage students to connect CHamoru history to their personal experiences	Y
Methods of instruction provide spaces, projects, assignments, and dialogue that "encourage(s) students to become social agents"	N
CRITICAL IMPACT	
Impact on one's identity?	Y
Impact on the community and society?	Y
Total Met:	19/20 (95.0)

Pono Choices met more than two-thirds (80.0%) of the criteria for cultural inclusion (see Table 10). Though the curriculum was guided by a Native Hawaiian cultural framework, points were given in some areas which include the macro- and micro- analysis of the native experience and grounding itself in native resources. Each lesson was organized thematically, where they were focused around a specific Native Hawaiian value. There were values that had themes of collectiveness and reciprocity which also exist in the CHamoru cultural framework. So, even

though it is not a perfect fit, the use of *Pono Choices* in Guåhan will still prompt students to question and explore sexual health with a native lens.

However, it is significant to point out that even though the modules used Hawaiian words here and there to explain concepts, the curriculum still lacked the presence of a Hawaiian epistemology. For example, traditional, Western gender roles were reflected in the relationship dynamics of the couples. Many, if not all, of the characters adhered to contemporary sexual gender types with men being more sexual and more aggressive in terms of sexual decision-making. There was one case study in which the roles were reversed and the female was the one who wanted to initiate sex. She asked her partner and he refused. Upon refusing, the female automatically concluded that something must be wrong with her and that she was undesirable. Despite, the role reversal, the scene still reinforced traditional gender roles because there was the expectation that the male should be sexual and should he not be then the female must be defective. In other activities, the exercises did mention positive relationship interactions, but they were done mostly within familial and friend relationships, not intimate partner relations.

However, *Pono Choices* is gradually taking steps in the right direction. It does introduce youth to the Hawaiian language as well as to indigenous concepts (collective responsibility, communication based on Polynesian voyaging practices, and teamwork as shown through Hawaiian weaving methods). For example, Module 4 has an activity called, "Who's in Your Canoe?" Using the metaphor of paddling, students are asked to identify people in their lives who fulfill similar roles in a paddling team. In the activity, Seat One belongs to the Pace Caller, to fill this seat students must name who they are "willing to follow and listen to" (CDS, 2013). In Seats Three to Five, students must also identify who in their lives are the Powerhouses, in the canoe

these are the people who support you and keep the canoe going (CDS, 2013). By emphasizing the importance of the collective unit, it allows students to see sexual health from a more indigenous perspective. Students can see themselves reflected in the case studies since names and places included in the narratives are ones familiar to youth who live in Hawaiʻi, making the situations much more relatable and easier to imagine.

Table 10: *Critical Framework of Review- Pono Choices*

Critique	Met?
CRITICAL CONTENT	
Includes counternarratives	Y
Reflects micro- and macrolevels of analysis of CHamoru experience	0.5
Content grounded in the body of resources on CHamorus	0.5
Utilizes community-based research and sources of knowledge	Y
Includes primary sources	Y
Includes multiple subjectivities	Y
Addresses controversial topics	Y
Content promotes dialogue and critical thinking about Chamorus	N
Engages students in constructing new knowledge about Chamorus	N
Reflects connections to universal themes, issues, concepts, and events	Y
Content meets or exceeds respective local or national standards	Y
Content engages students in critical reflecting on themes of (1) identity; (2) the struggle for justice; (3) giving back to the community; (4) contributions to humanity	Y
CRITICAL INSTRUCTION	
Methods encourage the sharing of counternarratives	Y
Methods implement inquiry-based cyclical processes of critical praxis	Y
Methods of instruction encourage a process of decolonization	Y
Methods promote empathy and perspective taking	Y
Methods engage students to connect CHamoru history to their personal experiences	N
Methods of instruction provide spaces, projects, assignments, and dialogue that "encourage(s) students to become social agents"	Y
CRITICAL IMPACT	
Impact on one's identity?	Y
Impact on the community and society?	Y
Total Met:	16/20 (80.0)

Lastly, *Respect* met more than half (60.0%) of the criteria for cultural inclusion (see Table 11). There is no cultural emphasis, so the curriculum does not allow for any sort of cultural identity building. It also gives no opportunity for students to examine their experiences with a critical decolonial lens. However, given the emphasis on violence prevention that the curriculum has, modules in *Respect* can be rewritten so students can critically examine their lived experiences. Students in Guåhan can be prompted to connect how colonial influences contribute to sexual violence, especially using examples given from the sex scandals discussed in Chapter 3.

Table 11: *Critical Framework of Review- Respect*

Critique	Met?
CRITICAL CONTENT	
Includes counternarratives	Y
Reflects micro- and macrolevels of analysis of CHamoru experience	N
Content grounded in the body of resources on CHamorus	N
Utilizes community-based research and sources of knowledge	Y
Includes primary sources	Y
Includes multiple subjectivities	Y
Addresses controversial topics	Y
Content promotes dialogue and critical thinking about CHamorus	N
Engages students in constructing new knowledge about CHamorus	N
Reflects connections to universal themes, issues, concepts, and events	Y
Content meets or exceeds respective local or national standards	N
Content engages students in critical reflecting on themes of (1) identity; (2) the struggle for justice; (3) giving back to the community; (4) contributions to humanity	Y
CRITICAL INSTRUCTION	
Methods encourage the sharing of counternarratives	N
Methods implement inquiry-based cyclical processes of critical praxis	Y
Methods of instruction encourage a process of decolonization	N
Methods promote empathy and perspective taking	Y
Methods engage students to connect CHamoru history to their personal experiences	N
Methods of instruction provide spaces, projects, assignments, and dialogue that "encourage(s) students to become social agents"	Y
CRITICAL IMPACT	
Impact on one's identity?	Y
Impact on the community and society?	Y
Total Met:	12/20 (60.0)

CONCLUSION

When considering all the evaluative tools, *Navigating Personal Wellbeing and Sexuality* performed the best with an overall alignment of over eighty percent (82.7%; see Table 12). The curricular materials included more than ninety percent (93.8%) of the critical topics for sexual health and did so while incorporating a CHamoru framework in its materials and activities. Even though its alignment to national standards is lower in some areas, it still meets close to 70.0% of

the overall national standards. Therefore, as done with Common Core, the CDC's critical topics along with the national standards can be the "anchor" or national push needed to get *Navigating* into Guåhan's schools.

Table 12: Summary of Curricula Comparison

Curriculum	HECAT Score	GDOE Score	Critical Topics Score	Critical Review Score	"Grade"
Navigating Personal Wellbeing and Sexuality	64/94 (68.1) 17.0	40/54 (74.1) 18.5	15/16 (93.8) 23.45	19/20 (95.0) 23.75	82.7/100 B-
Pono Choices	67/94 (71.3) 17.8	35/54 (64.8) 16.2	15.5/16 (96.9) 24.2	16/20 (80.0) 20	78.2/100 C+
Respect	50/94 (53.2) 13.3	34/54 (63.0) 15.75	4/16 (25.0) 6.25	12/20 (60.0) 15	50.3/100 F

Navigating Personal Wellbeing and Sexuality is the best model for Guåhan's students, but that is not to say that the other two curricula do not have strengths that should be incorporated. *Pono Choices* was particularly strong with its emphasis on skill development. Many of the activities allowed students to practice communicating with one another and gave them the opportunity to problem solve. In Module 4, students are given a worksheet entitled the Pono Relationship Guide that outlines the traits of "healthy", "unhealthy", and "abusive" relationships. They are then given four scenarios in which they are to classify the relationships. Students critically break down the behavior of the couples and openly discuss with one another how couples can be more *pono*, or balanced, in their choices. Most importantly, not only does

Pono Choices encourage skill development, but it does so by emphasizing the significance of the students' extended social network, as shown with the earlier example from Module 4 of the curriculum.

The same strengths can be taken from *Respect*. As mentioned earlier in Chapter 3, many credit *Respect* with this increase because it promotes open discussions about sexual violence. Students are taught how to identify and report sexual violence using various role-playing activities. Specially, in Lesson 4, the case studies give students the opportunity to practice asserting personal boundaries as well as respecting the boundaries of others. Lastly, another skill that would be useful to take from *Respect* is its emphasis on advocacy. In Lessons 5 and 6, students practice actively challenging sexual violence by supporting and standing up for victims of abuse rather than acting as bystanders.

In addition to emphasizing skills in the same way that *Pono Choices* and *Respect* do, *Navigating* adds an additional layer of analysis that will greatly benefit students in Guåhan. Alongside its promotion of cultural values and critical thinking skills, *Navigating* allows students to think through the colonial effects that shape their sexual ideologies today. With the use of counternarratives, students learn about the fluidity of relationships and the emphasis on sex education in the Guma' Ulitao. By having them critique their sexual world from a different lens, a CHamoru lens, students will be exposed to the contradictions and daily negotiations that they must make as they navigate between their two cultural worlds.

For example, *Navigating* utilizes the CHamoru legends of Sirena the Mermaid and the Flame Tree to teach sexual health themes such as, gender identity, sexual orientation, and physical attraction. The curriculum then highlights the collectiveness of CHamoru society with

its final lesson. Lesson 10 is centered around the CHamoru value of inafa'maolek, which translates to "make things good" (Hattori, 2004). Participants are asked to gather together to build a CHamoru thatched hut, which served as the central meeting place for CHamoru clans. The results from this study's interviews and textual analysis can inform the creation of the second edition of this curriculum. In the next chapter, I explore what the second edition of *Navigating* will look like. How can we create a curriculum that weaves together the best aspects of *Respect*, *Navigating*, and *Pono Choices*? What will "ideal" sex education curriculum look like?

Chapter 5: Opening Up About Sex: The Ideal Sex Education Curriculum

While in high school, I distinctly remember watching an episode of Sex and the City. In the episode, one of the main characters, Charlotte, was telling her friends about the vagina journal that she had to keep because her gynecologist diagnosed her with vulvodynia, "depressed vagina." Out of all the characters, Charlotte is by far the most sexually conservative. She shared that she did not want to look at her vagina because she thought that it was ugly. Her friend Miranda responded with "well maybe that's why it's depressed." Realizing the absurdity of being afraid to look at one's body, Charlotte rushed to the bathroom with a hand mirror to finally see her vagina "up close and personal." After a few minutes of looking, she nearly fell off the toilet, mesmerized by her discovery.

While watching that episode, I realized that I had no idea what my vagina looked like, let alone having been carrying it around for sixteen years. I ran to the bathroom and immediately propped up a mirror. It was there that I became acquainted with my vagina for the first time. Excited by my recent encounter, I went to school and decided to ask my close group of friends if any of them have ever seen their vaginas before. Dumbfounded and frankly shocked by my question, they stared at me openmouthed until one of them loudly exclaimed, "WHAT?" I tried to laugh casually and appear unfazed, but inside I was blushing deep shades of crimson red. I decided to push aside my embarrassment and simply said, "You should look at it! Try it, why not? It's yours!" They all looked at me as if I were a specimen that belonged in the infamous Area 51. However, when the initial

shock wore off, from that day on, in that group of friends, any sex-related questions were diverted to me.

This chapter will explore the effects of reinserting a more balanced, indigenous epistemology into Guåhan's sex education model. As discussed in Chapter 4, of the three curricula, *Navigating Personal Wellbeing and Sexuality* overall was the best fit for Guåhan's students. It aligned to national and local health education standards, remains culturally centered, and incorporates critical topics in sexual health. In the final chapter, I explore what can be the next steps for sex education curriculum. How do we push conversations around reproductive health further so that it benefits Guåhan's youth? How can we continue to utilize CHamoru knowledge for teaching sexuality? I argue that by centering discussions around native epistemological views, sex education can be used to create additional spaces of learning that seek to deconstruct Western sexual logics while simultaneously serving as places of cultural resurgence.

In this chapter, I propose that the island's previously mentioned health disparities can be reduced by reconnecting indigenous youth to their native views of sexuality. Utilizing the theories and frameworks discussed in this chapter, educators in Guåhan can recreate a sexual environment where children are free to ask sexual questions and are also comprehensively prepared to engage in sexual acts. CHamoru knowledge celebrates sex and sexuality by encouraging the idea that it is a normal part of life that can be positive. By creating CHamoru-centered sex education, curriculum can help to reawaken and inspire students so that they can reimagine a world in which sexuality is no longer suppressed.

As discussed in Chapter 3, Guåhan's youth suffer from incredibly high rates of sexually transmitted diseases and have experienced dating/physical violence in their intimate relationships (CDC, 2017). Can reimagining sex education with a CHamoru lens give youth the skills to protect themselves and those they have sexual relationships with? This chapter unpacks the idea of reimagining sexuality by introducing more fluid, CHamoru sex ideologies. Doing so, is especially significant because as Freire (1993) explains, "no pedagogy which is truly liberating can remain distant from the oppressed by treating them as unfortunates and by presenting for their emulation models from among the oppressors. The oppressed must be their own example in the struggle for their redemption" (p. 54). With permission to reimagine, what kind of sexuality will our children reconstruct? What does a Guåhan that moves along the sexual and gender spectrum look like?

MOVING BETWEEN WORLDS

As discussed throughout this study, one of the core qualities of sex education for indigenous youth should be one that incorporates their worldviews and cultural frameworks. However, many may be resistant to the inclusion of these narratives especially if they challenge more mainstream perspectives of reproductive health. Therefore, it is important to use poststructural renderings to justify these new curricular themes. As demonstrated through Foucault's historical reading of sexuality, the entirety of sexual perception is socially constructed (Foucault, 1976).

With a discerning Foucauldian eye, educators can introduce counternarratives into sex education to plant seeds of doubt. As articulated by scholars Daniel Solorzano and Dolores

Delgado Bernal, "counterstories challenge the perceived wisdom of those at society's center and provide a context to understand and transform established belief systems" (see Kaomea, 2009, p. 115). Through the inclusion of counterstories, sex education in Guåhan will introduce students to CHamoru epistemologies that directly challenge Western societal constructions, prompting them to think more critically about the assumed "truths" that surround sexuality and gender.

Using the examples of purity and the institutionalization of marriage, CHamoru counterstories can expose these conflicts by introducing students to an entirely different worldview that challenges the existing Western discourse of purity and chastity. Ideal sex education curriculum for CHamoru youth will not only focus on exposing students to these contradictions, but activities will get them to think about the effects that virginity policing has on their daily lives. Classroom exercises can be as simple as having students examine age of consent laws in Guåhan to analyze who society legally defines as a person who is "mature enough" to have sex. Students can also role-play scenarios in which they negotiate initiating sex with their partners, while trying to teeter the line between being perceived as overly sexual or prudish. In the classrooms, educators can facilitate discussions by asking, "How did they decide where these lines are drawn? What influences those distinctions? Are there other parameters that exist around these labels?"

With this type of critical, decolonial sex education, students will juxtapose Western constructions of sexuality to native ones to uncover the hegemonic, foreign properties of Western sexual thought. Using different activities, students will also uproot these Western "truths" in ways that will make them question the assumed authenticity and universality of these sexual norms. As explained by Kaomea (2014), the emphasis on sexual narratives is particularly

important because "colonizers have long known that control over native people's reproductive abilities is necessary for their extermination" (p. 129). For students to understand these colonial motivations, sex education for CHamoru youth must center itself around CHamoru sexual belief systems that are in direct opposition to Western ones. Counterstories must focus on the shifts in sexual ideology that have occurred because of the catholicization and militarization of Guåhan. The Roman Catholic faith and the American military have shaped sexual and gender norms in ways that have become dangerous for the CHamoru body.

HASSO

By understanding the influences on CHamoru sexuality, ideal sex education curricula must also be cautious of the colonial realities that students in Guåhan are immersed in. A large majority of students in the island subscribe to conservative Christian sexual views and maintain strong attachments to the military, therefore though this study seeks to challenge the changes made by these institutions, such disagreements cannot be too direct. To avoid the alienating effect that *explicit counterstories* (Kaomea, 2009) can have, ideal sex education curriculum for CHamoru youth must instead advertise itself as a program that will encourage the development of communication skills and critical thinking skills so that youth can engage in sexual behaviors that are beneficial for all involved. As illustrated with *Navigating*, curriculum creators, Natividad and De la Cruz, were aware of this limitation and instead marketed the *Navigating* curriculum as one that would promote wellbeing instead of an educational tool focused solely on sex.

Bearing in mind Arriola's earlier warnings, sex education curricula must be careful not to "get into someone's face" (2016). We must be patient with our communities as we start to

unravel centuries of colonial damage. When thinking about current sexuality movements, CHamoru scholar Robert Underwood reminds us that the flow of language does not allow for us to develop discourse around something simply because it exists. When interviewed, Underwood (2019) further explained that the CHamoru language can handle discussions around sex(uality), but

> we shouldn't expect CHamoru to jump into that point very quickly. Because if you think about it, how long did it take English speakers to get to transsexual? It's not like, we see this, let's label it. It's not like that happened overnight that took generation upon generation. So, it's not that automatically we [CHamorus] should have a word for it or a description of it. It doesn't make sense and it doesn't really respond to the reality about languages or form…What I would just make sure that people understand is that it will take time. But the other thing is that just because there's no ready words for it doesn't mean that the concept is not there or that the activity is not there. It's always been there. (R. Underwood, personal communication, July 17, 2019)

Considering Underwood's explanation of language evolution, this study reasons that the CHamoru archive can serve as the starting point. The archive has existed and evolved for over 4,000 years, and now we need it for sexuality. Our written record is limited, but what exists in the CHamoru language can be transmitted to explain these emerging sexual identities and orientations. When we are ready for these conversations, CHamoru can reimagine and reconstruct these complex concepts by using our written record as well as our transmitted language to move it forward.

The process of revitalizing and reconstructing will be slow, but it is still worth it to go through these processes. As Sneider (2015) writes, Kanaka Maoli gender scholar Kaheleole Hall explains that "because colonization relies on forced forgetting and erasure, the need to bring the past forward into our consciousness is ongoing. Reconstructing tradition and memory is a vital element of Indigenous survival, and there is nothing simple or one-dimensional about the process of reconstruction" (p. 71). In the case of sex education, many health discussions will challenge Catholic ideologies, as outlined in the previous chapters, therefore newly developed curricular materials must consider these frames. If materials do not tiptoe around these ideologies frames, then there is a risk that they will isolate Guåhan's youth. To avoid this, Diaz (2010) argues, we must practice *gai respetu* because "to speak against the Church is to also speak against Chamorro Catholic hegemony, a mixed system through which indigenous Chamorro culture has historically come to 'speak' through largely Catholic rituals and practices" (p. 139).

With these known limitations, when I present my findings to the CHamoru community, I plan to emphasize that my study is simply based on the act of remembering, *hahasso*. In the CHamoru language, to remember, *hasso*, encompasses all stages of thought and memory. For one to remember, they must also be free to think and to imagine. This study will allow students to look to CHamoru ideologies, not for the simple act of looking back and remembering the past, but as an exercise to critically think about sexual norms and to even imagine how these ideals can change. By framing my argument in this way, I do not directly challenge the colonial structures in ways that threaten those who live in the confines of that reality.

I choose to be cautious in my messaging because as Tengan (2008) admits "to flout these [sexual] rules are to directly challenge the raced, classed, and gendered colonial order of things"

(p. 89). Therefore, in order to be heard, my ideas for sex education should instead be presented as ways to encourage youth to build their individual skills, to improve communication techniques, and to develop relationships that are beneficial for them and those involved. Sex education that mirrors the epistemology of its students will serve as the foundation needed to provide youth with the skills and abilities needed to successfully promote healthier sexual behaviors; eventually translating into better health outcomes for indigenous youth.

Additionally, as mentioned earlier to navigate the sexual minefield, sex education curricular activities can have students critically examine who has been left out of historical narratives. Students can question the ideas of what constitutes “normal” people and “normal” sexual behaviors, in the current canon, by applying Macherey’s theory of the *non dit*, or the unsaid. The idea of the unsaid poses the challenge of looking beyond what is physically there. Kaomea (2000) writes that Macherey explains that, “what is important in a work is what it does not say…we investigate the silence for it is the silence that is doing the speaking” (p. 337). CHamoru history books can serve as the texts students can use to critically analyze who is left out.

For example, in nearly every textbook there is an obvious absence of the deemed sexually deviant. There is no mention of CHamorus who had same-sex partners, or even ones who lived their lives across the gender spectrum. Underwood argues that the exclusion of the imperfect native was deliberate, he continues by saying that the “goodness of the ancient Chamorro is determined by his cooperation with the Spanish” (see Diaz, 2010, p. 138). It appears that anyone who did not live their lives according to the Christian doctrine was rendered invisible and extinct

in the CHamoru memory. By having students become aware of how sexual norms are created, they will be better equipped to question why it retains so much of its exclusionary power.

MASTERING THE NARRATIVE: COUNTERSTORIES

"As a teacher, the child you are touching is sitting in Micronesia. They are sitting in CHamoru country. That is what they should be learning about. The pacific people have a problem. They love everyone but themselves. How do you change that mindset? I think teachers can do that work."

- Dr. Una Nabobo-Baba, during a culture-based education workshop in Guåhan

Introducing alternative perspectives in the form of cultural counterstories is so crucial because the health canon in Guåhan remains sexually conservative. Counterstories that privilege CHamoru knowledge can guide and encourage students to question these impacts on their own. Indigenous knowledge is rich with material that will allow them to be more critical of existing sexual ideologies because it "locates indigenous historical and cultural constructions of sexuality, gender expression and corresponding identities as rooted in the original instructions given to the people, origin stories, and other culturally centered processes" (Walters, 2007, p. 10). By seeing the contradictions between their ancestral knowledge and Western knowledge, students can begin to understand the fluidity and flexibility of sexuality.

For example, even though Western culture and CHamoru culture cannot be directly compared, their epistemological roots can be used in role-playing exercises to take students out of their "submerged colonial state" (Freire, 1993, p. 51). For one class activity, students can be given a scenario in which a young boy is bullied for choosing to wear a dress to school. The

students can then be broken into groups where some will think about the situation with a Western gender lens and the other groups will think about it with an indigenous gender lens. The class will then come together to compare how a solution is reached and even more significant, how the young boy is treated in each scenario. This activity uses CHamoru counterstories to help youth see through the inherent violence of gender constructions. Since, prior to foreign interference, CHamorus did not structure gender and sexual orientation in the same polarizing binaries that Western discourse forces people to package themselves into. However, even more important than the language, the CHamoru governance system illustrated the limited significance that gender had when determining societal relations,

> Chamorro society has always been sexually integrated; no strict division of the sexes into separate spheres or physical spaces has ever been socially enforced. As sex relations and gender roles are often reinforced by such spatial arrangements, it is likely that the unrestricted mobility and interaction between Chamorro men and women also reflected the esteemed position of Chamorro women in ancient times. (Souder, 1992, p. 151-152)

Souder's observation directly opposes dominant gender ideologies, by showing that CHamorus did not have to adhere to a prescribed set of gendered behaviors, they were free to exhibit behaviors that did not fall into their gender norms. Therefore, the young boy who experienced bullying for dressing as a girl probably would not have been teased in precolonial CHamoru society.

Removing the Rose Colored Glasses

In addition to incorporating counterstories, sex education for CHamoru youth should also center its lessons around skill development. A healthcare administrator shared that after working in the field for decades, sex education should be about "skill building; negotiations and really understanding how that works with saying no or okay I need to get on…I need to protect myself and being able to put that back to the kids and building that around negotiating, skill building, self-efficacy" (personal communication, 2018). To get students to think about what it means to be violent, activities should have students discuss with one another what they feel healthy and unhealthy relationships look like. Sex educators should facilitate activities where students get to practice communication skills with one another, and more importantly connecting those skills to what it really means to "consent" to sexual activity. Orenstein (2016) argues that emphasizing healthy communication in the sexual health classroom is especially important because "any good lover is a good listener. And a bad listener is at best a bad lover and at worst a rapist" (p. 227). Building curricular exercises that have students practice saying no and at the same time learning to accept when their partners say no, will provide CHamoru youth with the means to begin crafting healthier intimate relationships.

One way to introduce skill development into sex education is through the language of place. As discussed in the Introduction, no pieces of history written from the perspective of the CHamoru ancestors exist. However, place and language are mediums where they share their worldview. Advocate for place-based education, David Gruenewald (2003) in his article, "Foundations of Place: A Multidisciplinary Framework for Place-conscious Education," states

that, “places teach us about how the world works and how our lives fit into spaces we occupy” (p. 621).

With the names of Guåhan’s villages, students learn how brother and sister gods, Puntan and Fu’una used their bodies to create the islands and the CHamoru people. Villages in Guåhan pay tribute to the CHamoru origin story with places such as, Tiyan (stomach), Barrigada (side flank), Mongmong (heartbeat), and Hågat (blood). One of the most significant examples is Guåhan’s capital village of Hagåtña because its name tells of the matrilineal system CHamorus governed themselves around prior to European intrusion. With *håga’* meaning blood and *håga* meaning daughter, with a mere glottal stop to differentiate the two words, we can understand that CHamorus believed that their genealogical lines ran through CHamoru women—their daughters (Marsh, 2018). By highlighting the significance of these place names, students can question why Guåhan has such high rates of sexual violence against women? How do we treat women today and why is violence so negatively skewed towards them?

Additionally, by reconnecting students to Guåhan itself, we can bring in sexual health conversations around gender power relations and intimate relationship development. In activities, students can critically analyze Guåhan’s origin story by critiquing how Puntan and Fu’una treat one another. Were they both prominent figures in the story? How did they communicate with one another? What did their relationship look like? In a larger group, the students’ answers can guide conversations about what constitutes healthy or unhealthy relationship behaviors. How should people in intimate and non-intimate relationships act towards each other? How should they communicate? Are those common practices in intimate or non-intimate relationships?

Along with place, one's lived reality can be the foundation that we shape sexual health conversations around. Prominent curriculum scholar Ted Aoki (1993), in his article "Legitimizing Lived Curriculum: Towards a Curricular Landscape of Multiplicity," argues that often by implementing the standard curriculum, otherwise known as the curriculum-as-plan, students are merged into it and consumed by it, instead of being the driving force that influences its production. Within the realm of the curriculum-as-plan, "their [the students] uniqueness disappears into the shadow when they are spoken of in the prosaically abstract language of the external curriculum planners who are, in a sense, condemned to plan for faceless people" (p. 258). What happens in a classroom, can shape the way that our students learn and how they choose to approach their lived realities. By being more aware of this relationship, we can be more cognizant of how we frame educational narratives by analyzing whose knowledges we choose to privilege. This point is truly significant because even in Guåhan's historical record, the representations of sexuality and intimacy are foreign constructions. Underwood (2019) explains that, "CHamorus had more that worldview that people are just born that way, and then the role of society is to curb it as necessary, if it is actually disruptive or destructive." CHamorus really did not interfere with individual sexual preferences and behaviors. Even in the existing record, only taboo behaviors such as child molestation and interclan relations were regulated and punished.

With each colonial era, CHamoru frameworks were replaced with Catholic and then American frameworks. This dissonance severed native students from their cultural frameworks by distorting their lived realities and changing the way educational narratives are shaped. Kaomea (2014) poignantly argues that schooling is one of these disruptive forces, in that it was historically used as an assimilation tool. Once again, schools were wielded as a weapon that

would more quickly integrate the colonized people into the dominant culture at the expense of their own. Education centered around decolonial frames can shield students from the damaging effects of Western education. Curriculum professor William Watkins (2004) argues that, “education is the enemy of ignorance and autocracy. Uneducated people cannot understand or participate in the governance of their own lives…Education opens up the world of our mind” (p. 189).

By introducing a CHamoru sexual philosophy, sex education curriculum can bridge these reproductive health gaps and potentially reduce existing health disparities in Guåhan. Curricula that is driven and rooted in the cultural frames of the students can reconnect and reintroduce them to their ancestral worldviews. Once students understand how society labels sexual deviance, they can use their indigenous knowledge to expand the discourse. Students should have a solid foundation that will allow them to examine and analyze the world with their native lens. By gaining access to their indigenous counterstories, students can slowly untangle some of the colonial chains that render them as the faceless children of the curriculum-as-plan. These cultural frameworks carry within them rich archives that explain the world from an entirely different perspective. Native American scholar Karina Walters (2007) expressly noted the differences between Eurocentric and indigenous sexuality in which she defined indigenous sexuality as “unlike Western constructions of identity, indigenous identity/identities are not static, but rather, they are living entities that are fluid, transformative, collective, deeply personal and at times, intentionally ambiguous” (p.11). Walters’ definition highlights the conflict that educators often face as they try to promote sexual ideals to their native students using ill-fitting Western frameworks.

In addition to seeing the world through an indigenous lens, decolonial sex education also needs to give students the opportunity to create sexual frames that work better for them. With these curricular activities, students should be allowed to unpack our socially defined gender and sexual categories, so they can (mis)understand the origins of its construction. By applying Derrida's theory of deconstruction, students can examine how existing sexual and gender binaries seek to create polarized identities so that certain individuals can be excluded and marginalized. Was the "other" constructed so that we could translate and understand the privileged "original?" Derrida conceptualizes that "translation is not the transmission or reproduction of an original meaning that preceded it, because the originality of the original only comes after it has been translated" (Biesta, 2001, p. 37). Educational philosopher Gert Biesta in his article, "Preparing for the 'incalculable': Deconstruction, Justice, and the Question of Education," explains that professor of comparative literature Rodolphe Gasché further interprets this theory with "translation then, might best be understood as a response, to the singularity of the text" (see Biesta, 2001, p. 37).

For example, having students deconstruct the creation of the hetero-homo binary will expose the fluidity of sexual consciousness. In 1930s America, prior to the understanding of the hetero-homo binary, men who enjoyed having intimate relationships with other men were free to move in and out of sexual identities along the spectrum. The looser sexual boundaries gave men the freedom to engage in sex with men without having to call their sexuality and masculinity into question. These men did not have to label themselves gay if they were the ones penetrating their partners during sexual acts (Chauncey, 1994). Using Derrida's translation, the category homosexual was constructed as a response to the emerging need for sexual distinctions as

heterosexual middle-class men felt that their status was under threat. Society's inability to correctly classify sexual identities because of intersecting and blurred sexual behaviors, forced the construction of the hetero-homosexual binary (Chauncey, 1994). Students can then ask themselves if identities and labels are socially constructed, can we just as easily deconstruct or repurpose their meanings?

Adjusting to a New Lens

However, to transform colonial narratives, it is not merely enough that we simply place native voices back into sex education. As I proposed in the examples above, sex education curricula need to be centered around native frameworks, and they should also incorporate dialogue and classroom activities that allow students to critique and reimagine mainstream views. Curriculum must allow students to see the fatal effects of colonization while exposing them to rich indigenous narratives of resistance (Kaomea, 2000, p. 341). If students are unable to critically analyze existing sexual narratives, then they are doomed to stay submerged in their colonial realities. Wa Thiong'o (1986) illustrates the effects of educational colonialism with a term he calls the *colonial child*. He explains that children are socialized into their world through educational processes that illustrate that the "physical violence of the battlefield was followed by the psychological violence of the classroom" (Wa Thiong'o, 1986, p. 9) If a child is taught to look at life through a foreign worldview, then the dominant epistemology can further embed itself into the child's mind and by doing so, it will uproot any existing knowledge frameworks. This shift can take years to reverse, if at all. However, no matter how slow the process is, as was illustrated in the previous chapters, Freire (1993) argues that it is only through critical reflection

that we prompt our students into action. He writes that "a critical analysis of reality may, however, reveal that a particular form of action is impossible or inappropriate *at the present time*. Those who through reflection perceive the infeasibility or inappropriateness of one or another form of action cannot thereby be accused of inaction" (Freire, 1993, p. 128).

Therefore, sexual health must be framed in a way that gives students the opportunities to analyze beyond perceived sexual "truths." As discussed throughout this study, existing historical documents have completely left out traces of individuals they identified as perverse. Therefore, it is unsurprising that those considered sexually deviant go unmentioned since during the Naval administration of Guåhan, "the penal codes of Guam likewise criminalized homosexuality as 'crimes against nature,' 'sexual perversion,' and 'sodomy' (Camacho, 2015, p. 146). Despite the interruption of World War II and the subsequent Japanese Occupation of Guåhan, the later established Government of Guam kept these laws on the books. The deliberate replacement and annihilation of these sexual narratives contribute to their erasure from the mainstream text. Could the threat of native sexuality be why colonial powers felt it imperative to stamp it out and replace these practices altogether?

I throw out this question because sex education for CHamoru youth does not mean simply reinserting the Guma' Ulitao model or reinstating matrilineal practices. Sex education, especially one that is culturally-based, should allow youth to experience a sexual freedom. Discourses in sex education should teach youth not only that sex is socially constructed, but by acknowledging its constructive properties they should be comfortable in the ambiguities of sexual and gender identities. Schools play a vital role in reshaping discourse since for centuries they have been used as assimilation tools meant to transform students into blank slates devoid of

any sexual imagination. Smith (2012) reiterates the roles of schools in indigenous communities since their introduction writing that "hierarchies of knowledge and theories which had rapidly developed to account for the discoveries of the new world were legitimated at the centre. Schools simply reproduced domesticated versions of that knowledge for uncritical consumption" (p. 68). Expanding upon Smith's critique of schools, Kaomea (2000) concludes that the educational structure itself becomes problematic because the policies that govern educational content, especially ones that appear to promote indigenous knowledge, are "often interest bound and historically situated, leading students to an uncritical acceptance of dominant discourses and histories" (p. 322).

These patterns of reiteration are common in the American sex education classroom. Many discussions reflect a more restrictive Western epistemology, especially regarding sexual orientation and gender identity. Teich (2012) writes that within the mainstream sexual canon "the gender binary system is rigid and restrictive for many people who feel that their natal sex (the sex they were labeled with at birth) does not match up with their gender or that their gender is fluid and not fixed. The gender binary exists for easy categorization and labeling purposes" (p. 5). The existance of such binaries make it easier for others to label and identify the sexually deivant. However, a sex education curriculum rooted in indigenous epistemology can highlight just how limiting these dominating polarizations are. Therefore, it becomes essential that curricula acknowledge these limitations because as expressed by noted sexuality scholar Milton Diamond, "biology loves variation. Biology loves difference. Society hates it" (see Teich, 2012, p. 72).

Contrasting the mainstream sexual canon and mirroring Diamond's interpretation of sexuality, students may find that native sexual concepts personify the more functional aspects of queerness. Seidman (2010) interviewed individuals who identified as queer and felt that the label was useful for capturing the ambiguity of gender and sexual orientations. One interviewee named Marina shared that with the queer label, especially *genderqueer*, she "not only avoided choosing a sexual identity, she also 'thrived' on other people's inability to define or determine her sexuality" (p. 101). With the flexibility of queerness, Seidman (2010) asks readers to look at the power of *genderqueer*, claiming that individuals are starting to classify themselves according to this label because it is a "position whose coherence is based exclusively on rejecting normative understandings…it can also mean that the person feels he or she can express different aspects of gender at different times or can live outside of a conventional binary gender order" (p. 97). Like the deliberate ambiguity of the indigenous third gender, Orenstein (2016) argues that in the sexual health discourse, *genderqueer*, serves the purpose of toppling "notions of femaleness and maleness, masculinity and femininity, changing them from a biological inevitability into a customizable, ever-changing buffet of identities, expressions, and preferences" (p. 162).

INDIGENOUS COMPLEMENTARITY MOVES BEYOND QUEER THEORY

To understand the significance of queerness, one needs to apply the principles of gender performativity. What constitutes performing gender well? How does one pass their "gender exam" with flying colors? How are the parameters around gender decided and who enforces these unspoken rules? Anthropologist Eric Plemons (2017) in his book, *The Look of a Woman*, historicizes trans-medicine and its evolution towards female feminization surgery (FFS) for

transwomen. Since its institutionalization in the 1960s, trans-medicine has focused mainly on genitals and hormones. Plemons (2017) argues that medicine is moving beyond traditional definitions of sex to encompass the whole person. He writes, "now sex is spread across the entire body—with interventions in chests and breasts, bones, hair, voice and comportment all made available for purchase—and ever more crucially located outside the body, in spaces of ongoing social interaction and recognition" (Plemons, 2017, p. 1-2). Mirroring Butler's ideas of gender performativity, FFS allows transwomen to feel like women in ways that gender reaffirmation surgery could not. By reshaping their faces to have more feminine features, it increased the likelihood that others would acknowledge them as female. These small acts of recognition make all the difference, in interviews with patients and surgeons, they revealed that "to be a woman…was to be recognized and treated as a woman in the course of everyday life" (Plemons, 2017, p. 2).

Despite the transformations that FFS has allowed and the barriers it has broken, sex education needs to allow students to move beyond the binary itself. CHamoru rooted sex education should be one that weaves together all these seemingly conflicting theories: indigenous feminism, poststructuralism, and postcolonialism. A way to merge these schools of thought can be done by integrating them into one foundation, indigenous gender complementarity. In the previous chapters, I tackled how to incorporate the tools given by indigenous feminism, poststructuralism, and postcolonialism. However, this study would be doing a disservice if it did not address queer theory to frame indigenous gender complementarity, since many sexuality scholars rely on queer theory to critically dissect societal struggles about gender and sexual orientation.

Queer theory questions the constructed norms that define gender and sexual orientation, but I argue that it is not enough because like poststructuralism its main goal was to question existing narratives, not necessary to create new ideologies. Queer theorists seek to challenge the formation of these gender and sexual orientation binaries by emphasizing the limitations of a world that privileges cisgender heteronormativity (Wilchins, 2014). In a speech given by poststructuralist Jacques Derrida in 1965, he connected the foundation of queer theory and poststructuralism by illustrating the power that language has over gender and sexuality. Derrida focused on the exclusionary effect that language can have when he said, "everyday language is not innocent or neutral…language favors the same, and what is unique, unrepeatable, and private tends to go unnamed" (see Wilchins, 2014, p. 39-40). The goal of queer theory is to "remove our bodies and sexualities from a network of normalizing social controls and to create a culture friendly to sexual variation" (Seidman, 2010, p. 73). By allowing room for variation, queer theory argues that existing divisions of gender and sexuality create socially constructed categories that encourage baseless, unequal relationships amongst them. The identities are created as mechanisms of policing because they reprimand those who do not follow cisgender heteronormative guidelines. Seidman (2010) continues this explanation of queer theory by emphasizing that at its core, queer theory is meant to question "the very idea of a normal gender and sexual identity" and to instead promote "a social order that valued the blurring of boundaries, hybrid selves, and minimal regulation of personal and intimate behavior among consenting adults" (p. 86).

For sex education, the concept of gender complementarity takes the ideals of queer theory and builds upon its foundation. By deemphasizing the power of gender and the use of binaries,

gender complementarity assists students in shifting their ways of thinking. Sneider (2015) explains that,

> complementarity summarizes concepts of responsibility and relationship in the maintenance of social or communal balance and comprises the overarching ideology behind actions or performances reflecting responsible, reciprocal, and respectful relationships… Complementarity does not enforce strict binaries but, rather, recognizes specifically delineated gender based communal responsibilities; as long as individuals contribute to the community, their sex in relation to or as classified by their gender is ultimately irrelevant. (p. 63-64)

Queer theory questions the idea of "normal" and indigenous sexual ideologies show that communities have acted outside the realm of "normal sexual behaviors" for centuries. Marrying the ideas of gender complementarity with the critiques of queer theory is one way to have students question the universality of sexual truths. As illustrated throughout this dissertation, the archive of indigenous knowledge is rich with counterstories that can expand sexual discourse to places that poststructuralists only dream Western thought could go.

Native American scholar Lisa Mary Souza articulates complementarity as the "contribution of both male and female as necessary to create the whole, and, thus, accorded both men and women important relationships and responsibilities in the household and the community" (see Sneider, 2015, p. 63). Gender was not hierarchical, nor did it limit peoples in what they could do in societies. It was not used as an oppressive tool. Instead, individuals were only expected to fulfill their societal roles; gender was a non-issue (Sneider, 2015). Using this example, curricular material can encourage students to think past perceived gender norms by

exposing them to narratives that directly challenge them. CHamoru counternarratives can provide concrete models that students can use to critically analyze the harmful effects of gender policing.

For instance, prior to colonization, CHamorus did not place nearly as much importance on gender as Western sexual thought. Like other Pacific communities, CHamorus instead felt that it was important to govern society around the principles of complementarity, in which one's position and roles were determined by their genealogy because there was limited focus on one's sexuality (Marsh, 2018). Amongst CHamorus, gender was not heavily policed, allowing for people to switch between what would be labeled today as feminine and masculine behaviors. For example, in sex education it is important to stress that in the CHamoru language, the pronouns for he/she/it are combined into one term, *gui'*. Gendered language did not settle onto the CHamoru tongue until the introduction of Spanish loan words.

Contemporarily, Fino' CHamoru has a partial gender system that really applies to Spanish loan words. Underwood (2018) shared that, "the gender system is an adoption of the Spanish system that does not exist in English. It does not apply to all borrowed words, and that may be indicative of when the word was introduced into Fino' CHamoru. We can look at chiba-goat, a male goat is not chibu, which may mean that the word was introduced later" (personal communication, 2018). Emphasizing language in this way, is critical for illustrating the colonial violence that has shaped and transformed the way that we draw from our indigenous archives.

Even with these examples, Natividad (2018) articulates that there is still work to do, but sex education can be the first step to shifting seemingly innate beliefs about gender and sexuality. During a sex education curriculum training, Natividad (2018) shared with participants

that an elder from Vanautu told her, "we women are strong, but we cannot leave our men behind in the canoe." Natividad (2018) then went on to further explain that in regard to gender complementarity,

> we (women) should be patient with our men. Our women tend to be stable, so we must be patient with them as we work towards gender complementary. With historical shifts from the matrilineal society to now the patriarchy, we should give them time to process this gender confusion and role confusion.

Though CHamorus have used gender complementarity as a societal, organizational tool for thousands of years, waves of colonization have drastically altered these systems, so it will take time. We must be patient in trying to unravel these complex colonial ties, and sex education can be the tool that guides this untangling.

MAILA YA TA LI'E' I ASUKÅT-MU

Ideal sex education curricula should also address one topic of sexual health that most sex education curricula do not address, pleasure. In September 2017, Natividad and De la Cruz hosted a four-day long training for *Navigating*. Educators and healthcare practitioners throughout Guåhan gathered to learn how to conduct *Navigating* with their clients and how to train others to facilitate the curriculum for themselves. During one of the activities, each participant was asked to anonymously submit a sexual health question so that the facilitators could answer it with the larger group. Once all the questions were submitted, an interesting theme began to emerge. Of the fourteen questions given, eight of them were pleasure oriented. Despite being sex educators and health practitioners themselves, the trainees submitted questions like, "Did I do something

wrong if I do not orgasm?," "What does it mean when a straight man likes anal stimulation?," "Can one orgasm without being touched?," and "Which gender feels more excited about sex?" It seems that we forgot something; sex education is not just about understanding physiological processes and the dynamics of the relationships surrounding the act. In creating sex education, we must not forget to show students that sex should be a positive thing that they need to be prepared for.

When thinking about sex positive and pleasure inclusive discussions, a behavioral health practitioner shared that ideally sex education should be offered to students even before high school. He explained that, "sexuality is at all phases of life" so, curricula should incorporate "learning about yourself and how you can relate to others regarding sexuality" (personal communication, 2018). For those who are hesitant to talk to children about sex, he continues that "there are age appropriate… or information that we can give to our students at a younger age. Not to frame sex as a bad thing, or as private thing, but as part of growing up. This is part of our health, it's very much a health oriented kind of issue" (personal communication, 2018).

Though this suggestion may seem unimaginable, there are a few countries that require sex education for early elementary. For example, Luker (2006) explains that Sweden which is considered "the gold standard" uses a comprehensive sex education model that "begins in kindergarten and continues cumulatively throughout a student's entire school career. It is detailed, open, and by American standards remarkably frank" (p. 207). In the Swedish classroom, there were distinct differences. Luker (2006) explains that throughout her career as an American sexuality scholar she realized that in sex education debates not once did she hear "teachers, students, or parents, mention either sexual desire or sexual pleasure, except in the most

circumspect of terms" (p. 208). This discussion mirrored the very questions that participants in Drs. Natividad and De la Cruz's sex education training submitted. Even Guåhan's health and education professionals were searching for answers about pleasure and what that looked like in an intimate and sexual relationship. Therefore, we should bring these discussions into the sexual health classrooms. Why are we hesitant to have these discussions at all?

Underwood (2019) shared that another critical aspect of sex education, especially regarding communication, is intimacy. Sex education needs to give students a platform to develop better communication and negotiation skills. He explained that in CHamoru there are different ways to speak to someone, especially if you were trying to flatter them. He shared that intimate speech has drastically shifted,

> nobody is courting anybody in CHamoru. Nobody is trying to cozy up in CHamoru. And so, what happens is that that's another level of creative language, which is gone. It's like so, what are the models that people have for demonstrating that they're going to engage in intimate speech now? (R. Underwood, personal communication, July 17, 2019)

Continuing the conversation, Underwood recalls moments where he would see couples using Fino' CHamoru in their relationships.

> Like my sister, she passed away, Carmen was telling me that when she was a teenager, in the mid 1940s, right after the war. There would be young men who would write letters to her in CHamoru, professing their love. So, there was some of that. Yeah, but not a lot. But there were some guys trying to do that. So that, sex is about intimacy… Those kinds of registers for CHamoru are absent. And maybe this project can reintroduce them. But that's the lay of the land. (R. Underwood, personal communication, July 17, 2019)

The reintroduction of these forms of speech can serve as a mechanism for bringing back these views of sex and intimacy. Prior to colonization, CHamorus were open and candid about sexuality; sex education curricula in Guåhan should be the same way.

To illustrate his point, Underwood (2019) suggested that when being intimate CHamorus could use lines like, *"Maila ya ta li'e' i asukåt-mu*." In Fino' CHamoru, the phrase literally translates to "Come, let us go and see your sugar," which does not make much sense especially in the bedroom. However, as shown in the Kantan Chamorrita, CHamorus love to flirt and play coy with each other using metaphors and innuendo. Telling your partner, "*Maila ya ta li'e' i asukåt-mu"*, could instead imply, "Let us go to the bedroom so I can see how sweet you are."

CONCLUSION

> *One of my favorite stories a student collected deals with a young woman and a young man who made her heart flutter. She told no one in her family, but her mother could tell by the way she was acting. Her mother teased her, chiding her that she was in love. Shyly she admitted it to be true and told her mother the boy's name and family.*
>
> *The mother pounced and angrily warned her daughter that under no circumstances was she to kiss the boy. Kissing leads to babies! She made her promise not to kiss him. The daughter agreed.*
>
> *Several months later, the daughter was pregnant and the mother angrily scolded her: "You broke your promise! I told you not to kiss Jose!" The daughter protested, "Nåna, gi*

me'nan Yu'us! Ti umachiku ham yan si Jose!" She swore that she had kept her word and never kissed Jose—but that didn't exclude other types of interactions (Bevacqua, 2019).

Sex education curriculum for CHamoru youth should be used to undo the effects of what Freire (1993) calls cultural invasion. Freire theorized that dominant, colonial ideologies were used to suppress and violently prevent the constructive power of the ideologies of the oppressed. By becoming so consumed by their oppressed realities, people would find it nearly impossible to imagine any other alternatives. Considering this "limitation," counternarratives of sex education can act as a lifepreserver to rescue students from the stifling sexual canons of Western thought. Sneider (2015) outlines the importance of counterstories for native groups, by arguing that they, "document the damage done by the imposition of patriarchy" which can then "inform Indigenous communities as they strive to rebuild sovereign nations built on principles of complementarity and balance" (p. 65). By teaching students that sexuality is something that is flexible and capable of changing, sex education can empower them to reconstruct and repurpose sexuality in ways that are unrestricting and inclusive.

Foreign interference meant that narratives of purity replaced the native ideologies that celebrated sex for its fluidity and flexibility. Freire (1993) argues that the oppressed live in a "culture of silence" where instead of "being encouraged and equipped to know and respond to the concrete realities of their world, they were kept 'submerged' in a situation in which such critical awareness and response were practically impossible" (p. 30). To pull students out of the stifling, limiting sexual realities they are submerged in, they must learn how to critically analyze their world through a poststructural, queer lens. However, to avoid reinforcing the very colonization they are working against, such analyses should also incorporate their experiences as

oppressed peoples by delving into the depths of postcolonial and indigenous feminist theories. The theoretical toolboox of this study requires diverse theories that reach across multiple disciplines.

As discussed above, this study considered that the process to remove the oppressed from their confined identities will not be an easy task. Sex education must build its foundations with indigenous sexual constructs, like gender complementarity. Though I do caution, that sex educators must be patient when doing so by preparing themselves for the sexual learning curves ahead. Instead of simply giving into the skepticisms of poststructuralism and postcolonialism, sex education should encourage students to engage in these seemingly new worldviews. Going back to the phenomenon of *ritual slippage*, even with culture-based sex education, we may find ourselves continually slipping between our modern and our indigenous or real identities. By understanding that shifting ideologies will not be a quick or calm process, sex education and its prioritization of CHamoru knowledge can prevent students from slipping out of their indigenous sexual realities by normalizing its existence. Even with the growing pains ahead, CHamoru-centered sex education in Guåhan is desperately needed.

Though Leah Sneider's research centers around indigenous feminism and its relationship to nation building, I think her analysis provides a roadmap to restructuring sex education for indigenous communities. Sex education needs to be "more inclusive, fluid, and gender balanced as a process of continual negotiation and decolonization focused on the people as a whole. Decolonization is an attempt at reclaiming epistemologies and social structures based in complementarity; decolonization first requires sovereignty" (Sneider, 2015, p. 65). Sex education written for Guåhan's youth should ground itself in CHamoru epistemology and similar practices

that will liberate youth from the closed and limited colonial worldviews that hold the CHamoru sexual imagination hostage. The classroom should be a safe space for students to explore identities and orientations that expand beyond the existing canon, so they can move along sexual spectrums in ways that are healthy and freeing for them.

In closing this dissertation, I would like to end on an optimistic note. As I explained earlier in this study, I wanted to use a *taotaomo'na* methodology which requires that I look to the past to move forward, towards a more inclusive and fluid sexual environment for my island. Many things have changed in Guåhan since I started my research, and I wanted to reflect on those changes, so that we can leave with some hope. When I first pursued my Master of Public Health degree, Guåhan's sexual landscape existed in siloes of non-profit organizations and in the hallways of the Guam Department of Public Health and Social Services. However, years later the landscape has drastically shifted. In Guåhan, same-sex couples can legally marry one another and the island has elected its first pro-choice Governor. We also have our first openly gay member of the Executive branch and a transwoman in the cabinet. Sex and sexuality has forced its way into the open with the retirement of the island's only abortionist and the shocking aftereffects of the Archdiocese sex abuse cases. The sexually marginalized are finding themselves moving closer to the center, and the island is finally confronting the sexual silences that have hovered over it for decades. Concurrently, through grants and with the support of the island's Judical Branch, GDOE spearheaded the inclusion of prevention programs meant to decrease risky sexual behaviors.

The next step needs to be creating and placing sex education rooted in CHamoru epistemology into Guåhan's classrooms. Culture-based sex education can give students the skills

to positively communicate and reimagine a new sexual landscape that they will be prepared to engage in. Curriculum can serve as this mechanism for getting more sex positive, CHamoru-based sexual health information into Guåhan's classrooms. Therefore, GDOE must be the delivery system with its oversight of more than 30,000 of the island's students. The institution does not have the same time and access limitations as Guåhan's public health institution and non-profit health advocacy groups. The can be the coordinating body to help their students not only learn about sexual health, but to refer them to groups for more specialized information (if necessary). GDOE must partner with these entities to eliminate obstacles for healthcare providers, which will allow for a wider distribution of sexual health information.

GLOSSARY

Abstinence-based	Sex education model, sometimes known as abstinence-plus, that teaches about contraception and other protection measures for sex, but emphasizes abstinence as the safest method to protect against unwanted pregnancy and sexually transmitted diseases/infections.
Abstinence-only	Sex education model that discourages sexual activity outside of marriage. Curricular materials do not include information on contraception or other methods to protect against unwanted pregnancy and sexually transmitted diseases/infections.
Cisgender	One whose gender identity is the same as their sex at the time of birth.
Guma' Ulitao	The home of the bachelors (Fino' CHamoru). In pre-colonial CHamoru society, the educational houses where young men, known as the Ulitao, would learn essential skills such as warfare, canoe building, and sex (with the assistance of young woman outside their clans, known as the Ma Ulitao).
Hasso	To think or to remember (Fino' CHamoru)
Heterosexual	One who prefers intimate or sexual relations with a person who identifies as a different gender.
Heteronormative	Way of thinking that establishes heterosexuality as the "normal" sexual orientation.
Homosexual	One who prefers intimate or sexual relations with a person who identifies as the same gender. At times, this term can be viewed negatively.
LGBTQIA	Acronym for sexual orientations and gender identities that fall outside the cisgender and straight societal norms. LGBTQIA translates to Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer, Intersex, and Asexual/Allied.
Matrilineal	Societies in which its members traced their lineage through their mothers. Most resources, especially land, were controlled and passed down to women.
Queer	Overarching, multilayered term for those whose sexual or gender identities do not align with heteronormative or cisgender labels.
Transgender	One whose gender identity is different from their sex at the time of birth.

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