

INFORMATION USE, ATTITUDE FORMATION, AND OPINION EXPRESSION
CONCERNING THE U.S. MILITARY BUILDUP ON GUAM:
THE EFFECTS OF COLONIAL DEBT, PRO-LOCAL STANCES,
AND CONFLICT AVOIDANCE

By

FRANCIS SAPIANDANTE DALISAY

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To the Faculty of Washington State University:

The members of the Committee appointed to examine the dissertation of FRANCIS SAPIANDANTE DALISAY find it satisfactory and recommend that it be accepted.

Alexis S. Tan, Ph.D., Chair

David Demers, Ph.D.

Douglas Blanks Hindman, Ph.D.

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Abstract

by Francis Sapiandante Dalisay, Ph.D.
Washington State University
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Chair: Alexis S. Tan

This dissertation examines information use, attitude formation, and opinion expression concerning the U.S. military buildup on the island of Guam. This buildup involves the relocation of an estimated 8,500 U.S. Marine Corps personnel and 18,000 of their dependents and civilian support from Okinawa, Japan, to Guam.

This dissertation investigates whether attention to information sources (local media, U.S. military officials, and U.S. politicians), perceived trustworthiness of information sources, *colonial debt*, and pro-local stances toward military presence influence attitudes toward the buildup; whether the perception that others' opinions regarding the buildup are congruent with one's own will be associated with willingness to express opinions on the buildup; whether conflict avoidance will negatively predict willingness to express opinions.

Data from a pilot study were collected from a convenience sample ($N = 242$) of Guam residents in August 2008. Final data for this dissertation was collected through a

probability-based mail survey of registered voters on Guam ($N = 319$), administered during the summer of 2009.

Results of the final 2009 mail survey showed that attention to information sources did not predict attitudes; trustworthiness of local media, trustworthiness of U.S. military officials/U.S. mainland politicians, and colonial debt were positively associated with pro-buildup attitudes; trustworthiness of U.S. military officials/U.S. mainland politicians and colonial debt were negatively associated with anti-buildup attitudes; pro-local stances toward military presence on Guam was positively associated with anti-buildup attitudes and negatively associated with pro-buildup attitudes and trustworthiness of U.S. military officials/U.S. mainland politicians; perceived congruence of opinions was positively associated with willingness to express opinions; conflict avoidance was negatively associated with willingness to express opinions. Conflict avoidance interacted with perceived congruence of opinions to predict willingness to express opinions.

This dissertation ended by identifying conclusions, implications, and directions for future research.

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my late father, my mother, and to the island of Guam.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Public opinion polls show that international attitudes toward the U.S. military have been negative (Pew Research Center, 2003, 2004, 2009). Although recent studies in mass communication suggest that information sources such as the media can influence international audiences' attitudes toward Americans (Defleur & Defleur, 2003) and their stereotypes of the American government (Tan, Zhang, Zhang, & Dalisay, 2009), less research has been devoted to investigate predictors of international residents' attitudes toward, and willingness to express opinions about, the U.S. military. The need to conduct such research is underscored by the U.S. military's large international presence, the increasing likelihood that military personnel will come in to close personal contact with residents living overseas, and the potential that overseas individuals' existing predispositions toward the U.S. military might impact their interactions with American military personnel (Allport, 1954).

In this dissertation, a scientific study is conducted to examine factors that lead to attitude formation and opinion expression concerning the U.S. military buildup on Guam. This buildup involves the relocation of 8,500 U.S. Marines and roughly 18,000 military dependents and civilian support from Okinawa, Japan, to Guam.

This dissertation is guided by the following two questions:

- What leads Guam residents to support U.S. military occupation of their island?
- What leads Guam residents to express opinions about the U.S. military's

occupation of their island?

The first portion of this dissertation analyzes the effects of attention to, and perceived trustworthiness of, local media and U.S. military officials and U.S. mainland politicians on Guam residents' attitudes toward the buildup. These analyses draw upon theoretical propositions of the system-maintenance role of the mass media (Tichenor, Donohue, & Olien, 1980), media effects theories such as agenda setting (McCombs & Shaw, 1972), and cognitive processing models (Lang, 2000; Petty & Cacciopo, 1986). The first portion of this dissertation also examines the effects of *colonial debt* (David & Okazaki, 2006) and pro-local stances (Wooden, 1995) on attitudes toward the buildup and perceived trustworthiness of U.S. military officials and U.S. mainland politicians.

The second portion of this dissertation draws upon the propositions of the *spiral of silence* theory (Noelle-Neumann, 1974, 1977) and perspectives on the role of conflict avoidance (Cramer, 2002; Gero, 1985) to investigate whether perceived congruence of opinions toward the buildup (or the perception that others' opinions are congruent with one's own) and the tendency to avoid conflict will be associated with willingness to express opinions.

Importance of Study

The word 'island' may conjure up an image of 'paradise' for many. Although Guam can be considered an island 'paradise,' it is also a community plagued by problems such as substance abuse (Rapadas, Balajadia, & Rubinstein, 2005), chronic disease (Pinhey, 1995; Pinhey, Heathcote, & Craig, 1997; Pinhey, Heatcote, Rarick, 1994), and suicide (Prevention and Early Intervention Advisory Community Empowerment, 2009).

These problems exist partly because not much is known about the factors that lead Guam's residents to learn and speak about the issues they face on their island. This lack of understanding is attributed to the limited scientific research studying communication processes that occur on Guam.

This dissertation seeks to bridge these gaps while simultaneously bringing about awareness of an important issue facing Guam's residents. The findings of this dissertation could serve as blueprints for researchers to develop more sophisticated theoretical models that can be used to explain factors that lead Pacific Island residents to learn about, and express concerns pertaining to, the political and health-related issues they face in their communities. These findings would be relevant not only to the residents of Guam, but also to the residents of other American islands such as American Samoa, the Hawaiian Islands, Puerto Rico, and the U.S. Virgin Islands.

Contextualizing the Study: Guam

Guam is an island about 30 miles in length and 12 miles in width, and is located roughly 2,000 miles north of the tip of Australia, 1,500 miles east of the Philippines, and 3,700 miles west of Hawaii. Guam's indigenous residents are known as Chamorros, and ancient Chamorros are said to have originated from Southeast Asia (R.F. Rogers, 1995). The Chamorros of today, however, possess a mixture of indigenous, Spanish, and Filipino ancestry.

According to the last U.S. Census (2000), Guam had a population of more than 154,000 residents. This total was predominantly made up of people who ethnically self-identified themselves as Chamorro (37 %) and Filipino (26.3%). The island is comprised

of 44.6% Pacific Islanders (Chamorros and other Micronesians from islands such as Chuuk and Palau), 32.5 % Asians (Filipinos, Koreans, Japanese, Chinese, and other Asians), 6.8 % Whites, and 1 % African-Americans. The aggregate of the unique ethnicities and races of Guam are collectively known as “Guamanians.”

Guam experienced its first contact with Westerners when Ferdinand Magellan reached the island from Spain on March 6, 1521. The Spanish empire controlled Guam for more than 300 years, until the United States officially annexed the island during the end of the Spanish-American War, by the Treaty of Paris in 1898. In 1901, through what is referred to as the *Insular Cases*, the U.S. Supreme Court granted the Department of the Navy absolute authority on Guam, and the Navy remained in control from 1901 through 1941.

On December 8, 1941, the Japanese invaded the island and abruptly forced the Americans to surrender. The Japanese occupied Guam through World War II. On July 21, 1944, the Americans returned to liberate the island from the Japanese. Guam remained under U.S. Naval rule in the years immediately after WWII.

Guam was granted the status of an unincorporated American territory when President Harry S. Truman signed the *Organic Act of Guam* in 1950. By definition, an unincorporated American territory is “a United States insular area in which the United States Congress has determined that only selected parts of the United States Constitution apply” (U.S. Department of the Interior, Office of Insular Affairs, 2008).

Through the Cold War until the present, Guam has served as a hub for the U.S. Air Force and Navy, which occupy fairly expansive bases and installations in the north

and south ends of the island, respectively. Guam is today economically sustained by funds provided to it by the U.S. federal government and by a tourism industry that annually brings in more than 1 million tourists to the island who arrive mostly from east-Asian countries such as Japan.

Because of Guam's political status, its residents are not accorded various privileges shared by mainland Americans. The island's people, for example, cannot cast a vote for U.S. president, nor can a local leader represent them in the U.S. Senate. Although some of Guam's residents have pushed for self-determination and decolonization (e.g., Crisostomo, 2007), others have advocated continued American presence on their island (e.g., Murphy, 1999).

Furthermore, research suggests that U.S. policy has played a role in negatively impacting the islands of Micronesia—the island chain of which Guam is a part (e.g., Alcalay, 1984; Alexander, 1984; Rubenstein, 1984). On July 1, 1946, the U.S. detonated the first of a series of nuclear bombs in Bikini Atoll, in the Marshall Islands. This series of nuclear tests displaced over 144 people who lived in Bikini Atoll, and irradiated many who were living in the Marshall Islands (Alexander, 1984). In 1947, Micronesia was declared a Trust Territory of the United States. According to Lutz (1984), “U.S. policy in Micronesia has increased dependency rather than creat[ing] conditions for political and economic independence” (p. 3).

The Military Buildup on Guam. In May 2006, an announcement was made by the U.S. Department of Defense that Marine Corps units from the 3rd Expeditionary Force, currently stationed in Okinawa, Japan, would be relocated to Guam. This decision

was reached as a result of mounting pressure from the Okinawan people and the Japanese government to remove the Marines, partly spurred on by offenses committed by Marine servicemen in Okinawa, such as the September 1995 raping and kidnapping of a 12-year-old Okinawan girl. After the Marine Corps relocation was announced in 2006, media discourses on Guam pertained to how the island can economically capitalize upon the Marine Corps buildup (e.g., Limtiaco, 2008, January 30; Murphy, 2008, March 17; *Pacific News Center*, 2008, July 12). Many residents and local politicians embraced the relocation announcement as ‘good news,’ under the assumption that it would bring economic growth to the island, which had otherwise experienced stagnation and a high rate of unemployment during recent years, mainly due to a downturn in the Japanese economy.

However, several questions are begged, such as how would the large influx of non-Natives into Guam impact intergroup relations on the island, and how would the massive relocation of military-related equipment and materials affect Guam’s natural environment? With these matters and the literature reviewed above held in perspective, this dissertation now investigates predictors of Guam residents’ attitudes toward, and willingness to express opinions about, the U.S. military buildup on their island.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

This literature review is organized into three sections. The first section presents literature on attitudes (e.g., Allport, 1935) and opinions (Lippmann, 1922), and outlines how communication serves as the primary vehicle of political socialization (Chaffee, McCleod, Wackman, 1973).

The second section begins with an explanation of the system-maintenance role of local mass media (Tichenor, Donohue, & Olien, 1980) and cognitive processing models (i.e., Lang, 2000; Petty & Cacciopo, 1986). This second section also maps out predictors of attitudes toward the military buildup. These predictors include attention to sources (local media, U.S. military officials, U.S. mainland politicians), trustworthiness of sources, *colonial debt* (David & Okazaki, 2006), and pro-local stances (Wooden, 1995).

The third section of this literature review presents the propositions of the *spiral of silence* theory (Noelle-Neumann, 1974, 1977) and perspectives on the role of conflict avoidance in influencing communication interactions (Cramer, 2002; Gero, 1985). These propositions are applied to investigate whether perceived congruence of opinions toward the buildup (or the perception that others' opinions are congruent with one's own) and the tendency to avoid conflict will be associated with willingness to express opinions. Additional literature is provided to explain that interest, perceived knowledge, and attention to media predict opinion expression.

Attitudes and Opinions

Allport (1935) defined an attitude as “a mental or neural state of readiness,

organized through experience, exerting a directive or dynamic influence upon the individual's response to all objects and situations with which it is realized" (p. 810). Eagly and Chaiken (1993) defined an attitude as "a psychological tendency that is expressed by evaluating a particular entity with some degree of favor or disfavor" (Eagly & Chaiken, p. 1). Similarly, and more recently, Oskamp and Schultz (2005) defined an attitude as a predisposition to respond in a favorable or unfavorable manner with respect to a given attitude object" (p. 9). Attitudes are formed and organized through experience, and comprise of three components, which include the affective (emotional like-dislike component), behavioral (overt behavior attached to our internal attitudes), and cognitive (a storage component, where individuals organize information about an attitude object) (Allport, 1935). Individuals can hold both positive and negative attitudes toward a person, place, object, or issue, and for this reason social psychologists have proposed that individuals hold ambivalent attitudes (e.g., Hass, Katz, Rizzo, Bailey, Moore, 1992; Kaplan, 1972; Preister & Petty, 1996). For instance, Katz and Hass (1988) proposed that White Americans harbor negative and positive attitudes toward African Americans. The present study similarly proposes that Guam residents hold both negative and positive attitudes toward U.S. military occupation of their island. Thus, Guam residents could hold attitudes that are supportive (pro-buildup) and not supportive (anti-buildup) of the U.S. military buildup on their island.

Lippmann (1922) defined public opinions as "pictures" inside the heads of human beings, stating that "the pictures of themselves, of others, of their needs, purposes, and relationship are their public opinions...[t]hose pictures which are acted upon by groups of

people, or by individuals acting in the name of groups is Public Opinion with capital letters” (p. 29). Rokeach (1986) defined an *opinion* as “a verbal expression of some belief, attitude, or value” (p. 125). Noelle-Neumann (1977) similarly referred to public opinion as “controversial opinions that one *is able* to express without becoming isolated” (p. 145). Noelle-Neumann identified three specific types of instruments that can be derived and applied to survey research in general and public opinion research in particular. These instruments include (1) measures of how the individual respondent assesses the climate of opinion and its future development, (2) measures of the willingness to stand up for one’s opinions which show self-confidence—or lack of it—based on a sensitive quasi-statistical sense for the distribution of majority and minority trends, and (3) measures of polarization between partisans of opposing viewpoints, showing the process whereby two camps are formed whose members avoid each other and listen only to members of their own camp.

Communication and Socialization

Communication serves as the primary vehicle through which cultural norms are transmitted (Y.Y. Kim, 1977). The mass media, in particular, serve the roles of politically socializing individuals (Chaffee, Nass, & Yang, 1991; Chaffee, Ward, & Tipton, 1970), constructing their perceptions of ‘reality’ (Elasmar & Hunter, 1993; Gerbner, Gross, Signorielli, & Morgan, 1980), and forming their opinions (Lippmann, 1922).

Agenda Setting. McCombs and Shaw’s (1972) *agenda-setting* hypothesis posits that the mass media outline for people, the most important public affairs issues that they

should think about, and how they should think about them. Agenda setting proposes that the news media's coverage of particular issues shapes the public's agenda regarding those issues. To test this proposition, McCombs and Shaw (1972) analyzed the content of newspaper coverage regarding the American presidential election of 1968 and surveyed registered voters. They found the frequencies of coverage of particular issues were related positively with the emphasis that registered voters placed on the issue.

Subsequent studies have found evidence for agenda setting effects regarding various issues (e.g., Golan & Wanta, 2001; Iyengar & Simon, 1993; Roberts, Wanta, & Dzwo, 2002), such as civil rights (Winter & Eyal, 1981), crime (Gordon & Heath, 1981), and the environment (Ader, 1995). A recent meta-analysis of 90 agenda setting studies conducted by Wanta and Ghanem (2007) supported the agenda setting hypothesis. Wanta and Ghanem's results showed significant differences between studies using exposure versus content as independent variables and longitudinal versus cross-sectional studies. They found that the overall mean correlation among the 90 studies was .53, and significant agenda setting effects were found for studies using a variety of methodologies. Wanta and Ghanem also found that studies examining content as the independent variable produced a mean correlation higher than that of studies examining media exposure as the independent variable. They explained that studies examining content were more successful than studies examining level of exposure because "content gets filtered through even to individuals who do not use the news media much" (Wanta & Ghanem, 2007, p. 46).

Interpersonal Communication. Interpersonal communication also plays an

important role in the political socialization process (Chaffee, McCleod, Wackman, 1973; Lazarsfeld, Berelson, & Gaudet, 1944). Lazarsfeld, Berelson, and Gaudet (1944) and Lazarsfeld and Merton (1971) have emphasized the importance of interpersonal discussion in shaping political dispositions. Lazarsfeld and colleagues presented a two-step flow model, which explains that political information disseminated by the media are first received by opinion leaders (who have a high degree of media exposure), who then pass along the information to their followers via interpersonal channels. Others such as Chaffee and his associates (e.g., Chaffee, McCleod, Wackman, 1973; Chaffee, Ward, & Tipton, 1970) shared a similar view that discussion serves an integral role in the forming of political perceptions.

Chaffee and his associates promoted the view that political socialization is a developmental process, impacted both by mass-mediated messages and interpersonal communication (Chaffee, McLeod, Wackman, 1973; Chaffee, Ward, & Tipton, 1970; Chaffee & Yang, 1990; McDevitt & Chaffee, 2002). From the 1980s through the 1990s, political communication scholars adopted this perspective, and emphasized that parents' communication with their children from childhood through adolescence played a more crucial role in politically socializing children than the mass media alone (Austin & Nelson, 1993; Dennis, 1986; Eveland, McLeod, & Horowitz, 1999). This perspective is still favored among a number of political communication scholars such as Eveland (2004), who recently demonstrated that interpersonal communication regarding political issues was positively associated with political knowledge gain.

The System-Maintenance Role of Mass Media

The mass media reinforce the existing values of the communities they serve, and rally consent for the actions of public officials (Tichenor & Wackman, 1973; see also Bernays, 1947; Lippmann, 1922). Communication scholars from the macrosocial perspective have held that the mass media function to maintain social systems (Hindman, 1996; Tichenor, Donohue, & Olien, 1980) and media serve as agents of *social control* (Demers, 1996; Donohue, Tichenor, & Olien, 1973; Viswanath & Demers, 1999). A local media's attempt to maintain the establishment of the community it serves may be more pronounced when the community experiences a conflict between local and non-local factions (Tichenor, Donohue, & Olien, 1980). In smaller and more homogenous communities, where decision-making is largely based on tradition and consensus, local media may be more likely to 'downplay' conflict with external groups, and withhold information that is perceived to be 'threatening' to their community's day-to-day functioning (e.g., Hindman, 1996; Olien, Donohue, & Tichenor, 1995; Tichenor, Olien, & Donohue, 1976).

Taylor, Lee, and Davie (2000) drew upon the propositions of the system-maintenance function of mass media, and showed that the media of small communities experiencing economic downturns (e.g., high unemployment) tend to welcome new industries that promise to provide hundreds of jobs and millions of dollars to their communities. It is likely that residents of small communities and the media that serve them would favor government and industry sources that welcome new industries, while marginalizing activists and other residents who do not publicly support them. Yet when such industries could potentially harm the community's environment, such as exposing

residents to hazardous waste, “community reaction often divides residents into two groups: those who applaud the windfall of new employment opportunities and those who point ominously at the potential health and safety risks.” (Taylor et al., 2000, p. 175).

Media and the Reinforcement of Pro-American Stances on Guam. Case studies conducted in international contexts suggest that the extent to which a foreign country is politically and economically dependent on the U.S. largely determines the extent to which its mainstream media cover and support American interests (M. Lee, 2005; Luther, 2002; Maslog, S.T. Lee, & Kim, 2006). Although Guam is not a foreign country, given that it is an unincorporated American territory that is politically and economically dependent on the U.S., it is likely that media on Guam would support pro-American interests.

A recent study (Dalisay, 2009a) analyzed news articles, editorials, and opinion pieces printed in Guam’s local newspaper. The items, which were printed between 1994 to 2004, covered the island’s annual celebration of its liberation from imperial Japanese occupation by American forces. This liberation event ended Guam’s involvement in World War II. The study found that a majority of the items reinforced pro-American ideologies. The newspaper (a) expressed gratitude to the American Marines who helped to liberate Guam, (b) reaffirmed Guam residents’ loyalty to the U.S., and (c) portrayed the island as a pluralistic and multi-cultural American community. Reinforcements of pro-local opinions, which pushed for decolonization and independence from U.S. control, were marginalized. The author explained that Guam experienced an economic downturn in recent years, and due to this economic downturn, its local newspaper may have found

it necessary to rally local support for an increase in American military economic presence. Like other businesses on Guam, the local newspaper was economically dependent on the U.S. military's presence on the island. This might have led the newspaper to publish news articles, editorials, and opinion pieces about the American liberation that favored continued American control of Guam and marginalized pro-local demands for self-determination.

Cognitive Processing of Communication Messages

According to Klapper (1960), “[b]y and large, people tend to expose themselves to mass communications which are in accord with their existing attitudes and interests...In the event of their being nevertheless exposed to unsympathetic material, they often seem not to perceive it, or to recast and interpret it to fit their existing, or to forget it more readily than they forget sympathetic material” (p. 19). This phenomenon, referred to as selective exposure, is derived from propositions of Festinger's (1962) theory of cognitive dissonance. A recent study conducted by Iyengar and Hahn (2009) showed support for the selective exposure hypothesis, finding that conservatives and Republicans preferred to read news reported by the Fox News, and avoid news reported by CNN and NPR. The opposite pattern was found among Democrats and liberals, who preferred to read news reported by CNN and NPR, and avoid news reported by Fox News.

Lang (2000) presented the limited capacity model (LCM) of cognitive processing, which proposed that individuals have scarce and limited cognitive resources available for them to process information from the mass media. Many factors affect how thoroughly a

message is processed, or to what extent the information from the message is encoded, stored, and retrieved by an audience member. According to Lang, there are two reasons why messages may not be thoroughly processed: (a) the audience member may choose to allocate fewer cognitive resources to the task than it requires, and (b) the message may require more resources than the audience member has available to allocate for the task.

Petty and Cacciopo's (1986) elaboration likelihood model (ELM) proposes that persuasive messages can be processed through two routes: the central or the peripheral. Psychological predispositions determine which path (central or peripheral) a persuasive message is cognitively processed. And, in turn, the selected path leads to a specific attitudinal and/or behavioral outcome. According to the ELM, when messages are cognitively processed in the peripheral route, with very little effort and motivation, this results in the reinforcement of existing attitudes, leaving very little, if no room for attitudinal and behavioral change. In contrast, when messages are cognitively processed through the central route, with much effort and motivation for elaboration, this results in a careful consideration of the "new" information contained in the message, eventually leading to long-term attitudinal and behavioral change.

A common assumption of the selective exposure hypothesis (Klapper, 1960), the LCM (Lang, 2000), and the ELM (Petty & Cacciopo, 1986) is that individuals' predispositions could influence their use of communication sources, and moderate the attitudinal and behavioral outcomes that result from their exposure to communication messages. These three models stress that socialization occurring during childhood plays a significant role in shaping an adult's political cognitions, attitudes, and behaviors

(Austin, Roberts, & Nass, 1990; Bandura, 2002; Dennis, 1986).

Predictors of Attitudes Toward the Buildup

Attention to Information Sources. Given humans' limited capacity (Lang, 2000), the extent to which a person is influenced by such a communication source largely depends on the extent to which that person pays attention to the source. Some communication scholars have argued against the use of mere *frequency* of exposure measures (e.g., Chafee & Schleuder, 1986; Zukin, 1988), while others support the utilization of more cognitively *attentive* measures of media exposure (Slater, Goodall, & Hayes, 2009; Tan, 1980).

Petty, Priester, and Brinol (2002) proposed that several variables could increase interest in, and ultimately enhance the effect of, mediated messages. Petty et al. explained, “[d]ifferent media sources have an impact on people's ability to think about the message.” (p. 174). Chafee and Schleuder (1986) demonstrated that mere exposure to political news alone was not adequate to explain the resulting effects that news have on individual political cognitions. Rather, attention to political news media appeared “to be a consistent individual difference that accounts for substantial variation in learning beyond the effects of simple exposure” (p. 102). Along these lines, a number of studies have found that newspaper reading, an ‘active’ process that requires a greater expansion of cognitive energy and higher elaboration, is a stronger predictor of the acquisition of political information and the formation of political attitudes, as opposed to watching TV, a ‘passive’ activity that requires less cognitive energy and less elaboration (Chafee and Schleuder, 1986; Chaffee & Yang, 1990; Culbertson and Stempel 1986; Miller & Reese,

1982). Recent studies continue to show that attention to media messages is a major predictor of effects (Cheng & Riffe, 2008; Slater, Goodall, & Hayes, 2009). Besley and Shanahan (2005), for instance, found that attention to TV news, science TV, and entertainment TV was associated with support for agricultural biotechnology.

The extent to which one pays attention to messages disseminated by a politician could be associated with the extent to which one supports that politician's policies. Therefore, in the context of Guam, the extent to which Guam's residents pay attention to the policies of U.S. military officials and U.S. mainland leaders could be associated with support for their policies.

Trustworthiness of Information Sources. The extent to which a communication source is perceived as credible, or source credibility, could also predict the extent to which one is influenced by the source (Hovland, Janis, & Kelley, 1959; Klapper, 1960; Markham, 1968; Slater & Rouner, 1996). One major dimension of source credibility is trustworthiness (Armstrong & Collins, 2009; Kohring & Matthes, 2007). Kohring and Matthes (2007) conceptualized the variable of trust of news media sources along four latent factors, which include (a) trust in the selectivity of topics (trust in the news media's role in making certain topics subjects of public discussion), (b) trust in the selectivity of facts (the contextualization of events relating to the variety, comprehensiveness, and emphasis of the information), (c) trust in the accuracy of depictions (which concerns the empirical verification of factual information), and (d) trust in journalistic assessment (which relates to the comprehensibility, usefulness, and appropriateness of journalistic commentary). The present study focuses primarily on trust in the accuracy of depictions,

and its effects on attitudes.

Trustworthiness of sources and its effects has been studied in the contexts of interpersonal communication (Levine & McCornack, 1991; Rotter, 1967), health communication (Davies & Rundall, 2000), and political communication (Tsfati & Cappella, 2003). The general consensus among studies of source trustworthiness is that the more likely one perceives a source as trustworthy, the more likely that source will be influential. Based on this logic, the extent to which Guam's residents trust U.S. military officials and U.S. mainland leaders could be associated with support for their policies.

Colonial Debt. Ideological stances could also influence political attitudes (Gans, 1980; Rudolph, 2009; van Dijk, 1995), and in the context of Guam, pro-colonial ideological stances could serve to influence attitudes toward U.S. military occupation of the island.

The U.S. liberated Guam from the imperial Japanese occupation of World War II. After this liberation, Guam's indigenous population held pro-American attitudes (e.g., R.F. Rogers, 1995). Souder (1991) argued that the American liberation of Guam resulted in instilling a mentality of reciprocity among the locals, leading Chamorros to feel that they 'owed' the U.S. for its wartime efforts. Perez (2002) stated, "this mentality has not only carried over to contemporary times, but has been further reinforced by contemporary ideological processes of Americanisation and patriotism, whereby U.S. motives have long gone unquestioned" (p. 464).

The American liberation of Guam ushered the island into modern capitalism and consumerism (Perez, 2002). This led to the proliferation of the U.S. mass media and the

establishment of the American education system on Guam on the island. These institutions influenced Chamorros to demand American-made goods, pursue an American ‘way-of-life’ (Underwood, 1987), and replaced their indigenous values (e.g., interdependence, respect for old age, and family obligation) with American norms (Underwood, 1984).

Souder (1991) and Perez’s (2002) ideas, which are summarized above, can be aligned with the results of a recent mental health study conducted by David and Okazaki (2006). This study found evidence that some Filipino-Americans, who originate from a place also colonized by Spain and the United States, hold a certain level of *colonial mentality*. This *mentality* results in the feeling of owing a colonial debt to Spain and the United States for ‘civilizing’ the Philippines with Western standards. Colonial debt refers to the idea that colonized groups become tolerant of the historical and contemporary oppression they have experienced from their colonizers, which results in an acceptance of oppression “as the appropriate cost of civilization” (David & Okazaki, 2006, p. 242).

In an attempt to further extend the ideas reviewed above, this dissertation hypothesizes that colonial debt will be associated both with a greater willingness to support American interests among the residents of Guam, and a greater tendency to perceive that military presence on Guam is ‘beneficial’ to the island. Specifically, colonial debt might lead to greater agreement that the presence of the military on Guam could help stimulate the island’s economy by providing jobs to its residents. A greater level of colonial debt could also be associated with a greater tendency to trust U.S.

military officials and U.S. mainland politicians.

Localism. American Pacific Islanders may be driven by a need to maintain their local, cultural identities in the presence of the penetrating influences of mainland American norms and values on their islands (e.g., Perez, 2002; Souder, 1991). Wooden (1995) argued, for instance, that there is a struggle among Hawaiians to protect their local culture against the influence of U.S. mainland culture. This struggle has conjured up Hawaiians' mixed feelings toward mainland White-Americans, or *haoles*, who reside on Hawaii. Wooden stated, "[t]he mainland haole has come to be perceived—not because of who he is on a personal level, but because of what he represents on a collective level. He is viewed as a threat to the local people's self-determination" (p. 130). Wooden expounded upon these issues by stating:

Mainland culture is viewed as imposing a contemporary value system on Hawaii and changing Hawaii in ways that local people feel they have no control over. Such fears and opposition are expressed increasingly in nationalistic terms with the emphasis being on protecting and maintaining local culture. Thus, localism as an ideology (and, perhaps, as a social movement) is viewed as a symbol and process of self-determination (Wooden, 1995, p. 128).

In the context of Guam, Rogers (1995) described a time during the early 1900s when naval Governor Gilmer imposed a racially motivated statute that forbade the intermarriage between Whites and local Chamorros and Filipinos on the island. This resulted in the angry protests of Chamorros. Anti-American sentiments raged on the island during the 1990s, when protest groups such as the Chamoru Nation, pushed for the

removal of U.S. military personnel from the island and the return of U.S.-possessed lands to locals (Rogers, 1995). These ideas suggest that pro-local stances may lead American Pacific Islanders, particularly Guam residents, to be less supportive of American military interests.

Hypotheses for Attention, Trustworthiness, Colonial Debt, and Attitudes

In summary, the literature reviewed above suggests that communication sources, particularly the media, shape attitudes concerning public affairs issues (Chaffee, Ward, & Tipton, 1970; McCombs & Shaw, 1972). Because humans have a limited capacity to process communication messages, the extent to which a person is influenced by a particular communication source will depend on the extent to which that person pays attention to and trusts the source.

In small and homogenous communities, communication sources may have a tendency to ‘downplay’ conflict with external groups in an effort to maintain social cohesion (Hindman, 1996; Olien, Donohue, & Tichenor, 1995; Tichenor, Olien, & Donohue, 1976). Residents of small communities experiencing economic downturns, and the media that serve them, may favor those who welcome new industries that promise jobs and new revenues, while marginalizing activists and other residents who do not publicly support and/or welcome new industries (Taylor et al., 2000). Given that Guam experienced an economic downturn in recent years, due to a slowdown in its tourism industry, it is likely that media sources on the island would be supportive of new industries that promise to bring in new sources of revenue. Therefore, media on Guam may be more likely to downplay the negative impact of the military buildup (e.g., harm to

Guam's environment, overcrowding), while reporting primarily on the buildup's positive benefits (e.g., increasing jobs, improving Guam's economy). Exposure to such sources could then influence attitudes—that is, attitudes that are either supportive (pro-buildup) or not supportive (anti-buildup) of the buildup. Based on the above literature, the following hypotheses are proposed:

H1a: Attention to local media (newspaper, radio, and television) will positively predict pro-buildup attitudes.

H1b: Attention to local media will negatively predict anti-buildup attitudes.

H2a: Trustworthiness of local media will positively predict pro-buildup attitudes.

H2b: Trustworthiness of local media will negatively predict anti-buildup attitudes.

It is likely that U.S. military officials and U.S. politicians will be supportive of the buildup. Attention to, and trustworthiness of, these sources could be positively associated with pro-buildup attitudes. On the other hand, attention and trustworthiness of these sources may be inversely associated with anti-buildup attitudes. Thus the following hypotheses are proposed.

H3a: Attention to U.S. military officials and U.S. politicians will positively predict pro-buildup attitudes.

H3b: Attention to U.S. military officials and U.S. politicians will negatively predict anti-buildup attitudes.

H4a: Trustworthiness of U.S. military officials and U.S. politicians will positively predict pro-buildup attitudes.

H4b: Trustworthiness of U.S. military officials and U.S. politicians will negatively predict anti-buildup attitudes.

Colonial debt could also be associated with a greater willingness to support American interests, with the attitudinal stance that military presence is beneficial, and that U.S. military officials and U.S. politicians should be trusted. Greater levels of *colonial debt* may therefore be associated with a greater willingness to support the military buildup. To test this association, the following hypotheses are proposed:

H5a: Colonial debt will positively predict pro-buildup attitudes.

H5b: Colonial debt will negatively predict anti-buildup attitudes.

H6: Colonial debt will be positively associated with trustworthiness of U.S. military officials and U.S. politicians.

Yet it is not clear whether greater levels of colonial debt are associated with greater levels of trust toward local media sources. The following research question is thus proposed:

RQ1: What is the relationship between colonial debt and trustworthiness of local media?

In American Pacific Islands, localism (Wooden, 1995) is an ideology that drives islanders to maintain their local, cultural identities in the presence of the penetrating influences of mainland American norms and values on their islands (e.g., Perez, 2002; Souder, 1991). Pro-local stances toward U.S. military presence on Guam could be associated with the attitudinal stance that the military buildup will be harmful to the island and that U.S. military officials and U.S. politicians cannot be trusted. To test these associations, the following hypotheses are proposed:

H7a: Pro-local stances toward military presence will negatively predict pro-buildup attitudes.

H7b: Pro-local stances toward military presence will positively predict anti-buildup attitudes.

H8: Pro-local stances toward military presence will be associated with trustworthiness of U.S. military officials and U.S. politicians.

These hypotheses and research question are modeled in figure 1 below.

Figure 1a: Model for Predictors of Pro-Military Buildup Attitudes

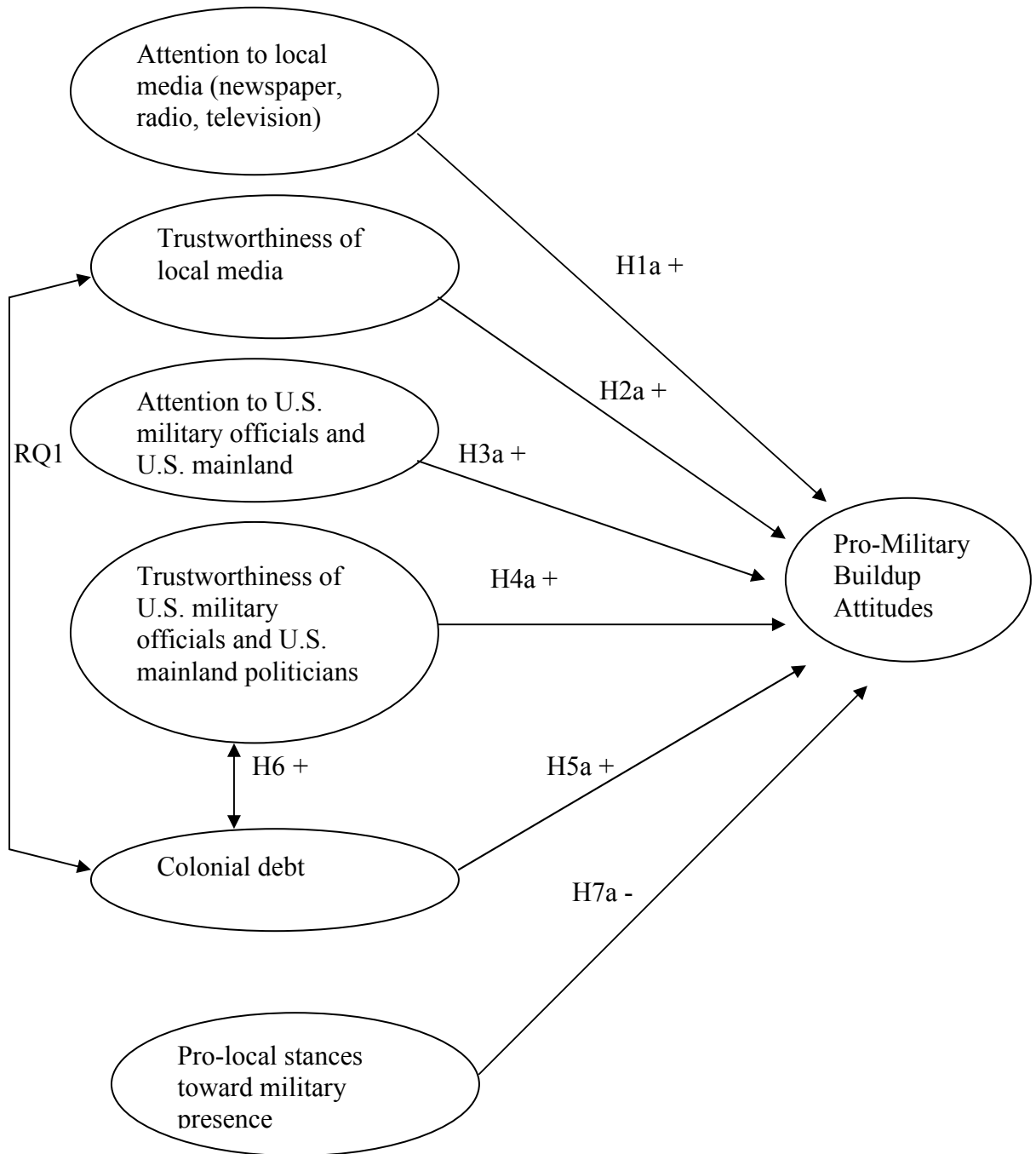
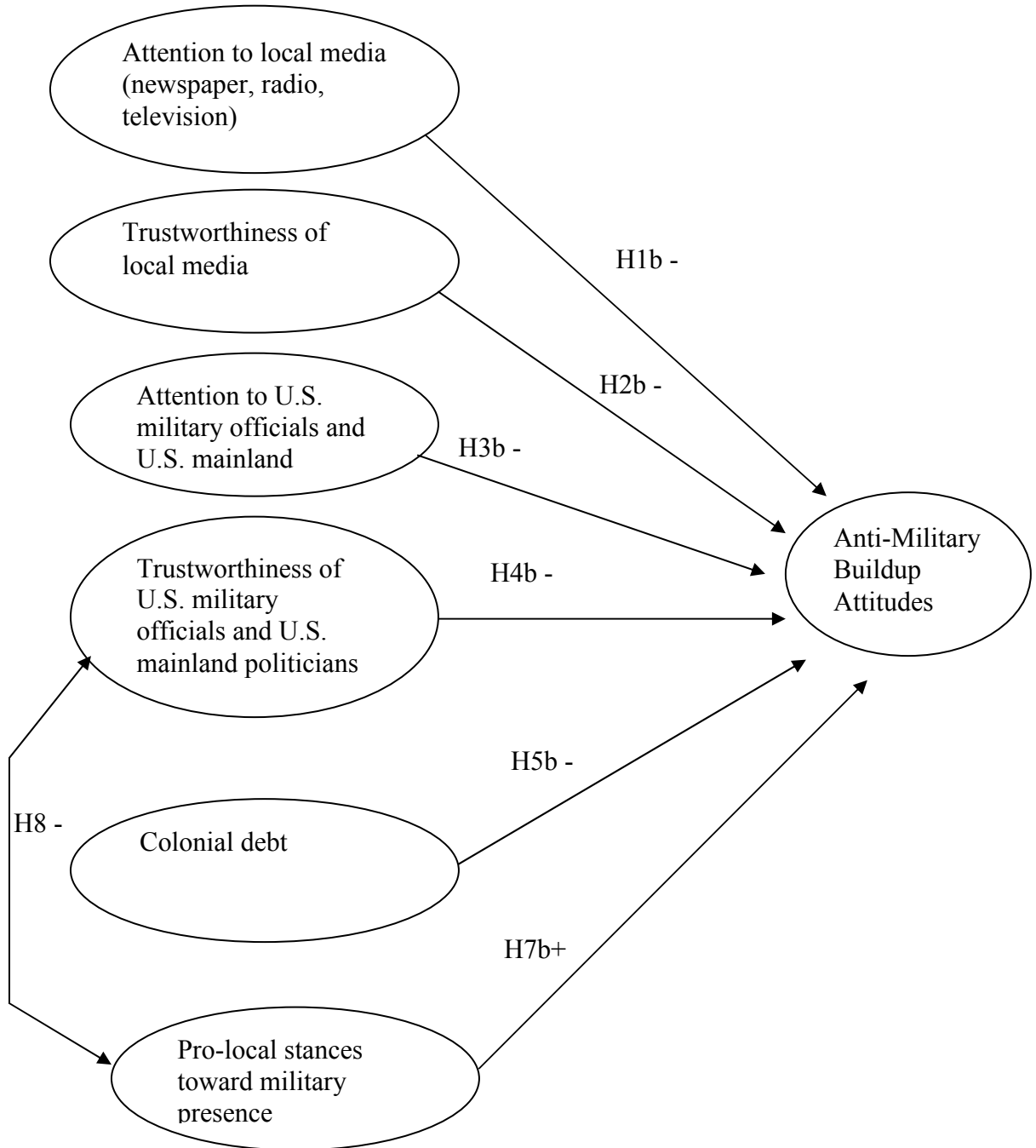


Figure 1a: Model for Predictors of Anti-Military Buildup Attitudes



Opinion Expression

A renewed interest in investigating predictors of opinion expression has emerged in the field of mass communication (Hayes, Glynn, & Shannahan, 2005; Hayes, Scheufele, & Huges, 2006; Scheufele & Moy, 2000; Scheufele, Shanahan, & Lee, 2001; Shanahan, Scheufele, Yang, & Hizi, 2004). A few scholars have recently advocated the need to examine antecedents of opinion expression among individuals living in international contexts (e.g., Huang, 2005; Lee, Detenber, Willnat, Aday, & Grad, 2004). Such scholars have confirmed the findings of previous studies, that political outspokenness can be predicted by one's interest in politics (Lee et al., 2004), knowledge (Shamir, 1997), and one's perception that the majority's opinions are congruent with one's own (Kim, Han, Shanahan, & Berdayes, 2004). The present dissertation draws upon these studies, and proposes that the following variables could be associated with Guam residents' willingness to express opinions about the military buildup: perceived congruence of opinions, interest, perceived knowledge, and attention to media. Conflict avoidance could also be associated with being less willing to express opinions.

Predictors of Willingness to Express Opinions

Opinion Congruence. The *spiral of silence* proposes that individuals attempt not to violate social consensus for fear of being isolated, and as a result, they constantly monitor their social environment to determine the distribution of others' opinions (Noelle-Neumann, 1974, 1977). If individuals perceive their opinions are in the minority, they will choose not to speak those opinions; likewise, if they perceive the majority

supports their opinions, they will choose to speak (Scheufele & Moy, 2000). It is the fear of being ostracized that prevents individuals who hold minority views from expressing them in public (e.g., Lin and Salwen, 1997). According to Scheufele and Moy (2000), the spiral of silence process works only for issues with a value-laden or moral component. Additionally, the mass media are assumed to serve an integral role in forming individuals' perceptions of the climate of opinion (Noelle-Neumann, 1974, 1977). The media influence perceptions of majority opinion, and perceptions of majority opinion influence personal opinions (Gozenbach, King, & Jablonski, 1999).

Several scholars have found empirical support for spiral of silence effects. For example, Gozenbach (1992) conducted an experiment to test the spiral of silence's conformity hypothesis. Gozenbach found that when research participants were exposed to a threat of public scrutiny, and a news report about a controversial/morally loaded issue (i.e., news about George H.W. Bush's involvement in the Iran-Contra affair), the participants were likely to conform to the majority opinion that was congruent with the news report. Gozenbach also found that participants with lower social status were more likely to conform to the majority opinion that was congruent with the news report. In another study, Gozenbach, King, and Jablonski (1999) conducted a survey to examine public opinion surrounding the issue of whether homosexuals should be allowed to serve in the military. Gozenbach et. al found that respondents with low media exposure perceived that the majority did not support the issue. Additionally, perception of the majority's opinion was associated with one's own opinion, and one's own opinion and assessment of future trend were both associated with speaking out.

Lin and Salwen (1997) tested hypotheses derived from the spiral of silence theory within the context of the issue of whether the U.S. should declare English as its official language. Lin and Salwen found that one's likelihood to perceive that the nation favored this issue was related to one's willingness to speak out about the issue. Moreover, one's fear of being ostracized was related to one's unwillingness to speak out. Furthermore, younger respondents were found to be more likely to speak out than older respondents.

Although various studies have found evidence for spiral of silence effects, numerous others have reported null or mixed findings. For example, Salmon and Neuwirth (1990) conducted a study to investigate the influence of several factors (e.g., perceptions of local versus national opinion climates, education level, level of issue-actor knowledge, personal concern, perceived community concern) on willingness to express opinions. Findings of their study revealed that local opinion did not have a greater influence than national opinion on opinion expression. In a more recent study, Shanahan et. al (2004) integrated the propositions of the cultivation and spiral of silence theories to investigate the role of the mass media in influencing perceptions of the social climate surrounding cigarette smoking. They analyzed data acquired from a survey that asked 794 respondents about their media use, smoking behaviors, and attitudes toward smoking. They found that TV exposure predicted estimates of smoking in the real world and smoking itself. They also found that personal support for a smoking ban was positively associated with willingness to speak out, however, findings were not statistically significant in establishing a relationship between the perception of how many people support a smoking ban and willingness to speak out. Yet the authors also revealed that

respondents who thought the majority support the smoking ban were least willing to speak up than other respondents.

Two meta-analyses suggest the link between one's perceptions of others' opinions and one's willingness to speak out is rather weak (Glynn, Hayes, & Shanahan, 1997; Shanahan, Glynn, & Hayes, 2007). The perceived 'shortcomings' of the *spiral of silence* theory have prompted a number of communication scholars to augment its original propositions (e.g., Hayes, Glynn, & Shanahan, 2005; Price, 1990; Scheufele, Shanahan, & Lee, 2001).

Some scholars have advocated the need to extend the scope of the theory to examine communication phenomena occurring in international contexts (Kim, Han, Shanahan, & Berdayes, 2004; Lee et al., 2004). Huang (2005), for instance, proposed that spirals of silence are more likely to occur in Asian-Pacific collectivistic cultures. Specifically, Huang explored the effects of individualism/collectivism and individual motives on opinion expression across two samples of individuals from the U.S. and Taiwan. Huang's study showed that the spiral of silence theory is supported in the collectivistic culture of Taiwan, but not in the individualistic culture of the U.S. In another study, conducted in South Korea, Kim, Han, Shanahan, and Berdayes (2004) found one's personal opinion toward a policy for the reunification of North and South Korea was associated with the perception that the present majority, current majority, and one's reference group supported the policy. Perceived public support for one's own opinion was also related to greater willingness to speak out in public.

Conflict Avoidance. Empirical evidence from interpersonal, small group, and

organizational research suggests that conflict avoidance is associated with an unwillingness to participate in interpersonal and group discussions (e.g., Cramer, 2002; Gero, 1985; Morris, Williams, Leung, Larrick, et al., 1998; Rahim, 1983). Individuals with an avoidant style of managing conflict avoid discussion of the conflict in order to ‘preserve’ personal relationships. Individuals who come from cultures that value conformity and social consensus may have a tendency to approach conflict situations with an avoidant style (e.g., Morris et al., 1998).

Media sociologists have long documented the impact of community conflict on mass communication processes (e.g., Donohue, Tichenor, & Olien, 1973; Tichenor, Donohue, & Olien, 1980). Tichenor, Donohue, and Olien (1980) and Hindman (1996) held that conflict in larger and more heterogeneous communities is regulated through the ‘airing out’ or public expression of differences, while conflict in smaller and more homogenous is downplayed. These perspectives are derived from the ideas of sociologists such as Simmel (see Coser, 1971) and Coser (1966). In larger and more heterogeneous communities, conflict is regulated through *feedback*, or the airing out of differences (Donohue, Tichenor, & Olien, 1973). In smaller and more homogenous communities, conflict is regulated through *distribution control*, or the selective dissemination and withholding of information perceived as ‘threatening’ to the community’s day-to-day functioning (e.g., Hindman, 1996).

Salmon and Oshagan (1990) integrated Tichenor, Donohue, and Olien’s (1980) ideas of the differential effects of community size on the regulation of conflict within a community, together with the propositions of Noelle-Neumann’s *spiral of silence*, to

propose that (a) individuals from larger communities are more likely to express their opinions than will residents of smaller communities, and (b) the magnitude of the relationship between opinion congruity and opinion expression is greater in smaller communities than in large ones. Salmon and Oshagan found no significant main effect of community size on opinion expression, but found that individuals from smaller communities were less likely to express unpopular opinions than individuals of larger, more heterogeneous communities.

At the individual-level, the link between conflict avoidance and an unwillingness to express opinions in public was suggested by Ulbig and Funk (1999). Ulbig and Funk advocated a shift from focusing on motivational-related variables such as interest and efficacy, to examining individual propensities regarding conflict as predictors of political participation. They proposed that individuals who are more likely to avoid conflict would be less willing to engage in political acts that are more likely to involve social conflict. Ulbig and Funk's research showed that conflict avoidance was negatively associated with the likelihood of participating in protests and campaign support, but it was not associated with voting or contracting.

Hayes (2007) recently conducted an experiment to examine the strategies that individuals use to avoid expressing their opinions in a hostile environment. Hayes found that individuals were more likely to engage in opinion expression avoidance when others around them were likely to disagree rather than agree with them. It is not only likely that conflict avoidance could lead to being unwilling to express opinions in public, but also moderate the relationship between perceived opinion congruence and opinion expression.

The more likely one perceives that their opinions are congruent with others' and the less likely they are to avoid conflict, the more likely they will be willing to express opinions. Likewise, the less likely they are to perceive that their opinions are congruent with others' and the more likely they are to avoid conflict, the less likely they are to express opinions. The present study tests these propositions.

Interest, Knowledge, and Attention to Media. Political outspokenness is affected not only by one's perception of the climate of opinion, as explained by the *spiral of silence*, but also by one's interest in politics, attention to political information sources, and knowledge. Specifically, those who are interested in political affairs, pay attention to political news and interpersonal discussion, and are knowledgeable, are also more likely to express opinions. After surveying 624 respondents in Austin, TX, Lasorsa (1991) found that political interest was positively associated with political outspokenness. Kim et. al (2004), in the same study described above, found that South Koreans' interest in the reunification of North and South Korea served as the strongest predictor of willingness to speak out about a policy for reunification. In an earlier study, Salmon and Neuwirth (1990) found that personal concern and perceived community concern predicted opinion expression. Similarly, W. Lee et. al (2004) found that issue salience, or the perceived importance of an issue, positively predicted outspokenness.

Scholars have also established a link between knowledge and outspokenness (Salmon & Neuwirth, 1990; Shamir, 1997). For instance, Salmon and Neuwirth (1990) found that involvement and knowledge directly influences opinion expression. In a study conducted in Israel, Shamir (1997) found that one's knowledge pertaining to an issue

predicted their likelihood of overtly expressing opinions. A recent study conducted by Cho and McLeod (2007) found that political knowledge was associated with electoral and protest participation. These findings can be aligned with the ideas of political scientist, Robert Putnam (2000), who aptly stated, “[p]olitical knowledge and interest in public affairs are critical preconditions for more active involvement. If you don’t know the rules of the game and the players and don’t care about the outcome, you’re unlikely to try playing yourself” (p. 35).

Attention to information sources has also been linked with opinion expression (Lasorsa, 1991). Specifically, people who pay attention to sources of political information are also likely to express opinions. Exposure to political news could stimulate interpersonal discussion (e.g., Becker, McCombs, & McLeod, 1975; E.M. Rogers, 2004), which in turn, could also encourage opinion expression (e.g., F.L.F. Lee, 2007). In a panel study conducted by Shah, Cho, Eveland, and Kwak, (2005), use of media was found to influence interpersonal communication, which, in turn, influenced political participation.

Hypotheses for Predictors of Willingness to Express Opinions

According to the *spiral of silence* theory (Noelle-Neumann, 1974, 1977), the likelihood of speaking out about the buildup could be predicted by the perception that others’ opinions regarding the buildup are congruent with one’s own. Based on these propositions, the following hypotheses are proposed:

H9: The perception that others’ opinions toward the buildup are congruent with one’s own opinion (perceived congruence of opinions) will predict willingness to

express opinions.

Research suggests that conflict avoidance is associated with being less willing to participate in interpersonal and group discussions (e.g., Cramer, 2002; Gero, 1985; Morris, Williams, Leung, Larrick, et al., 1998; Rahim, 1983) and being less willing to participate in politics (Ulbig & Funk, 1999). Hayes (2007) found that individuals were more likely to engage in opinion expression avoidance when others around them were likely to disagree rather than agree with them, suggesting that conflict avoidance could moderate the relationship between perceived congruence of opinions and willingness to express opinions. Based on the existing literature on conflict avoidance and opinion expression, the following hypotheses are proposed:

H10: Conflict avoidance will negatively predict willingness to express opinions.

H11: Conflict avoidance will moderate the effect of perceived congruence of opinions on willingness to express opinions—so that lower levels of conflict avoidance, together with higher levels of perceived congruence of opinions, will lead to greater levels of willingness to express opinions; higher levels of conflict avoidance, together with lower levels of perceived congruence of opinions, will lead to lower levels of willingness to express opinions.

The literature reviewed above also suggests that Guam residents' willingness to express opinions about the military buildup on their island could be predicted by interest (Kim et. al, 2004), attention to information sources (Lasorsa, 1991), and knowledge (Shamir, 1997).

H12: Interest, perceived knowledge, and attention to media will be positively

associated with willingness to express opinions.

Figure 2a: Model for Predictors of Opinion Expression

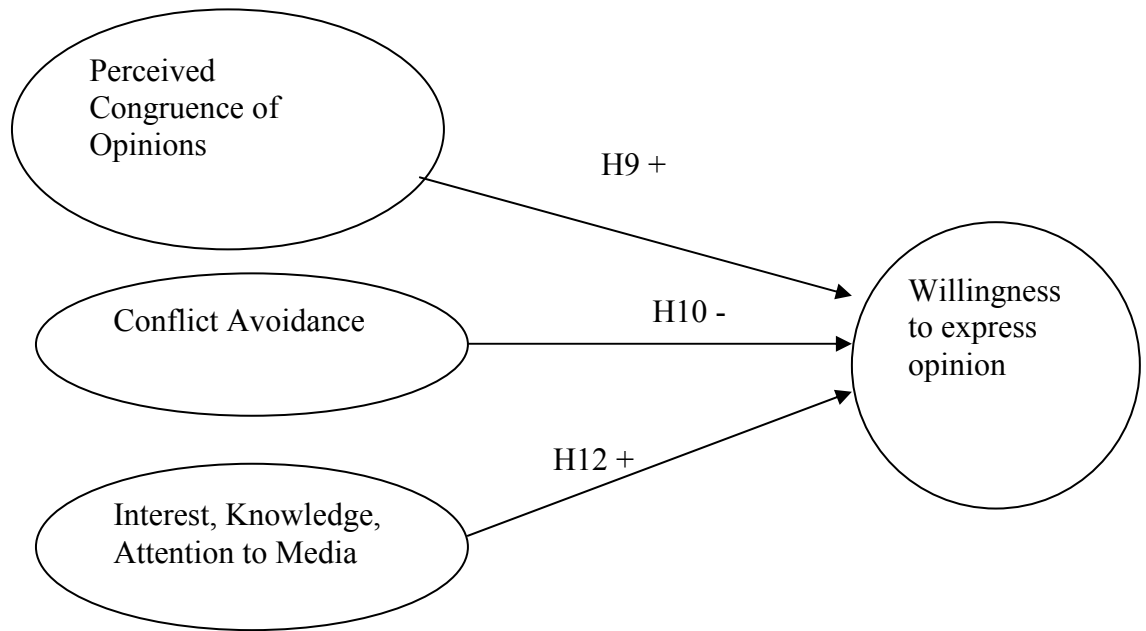
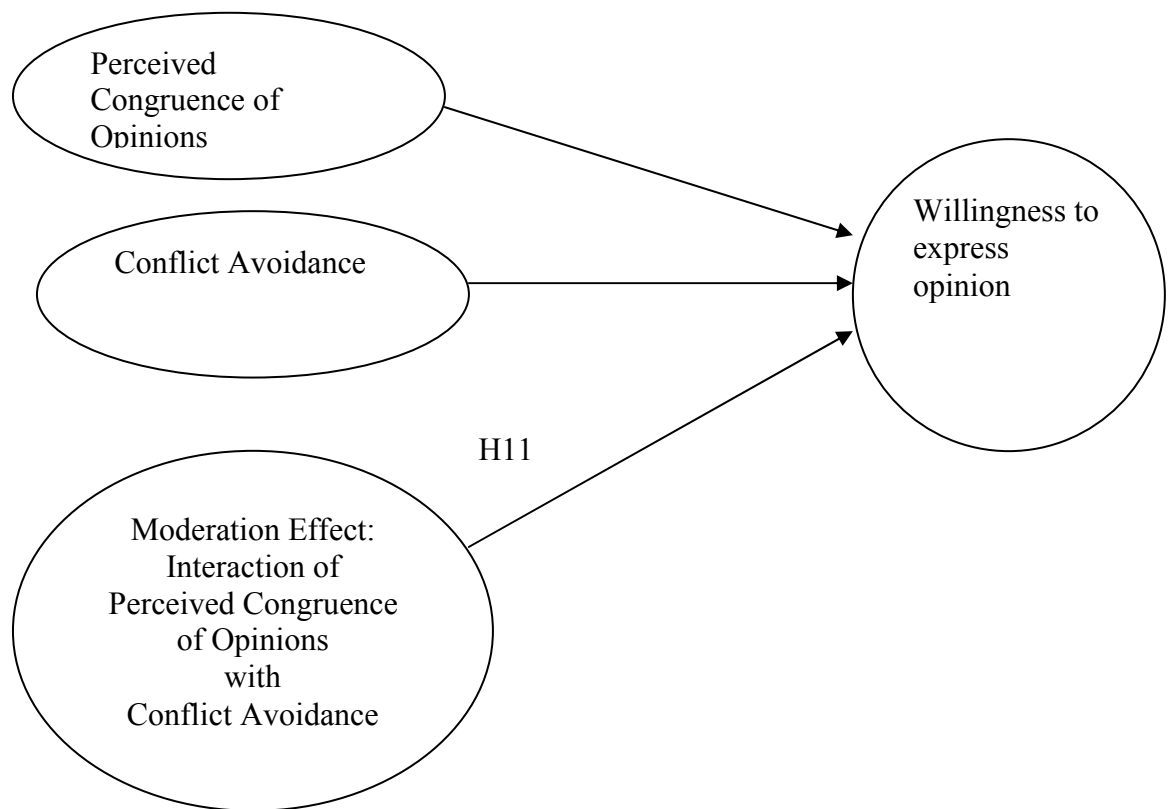


Figure 2b: Conflict Avoidance as a Moderator of Perceived Congruence of Opinions'

Effect on Willingness to Express Opinions



CHAPTER 3

METHOD

Procedure for Final 2009 Mail Survey

The author's host university's Institutional Review Board for human subjects research approved the study in June 2008 (see appendix 1). Data for the final study were collected through a self-administered mail survey of a probability-based sample of registered voters on Guam, administered in summer 2009. Postal addresses of registered voters on Guam were obtained from the Guam Election Commission (GEC) (see appendix 2 for email correspondence from the director of GEC). According to the director of the GEC (personal communication, March 7, 2009), there are more than 52,000 registered voters on Guam. After the postal addresses of registered voters were obtained, systematic random sampling was used to generate a sample of 1,100 respondents. A total of 1,100 surveys were mailed and 173 were returned as undeliverable. A total of 927 surveys comprised of the sampling frame (eligible respondents), and of this total, 319 surveys were returned as either completed or partially completed, and 3 were returned as refusals to complete the survey. Total response rate was 34.4%, as calculated using the American Association for Public Opinion Research's (2009) response rate 1¹.

¹ Response Rate 1, $RR1 = (I + P) / ((I + P) + (R + NC + O) + (UH + UO))$, which is the number of completed questionnaires and partially completed questionnaires divided by the number of completed questionnaires plus partially completed questionnaires, plus the number of refusals and break-offs, plus non-contact, plus

Strategies from Dillman, Smyth, and Christian's (2009) *Tailored Design Method* were adopted to implement this study's final mail survey. Among these strategies is the use of multiple contacts, each with a different look and appeal. Dillman et al. explicated a system of five compatible contacts. Due to budgetary constraints, the present study used only two compatible contacts:

1. A *questionnaire mailing* that included a detailed cover letter explaining why a response was important, the questionnaire, a prepaid postage envelope, and a \$1 token incentive.
2. A *thank you postcard* that was sent a week after the questionnaire. This mailing expressed appreciation for responding and indicated that if the completed questionnaire was not yet mailed it was hoped that it would be returned soon.

Respondents were first sent a survey packet, which included a cover letter describing the purpose of the study (appendix 4), a survey questionnaire (appendix 3), a self-addressed, stamped return envelope, and a \$1 bill as an incentive (see appendix 5). Cover letters were personalized, printed on an institutional letterhead (name of sponsoring university), and the survey packet was sent and enclosed in an envelope displaying the institution's logo using a postage stamp. Mailers and their contents were prepared in accordance to Dillman et. al.'s (2009) *Tailored Design Method* (see appendix

others, plus all cases of unknown eligibility (unknown if housing unit, plus unknown, other) (AAOPR, 2009). In the formula above, I = *completions*, P = *partial completions*, R = *refusals and breakoffs*, NC = *non-contacts*, O = *Others*, UH = *unknown housing unit*, UO = *unknown other*.

5 and appendix 6) [The author sought advice from Dr. Don Dillman, who in the past, has been to Guam and served as a research consultant on the island. The author wishes to thank Dr. Dillman.]. One week later, a thank you postcard was sent to respondents, indicating that if they still have not yet been completed the survey, it was hoped that they would return it soon (see appendix 7).

The survey contained items organized in the following order: (a) measures of support (personal and perceived support from others), (b) measures of congruence of opinions, (c) measures of willingness to express opinions, (d) measures of interest and perceived knowledge, (e) measures of attention to information sources, (f) measures of lack of conflict avoidance, (g) measures of colonial debt and pro- buildup and anti- buildup attitudes, and (h) measures of demographic information. Additional measures for indicators of social capital and lack of efficacy were included in the survey, but the results of these measures were not analyzed in this dissertation.

Sample for Final 2009 Mail Survey

Descriptive statistics revealed that 56% (n = 177) of the respondents were female, 43% (n = 137) were male, and five respondents did not identify their gender (see table 9). The mean age of respondents was 47.99 ($SD = 15.97$), with ages ranging from 25 to 88 (table 8). Median income was between \$25,000 to \$50,000 (table 10), the last level of education that most respondents reported completing was “some college, no degree” (n = 87, 27.4%), and 23% (n = 73) of the respondents reported having a college degree (table 11). The three ethnicities most represented in the sample were Chamorro (n = 169, 53.3%), Filipino (n = 99, 31.2%), and Caucasian (n = 26, 8.2%) (table 12). Most

respondents reported living in the villages of Dededo (n = 79, 26.1%), Yigo (n = 32, 10.6%), Mangilao (n = 27, 8.9%), Barrigada (n = 21, 6.9%), Tamuning (n = 20, 6.6%), and Santa Rita (n = 20, 6.6%) (table 13). It may appear, to those familiar with the population make up of Guam, that the villages of Dededo and Yigo may have been over sampled. Yet it should be noted that residents who live in these two northern villages may have been more likely to respond because the issue of the buildup was more relevant and salient to them, considering that the Marine Corps base is speculated to be built in the northern end of Guam.

2008 Pilot Study

To examine the reliabilities of the indices and to investigate the relationships between variables, the author traveled to Guam during the summer of 2008 and conducted a pilot survey of local residents living on the island ($N = 241$). Convenience sampling was used to obtain data for the pilot study. Undergraduate students enrolled in summer introductory mass communication courses in the University of Guam received course credit for distributing surveys to, and collecting surveys from, at least 10 respondents living in different households around Guam. The students were encouraged to sample households located in different villages around the island—although the students reported that they generally distributed surveys to residents they knew, such as their friends and relatives. Surveys were self-administered. As an incentive to complete the surveys, respondents received the chance to enter a drawing for one of five \$20 gift certificates from a local store. Respondents were assured that their responses to the

surveys would be confidential. The undergraduate students collected the completed surveys and returned them to the author of this study. The response rate was 85%.

Descriptive statistics of the pilot study revealed that 56% (n = 134) of the respondents were female, 42% (n = 102) were male, and four respondents did not identify their gender. The mean age of respondents was 31 ($SD = 12.41$), with ages ranging from 18 to 71. Median income was \$40,000, the last level of education completed by most respondents was high school (64.3 %), and 15.7 % of the respondents reported having a college degree. The two ethnicities most represented in the sample were Chamorro (n = 138, 57.7%) and Filipino (n = 75, 31.1%).

Results of the pilot study (means, standard deviations, and reliabilities of indices; zero-order correlations between variables) are reported in greater detail below, and in a research manuscript presented in a national conference (see Dalisay, 2009b).

Measures

Attitudes Toward the Buildup. Individuals can hold both positive and negative attitudes toward a person, place, object, or issue, and for this reason social psychologists propose that individuals hold ambivalent attitudes (e.g., Hass, Katz, Rizzo, Bailey, Moore, 1992; Kaplan, 1972; Preister & Petty, 1996). Based on the notion that individuals hold both positive and negative attitudes, this author developed a set of items to measure support for the military buildup attitudes and another set of items to measure non-support for the buildup.

Pro-buildup attitudes were measured by asking respondents to indicate the extent to which they disagree or agree with the following items: “The military buildup will

create lots of jobs for Guam,” “The military buildup will improve Guam’s economy,” and “The military buildup will bring in much needed federal funds to Guam.” Anti-buildup attitudes were measured with the following three items: “The military buildup will make Guam overcrowded,” “The military buildup will harm Guam’s environment,” “The military buildup will increase Guam’s crime rate.” Responses to these items were measured along a seven-point Likert scale (1 = *strongly disagree*, 7 = *strongly agree*).

The six items were submitted to an exploratory factor analysis within a confirmatory factor analytical framework (see Brown, 2006) using Mplus Version 5 (Muthen & Muthen, 2007). Maximum likelihood estimation and quartimin rotation were used to obtain a final solution. Results of this EFA within a CFA framework supported a two-factor model (χ -square = 6.17, $df = 4$, $p > .10$; CFI = .99; SRMR = .01; RMSEA = .04). As table 18 shows, the three items that were developed to measure pro-buildup attitudes loaded along one factor ($\alpha = .86$, $M = 5.63$, $SD = 1.44$), and the three items intended to measure anti-buildup attitudes loaded along the other factor ($\alpha = .77$, $M = 4.65$, $SD = 1.54$).

Personal Support. Personal support was measured by asking respondents about the extent to which they disagree or agree with the statement, “I support the military buildup.” Responses were measured along a seven-point Likert scale (1 = *strongly disagree*, 7 = *strongly agree*). Results from the final study showed the mean of personal support was 5.11 ($SD = 1.96$).

Attention to Media. Respondents were asked how much attention they pay to the following information sources in order to stay informed or to learn about the buildup: (a)

the *Pacific Daily News* (PDN; a local newspaper) and (b) local TV and radio newscasts. Responses were measured along a seven-point scale Likert scale (1 = *not much attention*, 7 = *lots of attention*). The two media source items were combined to form an index of attention to news media sources ($r = .67$, $M = 5.21$, $SD = 1.55$). The two interpersonal source items were combined to form an index of attention to interpersonal sources ($r = .85$, $M = 4.90$, $SD = 1.47$).

Trustworthiness of Media. Respondents were asked how trustworthy is the information they get about the buildup from the following information sources: (a) the *Pacific Daily News* (PDN; a local newspaper), (b) local TV and radio newscasts, (c) your family, and (d) your friends. All responses were measured along a seven-point scale Likert scale (1 = *not trustworthy*, 7 = *very trustworthy*). The two media source items were combined to form an index of trust of news media sources ($r = .87$, $M = 4.76$, $SD = 1.56$). The two interpersonal source items were combined to form an index of attention to interpersonal sources ($r = .91$, $M = 4.91$, $SD = 1.47$).

Attention to U.S. Military Officials and U.S. Mainland Politicians. Respondents were asked how much attention do they pay to U.S. military officials and U.S. mainland politicians to stay informed or to know about the buildup. Responses to both of these questions were measured along a seven-point Likert scale (1 = *not much attention*, 7 = *lots of attention*). The two items were combined to form a single index ($r = .68$, $M = 4.22$, $SD = 1.88$).

Trustworthiness of U.S. Military Officials and U.S. Mainland Politicians. Respondents were asked how trustworthy is the information about the buildup they get

from U.S. military officials and U.S. mainland politicians. Responses to both of these questions were measured along a seven-point Likert scale (1 = *not trustworthy*, 7 = *very trustworthy*). The two items were combined to form a single index ($r = .78$, $M = 4.31$, $SD = 1.75$).

Attention to Interpersonal Sources. Respondents were asked how much attention do they pay to the following sources to stay informed or to know about the buildup: (a) family and (b) friends (1 = *not much attention*, 7 = *lots of attention*). These two items were combined to form an index of attention to interpersonal sources ($r = .85$, $M = 4.90$, $SD = 1.47$).

Trustworthiness of Interpersonal Sources. Respondents were asked how trustworthy is the information they get about the buildup from the following sources: (a) family and (b) friends. All responses were measured along a seven-point scale Likert scale (1 = *not trustworthy*, 7 = *very trustworthy*). These two items were combined to form an index of trustworthiness of interpersonal sources ($r = .91$, $M = 4.91$, $SD = 1.47$).

Colonial Debt. Six items from David and Okazaki's (2006) colonial debt (CD) subscale were adapted to measure colonial debt. The CD subscale contains items such as, "Spain and the United States are highly responsible for civilizing Filipinos and improving their ways of life." Items were modified to be relevant to Guam's local residents (e.g., "The United States is highly responsible for civilizing Guam and improving the island's ways of life."). Responses to these six items were measured along a seven-point Likert scale (1 = *strongly disagree*, 7 = *strongly agree*). The six items were submitted to a confirmatory factor analysis for a one-factor model (see figure 3 for results). The CFA

showed acceptable fit (χ -square = 22.08, $df = 9$, $p < .01$; CFI = .97; SRMR = .04; RMSEA = .07). The six items were combined to form a single index ($\alpha = .79$, $M = 4.58$, $SD = 1.25$).

Pro-local Stances Toward Military Presence. Four items were developed and comprised the index of pro-local stances toward military presence. The items were meant to tap into attitudes that were reflective of localism, which assumes that Guam's local residents view the presence of U.S. mainland military personnel stationed on their island as 'threatening' to local self-determination (Wooden, 1995). The index contained the following items: "The military has taken advantage of Guam," "Non-local military personnel on Guam in general are arrogant," "Non-local military personnel on Guam in general lack respect for locals," and "Non-local military personnel on Guam should go back where they came from." Responses to the four items were measured along a seven-point Likert scale (1 = *strongly disagree*, 7 = *strongly agree*). The four items were combined to form a single index ($\alpha = .70$, $M = 3.51$, $SD = 1.33$).

Willingness to Express Opinions. Four items were used to measure willingness to express opinions about the buildup. Each item assessed willingness to express opinions in a different social context. The first item asked, "If you were at a barbecue with YOUR FAMILY AND FRIENDS, and the topic of the buildup was brought up, how willing would you be to express your personal opinions on the buildup?" The second item asked, "If you were SITTING NEXT TO STRANGERS in a restaurant, and the strangers were discussing the topic of the buildup, how willing would you be to express your personal opinions on the buildup?" The third item asked, "We plan to invite some survey

respondents to A COMMUNITY MEETING and have a discussion about their personal opinions regarding the buildup. If you were invited to this meeting, how willing would you be to share your personal opinions on the buildup?” The fourth item asked, We also plan to invite some survey respondents to A TV INTERVIEW and have a discussion about the opinions they have regarding the buildup. If you were invited to this interview, how willing would you be to share your personal opinions on the buildup?” All responses were measured along a seven-point Likert scale (1 = *not willing*, 7 = *very willing*). The four items were combined into one index measuring willingness to express opinions ($\alpha = .84$, $M = 4.67$, $SD = 1.59$).

Perceived Support from Others and the Media. Perceived support was measured by asking respondents about the extent to which they disagree or agree that the following sources support the buildup: (a) family, (b) local leaders, (c) the *Pacific Daily News* (a local newspaper), (d) friends, (e) local TV and radio newscasts, (f) the present majority of Guam, and (g) the future majority of Guam. Responses were measured along a seven-point Likert scale (1 = *strongly disagree*, 7 = *strongly agree*).

Perceived Congruence of Opinions. Perceived congruence of one’s personal opinions regarding the buildup with others’ opinions was measured by asking respondents about the extent to which they disagree or agree that the following sources shared their opinions on the buildup: (a) family, (b) local leaders, (c) the *Pacific Daily News*, (d) friends, (e) local TV and radio newscasts, (f) the present majority of Guam, and (g) the future majority of Guam. Responses were measured along a seven-point Likert scale (1 = *strongly disagree*, 7 = *strongly agree*). Responses to the seven items were

combined to form an index of perceived congruence of opinions. The seven items were submitted to an exploratory factor analysis within a confirmatory factor analytical framework, with maximum likelihood estimation and quartimin rotation, using the Mplus (version 5) software. Results of this EFA within a CFA framework supported a two-factor solution (χ -square = 17.99, $df = 8$, $p < .05$; CFI = .99; SRMR = .02; RMSEA = .06). The factor structure for this two-factor solution is shown in table 15. The first factor, which was interpreted as “perceived congruence of opinions with reference group and majority” included the items of “friends,” “present majority,” “future majority,” and “family,” and these four items were combined to form a single index ($\alpha = .79$, $M = 4.93$, $SD = 1.26$). The second factor, which was interpreted as “perceived congruence of opinions with local officials and news media” included the items of “local officials,” “PDN” (the local newspaper), and “TV and radio,” and these three items were combined to form a single index ($\alpha = .84$, $M = 4.50$, $SD = 1.50$).

Interest. Interest was measured by asking respondents, “How interested would you say you are regarding issues on the buildup?” Responses were measured along a seven-point Likert scale (1 = *not interested*, 7 = *very interested*). The mean of interest was 5.35 ($SD = 1.70$).

Perceived Knowledge. Perceived knowledge was measured by asking respondents, “How knowledgeable would you say you are regarding issues on the buildup?” Responses were measured along a seven-point Likert scale (1 = *not knowledgeable*, 7 = *very knowledgeable*). The mean of perceived knowledge was 4.63 ($SD = 1.47$).

Conflict Avoidance. Conflict avoidance was measured with four items acquired from Rahim's (1983) Organizational Conflict Inventory II avoidance sub-scale (e.g., "I usually avoid open discussions of differences with others" and "I try to avoid unpleasant exchanges with others"). Responses were measured along a seven-point Likert scale (1 = *strongly disagree*, 7 = *strongly agree*). The four items were submitted to a confirmatory factor analysis (see figure 4 for results). The CFA showed excellent fit for a one-factor model (χ -square = .71, $df = 2$, $p > .10$; CFI = 1.00; SRMR = .01; RMSEA = .00). The four items were combined to form a single index ($\alpha = .88$, $M = 4.36$, $SD = 1.54$).

Demographics. Respondents were asked to self-report their age, gender, household income, ethnicity, last level of education they completed, and the village where they lived.

CHAPTER 5

RESULTS OF 2008 PILOT STUDY

Descriptive results from the pilot study revealed that 20% ($n = 32$) of the respondents strongly agreed with the buildup, while 19.6% agreed, 25% were neutral, 7.1% disagreed, and 10.8% strongly disagreed. These results indicated that respondents' opinions toward the buildup were generally positive and neutral. Because convenience sampling was used to obtain these data, these results could not be generalized to the general population of Guam. Means and standard deviations for the perceived support items are listed in table 6. All means were above the mid-point of four. Similar to the results of the pilot study, local leaders ($M = 5.08$, $SD = 1.46$) were perceived to be the most supportive of the buildup, followed by the future majority ($M = 4.67$, $SD = 1.46$), and the *Pacific Daily News* ($M = 4.58$, $SD = 1.36$).

Means and standard deviations for the items measuring willingness to express opinions and attention to information sources are also reported on table 6. Results indicate that respondents were most likely to express opinions at a family gathering ($M = 5.09$, $SD = 1.80$) and least likely to express opinions among strangers in a restaurant ($M = 3.67$, $SD = 1.91$). Results also indicated that respondents paid more attention to family ($M = 4.62$, $SD = 1.89$) and friends ($M = 4.56$, $SD = 1.89$) than to the local media as sources to know about the buildup.

Means, standard deviations, and Cronbach alphas for all indices are reported in table 5. All measures were found to be reliable. Note, however, that the pilot study did not contain items measuring attitudes toward the buildup, attention to U.S. military officials, and trustworthiness of U.S. military officials.

Results of Zero-Order Correlations

Table 7 shows zero-order correlations between indices. Personal support for the buildup was associated with perceived majority support ($r = .62, p < .001$), perceived congruence of opinions ($r = .46, p < .001$), interest ($r = .18, p < .001$), trust of local media ($r = .16, p < .01$), colonial debt ($r = .41, p < .001$), and willingness to express opinions ($r = .16, p < .01$).

Colonial debt was associated with personal support for the buildup ($r = .41, p < .001$), perceived support ($r = .35, p < .001$), perceived congruence of opinions ($r = .37, p < .001$), attention to family and friends ($r = .18, p < .001$), and conflict avoidance ($r = .13, p < .05$).

Willingness to express opinions was associated with personal support for the buildup ($r = .16, p < .01$), perceived support ($r = .31, p < .001$), perceived congruence of opinions ($r = .36, p < .001$), interest ($r = .66, p < .001$), knowledge ($r = .62, p < .001$), attention to local media ($r = .54, p < .001$), attention to family and friends ($r = .53, p < .001$), trustworthiness of local media ($r = .27, p < .001$), conflict avoidance ($r = -.12, p < .05$), colonial debt ($r = .14, p < .01$), age ($r = .19, p < .001$), income ($r = .17, p < .01$), and education ($r = .07, p < .01$).

Table 1
Descriptive statistics of 2008 Pilot Study: Age of Respondents

<i>Age</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
18	26	10.9
19	23	9.6
20	21	8.8
21	5	2.1
22	10	4.2
23	4	1.7
24	7	2.9
25	13	5.4
26	2	.8
30	7	2.9
31	8	3.3
32	3	1.3
33	8	3.3
34	1	.4
35	6	2.5
36	5	2.1
37	3	1.3
38	5	2.1
39	7	2.9
40	6	2.5
41	1	.4
42	6	2.5
43	3	1.3
44	4	1.7
45	4	1.7
46	2	.8
47	4	1.7
48	3	1.3
49	2	.8
50	3	1.3
52	2	.8
53	2	.8
54	2	.8
55	1	.4
56	4	1.7
57	3	1.3
58	1	.4
59	1	.4
60	1	.4
63	2	.8
69	1	.4

Table 2: Gender of Respondents in 2008 Pilot Study

<i>Sex</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Male	102	43
Female	134	56.5
Omitted	1	.4

Table 3: Income of Respondents in 2008 Pilot Study

<i>Income</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
\$10,000 or less	13	7.5
\$11,000-\$25,000	38	22
\$26,000-\$50,000	64	38.1
\$51,000-\$75,000	24	12.7
\$76,000-\$100,000	20	11.6
\$101,000-\$150,000	12	6.9
Over \$150,000	2	2.3

Table 4: Ethnicity of Respondents in 2008 Pilot Study

<i>Ethnicity</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Chamorro	138	57.7
Filipino	75	31.1
Korean	8	3.3
Japanese	3	1.3
Palauan	3	1.3
From the Federated States of Micronesia (Chuukese, Kosraean, Pohnpeian, Yapese)	3	1.3
Chinese	3	1.3
Caucasian	2	.8
Polish	1	.4
American Indian	1	.4
Asian Indian	1	.4
Carolinian	1	.4

Table 5: Means, Standard Deviations, and Reliabilities for Indices of 2008 Pilot Study
 (All items measured on a 7-point scale, 1 = *Strongly disagree*, 7 = *Strongly agree*)

<i>Variable</i>	<i>Mean (SD)</i>	α
Personal support	4.40 (1.88)	--
Perceived support	4.46 (1.05)	.84
Perceived congruence of opinions	4.30 (1.14)	.87
Willingness to express opinions	4.16 (1.59)	.85
Interest	4.53 (1.74)	--
Perceived knowledge	4.10 (1.64)	--
Attention to local media	3.79 (1.85)	.83
Attention to family and friends (two-item index)	4.60 (1.78)	--
Trustworthiness of local media	4.64 (1.32)	.87
Trustworthiness of family and friends (two-item index)	4.75 (1.44)	--
Conflict avoidance	4.16 (1.30)	.88
Colonial debt	3.87 (1.17)	.75

Table 6: Means and standard deviations for single items measuring support, willingness to speak out, and attention to information sources of 2008 Pilot Study
(All items measured on a 7-point scale, 1 = *Strongly disagree*, 7 = *Strongly agree*)

<i>Variable</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>
Personal support	4.40	1.88
My family supports the buildup.	4.35	1.75
Local officials support the buildup.	5.08	1.46
The Pacific Daily News supports the buildup.	4.58	1.36
My friends support the buildup.	4.22	1.58
Local TV and radio newscasts share my opinions on the buildup.	4.44	1.28
The majority support of the people of Guam support the buildup.	4.21	1.33
In the future, the majority of the people of Guam will show more support the buildup.	4.67	1.46
If you were at a barbecue with your family and friends, and the topic of the buildup was brought up, how willing would you be to express your opinions on the buildup?	5.09	1.80
If you were sitting next to strangers in a restaurant, and the strangers were discussing the topic of the buildup, how willing would you be to express your personal opinions on the buildup?	3.67	1.91
We plan to invite some survey respondents to a community meeting and have a discussion about their personal opinions regarding the buildup. If you were invited to this meeting, how willing would you be to share your personal opinions on the buildup?	4.15	1.95
We also plan to invite some survey respondents to a TV interview and have a discussion about the opinions they have regarding the buildup. If you were invited to this interview, how willing would you be to share your opinions on the buildup?	3.72	1.99
Interest	4.53	1.74
Perceived knowledge	4.10	1.64
Attention to the <i>Pacific Daily News</i> newspaper	4.42	1.85
Attention to the <i>Guam Variety</i> newspaper	3.16	1.81

Attention to local TV and radio	4.42	1.92
Attention to K-57 talk radio station	3.30	2.05
Attention to family	4.62	1.89
Attention to friends	4.56	1.89

Table 7: Zero-order Correlation Matrix for Indices of 2008 Pilot Study (N = 242)

	1. Personal support	2. Perceived support	3. Perceived congruence of opinions	4. Interest	5. Knowledge	6. Attention to local media	7. Attention to family and friends	8. Trust of local media	9. Trust of family and friends	10. Conflict avoidance	11. Colonial debt	12. Willingness to express opinions
1.	1.00	.62***	.46***	.18***	.16***	.05	.08	.16**	.09	.11	.41***	.16**
2.		1.00	.59***	.33***	.30***	.16**	.15**	.22***	.21***	.15**	.35***	.31***
3.			1.00	.36***	.40***	.31***	.35***	.33***	.27***	.05	.37***	.36***
4.				1.00	.64***	.46***	.44***	.31***	.30***	-.04	.09	.66***
5.					1.00	.54***	.48***	.27***	.30***	-.06	.08	.62***
6.						1.00	.58***	.41***	.22***	-.06	.09	.54***
7.							1.00	.34***	.51***	.04	.18***	.53***
8.								1.00	.47***	.01	.20***	.27***
9.									1.00	.05	.09	.27***
10.										1.00	.13*	-.12*
11.											1.00	.14**
12.												1.00
	13. Age	14. Gender	15. Income	16. Education								
1.	.27***	-.02	.09	.04								
2.	.29***	-.04	.10	.02								
3.	.14**	-.08	-.00	.07								
4.	.23***	.01	.08	.12								
5.	.22***	-.15**	.07	.12								
6.	.26***	-.03	.02	.18***								
7.	.07	-.02	.00	.13*								
8.	.05	-.03	.02	-.05								
9.	.02	.00	.01	-.03								
10.	.02	.13	-.09	-.09								
11.	.10	-.01	-.01	-.05								
12.	.19***	-.03	.17**	.07**								
13.	1.00	-.02	.31***	.02								
14.		1.00	.05	-.06								
15.			1.00	.14#								
16.				1.00								

Note: *** = $p < .001$
 ** = $p < .01$
 * = $p < .05$
 # = $p < .10$

CHAPTER 6

RESULTS OF 2009 FINAL MAIL SURVEY

Descriptive Results

Descriptive results from the 2009 final mail survey showed that 38.1% (n = 120) of the respondents chose a 7 (*strongly agree*) for the question of whether they agreed with the buildup, while 10.8% (n = 34) chose a 6, 16.2% (n = 51) chose a 5, 16.8% (n = 53) chose a 4, 5.1% (n = 16) chose a 3, 3.5% (n = 11) chose a 2, and 9.5% (n = 30) chose a 1 (*strongly disagree*). These results indicated that respondents' opinions toward the buildup were generally positive and neutral. Means and standard deviations for the perceived support items are listed in table 14. All means were above the mid-point of four. Local officials ($M = 5.08$, $SD = 1.46$) were perceived to be the most supportive of the buildup, followed by the *Pacific Daily News* ($M = 5.08$, $SD = 1.36$), and family ($M = 5.04$, $SD = 1.83$) (see table 14).

Means and standard deviations for the items measuring willingness to express opinions are reported in table 16. Results indicate that respondents were most likely to express opinions at a family gathering ($M = 5.68$, $SD = 1.53$) and least likely to express opinions among strangers in a TV interview ($M = 3.97$, $SD = 2.12$). Means and standard deviations for items measuring attention to information sources, trustworthiness of information sources, interest, and perceived knowledge are reported in table 19. Results show that respondents paid more attention to the local media ($M = 5.21$, $SD = 1.55$) than to family and friends ($M = 5.12$, $SD = 1.59$) as sources to learn about the buildup; the mean of interest was 5.35 ($SD = 1.69$); the mean of perceived knowledge was 4.63 ($SD =$

1.47) (see table 19).

Descriptive results also showed that respondents scored higher in their level of agreement with the statements of “the buildup will bring in much needed federal funds to Guam” ($M = 5.73, SD = 1.52$), “the buildup would improve Guam’s economy” ($M = 5.62, SD = 1.59$), and “the buildup would create lots of jobs for Guam” ($M = 5.59, SD = 1.71$). The respondents scored lower in their level of agreement with the statements of “the buildup will make Guam overcrowded” ($M = 5.00, SD = 1.86$), “the buildup will increase Guam’s crime rate” ($M = 4.55, SD = 1.85$), and “the buildup would harm Guam’s environment” ($M = 4.38, SD = 1.90$).

Cronbach alphas, means, and standard deviations for all indices are reported in table 19. All measures were found to be reliable.

Table 8:
Age of Respondents of 2009 Final Mail Survey

<i>Age</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
25	4	1.3	55	7	2.3
26	1	.3	56	8	2.6
27	3	1	57	3	1
28	2	.6	58	3	1
29	3	1	59	7	2.3
30	7	2.3	60	7	2.3
31	4	1.3	61	6	1.9
32	7	2.3	62	7	2.3
33	2	.6	63	4	1.3
34	6	1.9	64	6	1.9
35	8	2.6	65	6	1.9
36	3	1	66	4	1.3
37	5	1.6	67	3	1
38	6	1.9	68	4	1.3
39	3	1	69	3	1
40	8	2.6	70	5	1.6
41	4	1.3	71	4	1.3
42	10	3.2	72	1	.3
43	6	1.9	73	1	.3
44	8	2.6	74	3	1
45	5	1.6	75	1	.3
46	3	1.0	76	1	.3
47	8	2.6	77	2	.6
48	11	3.5	78	1	.8
49	8	2.6	79	2	.6
50	9	2.9	80	2	.6
51	8	2.6	82	2	.6
52	5	1.6	83	1	.3
53	7	2.3	84	2	.6
54	10	3.1	88	1	.3

Table 9: Gender of Respondents of 2009 Final Mail Survey

<i>Sex</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Male	137	43
Female	177	56
Omitted	5	1

Table 10: Income of Respondents of 2009 Final Mail Survey

<i>Income</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Less than \$10,000	11	3.5
\$10,000-\$25,000	37	11.9
\$25,000-\$50,000	75	24.2
\$50,000-\$75,000	77	24.8
\$75,000- under \$100,000	36	11.6
\$100,000 or more	47	15.2
Prefer not to say	27	8.5

Table 11: Education of Respondents of 2009 Final Mail Survey

<i>Income</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Less than high school	14	4.4
High school graduate	67	21.1
Some college, no degree	87	27.4
2 year college degree	33	10.4
4 year college degree	73	23
Graduate or professional degree	43	13.6
Omitted	2	.6

Table 12: Ethnicity of Respondents of 2009 Final Mail Survey

<i>Ethnicity</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Chamorro	169	53.3
Filipino	99	31.2
Caucasian	26	8.2
Japanese	4	1.3
Chinese	4	1.3
African American	4	1.3
Hawaiian	3	1.9
Hispanic	2	.6
Palauan	2	.6
Indonesian	1	.3
Korean	1	.3
Okinawan	1	.3
Samoan	1	.3

Table 13: Village of Respondents of 2009 Final Mail Survey

<i>Village</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Dededo	79	26.1
Yigo	32	10.6
Mangilao	27	8.9
Barrigada	21	6.9
Tamuning	20	6.6
Santa Rita	20	6.6
Yona	19	6.3
Agana Heights	12	4.0
Chalan Pago/Ordot	11	3.6
Sinajana	10	3.1
Piti	9	2.8
Talofof	9	3
Agat	7	2.3
Merizo	6	2
Inarajan	4	1.3
Harmon	4	1.3
Hagatna	3	1
Toto	3	1
Asan	2	.7
Maite	2	.7
Maloloj	1	.3
Nimitz Hill	1	.3
Anigua	1	.3

Table 14: Means and Standard Deviations for Perceived Support Items of 2009 Final Mail Survey (Scale from 1 to 7, 1 = *Strongly disagree*, 7 = *Strongly agree*)

<i>Variable</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>
My family supports the buildup.	5.04	1.83
The Pacific Daily News supports the buildup.	5.08	1.41
My friends support the buildup.	4.83	1.57
Local officials support the buildup.	5.44	1.39
The majority support of the people of Guam support the buildup.	4.61	1.51
In the future, the majority of the people of Guam will show more support the buildup.	4.75	1.69
Local TV and radio newscasts support the buildup.	4.94	1.48

Table 15: Means, Standard Deviations, and Factor Structure from an Exploratory Factor Analysis within a Confirmatory Factor Analytical Framework for Perceived Congruence of Opinions Items of 2009 Final Mail Survey (Scale from 1 to 7, 1 = *Strongly disagree*, 7 = *Strongly agree*)

<i>Item</i>	<i>Mean (SD)</i>	<i>Factor 1: Reference Group</i>	<i>Factor 2: Local Officials/Media</i>
Item 1: My friends share my opinions on the buildup.	5.37 (1.53)	.80	.40
Item 2: The majority of the people of Guam share my opinions on the buildup.	4.46 (1.47)	.69	.56
Item 3: In the future, the majority of the people of Guam will share my opinions on the buildup.	5.00 (1.56)	.52	.47
Item 4: My family shares my opinions on the buildup.	5.37 (1.53)	.79	.49
Item 1: Local officials share my opinions on the buildup.	4.49 (1.63)	.49	.81
Item 2: The Pacific Daily News shares my opinions on the buildup.	4.49 (1.76)	.48	.85
Item 3: Local TV and radio newscasts share my opinions on the buildup.	4.51 (1.52)	.49	.78
Fit indices for two-factor model: χ -square = 17.99, $df = 8$, $p < .05$; CFI = .99; SRMR = .02; RMSEA = .06		Factor 1 $\alpha = .79$	Factor 2 $\alpha = .84$

Table 16: Means and Standard Deviations for Willingness to Express Opinions Items of 2009 Final Mail Survey (Scale from 1 to 7, 1 = *Strongly disagree*, 7 = *Strongly agree*)

<i>Variable</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>
If you were at a barbecue with your family and friends, and the topic of the buildup was brought up, how willing would you be to express your opinions on the buildup?	5.68	1.53
If you were sitting next to strangers in a restaurant, and the strangers were discussing the topic of the buildup, how willing would you be to express your personal opinions on the buildup?	4.34	2.08
We plan to invite some survey respondents to a community meeting and have a discussion about their personal opinions regarding the buildup. If you were invited to this meeting, how willing would you be to share your personal opinions on the buildup?	4.65	1.94
We also plan to invite some survey respondents to a TV interview and have a discussion about the opinions they have regarding the buildup. If you were invited to this interview, how willing would you be to share your opinions on the buildup?	3.97	2.12

Table 17: Means, standard deviations, and factor structure from an exploratory factor analysis within a confirmatory factor analytical framework for the 6 items measuring attitudes toward the buildup (Scale from 1 to 7, 1 = *Strongly disagree*, 7 = *Strongly agree*)

<i>Item</i>	<i>Mean (SD)</i>	<i>Factor 1: Pro-buildup attitudes</i>	<i>Factor 2: Anti-buildup attitudes</i>
Item 1: The buildup will create lots of jobs for Guam.	5.59 (1.71)	.84	-.25
Item 2: The buildup will bring in much needed federal funds to Guam.	5.73 (1.52)	.79	-.34
Item 3: The buildup will improve Guam's economy.	5.62 (1.59)	.81	-.29
Item 1: The buildup will make Guam overcrowded.	5.00 (1.86)	-.23	.64
Item 2: The buildup will harm Guam's environment.	4.38 (1.90)	-.26	.73
Item 3: The buildup will increase Guam's crime rate.	4.55 (1.85)	-.28	.78
Fit indices for two-factor model: χ -square = 6.17, <i>df</i> = 4, <i>p</i> > .10; CFI = .99; SRMR = .01; RMSEA = .04		Factor 1 α = .86	Factor 2 α = .77

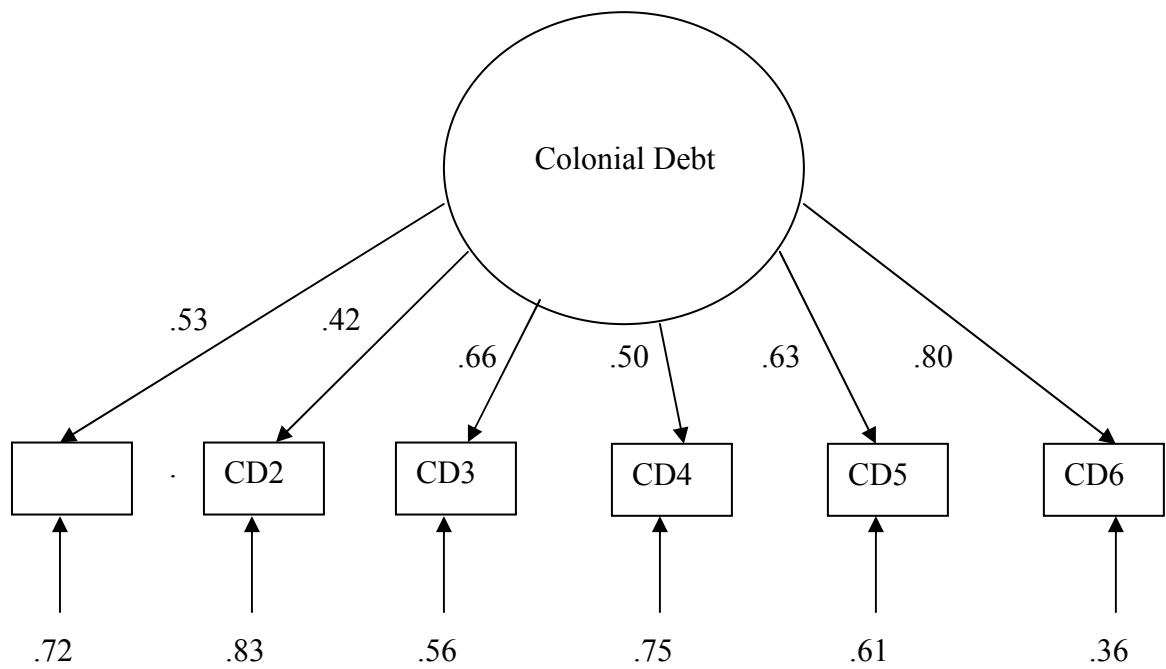
Table 18: Means and standard deviations for items measuring pro-local stances toward military presence
(Scale from 1 to 7, 1 = *Strongly disagree*, 7 = *Strongly agree*)

<i>Item</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>
The military has taken advantage of Guam.	4.27	2.08
Non-local military personnel on Guam in general are arrogant.	3.68	1.78
Non-local military personnel on Guam in general lack respect for locals.	3.70	1.79
Non-local military personnel on Guam should go back where they came from.	2.38	1.67
	$\alpha = .70$	

Table 19: Means, Standard Deviations, and Reliabilities for Indices of 2009 Final Mail Survey (Scales from 1 to 7).

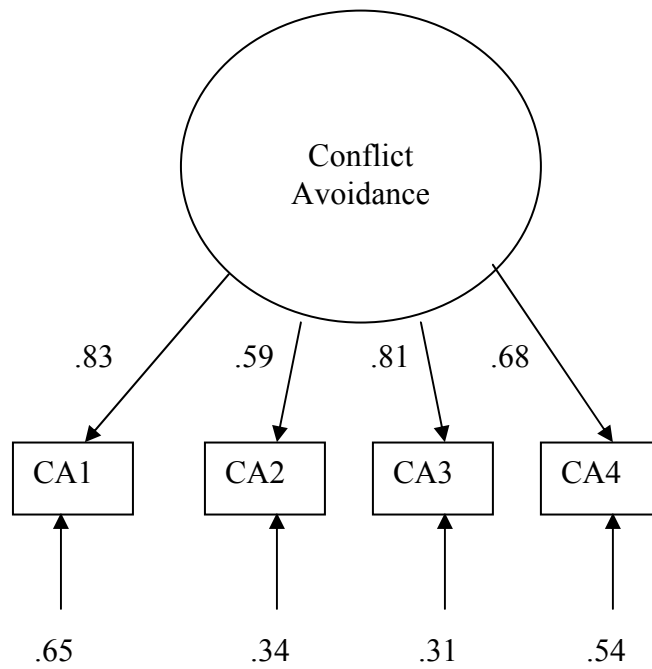
<i>Variable</i>	<i>Mean (SD)</i>	<i>α</i>
Personal support	5.11 (1.96)	--
Perceived congruence of opinions factor 1 (reference group/majority): “friends,” “present majority,” “future majority,” and “family”	4.93 (1.26)	.79
Perceived congruence of opinions factor 2 (local officials/local media): “local officials,” “PDN” (the local newspaper), and “TV and radio”	4.50 (1.50)	.84
Willingness to express opinions	4.67 (1.59)	.84
Interest	5.35 (1.69)	--
Perceived knowledge	4.63 (1.47)	--
Attention to local media (two-item index: Pacific Daily News and TV/radio newscasts)	5.21 (1.55)	--
Attention to family and friends (two-item index: Pacific Daily News and TV/radio newscasts)	5.12 (1.59)	--
Trustworthiness of local media (two-item index: Pacific Daily News and TV/radio newscasts)	4.76 (1.56)	--
Trustworthiness of family and friends (two-item index: Pacific Daily News and TV/radio newscasts)	4.75 (1.44)	--
Conflict avoidance	4.36 (1.54)	.88
Colonial debt	4.58 (1.25)	.79
Pro-buildup attitudes	5.64 (1.44)	.86
Anti-buildup attitudes	4.65 (1.55)	.77
Pro-local stances toward military presence		.70

Figure 3: Model for Confirmatory Factor Analysis of Colonial Debt Scale



Fit indices: χ -square = 22.08, $df = 9$, $p < .01$; CFI = .97; SRMR = .04; RMSEA = .07
All parameters above were significant at $p < .001$.

Figure 4: Model for Confirmatory Factor Analysis of Conflict Avoidance Scale



χ -square = .71, $df = 2$, $p > .10$; CFI = 1.00; SRMR = .01; RMSEA = .00
All parameters above were significant at $p < .001$.

Summary of Zero-Order Correlations

Table 20 shows zero-order correlations between indices measured in the 2009 final mail survey. Personal support for the buildup was associated with age ($r = .18, p < .01$), perceived congruence of opinions factor 1 ($r = .54, p < .001$), perceived congruence of opinions factor 2 ($r = .61, p < .001$), interest ($r = .27, p < .001$), knowledge ($r = .24, p < .001$), attention to local media ($r = .27, p < .001$), trustworthiness of local media ($r = .40, p < .001$), attention to U.S. military officials/U.S. mainland politicians ($r = .34, p < .001$), trustworthiness of U.S. mainland politicians/military officials ($r = .55, p < .001$), colonial debt ($r = .47, p < .001$), willingness to express opinions ($r = .22, p < .001$), pro-buildup attitudes ($r = .66, p < .001$), and anti-buildup attitudes ($r = -.47, p < .001$).

Colonial debt was positively associated with all measures, with the exception of anti-buildup attitudes, with which it was negatively associated ($r = -.47, p < .001$).

Pro-local stances toward military presence was negatively associated with personal support ($r = -.26, p < .001$), perceived congruence of opinions factor 1 ($r = -.14, p < .01$), trust of U.S. military officials/U.S. mainland politicians ($r = -.15, p < .01$), colonial debt ($r = -.17, p < .01$), and pro-buildup attitudes ($r = -.28, p < .01$). Pro-local stances toward military presence was positively associated with anti-buildup attitudes ($r = .56, p < .01$).

Conflict avoidance was positively associated with colonial debt ($r = .13, p < .05$) and negatively associated with willingness to express opinions ($r = -.16, p < .01$).

The measure of pro-buildup attitudes was positively associated with all measures, with the exception of conflict avoidance, with which it was not associated, and anti-

buildup attitudes, with which the measure of pro-buildup attitudes was negatively associated.

The measure of anti-buildup attitudes was negatively associated with personal support ($r = -.47, p < .001$), perceived congruence of opinions factor 1 ($r = -.25, p < .001$), perceived congruence of opinions factor 2 ($r = -.29, p < .001$), knowledge ($r = -.14, p < .05$), trustworthiness of local media ($r = -.15, p < .001$), attention to U.S. military officials/U.S. mainland politicians ($r = -.15, p < .001$), trustworthiness of U.S. military officials/U.S. mainland politicians ($r = -.27, p < .001$), trustworthiness of family and friends ($r = -.12, p < .01$), colonial debt ($r = -.26, p < .01$), and pro-buildup attitudes ($r = -.33, p < .01$).

Table 20: Zero-order Correlation Matrix for Indices of 2009 Final Mail Survey

	1. Personal support	2. Perceived congruence of opinions (Factor 1)	3. Perceived congruence of opinions (Factor 2)	4. Interest	5. Knowledge	6. Attention to local media	7. Trust of local media	8. Attention to U.S. military officials/mainland politicians	9. Trust of U.S. military officials/mainland politicians	10. Attention to family and friends	11. Trust of family and friends	12. Conflict Avoidance
1.	1.00	.54***	.61***	.27***	.24***	.40***	.34***	.55***	.22**	.25***	.03	
2.	1.00	1.00	.62***	.40***	.38***	.37***	.31***	.33***	.43**	.47***	.03	
3.		1.00	1.00	.25***	.27***	.39***	.33***	.45***	.27**	.27***	.04	
4.			1.00	1.00	.58***	.48***	.30***	.28***	.50***	.40***	-.09	
5.				1.00	1.00	.44***	.29***	.31***	.44**	.46***	-.07	
6.					1.00	1.00	.60***	.41***	.54**	.43***	-.03	
7.					1.00	1.00	.39***	.59***	.36**	.44***	.08	
8.						1.00	1.00	.59***	.49**	.40***	-.02	
9.							1.00	1.00	.31**	.40***	.003	
10.								1.00	1.00	.67***	-.11	
11.									1.00	1.00	-.04	

	13. Colonial Debt	14. Willingness to express opinions	15. Pro-buildup attitudes	16. Anti-buildup attitudes	17. Pro-local stances	Age	Gender	Income	Education
1.	.47***	.22***	.66***	-.47***	-.26***	1.	-.03	.09	.07
2.	.39***	.45***	.41***	-.25***	-.14*	2.	-.11*	.02	.07
3.	.42***	.30***	.48***	-.29***	-.11#	3.	-.07	.02	.02
4.	.24***	.60***	.27***	-.07	-.02	4.	-.16**	.04	.06
5.	.26***	.60***	.20***	-.14*	-.05	5.	-.24***	.12*	.09
6.	.24***	.44***	.26***	-.08	.03	6.	-.12*	.03	.00
7.	.36***	.25***	.43***	-.15***	-.09	7.	-.04	.01	-.01
8.	.36***	.43***	.35***	-.15***	-.01	8.	.30***	-.09	-.06
9.	.45***	.29***	.50***	-.27***	-.15**	9.	.16***	-.01	.06
10.	.27***	.43***	.21***	-.07	-.00	10.	.20***	-.01	.02
11.	.31***	.41***	.17**	-.12**	-.07	11.	.16***	.03	-.00
12.	.13*	-.16**	.08	.04	.01	12.	.18***	-.08	-.04
13.	1.00	.24***	.60***	-.26***	-.17**	13.	.27***	-.10	-.06
14.		1.00	.20***	-.09	-.05	14.	.19***	.00	-.06.08
15.			1.00	-.33***	-.28***	15.	.15*	.03	-.02
16.				1.00	.56***				
17.					1.00				

Note: *** = $p < .001$
 ** = $p < .01$
 * = $p < .05$
 # = $p < .10$

Tests of Hypotheses

Predictors of Attitudes. Hierarchical multiple regression was used to test H1, H2, H3, H4, H5, H6, H7, and H8, and to investigate RQ1 (see tables 21 and 22 for results). Listwise deletion was used to deal with missing data.

In the regression models for H1a, H2a, H3a, H4a, H5a, pro-buildup attitudes was regressed on the following variables: demographic variables of age and ethnicity (1 = Chamorro, or native of Guam; 2 = non-Chamorro, or non-native of Guam) entered in the first block; attention to local media and attention to U.S. military officials/U.S. mainland politicians entered in the second block; trustworthiness of local media and trustworthiness of U.S. military officials/U.S. mainland politicians entered in the third block; colonial debt entered in the fourth block; pro-local stances toward military presence in the fifth block, $R\text{-square} = .45$, $F(8, 285) = 29.25$, $p < .001$.

In the regression models for H1b, H2b, H3b, H4b, and H5b, anti-buildup attitudes was regressed on the following variables: demographic variables of age and ethnicity (1 = Chamorro, or native of Guam; 2 = non-Chamorro, or non-native of Guam) entered in the first block; attention to local media and attention to U.S. military officials/U.S. mainland politicians entered in the second block; trustworthiness of local media and trustworthiness of U.S. military officials/U.S. mainland politicians entered in the third block; colonial debt entered in the fourth block; pro-local stances toward military presence in the fifth block, $R\text{-square} = .34$, $F(8, 285) = 18.33$, $p < .001$.

H1a predicted that attention to local media (newspaper, radio, and television) will positively predict pro-buildup attitudes. Attention to local media did not predict pro-

buildup attitudes in any of the regression models (table 21). H1a was not supported.

H1b predicted that attention to local media will negatively predict anti-buildup attitudes. Attention to local media did not predict anti-buildup attitudes in any of the regression models (table 22). H1b was not supported.

H2a predicted that trustworthiness of local media will positively predict pro-buildup attitudes. As table 21 shows, trustworthiness of local media positively predicted pro-buildup attitudes ($\beta = .14, p < .05$). H2a was supported.

H2b predicted that trustworthiness of local media will negatively predict anti-buildup attitudes. Trustworthiness of local media did not predict anti-buildup attitudes in any of the models (table 22). This hypothesis was not supported.

H3a predicted that attention to U.S. military officials and U.S. mainland politicians will positively predict pro-buildup attitudes. Results for model 4 (table 21) show that attention to U.S. military officials and U.S. politicians ($\beta = .29, p < .001$) positively predicted pro-buildup attitudes. However, after accounting for the effects of trustworthiness of these sources, trustworthiness of local media, colonial debt and pro-local stances toward military presence in model 5, this association was not significant. H3a was partially supported.

H3b predicted that attention to U.S. military officials and U.S. politicians will negatively predict anti-buildup attitudes. Results for model 4 (table 22) show that attention to U.S. military officials and U.S. politicians ($\beta = .17, p < .05$) negatively predicted anti-buildup attitudes. However, after accounting for the effects of trustworthiness of these sources, trustworthiness of local media, and colonial debt and

pro-local stances toward military presence in model 5, this association was not significant. H3b was partially supported.

H4a predicted that trustworthiness of U.S. military officials and U.S. politicians will positively predict pro-buildup attitudes. Results showed that trustworthiness of U.S. military officials and U.S. politicians positively predicted pro-buildup attitudes ($\beta = .19$, $p < .001$) (table 21). H4a was supported.

H4b predicted that trustworthiness of U.S. military officials and U.S. politicians will negatively predict anti-buildup attitudes. Results showed that trustworthiness of U.S. military officials and U.S. politicians negatively predicted anti-buildup attitudes ($\beta = -.15$, $p < .05$) (table 22). H4b was supported.

H5a predicted that colonial debt will positively predict pro-buildup attitudes. Results show that colonial debt positively predicted pro-buildup attitudes ($\beta = .42$, $p < .001$) (table 21). H5a was supported.

H5b predicted that colonial debt will negatively predict anti-buildup attitudes. Results showed that colonial debt negatively predicted anti-buildup attitudes ($\beta = -.11$, $p < .05$) (table 22). H5b was supported.

H6 predicted that colonial debt will be associated with trustworthiness of U.S. military officials and U.S. politicians. As table 20 shows, the zero-order correlation between colonial debt and trustworthiness of U.S. military officials and U.S. politicians was .45 ($p < .001$). H6 was supported.

RQ1 asked what is the relationship between colonial debt and trustworthiness of local media? As table 20 shows, the zero-order correlation between colonial debt and

trustworthiness of local media was .36 ($p < .001$).

H7a predicted that pro-local stances toward military presence will negatively predict pro-buildup attitudes. Results showed that pro-local stances toward military presence negatively predicted pro-buildup attitudes ($\beta = -.18, p < .001$). H7a was supported.

H7b predicted that pro-local stances toward military presence will positively predict anti-buildup attitudes. Results showed that pro-local stances toward military presence positively predicted anti-buildup attitudes ($\beta = .50, p < .001$). H7b was supported.

H8 predicted that pro-local stances toward military presence will be associated with trustworthiness of U.S. military officials and U.S. politicians. Results for predictors of attitudes toward the buildup are summarized in the models shown in figures 5a and 5b.

Table 21: Predictors of Pro-Buildup Attitudes (2009 Final Mail Survey)

Note: *** = $p < .001$, ** = $p < .01$, * = $p < .05$

	<i>Model 1</i>	<i>Model 2</i>	<i>Model 3</i>	<i>Model 4</i>	<i>Model 5</i>
Independent Variables	β	β	β	β	β
Age	.15**	.05	.01	-.02	-.03
Ethnicity (1 = Chamorro, 2 = non-Chamorro)	.01	.03	-.00	.01	-.03
	R-square (%) = 2.4%*, F-Change = 3.54*				
Attention to local media	--	.07	-.11	-.08	-.04
Attention to U.S. mainland politicians and U.S. military officials	--	.29***	.10	.05	.05
	R-square (%) = 11.7%***, F-Change = 15.34***				
Trustworthiness of local media	--	--	.23**	.17*	.14*
Trustworthiness of U.S. mainland politicians and U.S. military officials	--	--	.34***	.21**	.19**
	R-square (%) = 27.6%***, F-Change = 31.40***				
Colonial debt	--	--	--	.44***	.42***
	R-square (%) = 42.3%***, F-Change = 73.14***				
Pro-local stances toward military presence	--	--	--	--	-.18***
	R-square (%) = 45.1%***, F-Change = 14.30***				

Table 22: Predictors of Anti-Buildup Attitudes (2009 Final Mail Survey)

Note: *** = $p < .001$, ** = $p < .01$, * = $p < .05$

	<i>Model 1</i>	<i>Model 2</i>	<i>Model 3</i>	<i>Model 4</i>	<i>Model 5</i>
<i>Independent Variables</i>	β	β	β	β	β
Age	-.12*	-.08	-.09	-.05	-.00
Ethnicity (1 = Chamorro, 2 = non-Chamorro)	-.06	-.07	-.05	-.05	.04
	<i>R</i> -square (%) = 1.8%#, <i>F</i> -Change = 2.67#				
Attention to local media	--	.05	.11	.09	.00
Attention to U.S. mainland politicians and U.S. military officials	--	-.17*	-.03	.01	-.03
	<i>R</i> -square (%) = 3.9%*, <i>F</i> -Change = 3.18*				
Trustworthiness of local media	--	--	-.05	-.02	.04
Trustworthiness of U.S. mainland politicians and U.S. military officials	--	--	-.26**	-.20*	-.15*
	<i>R</i> -square (%) = 9.3%***, <i>F</i> -Change = 8.45***				
Colonial debt	--	--	--	-.19***	-.11*
	<i>R</i> -square (%) = 11.9%**, <i>F</i> -Change = 8.45**				
Pro-local stances toward military presence	--	--	--	--	.50***
	<i>R</i> -square (%) = 34%***, <i>F</i> -Change = 95.30***				

Figure 5a: Model With Results for Predictors of Pro-Buildup Attitudes

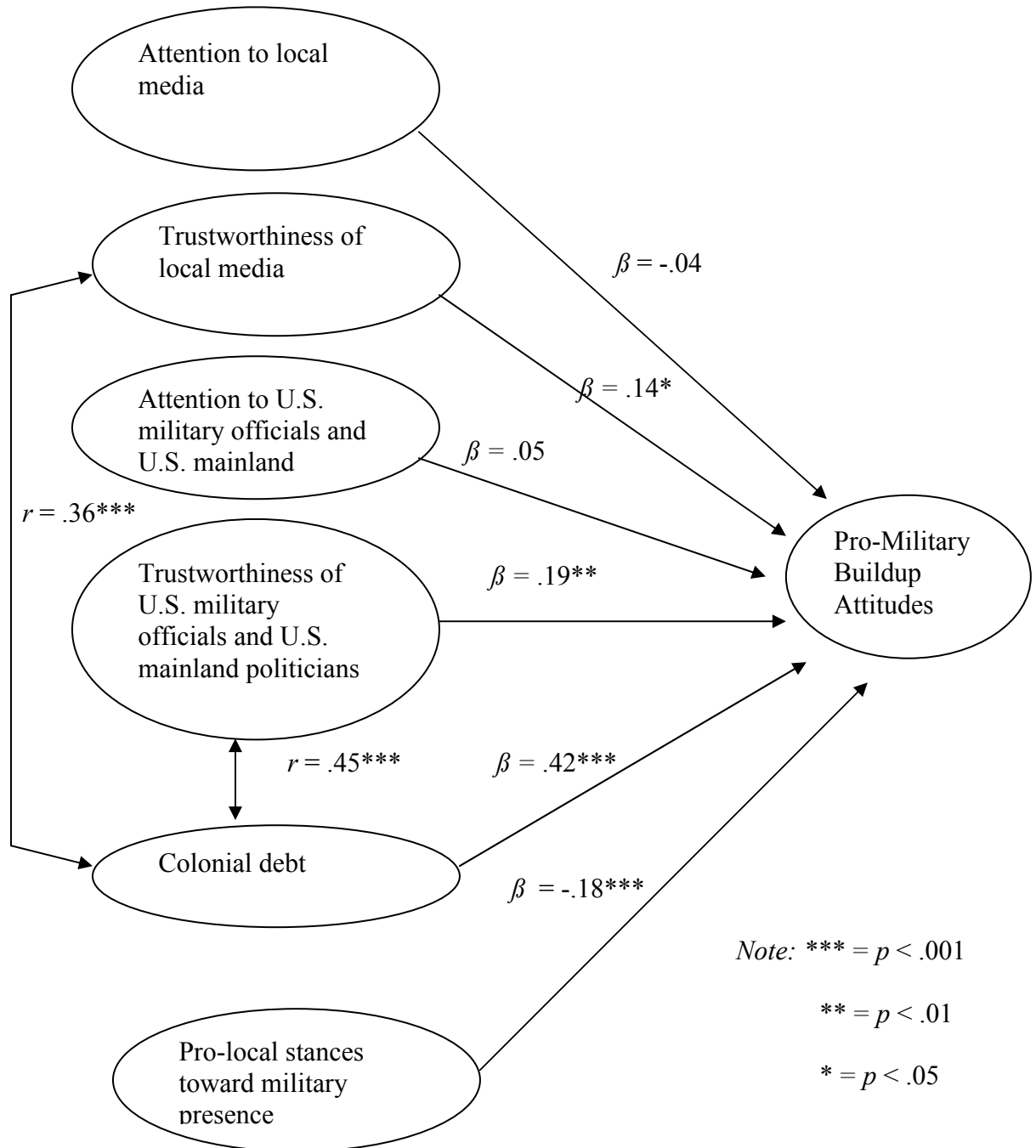
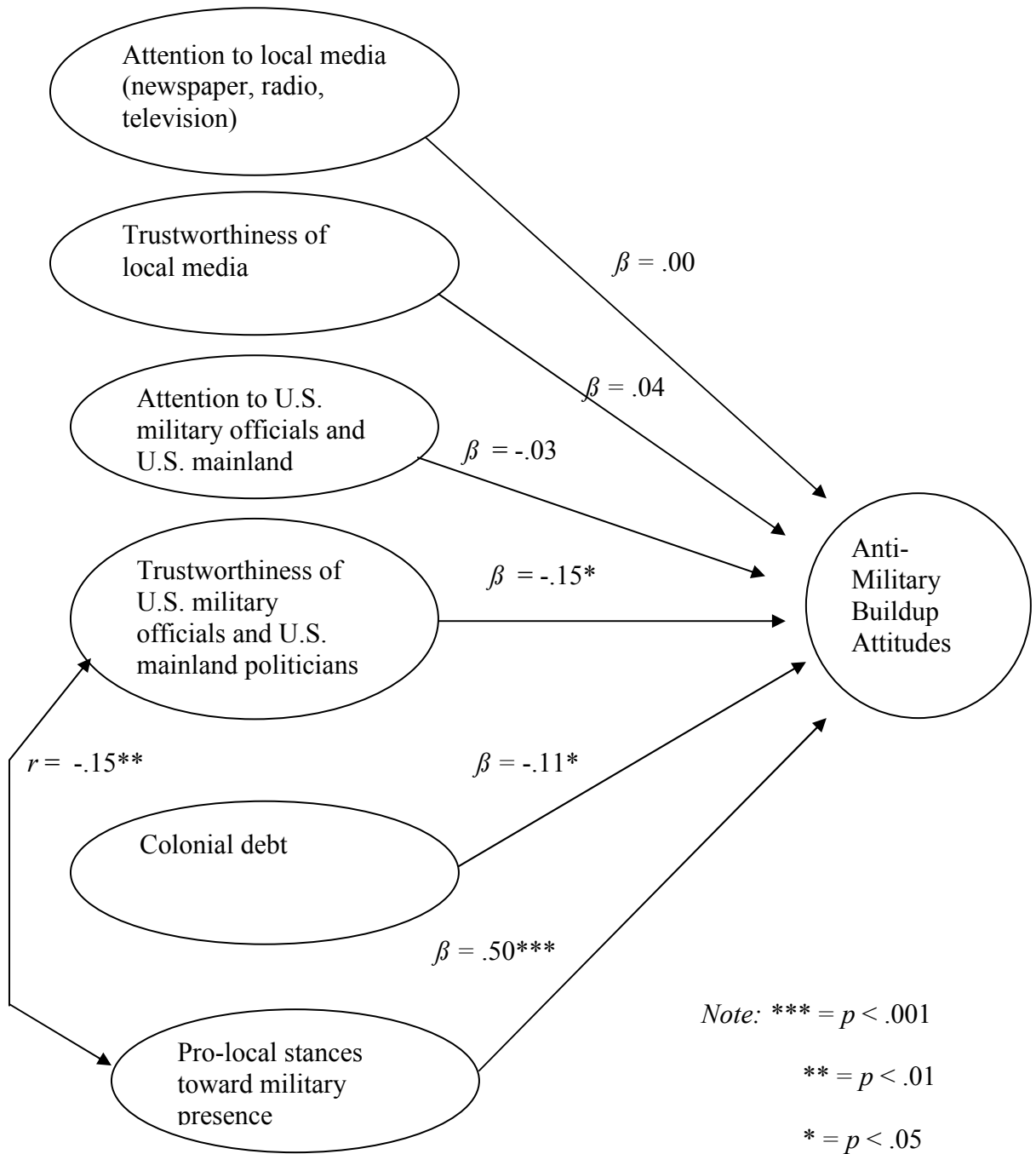


Figure 5b: Model With Results for Predictors of Anti-Buildup Attitudes



Predictors of Willingness to Express Opinions. Hierarchical multiple regression was used to test H9, H10, H11, and H12. Listwise deletion was used to deal with missing data.

In the regression models for H9, H10, H11, and H12, willingness to express opinions was regressed on the following variables: demographic variables of age, gender, education, income, and ethnicity (1 = Chamorro, or native of Guam; 2 = non-Chamorro, or non-native of Guam) entered in the first block; interest, perceived knowledge, and attention to local media entered in the second block; perceived congruence of opinions and conflict avoidance entered in the third block; the interaction of perceived congruence of opinions and conflict avoidance was entered in the fourth block. The effects of perceived congruence of opinions factor 1, R -square % = 52.6%, $F(8, 285) = 27.55$, $p < .001$ and perceived congruence of opinions factor 2, R -square % = 49.1%, $F(8, 280) = 15.97$, $p < .001$ were analyzed in separate regression models.

H9 predicted that the perception that others' opinions toward the buildup are congruent with one's own opinion (perceived congruence of opinions) will predict willingness to express opinions. Results showed that perceived congruence of opinions factor 1 ($\beta = .21$, $p < .001$) and factor 2 ($\beta = .12$, $p < .05$) predicted willingness to express opinions. H9 was supported.

H10 predicted that conflict avoidance will negatively predict willingness to express opinions. Results showed that conflict avoidance negatively predicted willingness to express opinions in the models for factor 1 ($\beta = -.12$, $p < .01$) and factor 2

($\beta = -.09, p < .05$). H10 was supported.

H11 predicted that conflict avoidance will moderate the relationship between perceived congruence of opinions and willingness to express opinions. Baron and Kenny's (1986) analytical framework for testing moderator effects was used to test H11. Using this analytical framework, the dependent variable was regressed on the independent variable, the moderator, and the product of the IV and moderator. To reduce multicollinearity problems, the main effect variables of perceived congruence of opinions and conflict avoidance were standardized before computing product terms. This method for reducing multicollinearity problems was specified by Cohen, Cohen, West, and Aiken (2003). Results showed a significant interaction between factor 1 and conflict avoidance ($\beta = .10, p < .05$), but not factor 2 and conflict avoidance ($\beta = .02, p > .10$). Results showed partial support for H11.

H12 predicted that interest, perceived knowledge, and attention to media will be positively associated with willingness to express opinions. Results showed that interest, perceived knowledge, and attention to media predicted willingness to express opinions in the models for factor 1 (interest: $\beta = .27, p < .001$; perceived knowledge: $\beta = .21, p < .001$; attention to media: $\beta = .10, p < .10$) and factor 2 (interest: $\beta = .32, p < .001$; perceived knowledge: $\beta = .32, p < .001$; attention to media: $\beta = .10, p < .001$). H12 was supported.

Table 23: Predictors of Willingness to Express Opinions, Perceived Congruence Factor 1 as a Predictor (2009 Final Mail Survey)

Note: *** = $p < .001$, ** = $p < .01$, * = $p < .05$

	<i>Model 1</i>	<i>Model 2</i>	<i>Model 3</i>	<i>Model 4</i>
Independent Variables	β	β	β	β
Age	.18**	.04	.05	.05
Gender	-.17**	-.04	-.02	-.02
Income	.02	-.04	-.04	-.04
Education	.07	-.11*	-.12**	-.12**
Ethnicity (1 = Chamorro, 2 = non-Chamorro)	-.12*	-.09*	-.09*	-.08#
	<i>R</i> -square (%) = 8.6%***, <i>F</i> -Change = 5.38***			
Interest	--	.33***	.27***	.27***
Perceived knowledge	--	.34***	.31***	.21***
Attention to media	--	.12*	.09#	.10#
	<i>R</i> -square (%) = 47%***, <i>F</i> -Change = 69.56***			
Perceived congruence of opinions factor 1: Family, friends, majority, future majority	--	--	.20***	.21***
Conflict avoidance	--	--	-.12**	-.12**
	<i>R</i> -square (%) = 51.6%***, <i>F</i> -Change = 5.69***			
Perceived congruence of opinions factor 1 X Conflict avoidance	--	--	--	.10*
	<i>R</i> -square (%) = 52.6%***, <i>F</i> -Change = 5.69***			

Table 24: Predictors of Willingness to Express Opinions, Perceived Congruence Factor 2 as a Predictor
(2009 Final Mail Survey)

Note: *** = $p < .001$, ** = $p < .01$, * = $p < .05$

	<i>Model 1</i>	<i>Model 2</i>	<i>Model 3</i>	<i>Model 4</i>
<i>Independent Variables</i>	β	β	β	β
Age	.18**	.04	.05	.05
Gender	-.16**	-.03	-.03	-.03
Income	.01	-.04	-.05	-.05
Education	-.07	-.11*	-.11*	-.11*
Ethnicity (1 = Chamorro, 2 = non-Chamorro)	-.12*	.09#	-.09*	-.09*
	<i>R-square (%) = 8.2%***, F-Change = 5.04***</i>			
Interest	--	.33***	.32***	.32***
Perceived knowledge	--	.34***	.33***	.32***
Attention to media	--	.12*	.10***	.10***
		<i>R-square (%) = 47.3%***, F-Change = 68.56***</i>		
Perceived congruence of opinions factor 2: local officials, the local newspaper, local TV and radio newscasts	--	--	.09*	.12*
Conflict avoidance	--	--	-.11*	-.09*
			<i>R-square (%) = 49%**, F-Change = 4.86**</i>	
Perceived congruence of opinions factor 2 X Conflict avoidance	--	--	--	.02
				<i>R-square (%) = 49.1%, F-Change = .31</i>

Figure 6a: Model With Results for Predictors of Opinion Expression (Factor 1)

Note: *** = $p < .001$, ** = $p < .01$, * = $p < .05$, # = $p < .10$

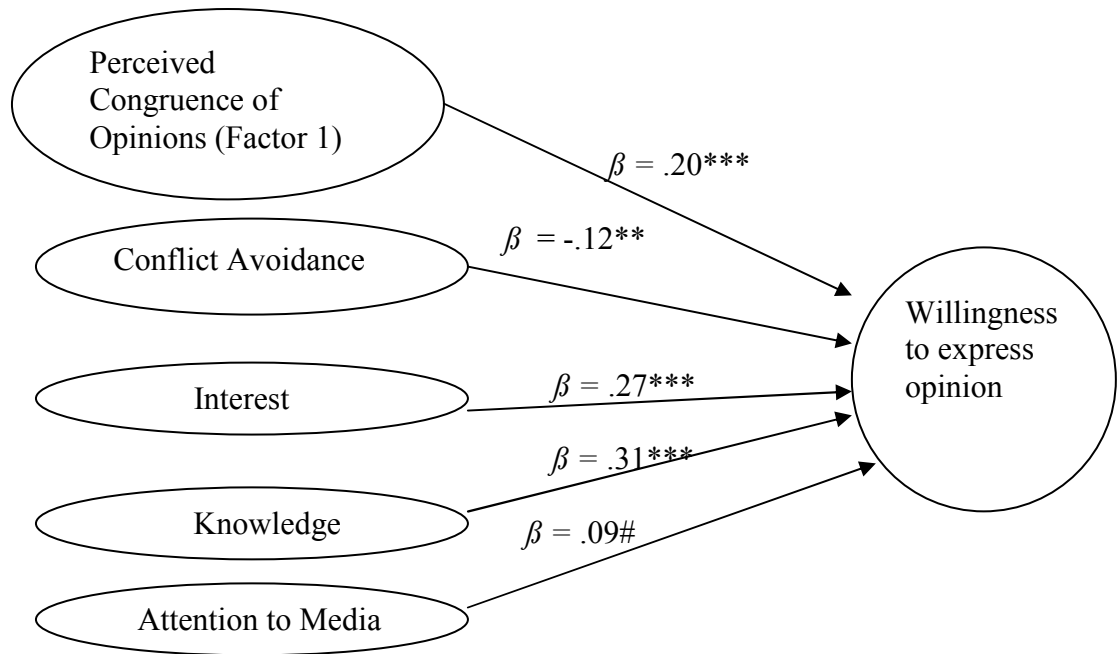


Figure 6b: Model With Results for Predictors of Opinion Expression (Factor 2)

Note: *** = $p < .001$, ** = $p < .01$, * = $p < .05$, # = $p < .10$

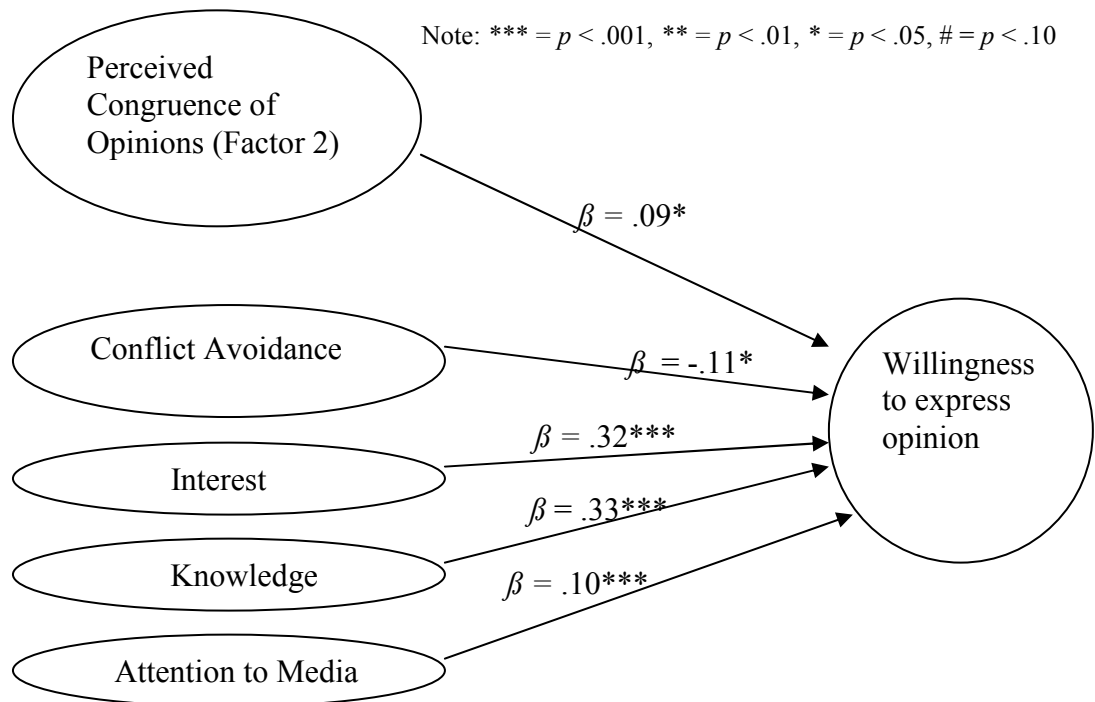


Figure 6c: Model With Results for Test of Moderation (Factor 1)

Note: *** = $p < .001$, ** = $p < .01$, * = $p < .05$

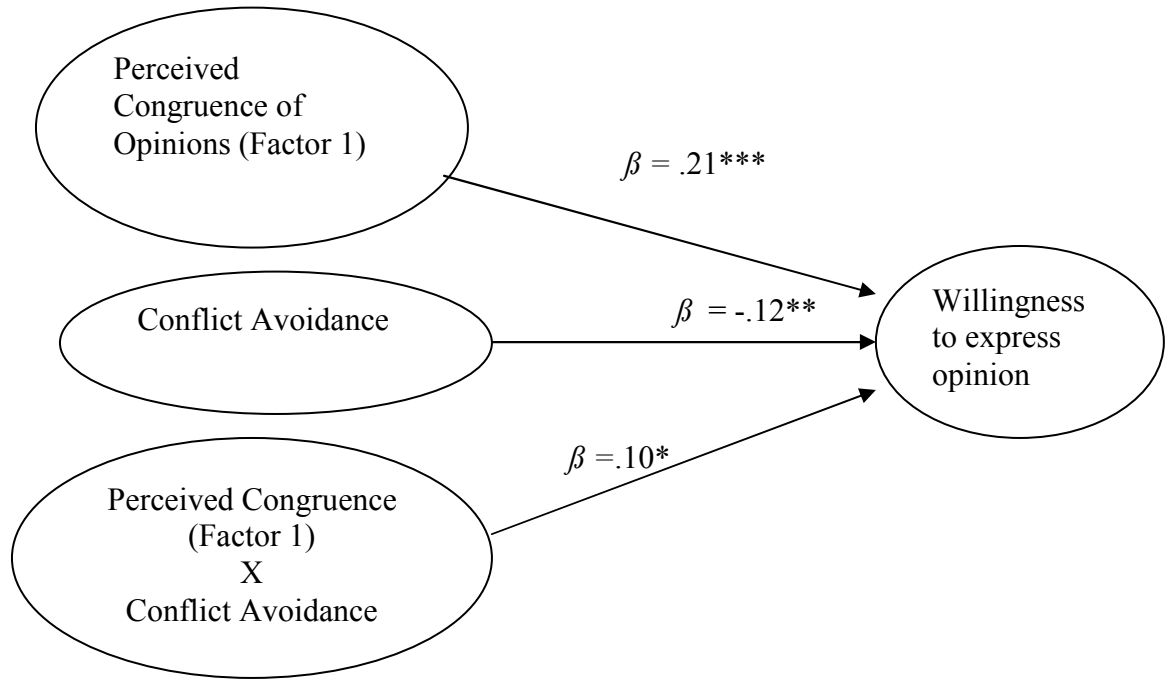


Figure 6d: Model With Results for Test of Moderation (Factor 2)

Note: *** = $p < .001$, ** = $p < .01$, * = $p < .05$

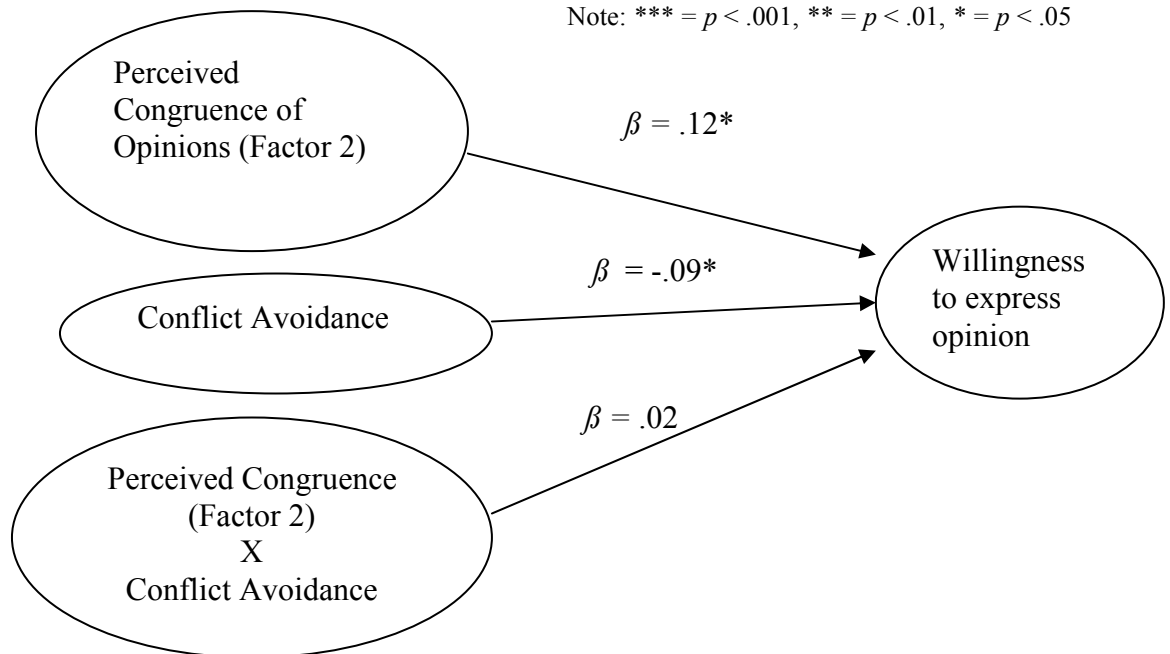


Table 25: Summary of results for tests of hypotheses

<i>Hypothesis</i>	<i>Result (Supported or Not Supported)</i>
H1a: Attention to local media (newspaper, radio, and television) will positively predict pro-buildup attitudes.	Not supported
H1b: Attention to local media will negatively predict anti-buildup attitudes.	Not supported
H2a: Trustworthiness of local media will positively predict pro-buildup attitudes.	Supported
H2b: Trustworthiness of local media will negatively predict anti-buildup attitudes.	Not supported
H3a: Attention to U.S. military officials and U.S. politicians will positively predict pro-buildup attitudes.	Partially supported
H3b: Attention to U.S. military officials and U.S. politicians will negatively predict anti-buildup attitudes.	Partially supported
H4a: Trustworthiness of U.S. military officials and U.S. politicians will positively predict pro-buildup attitudes.	Supported
H4b: Trustworthiness of U.S. military officials and U.S. politicians will negatively predict anti-buildup attitudes.	Supported
H5a: Colonial debt will positively predict pro-buildup attitudes.	Supported
H5b: Colonial debt will negatively predict anti-buildup attitudes.	Supported
H6: Colonial debt will be positively associated with trustworthiness of U.S. military officials and U.S. politicians.	Supported
H7a: Pro-local stances toward military presence will negatively predict pro-buildup attitudes.	Supported
H7b: Pro-local stances toward military presence will positively predict anti-buildup attitudes.	Supported
H8: Pro-local stances toward military presence will be associated with trustworthiness of U.S. military officials and U.S. politicians.	Supported
H9: The perception that others' opinions toward the buildup are congruent with one's own opinion (perceived congruence of opinions) will predict willingness to express opinions.	Supported
H10: Conflict avoidance will negatively predict willingness to express opinions.	Supported
H11: Conflict avoidance will moderate the relationship between perceived congruence of opinions and willingness to express opinions.	Supported for factor 1 of perceived congruence
H12: predicted that interest, perceived knowledge, and attention to media will be positively associated with willingness to express opinions.	Supported

Additional Analyses

Additional analyses were conducted to investigate whether there were differences among Chamorros and non-Chamorros in their attention to information sources, trustworthiness of information sources, attitudes, willingness to express opinions about the military buildup; and, personal support for the buildup. *t*-tests revealed that Chamorros were less likely to trust local media as sources to learn about the buildup ($M = 4.58, SD = 1.62$) than non-Chamorros ($M = 4.94, SD = 1.45$), $t(310) = -2.09, p < .05$; Chamorros were less likely to trust U.S. military officials and U.S. mainland politicians ($M = 4.07, SD = 1.81$) than non-Chamorros ($M = 4.57, SD = 1.63$), $t(303) = -2.48, p < .05$; Chamorros held less pro-buildup attitudes ($M = 5.38, SD = 1.56$) than non-Chamorros ($M = 5.91, SD = 1.24$), $t(311) = -3.31, p < .01$; Chamorros held more anti-buildup attitudes ($M = 4.90, SD = 1.44$) than non-Chamorros ($M = 4.40, SD = 1.63$), $t(310) = 2.85, p < .01$; Chamorros were less likely to support the buildup ($M = 4.80, SD = 2.00$) than non-Chamorros ($M = 5.45, SD = 1.86$), $t(311) = -2.93, p < .01$. Differences in willingness to express opinions between Chamorros and non-Chamorros were not statistically significant.

CHAPTER 7

DISCUSSION

Support for the Buildup

Public opinion polls show that international attitudes toward the U.S. military have grown negative (Pew, 2003, 2004). The results of the present study, however, showed that a majority of the Guam respondents were supportive of the impending military buildup on their island. These results are not surprising. Given that Guam has and continues to experience an economic downturn caused by its weakened tourism industry, many residents welcome new sources of revenue for the island. In the case of the present study, residents welcome revenues from the U.S. military.

So what predicts support for the buildup? Results indicate that personal support for the buildup was positively associated with perceived congruence of opinions, interest, perceived knowledge, attention to local media, trustworthiness of local media, attention to U.S. mainland politicians/military officials, trustworthiness of U.S. mainland politicians/military officials, colonial debt, willingness to express opinions, and pro-buildup attitudes. Support was also negatively associated with anti-buildup attitudes.

Attitudes Toward the Buildup

Factor analysis revealed that the items measuring pro-buildup attitudes loaded along a single dimension, and the items measuring anti-buildup attitudes loaded along another dimension. The results of the factor analysis (an exploratory factor analysis conducted within the framework of a confirmatory factor analysis, a more robust method of an exploratory factor analysis) showed the data fit a two-factor model better than a

one-factor model. The fit indices for the one-factor model were below acceptable standards (χ -square = 207.98, df = 9, p < .001; CFI = .70; SRMR = .14; RMSEA = .27), while the fit indices for the two-factor model were within acceptable standards (χ -square = 6.17, df = 4, p > .10; CFI = .99; SRMR = .01; RMSEA = .04) (for a discussion on fit indices and EFA within a CFA framework, see Brown, 2006).

Yet an alternative explanation exists as to why the pro-buildup items and anti-buildup items loaded along their respective factors. The items measuring pro-buildup attitudes were commonly measuring economic-related attitudes (“the buildup will bring in much needed federal funds to Guam,” “the buildup would improve Guam’s economy,” and “the buildup would create lots of jobs for Guam”), while the items measuring anti-buildup attitudes were commonly measuring environmental-related attitudes (“the buildup will make Guam overcrowded,” “the buildup will increase Guam’s crime rate,” and “the buildup would harm Guam’s environment”).

Predictors of Attitudes Toward the Military Buildup

Attention Versus Trustworthiness. Results showed that attention to local media did not significantly predict attitudes toward the buildup, and the link between attention to U.S. military officials/U.S. mainland politicians and pro-buildup attitudes was not significant after controlling for perceived trustworthiness of media and U.S. military officials/U.S. mainland politicians. The results showed that trustworthiness of media and trustworthiness of U.S. military officials/U.S. mainland politicians were both positively associated with pro-buildup attitudes. Trustworthiness of U.S. military officials/U.S. mainland politicians also negatively predicted anti-buildup attitudes. From a statistical

standpoint, it appears that trustworthiness is ‘stealing away’ the variance explained by attention in predicting attitudes toward the buildup (note that the models were diagnosed for multicollinearity issues, revealing acceptable levels of tolerance and VIF; hence, multicollinearity was not detected in the models). From a conceptual standpoint, these results suggest that paying attention to an information source is not enough to be influenced by it. Thus, perceiving a source as trustworthy is a more important factor than attention to a source in predicting whether or not one will be influenced by the source. These findings can be explained by the elaboration likelihood model (Petty & Cacioppo, 1986; Petty, Priester, & Brinol, 2002), which suggests that determining whether a source is trustworthy could facilitate greater elaboration of the messages communicated by the source. Greater level of elaboration may have then led to a greater likelihood that one’s attitudes toward the buildup were influenced by the perceived trustworthiness of the source.

The finding that trustworthiness of media was linked with pro-buildup attitudes provides support for the system-maintenance role of mass media (Hindman, 1996; Olien, Donohue, & Tichenor, 1995; Tichenor, Olien, & Donohue, 1976) and the agenda setting theory (McCombs & Shaw, 1972). The system-maintenance role of the mass media implies that, for the purpose of maintaining social cohesion, media on Guam may be more likely to downplay the negative impact of the military buildup (e.g., harm to Guam’s environment, overcrowding), while reporting primarily on the buildup’s positive benefits (e.g., increasing jobs, improving Guam’s economy). The agenda setting theory implies that the media can influence attitudes. Thus, exposure to media messages that

emphasize the benefits of the buildup (e.g., increasing jobs, improving Guam's economy) could lead to the formation of attitudes that are supportive of the buildup (recall that support for the buildup was measured by the following three items, which can also be interpreted as economic-related attitudes: "the buildup will bring in much needed federal funds to Guam," "the buildup would improve Guam's economy," and "the buildup would create lots of jobs for Guam"). On the other hand, trustworthiness of media did not predict anti-buildup attitudes. This may have been so because local media may have downplayed the negative impact of the buildup (e.g., how it might harm Guam's environment, increase overcrowding). Thus, the perceived trustworthiness of news reporting on the buildup would have led to more positive attitudes toward the buildup rather than negative attitudes.

An alternative explanation can also be provided as to why trustworthiness of media only significantly predicted pro-buildup attitudes and not anti-buildup attitudes. According to the obtrusive contingency hypothesis, personal experiences with issues or events in a community (the extent to which the issue is obtrusive to individuals) can diminish the use of media to learn about the issues or events, and hence, minimize the influence of media (for a thorough discussion on obtrusive contingency, see Demers, Craff, Choi, Pessin, 1989). Based on the obtrusive contingency hypothesis, it can be surmised that because Guam's residents found it difficult to obtain knowledge about the buildup's economic impact from personal experiences (e.g., personal discussions with relatives and friends), they may have relied more on local media to learn about the buildup's economic impact. Hence, because the items measuring pro-buildup attitudes

reflected economic-related attitudes, perceived trustworthiness of local news media predicted pro-buildup attitudes. By comparison, Guam's residents had direct personal experience with environmental-related problems such as overcrowding, increase in crime, and pollution. These problems were more obtrusive to the residents. As a result, they were less likely to rely on the news media to stay informed about these environmental problems. Thus, because the items measuring anti-buildup attitudes reflected environmental-related attitudes (e.g., overcrowding; increase in crime; increase in pollution), perceived trustworthiness of local news media did not predict anti-buildup attitudes.

The finding that trustworthiness of U.S. military officials/U.S. mainland politicians was linked positively to pro-buildup attitudes and negatively to anti-buildup attitudes could be explained by the likelihood that U.S. military officials/U.S. mainland politicians, in an attempt to rally support for the buildup, were more likely to emphasize the benefits of the buildup, while downplaying the negative impact that the buildup may have on Guam. Thus, the perceived trustworthiness of news U.S. military officials/U.S. mainland would have led to more positive attitudes toward the buildup rather than negative attitudes.

Colonial Debt. Ideological stances could also influence political attitudes (Gans, 1980; Rudolph, 2009; van Dijk, 1995), and in the context of Guam, pro-colonial ideological stances could serve to influence attitudes toward U.S. military occupation.

Results showed that colonial debt positively predicted pro-buildup attitudes and negatively predicted anti-buildup attitudes. The positive relationship between colonial

debt and pro-buildup attitudes is explained by the idea that the American liberation of Guam from imperial Japanese occupation instilled a mentality of reciprocity among the locals, leading the locals to feel they need to ‘pay back’ the U.S. for its war time efforts (Perez, 2002; Souder, 1991). This explanation is bolstered by the finding that older respondents, who may have lived through the Japanese occupation of Guam during World War II, or had parents who did, were more supportive of the buildup. This explanation is also bolstered by the finding colonial debt positively predicted trustworthiness of U.S. military officials/U.S. mainland politicians. The negative relationship between colonial debt and anti-buildup attitudes the greater Guam residents adhere to pro-colonial American stances, the less likely they will support pro-local stances, and vice-versa. Among other things, the negative relationship between colonial debt and anti-buildup attitudes also shows evidence for discriminant validity of the colonial debt subscale.

Pro-local Stances Toward Military Presence. Results also showed that pro-local stances toward military presence negatively predicted pro-buildup attitudes. This study also found that pro-local attitudes toward U.S. military presence were negatively associated with support for the buildup, while pro-local stances toward military presence was positively associated with anti-buildup attitudes. These relationships could be explained by the plausibility that the more likely Guam residents perceive non-local military personnel as ‘threats’ to the island’s self-determination, the less likely they are to support American military interests (see Wooden, 1995). This explanation is bolstered by the finding that pro-local stances toward U.S. military presence was negatively

associated with trustworthiness of U.S. military officials/U.S. mainland politicians.

Predictors of Willingness to Express Opinions

Perceived Congruence of Opinions and the Spiral of Silence. The *spiral of silence* proposes that individuals attempt not to violate social consensus for fear of being isolated, and as a result, they constantly monitor their social environment to determine the distribution of others' opinions (Noelle-Neumann, 1974, 1977). If individuals perceive their opinions are in the minority, they will choose not to speak those opinions; likewise, if they perceive the majority supports their opinions, they will choose to speak (Scheufele & Moy, 2000).

Findings of the present study showed that the perception that others' opinions were congruent with one's own led to being more willing to express opinions. These findings support the theoretical propositions of the *spiral of silence*. These findings also augment the results of previous international-based spiral of silence studies, that have found perceived congruence of opinions to predict willingness to express opinions (e.g., Kim, Han, Shanahan, & Berdayes, 2004).

Conflict Avoidance. Results also showed that conflict avoidance was negatively linked with willingness to express opinions. This finding supports empirical evidence from organizational behavior studies, which have shown that a tendency to avoid interpersonal conflict is associated with an unwillingness to participate in argumentative discussions (e.g., Cramer, 2002; Gero, 1985; Morris, Williams, Leung, Larrick, et al., 1998; Rahim, 1983). This finding also augments the research of Ulbig and Funk (1999), who showed that conflict avoidance is negatively associated with the likelihood of

participating in protests and campaign support, and the research of Hayes (2007), who found that individuals were more likely to engage in opinion expression avoidance when others around them were likely to disagree rather than agree with them.

Baron and Kenny's (1986) analytical framework for testing moderator effects was used to test whether conflict avoidance would moderate the effect of perceived congruence of opinions on willingness to express opinions. Using this analytical framework, the dependent variable was regressed on the independent variable, the moderator, and the product of the IV and moderator. This analysis revealed that conflict avoidance moderated the effect of perceived congruence of opinions with family, friends, majority, and the future majority (factor 1) on willingness to express opinions. However, a significant interaction effect was not found between conflict avoidance and perceived congruence of opinions with local officials, the local newspaper, local TV and radio newscasts (factor 2). The non-significant interaction between conflict avoidance and perceived congruence of opinions with local officials, the local newspaper, local TV and radio newscasts suggests that conflict avoidance works in tandem with perceptions of the climate of opinion held by interpersonal sources rather than mass media sources. Conflict avoidance is an interpersonal communication variable, so logically it would not interact with mass communication-related variables (e.g., perceived congruence of opinions with media) to predict willingness to express opinions.

Interest, Perceived Knowledge, and Attention to Media. Results of this dissertation show that interest on the buildup, attention to media sources, and perceived knowledge predicted willingness to express opinions. These results augment the findings

of previous studies, that political outspokenness is affected not only by one's perception of the climate of opinion, but also by one's interest in politics (Lasorsa, 1991), attention to political information sources (F.L.F. Lee, 2005), and knowledge (Salmon & Neuwirth, 1990).

Additional Analyses

Additional analyses revealed that Chamorros, compared with non-Chamorros, were less likely to trust local media as sources, less likely to trust U.S. military officials and U.S. mainland politicians, less likely to endorse the items measuring pro-buildup attitudes, more likely to endorse the anti-buildup attitudes, and less likely to support the buildup. These findings support the theoretical propositions of localism within the Pacific Islands (Wooden, 1995), which suggest that U.S. mainland culture is viewed as imposing a contemporary value system on Guam and changing Guam in ways that its indigenous people, the Chamorros, feel they have no control over.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

The present study's findings provide a glimpse of the effects of American colonialism on the mass and interpersonal communication processes that occur in an American Pacific Island.

The findings of this study reveal that *colonial debt* is one factor that leads colonized individuals to hold positive attitudes toward American military interests, and trust U.S. military officials and U.S. mainland politicians. On the other hand, pro-local stances could lead to the formation of negative attitudes toward American military interests, and less trust of U.S. military officials and U.S. mainland politicians. These findings show that culture-specific variables (*colonial debt* and pro-local stances toward the military) have an impact in influencing the attitudes held by Guam's residents. On a practical level, these findings imply that the reinforcement of pro-American colonial stances and the downplaying pro-local stances can both enhance the perceived credibility of American military and political leaders overseas.

The findings of the present study also showed some support for the agenda setting hypothesis and the system-maintenance role of mass media. Specifically, the results revealed that trustworthiness of media sources was positively associated with pro-buildup attitudes. Yet trustworthiness of media sources was not associated with anti-buildup attitudes. These findings underscore the importance of analyzing how mass media function to maintain the social systems of the communities they serve.

This study's findings also suggest that American Pacific Islanders would be more willing to express opinions regarding a political issue if the issue is of interest to them, if they pay attention to information sources, if they perceive that they are knowledgeable, if they perceive that the majority supports their opinions on the issue, and if they don't have a tendency to avoid conflict. On a practical level, these findings imply that when one seeks to mobilize Pacific Islanders to be more outspoken about the issues they face in their communities, it is important that one encourages the islanders to be interested in, to stay informed on, and to become knowledgeable about the issues. It is also important to instill among islanders with the awareness that conforming to others' views and avoiding conflicts may prevent them from expressing opinions.

In conclusion, as stated in the introduction above, this dissertation was guided by the following two questions:

- What leads Guam residents to support U.S. military occupation of their island?
- What leads Guam residents to express opinions about the U.S. military's occupation of their island?

According to the results of this study, colonial debt, trustworthiness of U.S. military officials and U.S. mainland politicians, and trustworthiness of local media could influence Guam's residents to support U.S. military occupation of their island. Pro-local stances, on the other hand, could lead to less support of U.S. military occupation. Finally, the results of this study suggest that Guam's residents would choose to express opinions regarding the U.S. military's occupation of Guam if they pay attention to

information sources, are interested and knowledgeable about military-related issues, are likely to perceive that others share their opinions regarding military-related issues, and are less likely to avoid conflict.

CHAPTER 10

LIMITATIONS

A few limitations should be addressed. First, surveys are prone to social desirability, and because no measure of social desirability was included in the survey, it could not be determined whether responses to the survey were influenced by the tendency to appear socially desirable. Second, the final mail survey yielded a cooperation rate of 34%. Some might argue that this cooperation rate was low. To the extent possible, future studies should attempt to obtain a higher response rate by adopting strategies such as increasing the amount of contacts, and increasing the financial incentive. Third, the sample only included registered voters. Some might argue that this sample lacked adequate coverage of the entire adult population of Guam. To the extent possible, future studies should survey both registered and non-registered voters on Guam. Finally, content analyses were not conducted to verify whether the media sources did have a tendency to downplay the negative impact of the buildup, and emphasize its positive benefits. Future studies may very well be conducted to correct for these possible limitations.

DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE STUDIES

As noted in the introduction of this study, research suggests that international public opinion toward the American military and its presence overseas has grown rather negative. The findings of this study reveal that *colonial debt* is one factor that leads colonized individuals to hold positive attitudes toward American military interests, while pro-local stances lead to the formation of negative attitudes. Future research is warranted to further investigate whether these variables—*colonial debt* and pro-local stances—might influence political-related outcomes among Guam residents in particular and Pacific Islanders in general. In particular, future studies might consider investigating whether these two variables might influence the perceived credibility of mainland American news sources and other news disseminated via non-traditional communication sources, such as the Internet.

The present study's finding regarding the link between conflict avoidance and less willingness to express opinions underscores the importance of conducting further studies to map out conflict avoidance's influence on opinion expression. For instance, future research might consider investigating whether exposure to media messages downplaying conflict might lead to a greater level of conflict avoidance. Such research is relevant to the contexts of smaller and more homogenous communities, where mass media regulate conflict through *distribution control*, or the selective dissemination and withholding of information perceived as 'threatening' to the community's day-to-day functioning (e.g., Hindman, 1996). Future research might also consider examining predictors of attitude

formation and opinion expression regarding health-related issues that affect Pacific Islanders.

Additional analyses of this study revealed that Chamorros, compared with non-Chamorros, were less likely to trust local media as sources, less likely to trust U.S. military officials and U.S. mainland politicians, less likely to endorse the items measuring pro-buildup attitudes, more likely to endorse the anti-buildup attitudes, and less likely to support the buildup. These findings underscore the importance of conducting further research to investigate whether Chamorros and non-Chamorros might differ in their predispositions toward the U.S. (e.g., their stereotypes of mainland American Whites).

Yet what is left out of the equation in the current study is the effect of personal experiences on media use and attitudes. According to the obtrusive contingency hypothesis, the greater the personal experiences with issues or events in a community (e.g., Demers, Craff, Choi, Pessin, 1989), the lesser the use of media, and hence, the lesser the influence of media. Based on this model, the following hypotheses could be tested by subsequent studies on issues related to the military buildup on Guam:

H: Greater personal experiences with economic-related issues (e.g., lost of a job) will lead to lesser attention to local media news reporting on the buildup's economic benefits (e.g., the buildup will provide jobs for Guam); lesser personal experiences with economic-related issues will lead to greater attention to local media news reporting on the buildup's economic benefits.

H: Greater personal experiences with environmental-related issues (e.g., the

buildup will be harmful to Guam's environment) will lead to lesser attention to local media news reporting on the buildup's environmental consequences (e.g., the buildup will destroy Guam's reefs); lesser personal experiences with environmental-related issues will lead to greater attention to local media news reporting on the buildup's environmental consequences.

H: Personal experience will mediate the effect of perceived trustworthiness of local media on attitudes toward the buildup.

Furthermore, what is left out of the equation in the present study is the effect of social capital variables on media use and willingness to express opinions. Thus, the following hypotheses could be tested by subsequent studies on Guam residents' willingness to express opinions on the military buildup:

H: Civic engagement will lead to greater use of the media to learn about issues related to the buildup.

H: Civic engagement will lead to greater willingness to express opinions on the buildup.

H: Community trust will lead to greater use of the media to learn about issues related to the buildup.

H: Community trust will lead to a greater willingness to express opinions on the buildup.

H: Interpersonal trust will lead to greater use of the media to learn about issues related to the buildup.

H: Interpersonal trust will lead to a greater willingness to express opinions on the

buildup.

Yet one could argue that this study's findings may not be relevant to other places in the world currently being occupied by the American military. The author clearly acknowledges that a single case study such as this one provides no definitive answers. Therefore, further studies need to be conducted among other American Pacific Island communities such as Hawaii and American Samoa, and other American islands such as Puerto Rico and the U.S. Virgin Islands.

All things aside, ultimately, what the author had hoped to provide was an informative discussion about an important issue that will have a significant and drastic impact on the residents of Guam. This issue is currently being left unrecognized by many around the world, who may also be unaware that the island of Guam even exists.

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APPENDIX 1: Human Subjects Approval from
Washington State University Institutional Review Board

MEMORANDUM

TO: ALEXIS TAN and Francis Dalisay,

FROM: Patrick Conner(for) Kris Miller, Chair, WSU Institutional Review Board
(3005)

DATE: 6/5/2008

SUBJECT: Certification of Exemption, IRB Number 10432-001

Based on the Exemption Determination Application submitted for the study titled Media Use, Discussion and Public Opinion Regarding the Military Buildup on Guam, and assigned IRB # 10432, the WSU Institutional Review Board has determined that the study satisfies the criteria for Exempt Research contained in 45CFR 46.

Exempt certification does not relieve the investigator from the responsibility of providing continuing attention to protection of human subjects participating in the study and adherence to ethical standards for research involving human participants.

This certification is valid only for the study protocol as it was submitted to the IRB. Studies certified as Exempt are not subject to annual review. If any changes are made to the study protocol, you must submit the changes to the IRB for determination that the study remains Exempt before implementing the changes. Request for Amendment forms are available online at <http://www.irb.wsu.edu/forms.asp>.

In accordance with federal regulations, this Certification of Exemption and a copy of the study protocol identified by this certification must be kept by the principal investigator for THREE years following completion of the project.

It is important to note that certification of exemption is NOT approval by the IRB. The study materials should not include the statement that the WSU IRB has

reviewed and approved the study for human subject participation. Please remove all statements of IRB Approval and contact information from study materials that will be disseminated to participants.

Washington State University is covered under Human Subjects Assurance Number FWA00002946 which is on file with the Office for Human Research Protections.

If you have questions, please contact the Institutional Review Board at (509) 335-3668. Any revised materials can be mailed to the Office of Research Assurances (Campus Zip 3005), faxed to (509) 335-6410, or in some cases by electronic mail, to irb@mail.wsu.edu.

Review Type: New Protocol
Review Category: Exempt
Date Received: 6/3/2008
Exemption Category: 45 CFR 46.101 (b)(2)
OGRD No.: N/A
Funding Agency: N/A

You have received this notification as you are referenced on a document within the MyResearch.wsu.edu system. You can change how you receive notifications by visiting <https://MyResearch.wsu.edu/MyPreferences.aspx>

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MEMORANDUM

TO: ALEXIS TAN and Francis Dalisay

FROM: Patrick Conner, Office of Research Assurances (3005)

DATE: 4/21/2009

The IRB staff have evaluated the proposed amendment to the Exempt study, "Media Use, Discussion and Public Opinion Regarding the Military Buildup on Guam" IRB #10432) and have determined that the amended study procedures remain exempt from IRB review under 45 CFR 46 (b) (2).

The study procedures have been amended to include:

- * Investigators have access to names and addresses of potential participants. These will not be linked to survey responses.
- * Addition of \$1 gift (not contingent upon completion).
- * deletion of the pre-notification letter.

You may conduct the study, as amended above, without further IRB oversight. Your department shall maintain oversight of the project.

Further changes will require that a new Request for Amendment form be completed and submitted to the IRB.

If you have questions, please contact the Institutional Review Board at (509) 335-3668. Any revised materials can be mailed to Office of Research Assurances (Campus Zip 3005), faxed to (509) 335-6410, or in some cases by electronic mail, to irb@wsu.edu.

Review Type: Amendment
Review Category: Exempt
Date Received: 4/20/2009
OGRD No.: N/A
Agency: N/A

Thank You,

Institutional Review Board
Patrick Conner
Office of Research Assurances
PO Box 643005
Pullman, WA 99164-3005
Phone:(509) 335-7195
Fax:(509) 335-6410
patrick_conner@wsu.edu

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APPENDIX 2: Guam Election Commission Approval to Acquire List of Registered Voters (Letter from the Director of GEC)

Dear Mr. Dalisay,

Thank you for your email. I have been out sick for the last 4 days, therefore, please accept my apologies for not responding sooner. Monica mentioned that she was going to have you send me an email regarding your request for information relative to the Voter Registration Listing. I'm sure that Monica informed you that the University of Guam maintains the Voter Registration list for the Guam Election Commission. Thank you for providing supporting documents to authenticate your request, however, it will not be necessary.

For purposes of following our process with respect to requesting for a copy of the Voter Registration Listing, I will accept your email as your formal request for a copy of the Voter Registration Listing. I will email an authorization to UOG and forward your email request. Once received by UOG, they will establish communications with you (via email) to discuss the details of your request.

Our point of contact at the UOG Computer Center is Evelyn Andrada. Her contact no. is (671) 735-2632 and her email address is eandrada@uguan.uog.edu

Thank you for your kind consideration and best wishes for a successful project. If I can be of any further assistance, please do not hesitate to contact me.

Senseramente,

John F. Blas

Executive Director
Guam Election Commission
Tel: (671) 477-9791-4
Fax: (671) 477-1895
Email: director@gec.guam.gov
Website: www.gec.guam.gov

APPENDIX 3: Survey Questionnaire

GUAM SURVEY OF OPINIONS ON THE MILITARY BUILDUP

An effort to understand the issues important to
Guam's local residents



Study conducted by:
Francis Dalisay, MA, PhD Candidate
The Edward R. Murrow College of Communication
Washington State University, Pullman, WA

Local mailing address:
173 E. Sta. Monica Ave.
Dededo, GU 96929

We would first like to ask you about some general opinions you have regarding the military buildup.

Q1. To what extent do you disagree or agree with each of the following statements?

Circle a number between 1 to 7. On this scale, 1 = Strongly Disagree, 7 = Strongly Agree

	Strongly Disagree				Strongly Agree		
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I support the military buildup.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
My friends share my opinions on the buildup.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
My family in general supports the buildup.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The majority of the people of Guam share my opinions on the buildup.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Local officials (or leaders) in general support the buildup.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
In the future, the majority of the people of Guam will share my opinions on the buildup.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The Pacific Daily News (PDN) in general supports the buildup.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Local officials (or leaders) share my opinions on the buildup.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
My friends in general support the buildup.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The Pacific Daily News (PDN) shares my opinions on the buildup.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Local TV and radio newscasts in general support the buildup.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
My family shares my opinions on the buildup.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The majority of the people of Guam support the buildup.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Local TV and radio newscasts share my opinions on the buildup.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
In the future, the majority of the people of Guam will show more support for the buildup.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Q2. If you were at a barbecue with YOUR FAMILY AND FRIENDS, and the topic of the buildup was brought up, how willing would you be to express your personal opinions on the buildup?
(Circle a number between 1 to 7)

Not Willing							Very Willing
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

Q3. If you were SITTING NEXT TO STRANGERS in a restaurant, and the strangers were discussing the topic of the buildup, how willing would you be to express your personal opinions on the buildup?

Not Willing							Very Willing
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

Q4. We plan to invite some survey respondents to A COMMUNITY MEETING and have a discussion about their personal opinions regarding the buildup. If you were invited to this meeting, how willing would you be to share your personal opinions on the buildup?

Not Willing							Very Willing
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

Q5. We also plan to invite some survey respondents to A TV INTERVIEW and have a discussion about the opinions they have regarding the buildup. If you were invited to this interview, how willing would you be to share your personal opinions on the buildup?

Not Willing							Very Willing
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

Q6. How *interested* would you say you are regarding issues on the buildup?

Not Interested							Very Interested
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

Q7. How *knowledgeable* would you say you are regarding issues on the buildup?

Not Knowledgeable							Very Knowledgeable
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

We would like to ask you about the information sources you use to stay informed or to know about the buildup.

Q8. How much attention do you pay to the following sources to stay informed or to know about the buildup?

	Not much Attention							Lots of Attention						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The Pacific Daily News (PDN)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Local TV and radio newscasts	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The Internet	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
K57 Talk Radio	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Local Officials (or Leaders)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
U.S. Military Officials	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
U.S. Mainland Politicians	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Your family	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Your friends	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Q9. How trustworthy would you say is the information about the buildup that you get from the following sources?

	Not Trustworthy							Very Trustworthy						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The Pacific Daily News (PDN)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Local TV and radio newscasts	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The Internet	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
K57 Talk Radio	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Local Officials (or Leaders)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
U.S. Military Officials	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
U.S. Mainland Politicians	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Your family	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Your friends	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

We would now like to ask about your opinions on certain issues.

Q10. To what extent do you disagree or agree with the following statements?

	Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree
I try to stay away from disagreement with others.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
It does not do me any good to express my opinion in public.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I usually avoid open discussions of differences with others.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I try to keep my disagreement with others to myself in order to avoid hard feelings.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Discussion with others will not make any difference, so I do not want to waste such time.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I try to avoid unpleasant exchanges with others.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I keep disagreements with others to myself to prevent disrupting my relationships with them.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
It's no use expressing my personal opinion, because it will not affect government policy anyway.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I generally avoid conflict situations with others.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Q11. To what extent are the following activities not important or important in your life?

	Not Important				Very Important		
Signing community petitions	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Attending public meetings, rallies, or speeches	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Attending religious services	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Contacting and talking to elected officials	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Volunteering for community organizations	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Giving or donating blood	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Donating money to a political or public interest campaign	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

We would now like to ask you about your opinions regarding local issues.

Q12. To what extent do you disagree or agree with the following statements?

	Strongly Disagree				Strongly Agree		
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The military buildup will create lots of jobs for Guam.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Guam is a good place to raise children.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The colonization of Guam by the United States produced very little damage to Guam's culture.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The military has taken advantage of Guam.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The military buildup will improve Guam's economy.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Most local residents on Guam can be trusted.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The United States is highly responsible for improving Guam's way of life.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The military buildup will make Guam overcrowded.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Non-local military personnel on Guam in general are arrogant.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The people of Guam should feel privileged and honored for being a part of the United States.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The military buildup will bring much needed federal funds to Guam.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The American ways of living or the American culture is generally more admirable, desirable, or better than Guam's culture.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The military buildup will harm Guam's environment.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Non-local military personnel on Guam in general lack respect for locals	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Guam's residents should praise the United States for liberating the island from the Japanese occupation of World War II.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Guam is a safe place.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Non-local military personnel on Guam should go back where they came from.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Guam's residents should be thankful to the United States for transforming Guam's way of life into an American way of life.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The military buildup will increase crime on Guam.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

We would like to ask you some questions about your neighbors.

Q13. How unlikely or likely do you think your neighbors will do the following things?

	Very Unlikely				Very Likely		
If your neighbors saw children spray-painting graffiti on buildings, your neighbors would do something about it.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
If your neighbors observed a fight breaking out in front of their house, your neighbors would do something about it.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
If an emergency arose in your home, how likely do you think your neighbors would be to help you?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Q14. How often did you do the following things with your neighbors?

	Never				Often		
Within the last year, how often did you visit your neighbors?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Within the last year, how often did you borrow or exchange things with your neighbors?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Within the last year, how often have you and your neighbors helped one another in small tasks, such as repair work?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Q15. What is your AGE? _____ Years

Q16. What is your SEX? (Check ONE) _____ Male or _____ Female?

Q17. What is the highest level of schooling, diploma, or degree you have completed? (Check ONE)

- | | |
|--|--|
| _____ (a) Less than high school | _____ (e) Bachelor's Degree (BA, BS) |
| _____ (b) High School Graduate | _____ (f) Masters Degree (for example: MA, MBA, MS, MFA) |
| _____ (d) Some College, Trade School, PhD, EdD) or Associate Degree (AA, AS) | _____ (g) Doctoral or Professional Degree (MD, JD, ...) |

Q18. What was your household's income in 2008? *(Check ONE of the following)*

- _____ (a) \$10,000 or less
- _____ (b) \$11,000-\$25,000
- _____ (c) \$26,000-\$50,000
- _____ (d) \$51,000-\$75,000
- _____ (e) \$76,000-\$100,000
- _____ (f) \$101,000-\$150,000
- _____ (g) Over \$150,000

Q19. What is your ethnic background? *(Check all that apply)*

- _____ Chamorro _____ Filipino _____ Korean _____ Caucasian _____ Japanese _____ Palauan
- _____ Chinese _____ From the Federated States of Micronesia (Chuuk, Kosrae, Pohnpei, or Yap)
- _____ Other (If other, what is your ethnicity?) _____

Q20. What village are you from? _____

**Is there anything else you want to say about the buildup or this survey? (Write your comments in the space provided below)*

--

**Thank you very much and Si Yu'us Ma'ase!
We hope you enjoyed filling out this questionnaire.**

We look forward to receiving your responses in the self-addressed stamped envelope we have enclosed.

APPENDIX 4: Survey Cover Letter



June 12, 2009

TERESITA DALISAY
173 E. SANTA MONICA AVE.
DEDEDO, GU 96929

Dear MRS. DALISAY,

My name is Francis Dalisay and I am a researcher from **Washington State University**. I am also from Guam, and I am currently on the island conducting a study on the **military buildup**.

I am asking for your help to understand how local residents feel about the buildup, and how they think they will be affected by a variety of things from the availability of jobs to the presence of roughly 8,000 U.S. Marines on the island. The best way we have of learning about these issues is by asking all different kinds of people who live on Guam to share their thoughts and opinions.

Only a small number of **registered voters on Guam** like yourself were chosen to participate in this study.

This survey should take approximately 10-15 minutes to complete. Your responses are voluntary and will be kept confidential. You may stop at any time if the questions make you feel uncomfortable. If you have any questions about this survey, please call me, Francis Dalisay, study director, at 632-7813, or email at fdalisay@wsu.edu. **I will be on Guam until July 28th**. This study has been reviewed and approved by the Washington State University Institutional Review Board for human subjects participation. You may contact the WSU Institutional Review Board at 509-335-9661 or email at irb@wsu.edu if you had any questions about your rights as a participant in this study.

By taking a few minutes to share your thoughts and opinions you will help us learn how residents truly feel about the buildup. A small **token of appreciation** is enclosed as a way for me to say thank you. **I hope you enjoy completing the questionnaire and I look forward to receiving your responses in the self-addressed stamped envelope I have enclosed.**

Many thanks and Si Yu'us Ma'nse,


Francis Dalisay, MA, PhD Candidate (Study Director)
The Edward R. Murrow College of Communication
Washington State University
<http://communication.wsu.edu/>



1650 NE Valley Rd / 11 Pullman, WA 99163
Phone Number: 206-833-5797, Email address: fdalisay@wsu.edu

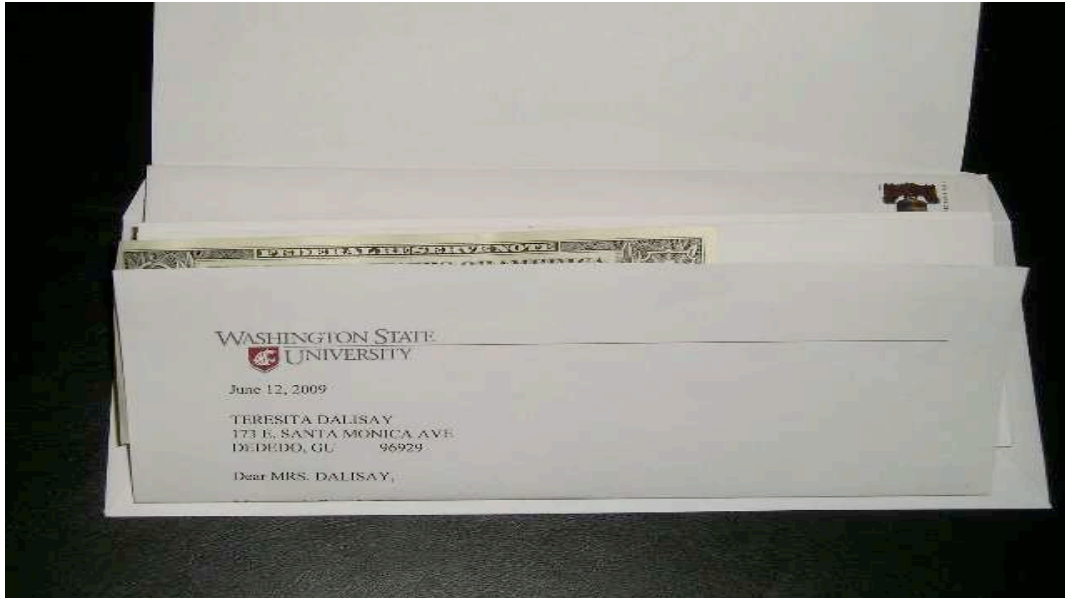
Local address: 173 E. Santa Monica Ave., Dededo 96929
Local Phone Number: 632-7813 (Use or discard here until July 28th)

APPENDIX 5: Mailer Materials



From Left to Right: Envelope, Self-Addressed Stamped Return Envelope, \$1 Bill for Incentive, Survey Questionnaire, and Cover Letter

APPENDIX 6: Appearance of Mailer Contents



APPENDIX 7: Postcard Reminder

Thank you for your Opinions on the Military Buildup

Last week a questionnaire was mailed to you because you were selected to help in a study about the military buildup on Guam.

If you have already completed and returned the questionnaire, please accept my sincere thanks.

If the questionnaire has not been completed yet, please complete it right away. I am especially grateful for your help with this important study.

If you did not receive a questionnaire, or if it was misplaced, please call me at 632-7813, or email at fdalisay@wsu.edu. I will be on Guam conducting this study until July 28. Your opinions are important for this study to be successful.

Sincerely,



*Francis Dalisay, PhD Candidate,
Washington State University*