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# Memories, Migration, & *Mahålang*:

# Depicting Chamoru Identity through the Lens of Diaspora

A thesis submitted in partial satisfaction

of the requirements for the degree Master of

Arts in Asian American Studies

by

Gabrielle Lynn Lupola

2024

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ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS

Memories, Migration, & *Mahålang*:

Depicting Chamoru Identity through the Lens of Diaspora

by

Gabrielle Lynn Lupola

Master of Arts in Asian American Studies

University of California, Los Angeles, 2024

Professor Keith L. Camacho, Chair

This thesis addresses the liminal yet privileged realities of the contemporary Chamoru diaspora both in Turtle Island (the continental United States) and in their home island of Guam. As an unincorporated U.S. territory since 1898, Guam and its people have both suffered and benefitted at the hands of the U.S. nation-state and its military apparatus. A central perk of their continued association with empire comes in the form of American citizenship, as Chamorus and other island residents are able to freely migrate between Guam and Turtle Island without major legal barriers or restrictions compared to other Pacific Island peoples and broader immigrants

from different countries. However, the people of Guam are unable to vote in presidential elections and their democratically elected delegate is unable to vote in Congress. In turn, they experience what can be considered “liminal yet privileged” citizenship. This thesis focuses on a particular subset of Guam’s Indigenous people, that of Generation X diasporic Chamorus, to document how they narrativize their own experiences in light of the island’s past and present political history. By unpacking political and militarized histories of the Chamoru people both in “on-island” and “off-island” settings throughout the twentieth century, this thesis argues that diasporic Chamoru migration, in all its iterations, is directly impacted and influenced by U.S. empire and militarism. With an emphasis on oral histories, it offers a compassionate yet critical approach to unpacking the complicated reality and trajectory of Chamoru community and culture. Utilizing diaspora as a lens, I continue to interrogate Guam’s ongoing political status as an unincorporated U.S. territory and contemplate the messy, complex, and beautiful experiences of Chamoru circular migration. This thesis

The thesis of Gabrielle Lynn Lupola is approved.

Evyn Christine Lê Espiritu Gandhi

Valerie J. Matsumoto

Keith L. Camacho, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2024

## *Dedication*

This thesis is dedicated to my fellow diasporic Chamorus. Biba!

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## Positionality: Personal Preface and Politics of Language

The vulnerability
Of the evening breaks me
I hear a Pisces song
From an open window
Lateen and laveering
And imagine an ocean
Between two exiles
Their boat made of dream trees
Moored in the silence of the seabed.

The verses are maroon
And flotsam
And I'd give anything
To be close to anyone.[1]

Pep Borja, "Canoes"

During my thesis defense, my committee panel and I discussed my propensity to start each chapter with an image of some sort: a poem, a photograph, even a personal anecdote. I gravitate towards doing so because I see stories and memories as microcosms of larger systems and structures at work. I see early childhood memories, family photos, and Chamoru poetry as points of entry for opening up a broader discussion between writer and reader as well as a chance for opening reflections on either side without a heavy-handed explanation—to let the piece or

[1] Pep Borja, *Dry Nights* (Mangilao: University of Guam Press, 2021).

picture breathe on its own. I intentionally wanted to preface my thesis with "Canoes" by Pep Borja given its themes of isolation and desire for belonging in the midst of feeling *mahålang.*

As a diasporic Chamoru born on Guam but raised stateside, I have always wondered what life would have been like otherwise. Throughout my own personal diasporic journey, I have undergone identity crisis from a young age: moving off-island as a baby to Arizona of all places was especially challenging. I grew up with an acute awareness of my differences because I lived in a predominantly white area and began to question what it meant to be "from Guam" or "to be Chamoru," and why that mattered. Informal conversations with other stateside Chamorus and more broadly diasporic Pacific Islanders reveal that this is often a shared experience. Just as Pep Borja fantasized an idyllic canoe, fashioned of dream trees despite the internalized feeling of floating like the remnants of a wreck in the Pacific, diasporic identity carries the dual potential to enact alienation and/or belonging. In a dialectical sense, both things can be true at once for children of diaspora such as myself. Although the whimsical nature of adolescence was certainly not lost on me, I often found myself imagining parallel universes mired in shifts relating to my own personal background and family history rather than wondrous fairytales beyond the confines of the world I was already born into. I found myself wondering: what if my immediate family or remote relatives had not decided to migrate, if it was indeed by choice, and instead remained in our home(is)land? What would that life have been like?

Perhaps my life would be riddled with stories my mother simultaneously reminisced about and renounced, chock full of misdeeds and mischief narrated by my father, and probably surrounded by cousins, fiestas, and endless island memories. From a very young age, as an off-island Chamoru, I heavily contemplated a plethora of alternative realities ranging from romanticizing Guam to idealizing American assimilation. Acting as an alternative to this island

fantasy, I began to daydream about fitting into the homogeneous, predominantly white society of Arizona instead. During my time at Coyote Trail (Tucson) and Zuni Hills (Peoria) elementary schools, I distinctly remember wanting my last name to be Johnson: to become Gabrielle Lynn Johnson, or Gabby Johnson for short, and embody a quintessential all-American (also known as white) girl. Akin to Borja, this portion of my adolescence was marked by an innate longing for intimacy and understanding; one in which I'd "give anything to be close to anyone," even if that meant abandoning my last name.[2]

This inclination towards Western names and assimilationist thinking was dispelled and assuaged every time my parents reminded me to be proud of my Chamoru and Italian heritage. After relocating to Oceanside, a beach city in San Diego with a more racially diverse demographic including Pacific Islander populations like Chamorus and Sāmoans, I felt more comfortable in my identity but increasingly inquisitive as well. At this stage in my life, I leaned more into the mixed portion of my identity. I was always, and still am, proud to be a Chamorrita, but my political consciousness regarding my ethnic background did not have the chance to bloom until university. As a college student, I was able to contemplate and critique aspects of both my Chamoru and Italian identity in a class setting, evolving my understanding of self under more broadly constructed identity markers like "Pacific Islander," "Indigenous," as well as operating under the umbrella framework of Asian American Pacific Islander (AAPI). I see all these monikers as opportunities for individual growth, communal connection, and potential for solidarity work. This is in no way to romanticize the controversial nature of such terms: to be

[2] Albeit a rather silly personal anecdote, an added layer of irony rests in the fact that my last name is Italian, deriving from the other side of my mixed heritage. Although Italians have already assimilated into American society and culture, my last name has always been a marker of "foreign" identity. The situation grew more humorous when I learnt of the fact my great grandparents added "-la" to the original "Lupo" to make it sound more American. It still sounds like it derives from elsewhere. Moreover, when I share my last name is Lupola with other Pacific Islanders, they often ask if I am Sāmoan because it sounds similar to some Sāmoan last names (take for instance, Tupuola).

Chamoru in a Pacific Islander setting is to be overshadowed and often forgotten by Polynesians (with little mention of our Melanesian cousins, all colonially constructed terms we fall in line with I might add), to be Pacific Islander in AAPI spaces is to be tokenized often, and to be Chamoru is to enact our own forms of prejudice against our fellow Micronesians. Instead, we must work to dispel such notions and seek collective self-determination and sovereignty: to recognize our struggles as interconnected. Until we are all free, none of us are free. This is especially important in light of genocide not only within Oceania and Turtle Island but occurring beyond, namely in the case of Palestine, the Congo, Sudan, and elsewhere. In the same way my people are subjugated to U.S. militarism and modern colonialism to this day, I recognize the struggles and resiliency of the Tongva/ Gabrieleño people I have been hosted by as a settler on their lands during my time at UCLA and Pomona College. Throughout my time in higher education, I am grateful to have explored more than just the personal as political, but to find people from different backgrounds who also seek to protect and promote values of collectivity.

As a diasporic Chamoru, I am guided by my ancestral lineage and cultural values as well as personal experiences when it comes to navigating the varying environments on my own terms. In this way, I have had to reconcile differences and reach compromises with my personal politics and the reality of the situation. In regard to the Chamorro v. CHamoru debate, I felt it best to stick with Chamoru as a middle ground given that I am not fluent in the language myself and I also grew up accustomed to Chamorro. I will only use other variations of the term if quoting another source that utilizes it another way for the sake of proper citation. In terms of Guåhan versus Guam, I use Guam for the sake of consistency. I referred to our shared home island as Guam, as did my interview participants, throughout our oral history conversations and continue to do so in this thesis to avoid Guåhan/Guam (mainly for the sake of word count/page space). I

also remain steadfast in my commitment to perpetual usage of phrases like "on-island," "off-island," as well as "on Guam." Although they may not be grammatically correct, I invoke the vernacular as a way to remind my readers and myself of foregrounding oral histories and vernacular sayings utilized in diaspora. In terms of the United States, I will utilize variations such as its abbreviated form the U.S., the continental United States, as well as Turtle Island. Turtle Island is a term utilized by Indigenous people in reference to Native creation stories depicting the collective landmass we now know as North American being formed on the back of a gigantic turtle. I find it important to utilize a mix of these terms as a reminder of continued Indigenous presence and resilience despite U.S. empire's hegemony over their land in addition to erecting more concrete ties and understandings between Native Americans and Pacific Islanders.

Beyond the politics of spelling and terminology, my project provides a particular subsect of diasporic experiences and does not seek to homogenize their contribution as indicative of their entire generation nor the totality of the Chamoru diaspora. Through their unique perspectives and personal narratives, I hope my thesis can resonate with others whether or not they are Chamoru or part of a diaspora themselves. Through an emphasis on oral histories, I hope universal themes of care and compassion come through my writing for my participants as I aimed to treat their stories with the utmost respect and love whilst also contextualizing such responses in light of historical background and contemporary conditions. My journey cultivating this thesis has taken me many places, both physically and psychologically, and I am so happy it is finally ready to be shared with whoever comes across it. I am extremely grateful to my participants in particular for opening themselves up and sharing their life stories. During my defense, I also realized this project became a way for me to transmit guidance and advice from one generation to another (essentially to request information from my parents and others their age with lived and learned

experience well beyond my years for those of us in the Millennial and/or Gen Z bracket such as myself to actually listen) after feedback from my committee. I am grateful for their time and vulnerability and hope they know how much *guinaiya* I carry out of gratitude for their contributions to this thesis.

I hope this project can provide insight into the Chamoru diaspora for years to come.

## Introduction: Deconstructing Diaspora and Delineating Inter-Ethnic Commonalities

"Where are you from?" "The Mariana Islands," I answered. He replied: "I've never heard of that place. Prove it exists." And when I stepped in front of the world map on the wall, it transformed into a mirror: the Pacific Ocean, like my body, was split in two and flayed to the margins. I found Australia, then the Philippines, then Japan. I pointed to an empty space between them and said: "I'm from this invisible archipelago." Everyone laughed.

And even though I descend from oceanic navigators, I felt so lost, shipwrecked on the coast of a strange continent. "Are you a citizen?" he probed. "Yes. My island, Guam, is a U.S. territory." We attend American schools, eat American food, listen to American music, watch American movies and television, play American sports, learn American history, dream American dreams, and die in American wars. "You speak English well," he proclaimed, "with almost no accent." And isn't that what it means to be a diasporic CHamoru: to feel foreign in a domestic sense.[3]

Craig Santos Perez, "Off Island CHamorus"

Diasporic identity is often an exploratory journey built on constant rediscovery and reconnection both on an individual and communal basis regardless of physical distance. Through this snippet of "Off Island CHamorus," Perez explores the disconnect between his own intimate familiarity with American culture, customs, and media whilst his teacher and classmates know little to nothing about where he comes from. All Chamorus are far too familiar with this: having to explain what Guam is and course-correcting along the way, sometimes to an unbearable degree. Throughout such interactions, we have to decide how to narrate not only the history of Guam in connection to the United States, but also the path from our home island to Turtle Island. Akin to other communities of color who are not Indigenous to the land they reside on, we too are immigrants and in turn settlers; yet, we do not face similar barriers of entry based on legal status. Given the island's historical and ongoing ties with the United States, its people have both suffered and benefited from American oversight. As a Pacific Islander population with privileged yet liminal citizenship, we remain wrapped up in U.S. empire both at home and in diaspora.

[3] Craig Santos Perez, "Craig Santos Perez reads and discusses Off-Island CHamorus on June 20, 2020," *Library of Congress*, 2020, https://www.loc.gov/item/2020785208/.

Diaspora, the dispersion or spread of a people from their original homeland, can occur under a variety of circumstances: war, genocide, natural disasters, and an extensive range of outside forces influencing high rates of outmigration.[4] For Chamorus, the Indigenous people of Guam and the larger Marianas archipelago in Micronesia, there exists a widespread disparity of employment, education, and broader economic "opportunity" between our home island of Guam and the continental United States. This has led to successive waves of Chamoru outmigration. All of these reasons for leaving are unfair and unfortunate symptoms of settler colonialism and militarism which indicate how Chamorus are forced to navigate systemic issues and negotiate a positionality imposed on them by outsiders. My thesis focuses on a particular subset of diasporic Chamorus, those born in the range of 1965-1980 or what is often referred to as Gen X, and how the agency they exert in their shared lifetime thus far is a direct byproduct of policies and politics regarding their island's particular form of access to the continental United States. I interviewed three Chamoru individuals who spent a majority of their upbringing on Guam and now live stateside; the other half are Chamorus who grew up in the continental United States yet decided to permanently reside on-island. Rather than reinforce a binary model, I see these patterns as two sides of the same coin: that of the modern Chamoru diaspora undertaking circular migration.

---

[4] Typical studies first focused on historical migrations like that of the Jewish diaspora and the Armenian diaspora, two groups expelled from areas of origin due to formally recognized genocide by international law standards. To meet the criteria of classical diasporic identity akin to the Jews and Armenians, the dispersal cause had to be forced (genocide), there would be a "eventual" return to a real or imagined homeland, and any kind of assimilation into the host country was not to be expected. In the case of more modern conceptions of diaspora, the rigidity of such qualities diminished to incorporate voluntary migration (the circumstances of which can be debated if we are discussing quality of life, opportunity gap, socioeconomic mobility, etc.), transnational linkages between diasporic populations and their places of origin, and whether or not the diasporic population in question is able to enact or exhibit biculturalism in their new host nation. For more information, refer to:

Robin Cohen, *Global Diasporas: An Introduction* (London: Routledge, 2022), https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203928943.

Kevin Kenny, *Diaspora: A Very Short Introduction* (New York: Oxford Academic, 2013).

Melissa Siegel, "Diaspora: Origins, Evolution, and Engagement," *Youtube*, uploaded January 10th, 2021, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=awPKGBzCcXY.

Despite my original intentions of outlining a traditional comparative study, it became clear that such a harsh delineation between "on-island" and "off-island" Chamoru identity would do a disservice in attempting to depict the diversity of the modern Chamoru diaspora.[5] In the process of reflecting on my compilation of oral histories, I realized that each of their stories complicated ideas of linear movement and some even dispelled liberal notions of progress. My presupposed dichotomy between the two groups proved unrealistic and could not capture the full picture of messy migration routes undertaken by my research participants as none of them were purely "born and raised" on or off island; they have all traveled to and from Guam at some point in their lives. In this way, their contact with the island should be framed under circular migration.

Moreover, each of their interview materials began to coalesce as part of a larger narrative about the role of generational attitudes and understandings when it came to personal ideations of Chamoru identity, community, and culture. Even though U.S. empire and militarism have widely affected the Chamoru people altogether, its influence varies from generation to generation. As members of Generation X, this interview group shared sensibilities regarding themes like patriotism, political affairs, cultural events, and the like in a somewhat consistent or similar manner. Baby Boomers, the preceding generation, gravitates towards a more pro-American viewpoint in light of mid-to-late 20$^{th}$ century history which will be discussed in Chapter One, whilst its inheritors, Millennials and Generation X (in which I lean towards the latter grouping) tend to be more critical of the American government and its negative impact on our island and its people, especially when we think of the U.S. military, high enlistment rates, and environmental degradation. For Gen X, they occupy this ambiguous grey area between seemingly opposite sides

[5] I am extremely grateful to Evyn Christine Lê Espiritu Gandhi for bringing this to my attention during my thesis defense.

of the spectrum.[6] Their placement in the chronology of evolving Chamoru sentiments towards their current colonizer can provide fascinating insight into a burgeoning, inbetween mindset: one that is cognizant of a longer history of both struggle and resilience but accustomed to certain modes and ways of moving in the world as currently middle-aged diasporic Chamorus. Their life stories both challenge and affirm what is commonly referred to as Guam's liberation narrative by revisiting late 20th century history through the viewpoint of Chamoru adolescence and adulthood.

Given the converse patterns of movement held by my interviewees, the importance of place remains essential to understanding the development of their separate yet interconnected livelihoods as diasporic Chamorus. In addition to major events and generational attitudes, where they lived and at what time in their lives still matters. Aided by memory retrieval as well as photograph analysis, my thesis addresses the entangled nature and intricacies of Guam's colonial relationship to the U.S. nation-state through its historical and lingering impact on Chamorus through the lens of diaspora.

Since I only feature stories from six people, I realize the limitations of my project as well as its potential for providing more detailed findings given its specificity. I do not seek to homogenize the broad variety of diasporic Chamoru experiences, nor do I intend to generalize Chamoru outmigration as a singular route. Instead, I hope to capture a snapshot of a particular generation and what incentives existed for them to transplant themselves permanently to a place that is contrary to where they grew up. As the most widely dispersed Pacific Islander population

[6] Naturally such statements can be viewed as generalizations, especially when we think about those who do not fit the box I set out (radical Chamoru elders against militarization, young pro-American Chamorus, etc.)—in this way, I do not declare this as a definitive marker of all who are born into such-and-such generation, but trends at large.

in the United States, Chamorus are a unique group because we have no set ethnic enclaves. Unlike Chinatown, Little Tokyo, or the like, we have no "little Guam."

However, we have grown to possess pockets of community across the country. From up and down the West Coast to Washington D.C., wherever there's a military base you can most likely find a Chamoru or two. In addition to the scattered infrastructure of the U.S. military-industrial complex (both across the nation and around the globe), Chamorus also tend to migrate and settle in areas providing educational or employment options that either expand beyond what is offered or simply cannot be found back on Guam. However, it is unfair to write off what benefits are brought to one's quality of life and overall well-being by choosing to live and stay on Guam.

By including narratives of return migration and permanent settlement, I also showcase a preexisting and growing interest within the stateside Chamoru community to reconnect with culture and community. By letting go of continental comforts, return migrants disrupt what is seen as an abundance versus scarcity model. Their sheer presence on-island begs us to ask: what opportunities lie in wait for diasporic Chamorus who move back? Why did they choose to return despite major shifts in lifestyle? Focusing primarily on preconceived notions of socioeconomic mobility, the act of deliberate return migration and settlement challenges the idea that what we consider "opportunity" only exists elsewhere or off-island. As my cousins who grew up and still live on-island often say, Chamorus on Guam are "lucky we live GU"—this thesis takes seriously reasons for leaving and returning on behalf of both contingents of diasporic Chamoru migration.[7]

---

[7] This is a saying my cousin Savannah Medler and her partner Argee would say about their lifestyle on Guam and their desire to stay. When I was hosted by this side of the family during my time on Guam during summer 2021, Savannah and I would often have discussions about the pros and cons of living on island. "GU" refers to Guam and is pronounced "goo."

In addition to exploring the reasons why Chamorus make huge migrations that deeply impact their own and others' livelihoods, their personal decisions are intrinsically implicated in larger processes of settler militarism and cultural revitalization. In the vein of Alfred P. Flores and Juliet Nebolon, settler militarism is a structure which incorporates island entities, like Guam and Hawai'i, and its people, namely its Indigenous population as well as minority settler communities, into the fold of American empire via the military specifically.[8] It is a specific convergence point in which these twin systems of settler colonialism and the military industrial complex intertwine. In turn, both land dispossession and racialization of civilian-turned-militarized labor expands American military goals and interests. As for cultural revitalization, efforts to improve conditions on island and promote overall Chamoru pride throughout recent decades may play a significant role in how stateside Chamorus are compelled to return home.

Given the island's present political status as an unincorporated U.S. territory, Chamoru people undertake migration patterns that are always informed by U.S. militarism and American ideals of opportunity. Despite these seemingly fixed conditions, the Chamoru community also has the capacity to be influenced by their Indigenous ways of knowing and being, including the concept of *inafa'maolek* and its core components of care, comfort, community, and reciprocity.[9] I argue the importance of this study not only lies in its ability to showcase a breadth of settlement

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[8] Nebolon, Juliet. ""Life Given Straight from the Heart": Settler Militarism, Biopolitics, and Public Health in Hawai'i during World War II." *American Quarterly* 69, no. 1 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2017): pp. 23- 45, https://doi.org/10.1353/aq.2017.0002.

[9] *Inafa'maolek* is an all-encompassing term of Indigenous ways of knowing and being in the Chamoru context. In her *Guampedia* post on this core tenant of *i kustumbren Chamoru*, or customs and traditions of Chamoru culture, Dr. Lilli Perez-Iyechad discusses differing takes on the term: For Dr. Katherine Aguon, it is the foundation of Chamoru culture with six traditional values (*respetu*, *manginge/nginge'*, *mamahlao*, *chenchule'*, *che'lu,* and *påtgon*); Dr. Lawrence Cunningham viewed it as a key value of the Chamoru people, depending on a spirit of cooperation, which is the core from which Chamoru culture revolves or emanates from. I strongly identify with Iyechad's emphasis on the role of reciprocity in Chamoru culture as well as modern applications of the tenet. For more: Lilli Perez-Iyechad, "Inafa'maolek," *Guampedia*, last modified February 7th, 2023, https://www.guampedia.com/inafamaolek/.

patterns premised on a multitude of factors, but also its capacity to illuminate the complex reality of Chamoru identity caught up in the U.S. nation-state and American concepts of racialization.

Moreover, several of my interview participants are implicated in settler militarism via familial connections, but none of them enlisted in the U.S. military themselves. By evading enlistment, they exhibit a privilege other Chamorus are not afforded—this fact attests to the centrality of class dynamics when discussing the modern and evolving Chamoru diaspora. As a direct descendant and inadvertent inheritor of a colonial legacy lasting well over a century, it will always bear the burden of militarization; however, it is not necessarily guaranteed to perpetuate the potential and perceived promise of the so-called "American dream" as we move forward.

This thesis seeks to address the following essential research questions: What does it mean to be a diasporic Chamoru? How are we implicated in U.S. empire? How do diasporic Chamorus make sense of their identity and stay connected to culture and community whilst living away from home? What does *mahålang* mean and look like for diasporic Chamorus of Generation X? How do ideas of authenticity and belonging play a role in how individuals identify with their own culture and community? And lastly, how are Chamoru culture, community, and migratory patterns impacted by and indicative of larger power structures?

Before diving fully into Chamoru livelihoods, I aim to ground this research in deeper understandings of diaspora as a framework as well as connecting our struggle to other ethnic communities across Turtle Island. Although primarily rooted in Asian American and Pacific Islander Studies, the following section will contemplate the histories of Black, Indigenous, and more broadly People of Color (BIPOC) movements for justice and our interrelated issues.

Our Plight in Conversation with Others: Diasporic Framing and Inter-Ethnic Commonalities

The meaning and usage of the word "diaspora" in the realm of migration and settlement has grown to encompass more than traditional cases of dispersion and, as of recently, move towards including ethnic communities often categorized as "Other" as well. Rather than simply a migration of people from an area, diaspora encompasses both the route itself and underlying root causes. In turn, the term diaspora has become globalized and applied to varying groups for the purpose of engaging with hidden histories. Its mere reference serves as a signal for readers, hinting at reasons (formally recognized or otherwise), why such mass migrations occurred at all.

In the case of the Irish diaspora, the significance of their first major wave during the 19th century was spurred by bigger and broader problems than potato blight: "In reality, the Great Hunger was the result of British conquest and subsequent neglect."[10] Rather than merely the mass spoiling of a key crop, also referred to as the Great Famine, it was actually symptomatic of a larger issue: the colonial relationship between Ireland and England. Intentional ineptitude at the hands of a colonial government, which categorically prioritizes the potential for profit rather than the promise of protecting people, leads to exacerbated mortality and migration rates.

This colonial concept of land grab and subsequent spread is nothing new, especially for Indigenous peoples across Turtle Island and Oceania: the arrival of outsiders was always ridden with brutality, infantilization, and dehumanization. Ancient Chamorus of Guam and California Indians of Alta California (what we now call and consider a vast portion of the West Coast of the

[10] Ruby Lewis, "Session 1: Panel 1: Presenter 1 (Paper) -- "To Hell or Connaught:" How British Colonizers Both Caused and Benefitted from the Irish Potato Famine," *Young Historians Conference* (2021), p. 26, https://pdxscholar.library.pdx.edu/younghistorians/2021/papers/26.
Jason King, Christine Kinealy, and Gerard Moran, *The History of the Irish Famine* (Milton Park: Taylor and Francis, 2020), https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315513898.

United States) shared trauma from Spanish conquistadores (soldier and priest alike) consisting of disease, famine, violence, and war over labor, land, and life itself.[11] Their overlapping and ongoing experiences of violence and dehumanization attest to a joint, painful past of treating Indigenous peoples as "savage" and in need of "saving" whilst their villages were being pillaged, native language usage outlawed, people of all ages and genders violated, and ways of life irrevocably altered. The gravity of such heart-wrenching histories is hard to encapsulate, but Indigenous and settler ally scholars have been pushing those in and outside of community to think more critically about the source of our struggles as well as honor the truth of our ancestors' experiences and our own today as well. Moreover, works like Jodi Byrd's *The Transit of Empire* and Manu Karuka's *Empire's Tracks* push the academy to reckon with migration patterns and communal histories wrapped up in empire and economic development.[12] Such interventions dispel historical inaccuracies and can lead diasporic studies to avoid being wrapped up in liberal multiculturalism and instead attend to the invisibilized legacy of Native land theft and genocide.

Within the realm of diasporic studies, the necessity of identifying with the word genocide is especially insightful. In light of a well-known dispersal, that of the Jewish diaspora post-World War II, invocation of the word "holocaust" regarding other communities pushes past the idea of this term being so sacrosanct it can only apply to Jewish communities who survived the ravages

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[11] For more information, refer to:
Vicente M. Diaz, *Repositioning the Missionary: Rewriting the Histories of Colonialism, Native Catholicism, and Indigeneity in Guam* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2010).
Harper Benjamin Keenan, "Selective Memory: California Mission History and the Problem of Historical Violence in Elementary School Textbooks." *Teachers College Record* vol. 121, no. 8 (2019), 1–28. https://doi.org/10.1177/016146811912100805.

[12] Jodi A. Byrd, *The Transit of Empire: Indigenous Critiques of Colonialism* (University of Minnesota Press, 2011) http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.5749/j.ctttv97j.

Manu Karuka, *Empire's Tracks: Indigenous Nations, Chinese Workers, and the Transcontinental Railroad* (University of California Press, 2019) https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctvd1c7m4.

of war in Europe. Reflecting on the legacy of her troubled yet resilient grandfather, Tom Miranda (1903-1988), poet Deborah Miranda (the mixed-blood daughter of an Ohlone-Costanoan Esselen Nation man with Santa Ynez Chumash tribal ancestry and an English/French and Jewish woman from Beverly Hills) notes, "His life story is not just about being Californian, but being California Indian after a great holocaust: out of an estimated one million Indigenous inhabitants, only twenty thousand survived the missionization era."[13] Her dual evocation of the term "holocaust" followed by statistics of morbidity beg the reader to take Native survivance seriously.[14]

For Guam-based clinical psychologist Dr. Juan Rapadas, his quest to understand the intergenerational transmission of violence came through his study of Chamorus on Guam. By comparing and reflecting on Western conceptions of Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD), Indigenous perceptions of the "soul wound" and healing colonial violence were brought into conversation with the topic of the Holocaust and its impact on those who survived such a horrendous event. In his article, entitled "Transmission of Violence: The Legacy of Colonialism in Guam and the Path to Peace," Dr. Rapadas asks us to consider, "Are there similarities between these two distinct and very different cultures of Chamorus and Jewish people? Can the detailed study of the Holocaust victims help the USA understand the Chamoru colonized experiences?"[15]

Per Rapada's own logic, any legitimate path forward towards reconciliation, forgiveness, and the peace wanted and deserved by Indigenous peoples demands that "colonizers, invaders,

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[13] Deborah Miranda, *Bad Indians: A Tribal Memoir* (Berkeley: Heyday, 2013), 76. See also: Benjamin Madley, *An American Genocide: The United States and the California Indian Catastrophe, 1846-1873* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017).
[14] Survivance is a term which combines survival and resistance to indicate survival as a form of resistance. It is mainly invoked in relation to Indigenous peoples, namely Native Americans/Alaska Natives. For more, refer to: Gerald Robert Vizenor, *Survivance: Narratives of Native Presence (*Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008).

[15] Juan M. Rapadas, "Transmission of Violence: The Legacy of Colonialism in Guam and the Path to Peace," *Journal of Pacific Rim Psychology* vol. 1, issue 2 (Thousand Oaks: Sage Journals, 2007), 36.

and superpowers should publicly apologise for their wrongs. It begins with public acknowledgment and validation of the suffering."[16] If granted the right of recognition, unhealed wounds and intergenerational traumas, like innate shame and colonial guilt, may not be fully ameliorated, but rather gradually alleviated through collective reckoning. In the hearts and minds of impassioned writers and researchers such as Miranda and Rapadas, allusions to the Holocaust serve as controversial yet firm calls for the Western world to pay attention and be held accountable for the pain of the past. Doing so is essential because drawing such parallels not only elicits immediate responses from those unfamiliar with Indigenous issues, or rather those who relegate such trauma to the distant past and therefore deem it irrelevant, but it forces the imagined reader to return to the question of whether or not we collectively share a common sense of humanity. In turn, such wounds have not healed historically and cannot be healed on their own in a contemporary context either.[17] In addition to societal awareness and acceptance, Rapadas joins others pressuring systems of power to push past mere statements or surface level apologies and back up their claims with true reparations. This trend is especially evident when it comes to social justice movements made by and on behalf of ethnic communities in the United States.

Collective mobilization for desegregation and equality during the era of Civil Rights has transformed into contemporary calls for an end to police brutality and working towards abolition. The Black Lives Matter movement is the recipient of the Civil Rights legacy as it continues an insistent, generational demand instigated by Black Americans and supported by their allies because their diasporic community will forever be impacted by the horrors of enslavement and

[16] Rapadas, 37.
[17] Eduardo Duran, *Healing the Soul Wound: Trauma-Informed Counseling for Indigenous Communities* (New York: Teachers College Press, 2019).

ongoing systemic racism until they are given true reparations and equity in American society.[18] For the Latinx community, their struggles do not end after navigating militarized borderlands whilst fleeing from homelands destabilized by the U.S. government; upon arrival, Chicanx and Central American immigrants endure segregation and are unjustly subjected to socioeconomic stratification in schools and the working world. Back then and even now, Latinx students harbor feelings of fear and righteous rage due to state surveillance which have led them to conduct school walkouts, boycotts, and growing efforts to define history on their own terms.[19] The interwoven nature of racism and xenophobia has impacted Asian American communities since the Chinese Exclusion Act (1882), but it hit fever pitches during World War II and the COVID-19 Pandemic. Both time periods exhibit how crisis and mass hysteria can lead to reactionary and racist behavior, namely the targeting and scapegoating of individuals and communities based solely on their ethnic identity. The Japanese American movement for Redress in the late 20th century as well as the movement to Stop AAPI Hate respectively arose to both protect civil rights and right wrongs through financial and legal means.[20] Through the Civil Liberties Act of 1988, Japanese Americans gained monetary compensation for lost homes, forfeited occupations, and

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[18] Mariame Kaba, *We Do This 'til We Free Us: Abolitionist Organizing and Transforming Justice* (Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2021). See also:

Zakiyyah Iman Jackson, *Becoming Human: Matter and Meaning in an Antiblack World* Vol. 53 (New York: New York University Press, 2020).

[19] Gloria Anzaldúa, *Borderlands: The New Mestiza= La Frontera* (San Francisco: Spinsters/Aunt Lute, 1987);

Horacio R. Da Valle, "Constructing Liberating Identities: Power, Resistance, and Dignity in the Latino Diaspora," *Review and Expositor* vol. 114, no. 3 (Louisville: Review and Expositor- A Consortium Baptist Theological Journal, 2017), pp. 388–402;

Justin Akers Chacón, *The Border Crossed Us: The Case for Opening the US-Mexico Border* (Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2021).

[20] Tadashi Nakamura, *Pilgrimage* (Los Angeles: Center for Ethnocommunications of the UCLA Asian American Studies Center, 2006);
Kara Takasaki, "Stop AAPI Hate Reporting Center: A Model of Collective Leadership and Community Advocacy," *Journal of Asian American Studies* vol. 23, no. 3 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2020), pp. 341-51, https://doi.org/10.1353/jaas.2020.0028.

forever changed livelihoods from the U.S. government.[21] The more recent threats posed by racism, misogyny, ageism, and xenophobia against Asian Americans in a pandemic-ridden world have led to community cries across the country to "Stop Asian and/or AAPI Hate" as well as a rise in self-defense classes and community protection measures.[22] In the realm of Indigenous community formation and solidarity building, major movements inspired by the rallying slogans of "Land Back" (e.g. Standing Rock and the Dakota Access Pipeline) and "No More Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Children" came about to address environmental and gendered issues in addition to the original colonial wound.[23]

The most recent and rapidly growing grassroots movement since October 2023 revolves around uplifting the voices of Palestinian people in Gaza and abroad who are currently suffering a modern genocide at the hands of an apartheid Israeli state funded and sanctioned by U.S.

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[21] The Civil Liberties Act of 1988 provided a national apology and individual payments of $20,000 to surviving detainees. For more information, refer to: "Redress movement," Densho Encyclopedia, last updated January 30th, 2024, https://encyclopedia.densho.org/Redress_movement/#:~:text=The%20Redress%20Movement%20refers%20to,and%20confinement%20of%20Japanese%20Americans.

[22] Lane Ryo Hirabayashi, *NCRR: The Grassroots Struggle for Japanese American Redress and Reparations* (Los Angeles, CA: UCLA Asian American Studies Center Press, 2018);

"Classes teach Asian Americans self defense as hate crimes rise," *CBS Evening News*, January 25th, 2022, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4s386ymFuyI;

"Rising Against Asian Hate: One Day in March," *PBS*, aired October 17th, 2022, https://www.pbs.org/video/rising-against-asian-hate-one-day-in-march-hx833d/.

[23] Native American social justice movements are often diasporic in nature given the existence of urban natives and the curated creation of reservations which restricted free movement and forced settlement for many nomadic nations. Moreover, Natives across Turtle Island mobilize to support each other's initiatives through a lens of solidarity rather than division. For more information, refer to:

Nick Estes, *Our History Is the Future: Standing Rock versus the Dakota Access Pipeline, and the Long Tradition of Indigenous Resistance* (London: Verso, 2019);

Jessica Mcdiarmid, *Highway of Tears: A True Story of Racism, Indifference and the Pursuit of Justice for Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls* (Toronto: Doubleday Canada, 2019);

Nikki A. Pieratos, Sarah S. Manning, and Nick Tilsen, "Land Back: A Meta Narrative to Help Indigenous People Show up as Movement Leaders," *Leadership* vol. 17, no. 1 (London: Sage Publications, 2021), pp. 47–61, https://doi.org/10.1177/1742715020976204.

militarism.[24] Disheartened and disillusioned by their own governments and Western media narratives, everyday people in the U.S. and across the globe, regardless of their own ethnic background, have shown up by protesting, boycotting, and/or spreading awareness on social media and in person about this unjust, violent campaign to eradicate an entire people right before our very eyes. Although seemingly disparate, the act of recognizing the diasporic quality to each of these communal experiences allows us to acknowledge systems of power leading to our displacement and disenfranchisement upon arrival into American society. By understanding there are similar forces that shape and inform our own ethnic identities and cultures, we are able to draw throughlines of connection between distinct but interrelated communities, such as the shared experience of Black and Latinx communities in LA during the 1960's and the perpetual issue of navigating a broken immigration system when it comes to Asian and Latinx diasporic communities in this country at large.[25] Seeing likeness in our struggles can activate us towards collective liberation. Displacement, ranging from gentrification to genocide, impacts a multitude of ethnic communities: when we see ourselves in others, we can work to build more empathy and solidarity in the process. Rather than sticking solely in Asian American Pacific Islander Studies, this introduction highlights simultaneous struggles undergone by other ethnic and Indigenous communities we share more in common with than we might think. Adding this additional layer

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[24] Rashid Khalidi, *The Hundred Years' War on Palestine: A History of Settler Colonialism and Resistance, 1917-2017* (New York: Metropolitan Books, Henry Holt and Company, 2020).
[25] Mike Davis and Jon Wiener, *Set the Night on Fire: L.A. in the Sixties* (London: Verso, 2020).

Maria-Elena De Trinidad Young, Lei Chen, May Sudhinaraset, Altaf Saadi, Kathryn G. Kietzman, and Steven P. Wallace, "Cumulative Experiences of Immigration Enforcement Policy and the Physical and Mental Health Outcomes of Asian and Latinx Immigrants in the United States," *The International Migration Review* vol. 54, no. 3 (Vancouver: The International Migration Review, 2023), pp. 1537–68, https://doi.org/10.1177/01979183221126726.

of critical engagement allows us to move beyond mere representational politics and shift as a collective towards recognizing our responsibility not only to our own fields but to each other.

Learning from Indigenous peoples and accepting our role as settlers when we are on someone else's ancestral home(is)land enables us to move beyond a framework of victimization set out by the powers that be and create new, collaborative, and liberatory modes of remembering the past and envisioning the future. The prescient work of scholars such as Evyn Christine Lê Espiritu Gandhi and Kehaulani Vaughn is pushing disciplines like Asian American Pacific Islander Studies and education at large towards transformative theories such as trans-Indigenous recognitions, the refugee settler condition, and other groundbreaking research.[26]

In this way, utilizing diaspora as a key theoretical framework provides vital context for our discussion of Chamoru citizenship and ideas of belonging in the United States, both on and off island. Because of Guam's political status as an unincorporated U.S. territory, the Chamoru diaspora is unique because of its manifold circular migration trajectories that occur between their home island Turtle Island. The lack of outright immigration "borders" for island residents facilitates an admittedly unmitigated ease of movement on and off island even as Guam continues to be subjugated to U.S. settler militarism. By putting Guam and her people's migratory pattern in conversation with other diasporic minority communities, we can see how Chamorus both benefit and suffer under U.S. policies and procedures compared to others. Doing so continues the work of cultivating connections between multiple ethnic communities and

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[26] Evyn Christine Lê Espiritu Gandhi, *Archipelago of Resettlement: Vietnamese Refugee Settlers and Decolonization across Guam and Israel-Palestine* (Oakland, California: University of California Press, 2022).

Kēhaulani Natsuko Vaughn and Theresa Jean Ambo, "Trans-Indigenous Education: Indigeneity, Relationships, and Higher Education," *Comparative Education Review* vol. 66 no. 3 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2022), pp. pp. 508–533, https://doi.org/10.1086/720611.

boosts the increased relationality of Chamoru studies to other histories.[27] In the broader realm of ethnic studies, all of these issues are interconnected and speak to distinct yet collective experiences of struggle and resilience in light of colonialism and racism; the added lens of diaspora forces us to contemplate the impetus for movement to the metropole or the colonial center, in this case for the Chamorus of Guam, beyond the simple statement that people often leave their home(is)lands solely seeking "better" opportunity.

Chapter Breakdown: Historical Background, Archival Excavation, and Oral History Interviews

First and foremost, my thesis is grounded in historical framing and is guided by lived experiences of members of the diasporic Chamoru community. My methodologies for this project include a balance of archival fieldwork conducted in Guam at two primary locations (the Micronesian Area Research Center at the University of Guam as well as the Nieves M. Flores Memorial Library) as well as tracing diasporic movement and memory via personal photographs and oral histories. I conducted over the summer of 2022 on island and in diaspora over the course of winter 2022-2023. I foreground oral history interviews alongside traditional archival retrieval methods as co-constitutive methods. I believe providing personal as well as political context is essential to the act of "writing history" as we long and deserve to witness it: as a gift to be given to community. Influenced by historians like Alfred P. Flores and Valerie J. Matsumoto, I see oral history as an avenue towards establishing formal recognition of lived experiences when it comes

[27] I find inclusion of this portion vitally important due to my own personal experience at UCLA. Upon reflection, I noted my minimal engagement with other fields of ethnic studies was due to the fact that the university intentionally siloed these disciplines apart from one another; we engaged Black scholarship with one another in Asian American Studies classes frequently, but the curriculum never required us to formally engage with the other ethnic studies departments. I was fortunate to be involved with American Indian Studies and Chicanx and Central American Studies to a certain extent, but the decision to do so was entirely voluntary. I wish I had taken more time to do cross-cultural studies during my time on campus. This is not an issue with any singular ethnic studies department on campus, but rather a systemic problem with the UC administration and academic apparatus keeping us apart.

to analyzing ethnic identity formation, community involvement, and complicated relationships to the U.S. nation-state.[28] Oral histories provide us with a way to speak truth to power through the voice of the people; with care and consideration for my interviewees, I aim to center compassion and critical inquiry when discussing their personal stories. Whilst my thesis tries to maintain a critical lens of inquiry in terms of analyzing lifestyle preferences, settlement patterns, and perceptions of self, community, and culture, I do not want it to be overly theoretical and therefore devoid of feeling. I seek to construct a well-balanced, thoughtful approach to sharing modern Chamoru diasporic narratives which also honors our uniqueness, love for our Indigenous identity and culture, and shared humanity. Altogether, this project operates on the basis of unpacking underlying historical conditions in order to understand contemporary circumstances without overreaching or depriving personal narratives, and therefore people, of nuance or detail.

Beyond the constricting framework of a comparative study, I do not seek to pose one migration as better than another. Again, I identify both patterns as two sides of the same coin: a colonized population navigating their dual set of circumstances. In turn, my thesis speaks to the contours and confines of "Chamoruness" before, during, and after the turn of the 21st century.

As of late, a growing wealth of academic scholarship and broader coverage of the Chamoru people and our island-related issues have come into fruition, especially by Chamoru progenitors. Until recently, the reach of such literature was limited to those living "on-island," with diasporic populations having less exposure. Even within the realm of diasporic Pacific

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[28] Oral histories provide significant contributions to the realm of Asian American and Pacific Islander focused studies. Telling stories from community members rather than being observed and analyzed by outside anthropologists or historians is a form of active resistance in the realm of academia. Refer to:
Alfred Peredo Flores, *Tip of the Spear: Land, Labor, and US Settler Militarism in Guåhan, 1944-1962* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2023).
Valerie J. Matsumoto, *City Girls: The Nisei Social World in Los Angeles, 1920-1950* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014).

Islander studies, preliminary research of the 1990's and early 2000's was predominantly Polynesian in subject matter; this makes sense given the Hawaiian Kingdom's proximity to U.S. empire as an illegally annexed state and Sāmoan migration to the continent through the military.[29] Growing up in Oceanside, California, I was acutely aware of these dynamics because our beach town was not only a sister city to Pago Pago, American Sāmoa, but also in close proximity to Camp Pendleton, the Marine Corps' largest West Coast expeditionary training facility.[30] Given the prevalence of Hawaiian and Sāmoan stateside communities, the presence of Chamoru stories in diasporic Pacific literature was small but significant the past few decades.

In *Pacific Islander Americans: An Annotated Bibliography in the Social Sciences* (1995), Chamorus are only brought up a total of 12 times out of 390 bibliographic entries. Only two of these, "An Exploratory Study of Island Migration: Chamorros of Guam" by Faye Untalan Munoz and *The Elder Guamanian* by Wesley H. Ishikawa, are solely devoted to studying Chamoru issues; the rest are all multi-hyphenate entries, with joint emphasis on Chamoru or Guamanian references in addition to Hawaiian, Sāmoan, and/or broader Pacific Islander and Asian American topics.[31] Furthermore, the pivotal anthology *Pacific Diaspora: Island Peoples in the United States and Across the Pacific* (2002) makes significant mention of the struggle of the people of Guam in the introductory chapter, yet contains no other chapter reference to their plight. The closest this early anthology comes would be through Micronesian scholar Vicente M. Diaz's article, "'Fight Boys, 'til the Last…': Islandstyle Football and the Remasculinization of

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[29] Puhipau and Joan Lander, *Act of War: The Overthrow of the Hawaiian Nation/ Nā Maka o Ka 'Āina in Association with Center for Hawaiian Studies,* produced and directed by Puhipau and Joan Lander; written by Kekuni Blaisdell, Jon Kamakawiwo'ole Osorio (1993).
[30] "American Samoa At a Glance," *U.S. Army Reserve*, U.S. military factoid sheet, date unknown but circa 2014, https://www.usar.army.mil/Portals/98/Documents/At%20A%20Glance%20Prints/Samoa_ataglance.pdf.
[31] Paul R. Spickard, Debbie Hippolite Wright, et. al., *Pacific Islander Americans: An Annotated Bibliography in the Social Science* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1995), pp. 33-52.

Indigeneity in the Militarized American Pacific Islands," a brilliant piece on islander diasporas on Guam, namely Native Hawaiian displacement via the military, as evidenced through the art and sport of football.[32] It is particularly aggravating that there was no chapter devoted specifically to Chamorus in this anthology, yet there was enough room to bring up the positionality of Filipinos between and among Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders.[33]

This is not to say that a conversation around coalition-building between Filipinos and Pasifika peoples should not be had, especially given its presumed relevancy in the early 2000s, but it is disheartening that no Chamoru authors or articles were featured beyond the footnotes.

This overall shortened scope of diasporic research was consistent for both Chamoru Studies specifically and Pacific Islander Studies at large, so any form of representation is still greatly appreciated; thankfully, the trajectory transformed within the past few decades to be both more inclusive of diasporic communities and with notable strides from Chamorus as well. In recent years, two major sources appeared: Jesi Lujan Bennett's dissertation "Migrating Beyond the Mattingan: Chamoru Diasporic Routes, Indigenous Identities, and Public Exhibitions" (2021) and Manny Crisostomo's photodocumentary series, *Manaotao Sanlagu: CHamorus from the Marianas* (2022).[34] Both are pandemic-era creations by Chamoru storytellers who carry personal

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[32] Vicente M. Diaz, "'Fight Boys, 'til the Last…': Islandstyle Football and the Remasculization of Indigeneity in the Militarized American Pacific Islands," *Pacific Diaspora: Island Peoples in the United States and Across the Pacific* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002), pp. 169-195.
[33] Joanne L. Rondilla, "The Filipino Question in Asia and the Pacific: Rethinking Regional Origins in Diaspora," *Pacific Diaspora: Island Peoples in the United States and Across the Pacific* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002), pp. 56-66.
[34] Jesi Lujan Bennett, "Migrating Beyond the Mattingan: Chamoru Diasporic Routes, Indigenous Identities, and Public Exhibitions," PhD Dissertation (University of Hawai'i: Manoa, 2021).

Manny Crisostomo, *Manaotao Sanlagu*, personal website, https://sanlagu.com/.

investment in their projects and are intent on expanding the network of overseas connections between the Chamoru people of Guam and their diasporic counterparts.

Both the dissertation and photobook contain personal stories with varying degrees of context. Bennett's project engages academically rigorous methodologies and critical reflections on familial and cultural dynamics and Crisostomo's recent publication offers a vast collection of diasporic Chamoru portrait photographs in addition to extended select biographies from the *Pacific Daily News* (PDN), Guam's major news source. Both Bennett and Crisostomo have made their materials accessible online for free, which I gratefully utilized for my project. Whereas Bennett's dissertation aspires to capture the totality and cyclical nature of Chamoru diasporic routes, Crisostomo's Chamoru character profiles and event photobooths comprise an ongoing compilation of community documentation. My project continues their dual penchant for prioritizing oral history narratives but focuses more on the daily lives and aspects of diaspora. Whereas Crisostomo's photodocumentary project is geared towards continually amassing more portraits of diasporic Chamorus, mine is short and succinct. Whilst Bennett's dissertation navigates cultural festivals and museum spaces, this thesis interrogates chosen occupation and connection to culture and community outside of social organizations. As a feeble yet feasible contribution to the broader efforts of diasporic Chamoru storytelling, it acts as a niche addition to our collective goal of sharing experiences within and beyond community.

In Chapter One, I set the stage by introducing major historical events and implications of mid-century American policies that directly impacted and influenced modern migration routes: the Organic Act of 1950, World War II and the postwar liberation narrative, as well as the Naval Clearance Act of 1962. Furthermore, I provide a historical overview of overarching systems such as the build-up of Air Force and Navy installations, lingering military control of island affairs,

and increasing avenues for academic development in the continental United States. Born in the wake of the lifting of travel restrictions set by the U.S. military, Generation X was able to migrate more freely than their parent's generation. This alone enabled literal physical accessibility that did not exist prior; however, financial barriers still played a key role in determining who left and through what channel. Military enlistment, collegiate education, and pursuing other career paths all offer insight into the socioeconomic background of my interviewees and their corresponding opportunities or limitations.

In Chapter Two, I focus on the life stories of those who are currently considered "off-island" Chamorus and further investigate socioeconomic factors for permanent relocation as well as identity formation and maintenance in diaspora. I also discuss two cultural phenomena, that of being perceived as *matå'pang* and/or as *Amerikånon pao asu*, in relation to the modern Chamoru diaspora and ideas of authenticity and belonging to broader Chamoru community and culture. The oral histories presented afterward their individual perspectives on concepts of ethnicity, diversity, and socioeconomic mobility, especially in regard to the workplace and the corporate world. By unpacking stereotypes attributed to diasporic Chamorus alongside personal thoughts and lived experiences of a portion of that same group, this section seeks to mediate difference held in "on-island" and "off-island" discourse as well as examine modern diasporic Chamoru entanglement in the corporate American workplace and in the region of Southern California.

Chapter Three explores the rare but real routes of diasporic Chamorus who grew up in the continental United States but decided to relocate to Guam and remain on-island to this day. Despite spending a significant portion of their adolescence stateside, they decided to settle in their home island. Admittedly, I was unsure if such a population even existed yet, but I was fortunate to find three such individuals with vastly different stateside experiences. Given the

unusual quality of their migration and settlement routes, I analyze how their oral histories contend with the complicated reality of adjusting to life back home after being accustomed to living in diaspora. A significant portion of this chapter tracks interviewees and the connection between education and the workplace as well as the role of family and childrearing. I also see this final chapter as significant in contributing to how we might envision the future of diasporic Chamoru identity in relation to circular migration and the act of returning home.

Instead of privileging one migratory and settlement as better or worse than its paradox, I seek to critically analyze the inherently colonial influence of U.S. militarization, stateside education, and the very idea that "opportunity" on the Chamoru people of our modern times and how they choose to navigate these channels as Indigenous Pacific Islanders. To conclude, I will respond to research questions drawn from evidence and analysis as well as suggest potential directions for future diasporic research. I will also draw attention to the increasing need for research covering not only on-island stories but also those of the diaspora.

Returning to the opening poem of "Canoes" by Pep Borja, the heart of my thesis stems from a desire to heal my own feelings of *mahålang*. *Mahålang* encapsulates a wide array of intense feelings that can range from "yearning, [to being] lonely, to miss someone or something, [or] to yearn for, to pine after" and even the sentiment of nostalgia.[35] For a very long time, I carried immense confusion regarding what constitutes home, belonging, and my place in this world as a diasporic mixed woman of Chamoru and Italian descent in the United States. I sought out higher education to wrestle with internal turmoil on an individual basis that I quickly realized were not held in isolation within my own generation but might spawn different questions and

[35] "Today's Chamorro Word: Mahålang," *Paleric*, Blogspot blog post, May 22nd, 2012, https://paleric.blogspot.com/2012/05/todays-chamorro-word-mahalang.html.

conclusions within my parent’s generation. Cultivating this thesis allowed me to actively listen and ponder other stories of strife and joy via the underrepresented entry point of diasporic Chamoru identity. Through Gen X narratives, the personal connected to the political but it also became bigger than the individual. I began to see how easily my project could fall into the trap of neoliberal multiculturalism and representational politics if I did stay vigilant and committed to combining rigorous academic methodology with community-centered storytelling with the aim of contributing to the expanding realm of diasporic Chamoru research.[36] Through my thesis, I hope to garner deeper, more thoughtful discussions of modern-day issues of Chamoru diasporic experiences for the purpose of exploring, analyzing, and utilizing our life stories to collectively chart towards more certain, connective waters.

[36] In particular, I am referencing the fictitious character of “O” brought to life by Rey Chow. For more information, refer to: Rey Chow, “The Fascist Longings in Our Midst,” *Ariel* vol. 26, no. 1 (Calgary, AB: University of Calgary, 1995), pp. 23-50.

## Chapter One: Historical On-Island Context for the Modern Chamoru Diaspora

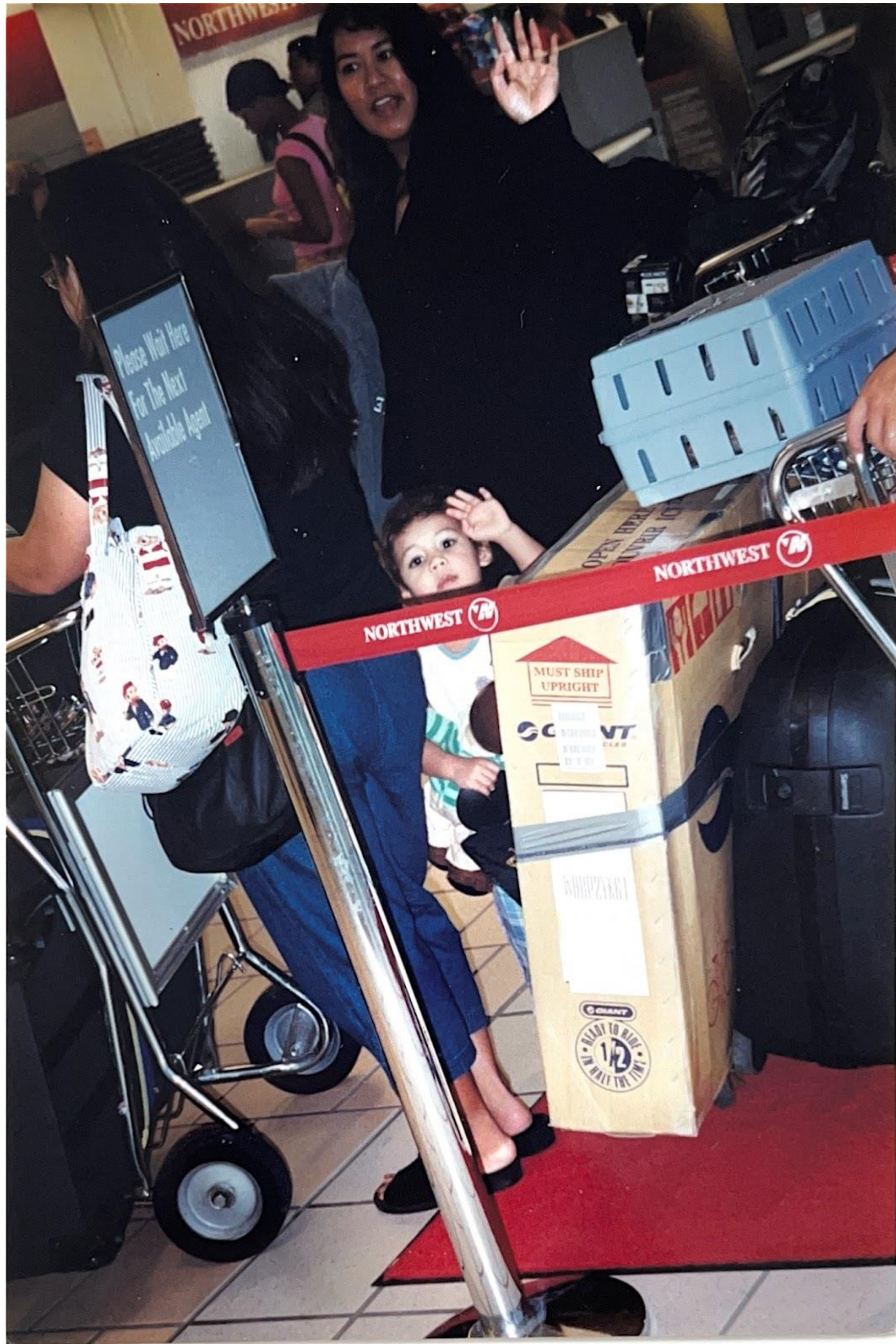


Figure 1: Me and my Nina Becki Castro (godmother) waving goodbye at the Antonio B. Won Pat International Airport, Guam (August 1, 2001)

Setting the Stage: Second Generation Diasporic Ponderings of a Guam Girl

Although I was born on Guam, I have lived a majority of my life stateside. Having left most of our extended family and the broader Chamoru community, I was destined to become acculturated in American ways regardless. In a pre-departure photograph taken by an unknown family member at Guam's international airport in the year 2001, hints of Western influence can be found scattered throughout the scene (Figure 1). To the left and facing away from the camera, my mother, Christina Marie Castro Lupola, shoulders a teddy-bear print Ralph Lauren tote bag whilst pushing our luggage forward. Tucked behind her hip, clutching both a Blues Clues doll and a Mickey Mouse ears cap single-handedly, I wave a firm goodbye with my other tiny palm. Behind me, my godmother Rebecca Castro (affectionately referred to as Nina Becki) mirrors my hand gesture, looking sideways beyond the frame as my gaze lingers on whoever is holding the camera. Whilst my mother's body is positioned towards an unknown future awaiting us, my father, Adrian Michael Sanchez Lupola, pulls up the rear and remains outside the shot. He is gripping our remaining luggage and what appears to be a sizeable television screen. Perched atop this assortment of mixed baggage is a portable blue carrier for his pet bird Smokey, an African grey parrot, whose additional presence at the Antonio B. Won Pat International Airport truly signified the point of no return. Dating back to 2001, this snapshot preserves the memory of not only our first major move as a family, but the starting point of our diasporic journey to Turtle Island, or the continental United States. My first chapter provides an outline of the events and circumstances throughout the mid-to-late 20th century on Guam that led my own and other Chamoru families to pursue "more opportunity" and "better education" off our home island.[37]

[37] Usage of terms like opportunity and education in conjunction with 'more,' 'better,' or other words with a positive connotation are often utilized by stateside Chamorus to refer to what drew them to relocate to the continent.

Historical Background and Context for Guam's Geopolitical Relationship to the United States

After the Spanish American War of 1898, Spain ceded Guam and other island nations like the Philippines and Puerto Rico to the United States due to stipulations set up through the Treaty of Paris. Not only were such negotiations made without the consent of their Indigenous inhabitants, but the selective inclusion of island "territories" into the union had long-lasting consequences that we still witness to over a century later. This section provides a brief primer for Guam's political relationship to the United States through a lens of imperial, military might alongside a historical lack of care or concern for the island's people.

The turn of the 20th century constituted the beginning of a decades-long military dictatorship on Guam run entirely by the U.S. Navy. Customs and cultural components that were once permitted during the lax but still lamentable Spanish colonial period, lasting well over 300 years (1521-1898), had become forbidden under what essentially equated to U.S. martial law. Up until the mid-20th century, the island was inculcated with intense instructions derived from white naval commanders transplanted from Turtle Island such as outlawing whistling and banning Chamoru language usage in public facilities like school.[38] Appointed by the President, the first string of governors (1898-1941) acted as judge, jury, and executioner with little to no external oversight. As wards of the state, Guam's people were left to the whims of each naval administration without any form of legislative or judicial checks and balances in place.

To appease Chamoru concerns regarding a lack of agency in their own island affairs, the U.S. Navy facilitated the formation of the Guam Congress, a bicameral advisory board with no

[38] Michael Lujan Bevacqua, "American Style Colonialism," *Guampedia*, last modified April 26th, 2023, https://www.guampedia.com/american-style-colonialism/.

voting power. Through this channel, Chamoru advocates made annual attempts to petition the U.S. government for further measures of self-governance.[39] Despite these technically sound efforts, in which colonized peoples navigated the rules and procedures set by their colonizers, nothing ever changed. After decades of petitioning to no avail, Chamoru politicians decided to switch tactics. Out of sheer frustration, the Guam Congress staged a walkout and received support from the U.S. media to pressure the federal government to step in and intercede.[40]

As legal scholar Ross Dardani argues, the Guam Congress' mobilization for U.S. citizenship can be understood as a powerful example of popular constitutionalism because of their egalitarian evocation of constitutional principles extending beyond the boundaries of the fifty states (i.e. pushing for the rules of the Constitution to follow the flag in areas colonized by the United States).[41] Aided by American journalistic sympathies mounting in the mainland, this joint strategy enabled a swift turnaround of events that pressured the Truman administration to pass the Organic Act of 1950. In addition to granting the people of Guam a liminal form of U.S. citizenship, this act also transferred governmental oversight of the island from the U.S. Navy to the Department of the Interior.[42] As a result, gradual changes began to shape the sphere of island politics and civic engagement.

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[39] Penelope Bordallo-Hofschneider, *A Campaign for Political Rights on Guam, Mariana Islands, 1899-1950* (Saipan: N.M.I Division of Historic Preservation, 2001).

[40] Anne Perez Hattori, "Righting Civil Wrongs: Guam Congress Walkout of 1949," *Kinalamten Pulitikåt: Siñenten I Chamorro (Issues in Guam's Political Development: The Chamorro Perspective)*, Hale'-ta (Our Roots) Series (Agaña: Political Status Education Coordination Commission, 1996), 57–69.

[41] Ross Dardani, "Popular Constitutionalism in the US Empire: The Legal History of US Citizenship in Guam," *Law & Social Inquiry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2023), 1–25, https://doi.org/10.1017/lsi.2023.19.

[42] It is important to note that the Department of the Interior oversees a plethora of people, places, and animals. It deals with a range of domestic and overseas communities, including Native Americans, Pacific Islanders, and Caribbean peoples, as well as aspects of natural environments like land, fish and wildlife, parks, and nature reserves.

In the aftermath of the Organic Act, Guam's system of appointed governors shifted from strictly military to civilian governors, with the first appointed Chamoru governor, Joseph Flores, assuming position in 1960. The following decade included a major transformation to representational politics on island, as 1970 marked a transition from appointed to elected governors. This made way for future Chamoru leaders to take up the mantle of Guam governor through democratic elections run for the people and by the people rather than dictated by a U.S. naval government. Despite these major breakthroughs, the specific type of American citizenship that was granted to Guam and her people via the Organic Act of 1950 has not evolved since its inception and is therefore indicative of an ongoing colonial legacy.

Perhaps the most glaring inconsistency of U.S. citizenship given to the people of Guam remains the islanders' lack of complete suffrage during presidential elections and congressional proceedings. Akin to Washington D.C., Puerto Rico, and other U.S. territories, Guam's tax-paying citizenry are not allowed to vote in national elections, but they are still held under American rule. Because they do not live in one of 50 states, they are unable to cast actual ballots that would be counted and included by the electoral college, the outdated system of deciding the outcome of each presidential race. Instead, the modern colony of Guam holds a non-binding straw poll the same day as the general election to gage island-wide preferences for the president—a pitiful but purposeful way to engage in opinion polling. Worse still, Guam is afforded a non-voting delegate to the House of Representatives alongside other areas like American Sāmoa, the Commonwealth of the Northern Marianas Islands, the U.S. Virgin Islands, and Washington D.C., the nation's capital city. Brought about by Public Law 92-271 in 1972, the locally elected officials of each territory are given the opportunity to speak on the House floor and introduce new legislation, but they are not afforded the ability to vote with legitimate

representatives and senators.[43] Such shallow forms of inclusion do not offer communities like those on Guam and other modern-day colonies the right to participate in decision-making at personal and congressional levels. Analyzing the shortcomings of supposedly groundbreaking legal decisions like that of the Organic Act brings into question the value and validity of U.S. citizenship, in turn forcing us to think critically about the more broadly unfair game of guilt-ridden gratitude held over the heads of the colonized by the colonizer.[44] Such dialogue about U.S. citizenship bestowed upon Chamorus and other island residents naturally facilitates discussion about political status options in Guam, which unfortunately is a moot point given the U.S. empire's unwillingness to acknowledge the island's Indigenous people and their right to self-determination. This often leads contemporary Chamorus, both "on-island" and "off-island," to accept the status quo and remain complacent rather than interrogate Guam's current political status as an unincorporated territory and the validity of American ideals and perceptions revolving around citizenship. For diasporic Chamorus of Generation X in particular, this is the type of citizenship they were born with and are therefore accustomed to. Especially if they grew up away from Guam, they reap the immediate benefits of such borderless migration given a lack of legal limitations. However, harsh restrictions once existed and other barriers such as inability to vote in presidential elections and congressional procedures continue on. As a result, the totality of Chamoru citizenship, and therefore full inclusion into U.S. empire, remains elusive.

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[43] Public Law 92-271, 92nd Congress, 2nd Session (April 10th, 1972), https://www.congress.gov/92/statute/STATUTE-86/STATUTE-86-Pg118-2.pdf.

[44] Such dialogue about U.S. citizenship bestowed upon Chamorus and other island residents naturally facilitates discussion about political status options in Guam, which unfortunately is a moot point given the U.S. empire's unwillingness to acknowledge the island's Indigenous people and their right to self-determination. This often leads contemporary Chamorus, both "on-island" and "off-island," to accept the status quo and remain complacent rather than interrogate Guam's current political status as an unincorporated territory and the validity of American ideals and perceptions revolving around citizenship.

The Immediate Impact of World War II on Guam and its Lingering Legacy in Chamoru Psyches

Preceding the passing Organic Act in 1950, the cruelty of Japan's invasion and years long occupation of Guam and the larger Marianas archipelago (1941-1944) enabled Chamoru acceptance, celebration, and normalization of American return and long-term re-occupation.[45] Paragons of the community like Agueda Johnston, who had not just survived the war but aided this cause, held steadfast to the idea of the U.S. military (re)capturing their island and taking it back from Japanese forces, especially after the brutal death marches and beheadings that had taken place at Manenggon.[46] During this intense, harsh period of Japanese wartime occupation (1941-1944), holding out hope came in the form of campy tunes like, "Uncle Sam, won't you please come back to Guam?" and safeguarding a singular soldier.[47]

Preserving this figure of the only white American on island, whose evasion of capture and certain death was due in large part to Chamoru secret-keeping and sacrifice, served as vital

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[45] Compared to Chamoru celebration regarding American re-occupation of Guam post-World War II, Chamorus, Carolinians, and other island residents of the Northern Marianas Islands often held vastly different views of Americans, Japanese, and World War II at large. For more information regarding the contrasting views of Chamorus throughout the archipelago, refer to: Pacific STAR Young Writers Foundation, *We Drank Our Tears: Memories of the Battles for Saipan and Tinian as Told by Our Elders* (Saipan: Pacific STAR Young Writers Foundation, 2004).

[46] Tony Palomo, "A Time of Sorrow and Pain," War in the Pacific National Historical Park website, last updated April 4th, 2004, https://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/npswapa/extContent/wapa/palomo/sorrow-and-pain.htm.
Luis Untalan, "The Long Trek to Manenggon." *Pacific Profile* vol. 3, no. 6 (July 1965).
[47] Joseph Santo Tomas, "Song of hope, song of faith," Liberation—Guam Remembers: A Golden Salute for the 50th anniversary of the Liberation of Guam webpage, The War in the Pacific National Historical Park, https://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/npswapa/extcontent/lib/liberation8.htm;
Eddie Calvo, "Uncle Sam," *Youtube*, uploaded July 20th, 2014, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NKT7-3-Z9CQ.
Pete Seeger, "Uncle Sam, Won't You Please Come to Guam," The Smithsonian Folkways Collection, released 2019, https://folkways.si.edu/pete-seeger-collection/uncle-sam-won-t-you-please-come-home-to-guam;
Leo Babauta, "George Tweed," *Guampedia*, last modified April 26th, 2023, https://www.guampedia.com/george-tweed/;
Jasmine Stole Weiss, "George Tweed controversial war hero, refused to surrender when Japanese forces invaded," *Herald News*, published July 14th, 2019, updated July 15th, 2019, https://www.heraldnews.com/story/beyondliberation/2019/07/14/liberation-george-tweed-controversial-war-hero-survived-chamorus-guam/1722324001/.

wartime inspiration for the Chamorus of Guam: if they held out hope long enough, the United States (i.e. the American military) would come back and save Tweed as well as their families and broader community. Given Guam's centuries-long experience with colonialism, from Spanish rule to American imperialism, the impetus for allegiance to any national entity was never predetermined, but rather enforced upon Chamorus by those same powers. As noted by Keith L. Camacho, a historian and descendant of wartime survivors across the Marianas archipelago, we must remember what prompted such intense Chamoru patriotism for America:

> "Although Chamorros held a variety of views of the United States during the prewar era, the outbreak of World War II in Guam radically suppressed criticisms of the United States in general and the US Navy in particular.… Chamorros contrasted the wartime Japanization policies with what they remembered of a "peaceful" prewar period of Americanization. They concluded that American rule was simply better than that of the Japanese. No matter how problematic and romanticized they appeared, these political and spiritual convictions gave Chamorros strength as they entered the most turbulent times of the Japanese occupation." [48]

Camacho's historicization of Chamoru wartime tactics and postwar recollections pushes readers to remember that such efforts and sentiments garnered towards American return were always rooted in survival: Chamorus navigated the war and its aftermath by negotiating their stake in island affairs and broader geopolitics through Indigenous values of retribution, justice, and more.[49] Albeit a seemingly benign imperial power compared to the more overtly violent and psychologically traumatic period of Japanese occupation, the U.S. operated as a colonizer usurping and constricting Chamoru agency on and off island. Such an emphasis on the

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[48] Keith L. Camacho, "Chapter Two: World War II in the Mariana Islands," *Cultures of Commemoration: The Politics of War, Memory, and History in the Mariana Islands* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2011), 48-49.

[49] Keith L. Camacho, *Sacred Men: Law, Torture, and Retribution in Guam* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2019).

benevolence of American assimilationist policies quells any notions of dissent, perpetuating the outdated idea of Chamorus as passive recipients of colonial rule which occurs to this day.[50]

Keeping this in mind, American return and (re)occupation still holds a huge sway over immediate and subsequent postwar generations in terms of their mentality and psychological proximity and/or preference for U.S. control of Guam. Referred to as the "liberation narrative," genuine optimism about and gratitude for the American reabsorption of Guam and its people into the neocolonial fold became a phenomenon and an enshrined island-wide holiday to be celebrated annually. From parades featuring active troops marching down the island's main road to pageants being held stateside to crown the new Miss Liberation Day, liberation became a narrative that was perpetuated with little to no viable public criticism until recent years. Chamoru scholar James Viernes analyzes the younger generations' outright refusal of the status quo through unpacking how outliers of prior generations expressed their own discontent without majorly disrupting island affairs:

> "For far too long, the Chamorro people have been misunderstood as being a content island people who are uncritical of their history with the United States and their continued relationship with it in the present. Yet it is clear that, whether by indirect or active means, Chamorros have resisted and continue to resist US colonialism. Guam's colonial history has shaped a people that are in every sense occupying multiple spaces between being indigenous and American, patriotic and disaffected, content and enraged. It is an ambiguous space that requires careful negotiation on the part of Chamorros—it is a space in which their social consciousness shifts uneasily in an increasingly globalized world."[51]

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[50] It is key to remember Guam was the first island in the Pacific to be colonized, long before other areas, as European arrival through Magellan's landing at Umatac Bay in 1521 signified the dawn of a new, tragic age. For more information, refer to: Vicente M. Diaz, "Simply Chamorro: Telling Tales of Demise and Survival in Guam," *The Contemporary Pacific* vol. 6, no. 1 (Honolulu: Center for Pacific Island Studies and University of Hawai'i Press, 1994), pp. 29–58.

[51] James Perez Viernes, "Won't You Please Come Back to Guam? Media Discourse, Military Buildup, and Chamorros in the Space Between," *ScholarSpace* (Honolulu: Center for Pacific Islands Studies, School of Pacific

In light of this expansive outlook on ambiguous Chamoru political investments and allegiances in an ever-shifting world, the legacy of World War II and American return lingers for good reason. There is safety and security in associating with American interests, not least of which results in automatic citizenship and the freedom to migrate to and from the continent without legal barriers. Therefore, immense gratitude and identification with the United States are still prevalent and hold veritable traction for a multitude of Chamorus, especially in diaspora. In the case of Generation X individuals like my interviewees, they are the children of war survivors—although they did not undergo such struggle personally, they grew up hearing such stories and understand the gravity more than Millennials or Gen Z given they are only one generation removed. Simultaneously, they can also recognize the ills and harms done by the U.S. nation-state, namely the military, against the Chamoru people then and now. For my father, Adrian Sanchez Lupola, he had this to share in reflection as a Chamoru and "military brat" himself:

> "I always tell them, that's [Guam] where we ended the war. That's where we… ended the regime out of Japan, our island: we're the tip of the spear and where America's day begins. The people are so nice, more people from Guam are passionate about being American and freedom and joining the military, even though I know the reasoning now as I've gotten older, when I was young, I thought it was beautiful. But I understand it's because we don't have a lot of options. It's why I moved you guys off of Guam. But a lot of people don't have that. You know what I mean? I was born in the military. So, yeah, you've educated me on it, but that's just how it is."[52]

Lupola said this in response to me asking how he explains what Guam is and what it means to the United States and its broader citizenry. His reply indicates his own personal experience of appreciation for the country and what it has given us as a people but also how his purely idealistic view since childhood has shifted, especially after I went to college, began learning

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and Asian Studies, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, 2009), 115, https://scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu/server/api/core/bitstreams/8850fa16-7c49-40bd-9017-6b0853ff5cd1/content.

[52] Adrian Sanchez Lupola, oral history interview, January 6th, 2023.

about U.S. militarism across the Pacific, and started having tough conversations with him. As a young father who grew up on-island, he made the decision to relocate our family because he was actively aware of a lack of options; moreover, he addresses the disparity in access to migrating off-island as well. His final utterance of “it is what it is” reflects his personal as well as generational understanding and acceptance of the way things are and always have been on Guam. In the case of postwar sentiments, both things can be true at once: holding grief and resentment for wrongdoings and gratitude for considerable benefits from the U.S. nation-state. Since Chamoru people, community, and culture have outlived colonialism for centuries, this is truly nothing new: it is just the latest iteration of a multitude of (neo)colonial contradictions.

Mid-Century Modernity: Tracing Naval Oversight through Executive Orders (1941-1962)

By the middle of the 20th century, Guam’s people were simultaneously accustomed to and wary of American rules and regulations. Whilst postwar feelings of gratitude remained, the sustained push for more civil rights under the U.S. nation-state led to moments of active refusal and resistance. Occurring in 1949, the Guam Congress Walkout served as a staunch reminder of long dormant sentiments regarding the island’s potential for self-determination and sovereignty dating back to prewar times. Although World War II disrupted continued petitioning efforts, the walkout’s ability to provoke permanent change came via the aforementioned Organic Act:

> “Section 4 of the Organic Act conferred congressional—not constitutional—U.S. citizenship on those inhabitants of Guam born on the island after April 11, 1899; their children; and all those of Spanish and other nationalities resident on the island on that date. This provision excluded foreign nonresidents (mostly Filipino contract workers). As U.S. citizens after 1950, Guamanian families, not just men, could move to the mainland even though the navy still controlled travel clearances until 1962. Over the next decades,

> particularly after 1962, thousands of Guamanians departed to live in the states, where higher wages and living standards offered more opportunities than Guam."[53]

Given the postwar political climate of celebrating American liberation on island and the recent passing of the Organic Act in 1950, Guam's version of mid-century modernity veered towards increasing association with American ideals and subsequent affiliation with the nation-state. As referenced at the end of this excerpt from *Destiny's Landfall,* a standard text for Guam history on the level of Sanchez and Carano's *A Complete History of Guam*, conferring citizenship was a preliminary step that spurred increased access to stateside opportunities.[54] Chamorus and other island residents may have gained their own form of privileged yet liminal citizenship by 1950, but prior restrictions still applied and had yet to be undone, especially in terms of travel.

Months prior to World War II, the island's already authoritative military government apparatus was bolstered by Executive Order 8683 (1941), which established the Guam Island Naval Defensive Sea Area and the Guam Island Naval Airspace Reservation.[55] By establishing these naval installations, President Roosevelt aimed to reinforce military might ahead of precipitating tensions with the Japanese which would later culminate in World War II. These newly developed military sites placed special emphasis on security restrictions as Executive Order 8683 came to be known for limiting access to Guam for civilians, namely those categorized as "non-Guamanians," and military officials without pre-established access: all other visitors would undergo security and safety screenings leading up to and after the war. In turn, this

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[53] Robert F. Rogers, "Chapter 13: Under the Organic Act 1950-1970," *Destiny's Landfall: A History of Guam* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1995), 208.

[54] Pedro C. Sanchez and Paul Carano, *A Complete History of Guam* (Rutland, Vt: C. E. Tuttle, 1964).

[55] Franklin D. Roosevelt, "Executive Order 8683—Establishing Naval Defensive Sea Areas Around and Naval Airspace Reservations Over the Islands of Rose, Tutuila, and Guam," *The American Presidency Project*, online database, February 14th, 1941, https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/executive-order-8683-establishing-naval-defensive-sea-areas-around-and-naval-airspace.

act reduced civilian movement between the island's boundaries and elsewhere to an unreasonable degree. Guam-based attorneys W. Scott Barrett and Walter S. Ferenz even argued that Executive Order 8683 surveilled to an unconstitutional degree:

> "One section, which is not in the Instruction (naval directive, or regulation) issued to the general public, provides as follows:
>
> *Compliance with laws and regulations*. All persons, vessels and aircraft entering the Guam Island Naval Defensive Sea Area or the Guam Island Naval Airspace Reservation, *whether or not in violation of Executive Order 8683…* shall be governed by such regulations and restrictions upon their conduct and movements as may be established by the Commander, U.S. Naval Forces, Marianas, whether by general regulation or by special instructions in any case.
>
> The Foregoing regulation clearly purports to establish martial law in Guam. Civilians are under martial law whenever an Executive order authorizes a military commander to prescribe rules of action—make laws—governing civilians in military areas set up in domestic territories upon the sole standard of military necessity."[56]

Through "Peacetime Martial Law in Guam," Barrett and Ferenz underscore the illegality of the executive order not only at the time of its passing but during the continuation of its jurisdiction in a postwar context. Although the order itself was issued in 1941, prior to the establishment of the Organic Act, it would be formally revived years later: "While many island leaders assumed Executive Order 8683 was then a dead letter, less than three months after the Organic Act took effect, the Chief of Naval Operations re-instituted the security clearance entry program (on December 5, 1950). The Korean War had begun five months earlier."[57] For non-Guamanians, even U.S. citizens, the revived program demanded that those desiring to visit must apply for

[56] W. Scott Barrett and Walter S. Ferenz, "Peacetime Martial Law in Guam," *California Law Review* vol. 48, no. 1 (Berkeley: UC Berkeley School of Law, 1960), pp. 1-2, https://www.jstor.org/stable/3478817?seq=2.
[57] Frank Quimby, "Security Clearance on Guam," *Guampedia*, last modified April 12th, 2023, https://www.guampedia.com/security-clearance-on-guam/.

security clearance and those seeking to 'leave and return' must file for re-entry permit applications.

The recurrence of Executive Order 8683 signaled the preeminent and ongoing importance of military interests in the Pacific, as it also led to the creation of naval defensive sea areas and naval airspace reservations on Rose Island and Tutuila, both islands that are a part of American Sāmoa. Whereas all the military areas set up in American Sāmoa were discontinued in April 1952 by President Truman through Executive Order 10341, it took 21 years for the same to be done in Guam.[58] Although Executive Order 8683 did not directly surveil Chamorus, its mere resurgence served as a staunch reminder that the island's prewar military reign would not end, even despite the recent passing of Guam's Organic Act (1950), which took place only a few years prior to the passing of Executive Order 10341 (1952), which directly impacted American Sāmoa. More than that, the Chief of Naval Operations in Guam resuscitated Executive Order 8683 only three months after the Organic Act became effective.[59] The U.S. Navy's ability to maintain extended control of island affairs via civilian movement presents retrospective concern because the U.S. military industrial complex was still able to exert some form of control. Despite the federal government's transferal of responsibilities to the Department of the Interior, Executive Order 8683 would continue to hold sway over general civilian mobility until the early 1960's.

On August 21st, 1962, President John F. Kennedy Jr. signed Executive Order 11045 into law. By discontinuing the Guam Island Naval Defensive Sea Area and Guam Island Naval

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[58] Harry S. Truman, "Executive Order 10341—Discontinuing the Rose Island and the Tutuila Island Naval Defensive Sea Areas and Naval Airspace Reservations," *The American Presidency Project*, online database, April 8th, 1952, https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/executive-order-10341-discontinuing-the-rose-island-and-the-tutuila-island-naval-defensive.

[59] Barrett and Ferenz, "Peacetime Martial Law on Guam," p. 5, as derived from footnote 16: "Entry clearance requirements were reinstituted by Letter [Directive] From Chief of Naval Operations, serial no. 5235P21, Dec. 4, 1950. This directive was superseded by subsequent regulations."

Airspace Reservation, the order effectively removed restrictions of entry into Guam and other parts of the Pacific. Via the Office of the White House Press Secretary, the statement declared:

> "In furtherance of our national policy of promoting self-government and encouraging expanded social and economic development in the Territories under United States administration, I have signed an Executive Order rescinding a 1941 Executive Order (8683) which established the Guam Naval and Airspace Reservations. As a result of this action, Navy security clearances no longer will be required as a condition of entering the Territory of Guam thus providing the same freedom of movement that exists in other parts of the United States…. I intend that these actions I have taken will foster responsible political development, stimulate new economic activity, and enable the people of the Islands to participate fully in the world of today."[60]

During an era of heightened globalization and decolonization, the U.S. could no longer bar public travel and was forced to acquiesce to international standards of conduct (i.e. the Navy was forced to relinquish its strangely stringent surveillance system over civilians on Guam). Compared to the prior orders of his predecessors, Executive Order 11045 embodied JFK's more democratic policies and signaled a major shift which would have a profoundly significant impact on island affairs and Chamoru livelihoods as well. For instance, its influence can be seen and felt through the personalized work of Paula A. Lujan Quinene. Through *Remember Guam*, a collection of key dates and memories held by her family as well as those who once lived on Guam prior (Chamoru and non-Chamoru alike), she noted three major events of the 1960's:

- 1962—The Naval Clearing Act is lifted by J.F.K. This opened Guam's ports to foreign and domestic visitors. (Sanchez, pg. 339)
- November 11, 1962—Super Typhoon Karen stormed over Guam. It was reported to have had two eye-walls. Super Typhoon Karen made a direct hit over Guam. She had winds of 160 mph, with gusts up to 207 mph. (Wikipedia)

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[60] John F. Kennedy, Statement on Signing Order Removing Restrictions on Entry into Guam and the Trust Territory of the Pacific, Office of the White House Press Secretary, via *JFK Library* online database, originally released August 23rd, 1962, https://www.jfklibrary.org/asset-viewer/archives/jfkpof-039-044#?image_identifier=JFKPOF-039-044-p0002.

- 1968—The Elective Governor Act allowed Guam residents to vote for their own governor. (Sanchez, pg. 355)[61]

Per her shorthand sourcing and date selections, it can be deduced that 1962 was a key year of change. It is clear that the JFK Administration was bent on supporting increased aid and access to the island of Guam given Executive Order 11045 and Super Typhoon Karen.

Akin to the retrospective nature of Quinene's stateside book of key dates and nostalgic memory retrieval, published in 2009, the lifting of the naval security clearance program would be revisited by Chamoru journalist Chloe Babauta. Featured in Guam's main newspaper *The Pacific Daily News* (PDN) almost ten years after *Remember Guam,* Babauta's article provides a rare Chamoru point of view which might lead us to rethink how the mid-20th century era of naval security clearance could have impacted Guam's Indigenous people as well. In her strong and succinct public-facing piece, entitled "For Chamorus, lifting security clearance was 'like getting out of prison'," she traces the trajectory of the naval security program and its supposed exemption of Chamoru civilians. Featuring an interview with former Speaker of the Guam Legislature Joe T. San Agustin, he framed the plight of Chamorus constricted by the naval security clearance program: "Think of it: you're put in a cage, you're born on Guam, and you have to ask an admiral, 'Can I leave Guam?' And then I leave Guam, and I have to ask can I come to Guam. It's like asking, 'Can I go to the bathroom?'" he said… [in regards to ending the naval security clearance program] "The people felt good about it," San Agustin said. "It's like getting out of prison. And if the gate is open, how do you feel?"[62]

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[61] Paula Ann Lujan Quinene, "The 1960's," *Remember Guam: A collection of memories and recipes to warm your heart and lighten your spirit* (West Conshohocken, PA: Infinity Publishing, 2009), 17.
[62] Chloe Babauta, "For Chamorus, lifting security clearance was 'like getting out of prison,'" *Pacific Daily News*, September 16th, 2018, https://www.guampdn.com/news/local/for-chamorus-lifting-security-clearance-was-like-getting-out-of-prison/article_87051db8-0f4b-567e-b076-a6da96df4d78.html.

Although Executive Order 8683 was only supposed to restrict "non-Guamanian" activity, Babauta reported that "some Chamorus found they had to ask the Navy for permission to leave or return to island."[63] In the case of Agustin, who left George Washington University in the late 1940's, he recalled having to request permission from the Guam Naval administration twice so he could attend school off-island and in order to return home. His firsthand experience serves as proof that Chamorus were not always granted exclusionary privileges from the naval security clearance program and were sometimes directly impacted, in this case for the sake of stateside education. Moreover, Agustin's application of carceral logic is particularly prescient in light of contemporary school-to-prison pipelines in the continental United States. By making references to being held in a cage or locked up in prison, he aptly frames the very real struggles associated with any kind of state-sanctioned restriction of movement. Ranging from an individual to group basis, this wide spectrum of state control and surveillance from then until now attests to an overall militarized context. As a result, U.S. civilians experienced concrete struggles attempting to enter and leave Guam despite ongoing, illegal naval restrictions revived and re-enforced from 1941 up until 1962.

Despite its seemingly minor influence on Chamoru civilians, the naval security clearance served as a forceful reminder for Chamorus like Agustin that the U.S. government relegated them to a form of second-class citizenship. Its real impact could be found on non-Chamorus like Filipino migrant workers who were in the process of building lives on Guam—its overall intent and impact symbolized a dormant yet lingering military hold in island affairs.[64] Twenty-one

[63] Babauta.
[64] Alfred Peredo Flores, *Tip of the Spear: Land, Labor, and US Settler Militarism in Guåhan, 1944-1962* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2023).

years later, Executive Order 11045 would signify the formal end of the program in Guam. Towards the end of her article, Babauta reflects on the potential garnered from JFK's Executive Order 11045: "With restrictions from the Naval administration lifted, it created new possibilities and freedoms for the people of Guam."[65]

Returning to Quinene's brief section on the 1960's, Super Typhoon Karen played a pivotal role in Guam's turn towards modernity. Having commenced on November 11th, 1962, this climate disaster occurred only three months after the release date of Executive Order 11045 on August 23rd, 1962. Super Typhoon Karen's damage was irreparable: "On November 21st, insurance payments for losses were expected to exceed $12 million. On January 1st, 1963, a $2 million relief fund was authorized by Kennedy. Another $5.4 million in relief funds were provided by President Lyndon B. Johnson on February 15th, 1964. The United States Congress provided Guam with $60 million, including $45 million through federal loans, mainly to help rebuild the territory and promote expansion of the economy."[66] The amount of money awarded to Guam not only afforded recovery and relief, but it allowed the island and its economy to shift towards more profit-driven enterprises, namely revolving around the tourism industry.

*Glimpses of Guam*, a magazine published by American servicemen and printed by Fuji-Seihan, a Japanese printing company in Osaka, operated as a dual advertising campaign for

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[65] Babauta.
[66] Derived from "Typhoon Karen," *Wikipedia*, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Typhoon_Karen#:~:text=On%20January%201%2C%201963%2C%20a,Johnson%20on%20February%2015%2C%201964.
The webpage makes note of two archival sources:
"JFK prepares to celebrate the New Year," *St. Petersburg Times* (Palm Beach, Florida: Associated Press, January 1, 1963), p. 2A, https://news.google.com/newspapers?id=V41PAAAAIBAJ&sjid=IlIDAAAAIBAJ&dq=typhoon%20karen&pg=7050%2C12066.
"Guam Gets More Disaster Aid," *The New York Times*, February 15, 1964, https://www.nytimes.com/1964/02/15/archives/guam-gets-more-disaster-aid.html.

liquor and cigarettes as well as promoting places to see and things to do in Guam. It catered primarily to military men and tourists alike. In their 1971 issue, James C. Halliday (occupation unknown) contributed an interesting piece, "The Economy of Guam: A Human Drama," which starts by detailing the island's comparable features and placement among other parts of Oceania and Asia and then makes its way to speculation:

> "An island building a flourishing economy with no resources beyond its strategic location and the indomitable will of its people. Attractive conditions for foreign investment, side by side with encouragement of local capital, has increased the island gross product from $70 million in 1961 to a rate of $350 million in 1971, with significant financial and cooperative assistance via the military presence, --still the backbone of the economy… to this tiny speck in the Western Pacific -- A model for even the most sophisticated countries of the world.
>
> That is Guam, U.S.A. -- Crossroads of the Pacific. It is obvious that Guam has entered a new era. An era wherein the island community is destined to play a major role in Western Pacific-Asian economic affairs…. [as the island is] shaking the yoke of war-time occupation and liberation; gaining citizenship; and on into self-government, a strong economic future for this westernmost part of the United States is now assured. The island will never again be the same. For in a single generation, the people have transformed themselves from a jungle ox-cart society into a communication, transportation, financial, computerized, technological entity."[67]

This portion of Halliday's piece both desecrates and congratulates the Chamoru people, simultaneously praising their modern advancements in technology and economic progress whilst denigrating their place in the world as "a tiny speck in the Western Pacific" and their prior preoccupation with non-automated forms of transportation as a "jungle ox-cart society." Although *Glimpses of Guam* did not mention his occupation, *New York Times* reporter Robert Trumbull actually had a conversation with Halliday, whom I discovered to be the administrator of the Guam Economic Development Authority (he notes this as a "Government organ"), for his piece "A Boom in Tourism Transforms Guam" in that same year of 1971. Harking again on how

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[67] James C. Halliday, "The Economy of Guam: A Human Drama," *Glimpses of Guam* (Osaka, Japan: Captain L.E. Field, USN, U.S. Naval Station (publisher), printed by Fuji-Seihan Printing Company, Ltd., 1971), pp. 120-122, printed copy borrowed from UCLA Charles E. Young Research Library, DU 647 G48 1971.

"Guam has undergone one of the great social mutations of history" in conversation with Trumbull, Halliday proceeded to point out again that, "the island has passed, within one generation, from travel mostly by oxcarts to an uneven ratio of more cars to people surpassing even that of California."[68] From a Chamoru point of view, this fixation on the so-called "ox-cart" is an inherent affront: this outsider writer's biased emphasis on the carabao as a recurring symbol both antiquates our cultural reverence for the animal's key role in our society whilst simultaneously praising technological advancements that do not an island environment.[69]

In returning to Halliday's contribution to *Glimpses of Guam*, there is a hint of melancholy for the foregone days of "older Guam," if only for the sake of leaning into the stereotype of the noble savage of the Pacific: "Perhaps, a little sadly, a cosmopolitan community among the coral atolls of Micronesia seems a bit out of place to some people, but Guam 1971 is an economic mutation, and paradoxically, an island of the gentlest of invasions. Yet, somehow the closer we live to each other, the more space we all seem to have and the more we are enlarged."[70] This strange absolution manages to beautify, pastoralize even, an unaffected past that is now shifting towards a seemingly endless future without any resistance, since Guam is simply 'an island of the gentlest invasions.' It is an eerily ironic choice of words given Halliday recognized how integral the U.S. military is to Guam's economy and society as a whole in *Glimpses of Guam*; although it may appear gentle to him as a non-Chamoru journalist, settler militarism is not

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[68] Robert Trumbull, "A Boom in Tourism Transforms Guam," *New York Times,* December 26th, 1971, https://www.nytimes.com/1971/12/26/archives/a-boom-in-tourism-transforms-guam.html.

[69] I think this point is especially prescient because Halliday, per his own writing and feature in Trumbull's NYT piece, says we swapped the "ox-cart" for technological advancements, which is actually worse for Guam in the case of compiling cars on an island that would be better served by safe and accessible island-wide transit like a proper bus system. It does not make sense to have a higher car-to-person ratio for a small island than that of California.

[70] Halliday, 123.

gentle. Often to the detriment of Indigenous people, it is a violent structure which services outside interests first with little care or regard for the land or its inhabitants.

This final statement on physical proximity breeding hyperconnectivity and further expansion seems like a faulty attempt at capturing the never-ending reach of mid-to-late century globalization via tourist ventures in Oceania. Albeit a well-intentioned gesture, it still reads as devoid of deeper analysis. Even though this edition vehemently declared this to be "the work of unpaid volunteers and is in no way connected with the Department of Defense," the magazine itself was published by members of the military.[71] Its mere existence, whether formally sponsored by the state or otherwise, and particular subsect of promulgated viewpoints constitute evidence of mid-century militourism hard at work. Coined by I-Kiribati and African American scholar and poet Teresia Teaiwa, militourism is a phenomenon that occurs when the military masks their operations by establishing a tourist industry in which they have the capacity to become major stakeholders. This symbiotic relationship is also understood through its capacity to cover up underlying interests superseding, if not actively threatening, Native well-being and sovereignty. In turn, Guam's Indigenous context calls into question the intensified dichotomy between so-called "pre-modern" oxcart agrarianism and an intensified, interwoven build-up of hotels and installations on island benefitting militourist-driven demands and desires.[72]

As explored throughout this historically centered chapter, mid-century modernity in Guam was influenced primarily by governmental decrees as well as notable displays of Chamoru agency on an individual and collective basis. Focusing on the impact of World War II, Guam's

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[71] *Glimpses of Guam* (Osaka, Japan: Captain L.E. Field, USN, U.S. Naval Station (publisher), printed by Fuji-Seihan Printing Company, Ltd., 1971), 121.
[72] Teresia Teaiwa, "Reflections on Militourism, US Imperialism, and American Studies." *American Quarterly* vol. 68, no. 3 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2016): pp. 847-853, https://doi.org/10.1353/aq.2016.0068.

road to the establishment of the Organic Act, as well as the rise and eventual fall of the naval security clearance program on-island all point to the evolution of Guam's geopolitical relationship to the U.S. nation-state. Guam's place in a world gradually conceding to the demands of globalization and decolonization was and still is mediated through American military means, but its people persisted, nonetheless. Through these key events, we see how Chamorus were not passive recipients but actively involved in the charting of their own destinies, even if they lacked full sovereignty to do so under U.S. naval and colonial jurisdiction.

The major takeaway of this chapter is understanding the historical premise behind what I consider "liminal yet privileged citizenship" in Guam. This can be seen through the establishment of the Organic Act, as informed by wartime and postwar liberation narratives, as well as the unconstitutional role of naval security clearance measures initiated and revived throughout the mid-20$^{th}$ century. For Chamorus and other non-Indigenous island residents alike, it is essential to acknowledge how this form of incomplete citizenship was and still is lackluster. It serves as a staunch reminder that the U.S. government remains unwilling to concede to cries for civil rights (fully vested U.S. citizenship) or Indigenous rights (self-determination) in the case of Guam and her people.[73] The liminal yet privileged form of citizenship which remains to this day reveals the depths of a sacrifice Chamorus were forced to make. Despite incursions made on any sense of independence during periods of wartime, military control, and the like, Chamorus still exerted forms of free will and produced acts of autonomy. Ironically, the greatest benefit of such 'liminal yet privileged citizenship' came in the form of free mobility and unsupervised

[73] Hope Alvarez Cristobal, "The Organization of People for Indigenous Rights: A Commitment Towards Self-Determination," *Hinasso': Tinige' Put Chamorro–Insights: The Chamorro Identity* (Hagåtña: Political Status Education Coordinating Commission, 1993).

movement to the continental United States: this facilitated an unprecedented ease of migration which continues to funnel off island Chamoru settlement in Turtle Island to this day.

With an eye on the opening of Guam ports sans military oversight and the growing sector of tourism on island, I end this chapter on a note of future prospects to provide context for the kind of world my interviewees were entering. My subsequent chapters focus on the personal narratives of diasporic Chamorus born in the early to mid-1970's and themes of education, militarism, and the economy through the lens of 'opportunity.' Serving as a primer, this historically oriented chapter provides a foundation for understanding what kinds of conditions predetermined on-island options and off-island opportunities. The rest of my thesis will shift by centering oral histories as a way to contemplate Gen X diasporic Chamoru experiences and circular migration more intimately.

Contributing Factors Towards Relocation: Seeking Stateside Education and Economic Mobility

Chamoru migratory patterns to the continental United States often fall under a rubric of standard categorization: 1) military, 2) education, and more broadly, 3) opportunity: namely in the vein of economic development as an individual or family unit. Faye Untalan Munoz, Robert Underwood, and Jesi Lujan Bevacqua all make nods towards the concreteness of these separate yet interconnected reasons for migrating.[74] Although Chamoru migration streams have existed prior throughout the Pacific and elsewhere, such as the forced relocation of Chamorus to and from Yap due to Japanese colonization, Guam's preexisting pipeline to the continental United

[74] Faye Untalan Munoz, "An Exploratory Study of Island Migration: Chamorros of Guam," dissertation, University of California: Los Angeles, 1979; Robert A. Underwood, "Excursions into Inauthenticity: The Chamorro Migrant Stream," *Pacific Viewpoint,* vol. 26: pp. 160-184, 1985; Jesi Lujan Bennett, "Migrating Beyond the Mattingan: Diasporic Routes, Indigenous Identities, and Public Exhibitions," dissertation, University of Hawai'i: Mānoa, 2021.

States widened significantly.[75] The lifting of the naval security clearance program via Executive Order 11045 (1962), which cut off the lingering legacy of Executive Order 8683 (1941), ensured unrestricted movement to and from Guam. This presidential effort signaled the dawn of a new day on island, as wartime security measures partially dissipated to allow the unmitigated flow and access of U.S. citizens and other civilians (e.g. tourists) back and forth.

Whilst the military scaled back its formalized appearance of control, it still maintained and strengthened its hold on island given the "complex historical, political, and economic interdependencies of militarism and tourism via familial and educational routes generated by the centrifugal force of US imperialism."[76] Although invasion of the violent kind was relegated to World War II, foreign interests still exhibited soft power in Guam as military and tourist industries took modern form.[77] Whilst customs of *kustumbren Chamoru* (traditional Chamoru culture during Spanish colonial rule), such as the native language, marital affairs, extended clan networks, and passing down of familial land, were being irrevocably altered by Americanization via militourist interests and more broadly outsider development, Guam's own government became increasingly enchanted by the allure of such ventures. Foreign economic input certainly supported this inclination: "From the late 1960s to the late 1980s, Guam experienced one of the

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[75] Japanese colonization of Yap and throughout the Marianas archipelago occurred before, during, and after World War II; this can be seen via Chamoru labor and migration streams to and from Yap. For more information, refer to: Alexander Spoehr, "The Tinian Chamorros," *Human Organization* vol. 10, no. 4 (Washington, D.C.: The Society for Applied Anthropology, 1951), 16–20, https://doi.org/10.17730/humo.10.4.h431v30454641x32.

[76] Terisia Teaiwa, "Postscript: Reflections on Militourism, US Imperialism, and American Studies," *American Quarterly* vol, 68, no. 3, Special Issue: Tours of Duty and Tours of Leisure (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2016): p. 851, https://www.jstor.org/stable/26360930.

[77] My evocation of soft power refers to the ability to influence beliefs, attitudes, and opinions of a community through non-coercive strategies which often sanitize Indigenous histories. We can see this in the case of tourism industries in the Pacific. To read an alternative approach to tourism centering Native histories instead, refer to: Hokulani K. Aikau and Vernadette Vicuña Gonzalez, *Detours: A Decolonial Guide to Hawai'i* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2019), https://doi.org/10.1515/9781478007203.

world's fastest rates of economic and social growth and transformation, owing principally to contemporaneous Asian development and especially to the wild success of a tourism industry that catered to Asians"—in this way, the newly devised Guam Visitors Bureau (circa 1970) aligned with the influx of high-rise hotels in Tumon Bay as well as a major shift in capital investment from American to Japanese corporations.[78] From airlines and travel agents to hotels and tourist excursions, the militourist market opted to serve Japanese, and more broadly Asian, clientele from the mid-to-late 20th century and onwards."[79]

As a result, the discursive possibilities of a militourist model provided a welcomed yet temporary salve to a power shortage and recession-ridden Guam. Unfortunately, it would also come to characterize an economic dependency on the joint industries that the island still endures today. Moreover, while most of Guam's tourist industry benefits and caters to Korean, Japanese, and broader Asian audiences, members of the U.S. military and their dependents still carved a space for themselves as well. As evidenced by the mid-to-late 20th century publication *Glimpses of Guam*, which still operates to this day, the dynamics of such economic drivers became intrinsically intertwined over time. Whilst the broadening of tourism offered Tumon Bay jobs to Chamorus and other island residents, the expansion of the military-industrial complex facilitated short term and full-time displacement.

Since the early 1900s, Chamorus began enlisting and were subsequently stationed across the country and all around the globe given the U.S. empire's growing number of military bases.[80]

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[78] Diaz, "Introduction," *Repositioning the Missionary*, 11.
[79] Robert F. Rogers, "Chapter 14: Ocean Chrysalis 1970-1980," *Destiny's Landfall: A History of Guam*, revised edition (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2011), 226-228.

[80] Daniel Immerwahr, *How to Hide an Empire: A History of the Greater United States* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2019).

After World War II, the military-industrial complex increasingly funneled single Chamorro males and small Chamoru family units to different areas of the continent, especially in the state of California, as well as Nevada, Oregon, and Washington state. Bachelors often intermarried with non-Chamorus and raised families in diaspora whilst Chamoru family units who chose to remain stateside at the conclusion of the paternal figure's military service would often convince extended family and/or friends from Guam to join them. As the first generation of Chamoru migrants, these preliminary waves set up a foundation of small yet significant comfort for other Chamorus seeking to start a new life stateside. This is particularly important for Chamorus from Guam, as they shift in status from being both the predominant population and Indigenous people of their home island to a small minority, often rendered negligible by institutional and societal standards, minority in the continental United States. This lack of awareness regarding Chamoru identity, community, and culture stateside was by no means ideal, but Chamorus had already been trained and acculturated to an American racial hierarchy since the onset of the U.S. naval era (1898-1950, with the exception of WWII) and its accompanying colonial education system.

Similar to the U.S. government's perception and subsequent treatment of Native Americans through the brutal, unjust boarding school system, Chamorus were infantilized and molded to the needs of their colonizer. From harsh English language acquisition (punitive and detrimental to Chamoru language retention) to vocational and citizenship training, children went through school for the purpose of boosting patriotism without question. Trainings included the recitation of American anthems, militaristic public demonstrations, as well as the performance of

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David Vine, *Base Nation: How U.S. Military Bases Abroad Harm America and the World* (New York, NY: Skyhorse Publishing, 2017).

menial tasks that would supplement a lack of government funding to schools and would prepare Chamorus to become manual laborers. In Chamoru historian Alfred P. Flores' article "US Colonial Education in Guam, 1899-1950," he lists the dozens of objects boys and girls were expected to generate and sell for partial profit, as the rest of the money would be taken by the school. He noted, "In essence, boys were being prepared for work outside the home, while girls were being primed for labor that centered on the home or provided supplementary income by serving the military and its dependents."[81] Much like the military, education was colonial to its core yet also provided opportunities for Chamorus to "get off the rock" and pursue educational paths not yet available in Guam.

Take for instance, the Territorial College of Guam which started as a two-year teacher training school in 1952 and transformed into a full year university now known as University of Guam. Pacific Islands University and Guam Community College were not established until 1976 and 1977, respectively. As a result, Chamorus seeking opportunities in higher education were forced to look to other locations. This exclusive and often elitist track of education-motivated diaspora started as early as the 1920s, with Chamorus relocating to Midwestern states like Oklahoma and Kentucky for agricultural, medical, and other degrees that they then took back home to Guam and utilized elsewhere. Although options have expanded stateside, with many premier institutions such as Marquette University in Wisconsin and St. Mary's College of California in the Bay Area recruiting from Guam high schools, only the three aforementioned colleges offer higher education on island. As Flores explains, the "diasporic experience is still

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[81] Alfred P. Flores, "US Colonial Education in Guam, 1899-1950," *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of American History* (March 26th, 2019), https://oxfordre.com/americanhistory/display/10.1093/acrefore/9780199329175.001.0001/acrefore-9780199329175-e-512#acrefore-9780199329175-e-512-div1-4.

prevalent today since certain college graduate and professional (business, dental, law, and medical) programs do not exist in Guam."[82] As a result, moving off Guam for the sake of education became a key impetus for selective migration. This limited ability to relocate coincided with socioeconomic factors driven by militourism and Americanization.

Whereas military enlistment was a viable option open and accessible to all, in turn eliciting mass migration, relocating for the chance to pursue education was only available and affordable for a select few. This dichotomy of military v. education innumerably varied side effects, as military service often leads to dire consequences like post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) in addition to positive factors like socialized healthcare, the GI Bill, and other benefits.[83] In terms of military posts and educational positions altogether, the continental United States offered more possibilities compared to what could be found on Guam. Beyond sheer size, there was also a notable lack of diverse work available: the scope of alternative professions added allure to the prospect of moving to the continental United States for good. This created a chasm of vague "opportunity" between home and the continent that inspired ready and eager Chamorus to search for more stateside.

Rather than focus on militarization, Chapter Two includes a focused study of Chamoru livelihoods, namely that of people who identify as 1980's and/or 90's kids (Gen X), revolving

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[82] Flores, footnote 75. In his footnote for this sentence, Flores adds: "Currently, there are two public open-access postsecondary institutions on Guam (Guam Community College and the University of Guam) and one private bible college (Pacific Islands University). For more on Chamoru diaspora and migration, see Robert A. Underwood, "Excursions into Inauthenticity: The Chamorros of Guam," *Pacific Viewpoint* vol. 26 (1985): 160–184."

[83] For more insight into the complicated consequences of military service from a Chamoru point of view, refer to: M.B. Dallocchio, *The Desert Warrior* (London: Latte Books, 2017).
It is also important to note that many Chamorus navigate both spheres, choosing to enlist in the military and proceed to gain an education on the U.S. government's dime. One is not better than the other and these categories are not mutually exclusive, but the argument remains: militarized movement constitutes mass migration whilst educational attainment is associated with middle-to-upper class status and socioeconomic mobility.

around their educational experiences on Guam and how this ultimately drove them to pursue college, careers, and opportunity off island. Moreover, this section also analyzes the importance of corporate workplace ideology, namely an emphasis on foregoing one's ethnic identity to fit in and/or highlight it in the event of potential benefit or even profit, as a reality for middle-aged Chamorus not just surviving but thriving in a capitalist market society. Because of historical events and policies impacting the island in the mid-to-late 20th century, Chamorus like Shannon Terlaje Cruz, Adrian Sanchez Lupola, and Jacquelynn Artero Maley chose to relocate stateside.

# Chapter Two: Stateside Chamoru Stories—Vintage Vignettes and Modern Linkages

Figure 2: (L to R) Rosita Lynn Artero Darnell, Christina Castro Lupola, Danny Taitague, Adrian Sanchez Lupola, Daniel Artero (baby), and Jacquelynn Artero Maley at a Liberation Day celebration in San Diego, California during the 1990s, most likely in the year 1992.

A tried-and-true facet of stateside Chamoru identity, community, and culture is our collective desire to see and be seen, especially at events geared towards a Guam-centric or more broadly Pacific Islander audience-catered experience. From Mes Chamoru (Chamoru Heritage Month) merriment celebrated throughout March to the annual Pacific Island Festival Association (PIFA) held in San Diego every September, Chamorus have historically shown up and continue to increasingly show out. Such commemorations are products of mid-to-late 20th century

endeavors to remember important historical moments and uplift Chamorus in the process. And yet, they still carry colonial connotations.

In the case of July 21st, Liberation Day still holds hidden political implications behind American return: rather than promulgate an alternative like an "Independence Day" free of any colonial influence across the Marianas, this day tends to romanticize postwar liberation in Guam. As for Mes Chamoru, this holiday is more overt in its message: it kicks off every first Monday of March, the very same day Portuguese conquistador Ferdinand Magellan and his shipmates stumbled upon Guam's shores in 1521. Since 1970, this ill-fated, initial encounter has been observed as a day of historic importance. Shifting from celebrating the colonizer to supporting the Indigenous people of Guam, an evolution took place in order to replace early, sanitized names like "Magellan Day" and "Discovery Day" with the more modern moniker "Guam History and Chamoru Heritage Day" in Guam.[84]

The stateside contingent of Chamorus similarly plans, performs, and contributes significantly to the financial infrastructure of these affairs in their own respective realms as well. As a frequent attendee of PIFA since my family moved to California at the start of the 2010s, I can attest to the rapid growth and current predominance of Chamoru booths, namely that of food and clothing vendors, at this conglomerate celebration of Melanesian, Micronesian, and Polynesian populations in Southern California. Similarly, at fiestas organized solely for our ethnic community, with the purpose of honoring the aforementioned holidays, Chamorus are proud to be a part of a collective experience and utilize their purchasing power quite freely. The

[84] "Guam History and Chamoru Heritage Day festivities in Humåtak," *Guam Museum*, website page, March 10th, 2023, https://www.guammuseumfoundation.org/2023/03/10/guam-history-and-chamoru-heritage-day-festivities-in-humatak/.

flaunting of the newest Crowns tee or hat, the lining up of lowriders, or even the exhibition of tattoos, Guam seal stickers, and other accessible, commodifiable forms of identity showcase an abundant festival aesthetic. This type of unwavering support via preparation, presence, and personal investment comes at no small cost. As inheritors of a ghastly yet honorable legacy, stateside Chamorus have sought to make and mold these holidays to their own wants and needs. By shifting towards more pro-Indigenous marketing and media alongside or in place of more assimilationist narratives, like foregoing the concept of "Discovery Day" and/or replacing the ideal of "liberation" with the reality of re-occupation, we can mark these holidays with increased reverence despite the passing of time. It is especially important to hold space for such complicated narratives and communicate these multilayered histories in diaspora since we are not in our home island.

Throughout this second chapter, I intend to unpack the complex dynamics of diasporic Chamoru identity and how entangled it has become with ideals of the so-called "American dream" and associative socioeconomic mobility, community building, and maintaining a sense of connection as well. We will continue to unpack and understand the assimilationist influence of Western democratic ideals as well as the intensifying creep of capitalist ideals via the emergent militourism model in the late 20th century in Guam. Given this economically motivated model, I then continue to unpack varying routes of off-island migration undertaken by Chamorus and how their paths were dictated by forces beyond their control. The overarching purpose of this middle chapter is to consider broader sociopolitical connotations of diasporic identity, through contemplation and interrogation of tropes like being considered *matå'pang* or *Amerikånon pao asu* as well as prioritizing the lived experiences of contemporary diasporic Chamorus who were born and raised primarily in Guam but who chose to live stateside permanently.

My primary sources are oral history interviews I conducted with three Chamorus: Adrian Sanchez Lupola (my father), Jacquelynn Artero Maley (a dear auntie/friend of my parents, but not a blood relation), and Shannon Terlaje Cruz (not a blood relation, but my friend Zach Anderson's auntie). All three spent a significant portion of their upbringing on the island of Guam: Lupola was born on Guam and raised mainly in the neighborhood of Marianas Terrace in village of Yigo, Cruz's family is based in Agat, but she grew up in Windward Hills (secluded from other kids in the village of Yona), and Maley lived in NCS Dededo (right outside the Naval Computer and Telecommunications (NCTS) base). All three ultimately decided to settle stateside and currently live in southern California. Cruz in San Diego (Kumeyaay/Kumiai land), Lupola lives in Oceanside (Payómkawichum/Luiseño and Kumeyaay lands), and Maley in San Clemente (Acjachemen/Juaneño and Payómkawichum/Luiseño lands)..[85]

From exploring their educational and cultural circumstances on island to stories of culture shock and active assimilation in the workplace, this section charts not only their entry points and final destinations but also the sociopolitical conditions that prompted them to leave. The heart of the matter is to extrapolate how Chamoru diasporic identity is both extensive in scope, ranging from those who migrated to subsequent generations, and diverse in experience and points of view. Per my interview content, I provide a more niche look at liminal yet privileged migration routes and experiences of stateside Chamorus who pursued off-island living in pursuit of better "opportunity." In seeking stateside education and other economic options outside the colonial constrictions of militarized mobility, my oral histories provide a particular lens to the plight of

[85] All Native names derived from the Native Land Digital Map, https://native-land.ca/.

upper middle class, middle-aged Chamorus navigating what constitutes a contemporary, diasporic Chamoru livelihood.

## Identity Wars in the Chamoru Diaspora: The Tropes of *Matå'pang* and *Amerikånon pao asu*

Returning to my prior discussion of stateside Chamoru festivities, the previously mentioned "cost" associated with these holidays is not just financial. Buying into an event, physically and/or psychologically, does not guarantee inclusion. Sadly, mere presence alone cannot ensure genuine connection and/or continued community-building beyond the standalone episodes which celebrate cultural heritage and push for Chamoru pride. This can be seen on multiple levels throughout earlier inceptions of Chamoru observation days as well as recent developments in our modern fiesta culture. In reference to Figure 2, the photo featured on the first page of this chapter, my parents shared a disheartening confession about their experience at a Liberation Day celebration in San Diego during the early 1990s. Upon recollection, they had felt a notable lack of hospitality and wondered why there was not an overall welcoming atmosphere as they originally anticipated given their upbringing in Guam. Instead, no one left their own inner circle or personal tents to co-mingle and they remember the energy just felt "off."

Similarly, my close friend Olivia Diaz Anderson's parents recounted their bizarre experience at another Chamoru-centered event, this time in the Bay Area, in which Benny Tainatongo Anderson Jr. and Rebecca Ann P. Diaz left their daughters Ana and Olivia to get fiesta plates for the whole family. While they waited in line for provisions and told the girls to save them a seat, they returned to see the young Chamorritas relegated to the very end of the picnic table with no adequate space for them to join.[86] In both instances, the Lupolas and the

[86] Anderson family, personal conversation, San Francisco, CA, December 2023.

Andersons felt not only sidelined but also a slight scorn for other Chamorus, people they thought should know better than to exhibit such unbecoming behavior, especially around their own kind.

And yet, both sets of parents, who were born and raised in Guam and permanently relocated stateside afterwards, made note that they assumed each group was raised stateside rather than on Guam. Moreover, they felt that this difference mattered and that such speculation might as well as account for their similarly strange yet separate situations of intra-Chamoru conflict, however slight it might seem. Recalling their lived experience, my parents even ventured to refer to stateside Chamoru participants at such functions as '*matå'pang*,' an insult hurled against those who might be seen as "acting rude, snobbish, silly, uncivilized, impolite or crazy," and enmeshed with colonial guilt.[87]

*Matå'pang* is a term associated with a bad attitude or ill-fitting behavior—although utilized in the vein of modern Chamoru slang, it traces back to the wrongfully remembered, rebellious, yet righteous actions of *Maga'låhi* (Chief) Matå'pang from the village of *Tomhom* (Tumon). During the Spanish era and preceding the Spanish-Chamoru Wars (1670-1699), the formerly baptized but eventually radicalized chief came to reject Christianity despite incursions from invasive figures like Father Diego Luís de San Vitores and other Spanish priests and soldiers.[88] Because he viewed Christianity as a force manipulating the Chamoru people and denigrating Indigenous cultural and belief systems, he stepped away from the church. To his

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[87] Mark Borja Lord, "God at Work in Chamorro History," *Y Fino Yu'us: The Word of God in the Chamorro Language,* https://yfinoyuus.wordpress.com/god-at-work-in-chamorro-history/.

[88] Padre Diego Luís de San Vitores is the most polarizing figure of Spanish era Catholicism on Guam, both revered and reviled because of his role in colonizing ancient Chamorus in the 17th century. He would later come to be beatified (granted sainthood) by the Vatican in 1985. For more information on the controversial figure of San Vitores, refer to: Vicente M. Diaz*, Repositioning the Missionary: Rewriting the Histories of Colonialism, Native Catholicism, and Indigeneity in Guam* (Honolulu, University of Hawai'i Press, 2010).

chagrin, San Vitores and his accomplice Pedro Calungsod foolishly decided the wisest way to coax Matå'pang back into the colonial Catholic fold was by baptizing his daughter in his home without his twofold permission to do so.[89] Out of vengeance, because the priest and his partner disregarded not only the sacredness of a *maga'låhi*'s home by breaking into his household but by baptizing his child without consent to do so, Matå'pang and his ally, another Chamoru man named Hirao (not to be confused with the famous *Maga'låhi* Hurao), set off to take care of these offenders.[90] Refusing to fight back, both San Vitores and Calungsod fell to their feet and prayed before being killed, after which their bodies, weighed down by stones tied to their lower extremities, sank to the watery depths of Tumon Bay. Such violence was part and parcel of warfare engaged on both sides, as the aforementioned Chief Hurao was shot and killed by a Spanish soldier without provocation. Guam scholar Vicente M. Diaz makes it a point to more critically interrogate the figure and divisive role of San Vitores, in all his iterations (from missionary to saint), and his unnervingly devastating impact in the Marianas: "In fact, the start of the misnamed "Chamoru-Spanish War" (misnamed in that there were as many Chamorus killed among those who supported the padres as among those trying to oust them) is typically associated with San Vitores' bloody death at the hands of *Maga'låhi* Matå'pang in 1672. The war is foundational in canonical narratives of Guam's cultural and political past inasmuch as it is said

[89] Pedro Calungsod was a young male Filipino sacristan and assistant to the padre who would be officially canonized in October 2012 as a Catholic saint (alongside his mentor Padre San Vitores) by Pope Benedict XVI in Rome several centuries later in 2012, posthumously. For more information, refer to:
Eric Forbes, OFM Cap., "Pedro Calungsod," *Guampedia*, last modified January 16th, 2023, https://www.guampedia.com/pedro-calungsod/.

[90] Magå'lahi Hurao is one of Guam's most celebrated Chamoru chiefs: he was of the highest caste, Hagåtña Chamorri, and played a major role in starting the Spanish-Chamoru War (1670-1697). Although originally baptized by Spanish missionaries, he would come to reject Spanish subjugation of Chamorus. He is most revered for a rousing speech he gave that symbolizes a broader struggle of Chamoru resistance to colonial conditions. For more: Victoria-Lola Leon Guerrero and Nicholas Yamashita Quinata, "Hurao," *Guampedia*, last modified November 25th, 2023, https://www.guampedia.com/chiefs-hurao/.

to represent, tragically or heroically, the complete termination of indigenous life in favor of a subjugated, Hispanicized, peasantry."[91]

The ongoing negative portrayal of Matå'pang in particular exemplifies a new age iteration of psychological, colonial tactics used against Chamorus, at home and in diaspora. Akin to the misinformed replacement of "Las Islas de las Velas Latinas" (Islands of the Lateen Sails) by "Las Islas de Los Ladrones" (the Islands of the Thieves) in evolving European characterizations of the Marianas, this unfortunate misappropriation of Matå'pang points us to a larger issue at stake: "Because the Spanish once considered him an evil savage, the CHamoru word *matå'pang*, which used to mean to cleanse is now used to describe someone as silly or something as tasteless."[92] Whereas contemporary Catholic sources still contribute to this narrative vilifying native peoples as "pagans" and "medicine men" (*makanas*, or spiritual leaders), modern Chamoru scholars and community members refute such portrayals and presently claim Matå'pang as a hero who fought until the end against colonialism and Christianity.[93] Bearing this crucial history lesson in mind, how might we move beyond the colonial representations of the infamous *maga'låhi*? How might we utilize this new knowledge to dispel such colloquial yet charged applications of a term like *matå'pang* when discussing

[91] Diaz, "Introduction," *Repositioning the Missionary: Rewriting the Histories of Colonialism, Native Catholicism, and Indigeneity in Guam* (Honolulu, University of Hawai'i Press, 2010), 11.
[92] The original, forgotten namesake regarding Ancient Chamoru proas, expert seafaring, and highly skilled navigation technology concerning lateen sails ('Las Velas Latinas') is derived from a firsthand account by Italian explorer Antonio Pigafetta. For more, refer to: C.E. Nowell, *Magellan's Voyage Around the World, Three Contemporary Accounts* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1962).
Victoria-Lola Leon Guerrero and Nicholas Yamashita Quinata, "Matå'pang: Matapang," *Guampedia*, last modified February 7th, 2023, https://www.guampedia.com/chiefs-matapang-matapang/.
[93] Bishop David M. O'Connell, C.M., "St. Pedro Calungsod: Never too young for faith's demands," *Diocese of Trenton*, November 27, 2018, https://dioceseoftrenton.org/news/st-pedro-calungsod-never-too-young#:~:text=They%20threw%20a%20lance%20at,for%20canonization%20by%20the%20Jesuits.
Asian Catholic Initiative, "St. Pedro Calungsod (Filipino)," Asian Icons, *Archdiocese of Chicago*, https://aci.archchicago.org/asian-icons/st-pedro-calungsod.

diasporic Chamoru kinfolk? In the spirit of decolonizing one's mind, how might we address our own shortcomings or passive assimilation into a modern American capitalist society and system?

Another cautionary tale, that of the mysterious trope of the *Amerikånon pao asu*, offers insight into the modern-day plight of Chamorus. The phrase translates as an "American who smells like smoke," whilst the more figurative interpretation refers to a "Chamoru who acts like a white American." In Candy Taman's tune by the same name, his lyrics overtly tease Chamorus who attempt to "modernize" via American assimilation. His *kånta* (song) pokes fun at and prods *Amerikånon pao asu* with the intent of reminding them they are still Chamoru at the end of the day, especially through these verses:

**Un yute' nai i Chamorro**
*(So you threw away the Chamorro)*
**pot i Amerikåno.**
*(in exchange for the American.)*
**Binense hao sa' bulenchok**
*(You were won over by his pointed nose)*
**ya å'paka' i laså-ña.**
*(and because his skin is white.)*
**Un penta i gapotilu-mo**
*(You dyed your hair)*
**agaga' yan amariyo.**
*(red and yellow.)*
**Lasås-mo åttilong.**
*(Your skin is dark.)*
**Mampos ti chumilong.**
*(It really doesn't match.)*
**Pao asu hao na haole. (1)**
*(You're a smoke-smelling haole.)*[94]

This verse focuses on physical attributes Chamorus either attempt to possess themselves, like dying one's hair an unnatural color, or feel inspired by, such as a pointed nose and white skin,

[94] Paleric, "Kånta: Amerikånan Pao Asu," *blogspot*, August 3rd, 2020, https://paleric.blogspot.com/2017/09/kanta-american-pao-asu.html.

despite their inherently Indigenous traits they cannot change: their dark skin. The last line of the verse is also telling of greater cultural exchanges throughout Oceania, given frequent usage of the term *haole* on Guam. From Paleric's notes on the song, he adds "(1) Chamorros picked up the Hawaiian word *haole* and use it to mean any Caucasian statesider."[95] Whilst other Pacific Islander peoples have their own term for foreigners, like the Sāmoan phrase *papālagi/pālagi* and the Māori word *pākehā*, such terms are often reserved for white people of European descent. In all cases, application of such wording can be playful or harmful, depending on the relationship between the name-caller and the receiver. In the case of Guam, invocation of *haole* typically carries a decidedly negative connotation, especially when exchanged between two Chamorus. Feelings of insecurity, inauthenticity, and even questioning one's belonging to Chamoru community and culture can occur given realities like being white-passing, living away from Guam, and perhaps never even visiting the homeland. This is not a given or universal experience, but the growing number of stateside Chamorus with little direct connection to our island heritage does bring into question how we maintain and perpetuate cultural norms and values in diaspora.

**Ginen lemmai yan chotda.**
*(It used to be breadfruit and bananas.)*
**Guihan yan fritåda. (4)**
*(Fish and blood stew.)*
**Ayo hao nai pumoksai.**
*(That's how you were raised.)*
**Chamorro na sentåda.**
*(Chamorro meals.)*
**Maleffa hao ni kostumbre.**
*(You have forgotten the customs.)*
**Kontodo i lengguåhe.**
*(And also the language.)*
**Lasås-mo åttilong.**
*(Your skin is dark.)*
**Mampos ti chumilong.**

[95] Ibid.

*(It really doesn't match.)*
**Pao asu hao na haole.**
*(You're a smoke-smelling haole.)*[96]

This secondary verse more specifically addresses a loss of culture via changes in diet as well as the act of forgetting or intentionally discarding one's cultural customs and language. Taman again returns to mock diasporic Chamorus who attempt to Americanize despite physical incongruencies. Again, in light of growing intermixing with other ethnic or non-ethnic groups brings into question this emphasis on "dark skin" but certainly the sentiment still stands. In fact, Taman's lyrics point to broader issues of colorism in the continental United States and how much easier it is for white-passing or light skin Chamorus to assimilate into white American society compared to their darker skin counterparts. This phenomenon falls in line with experiences held by those in the Black community, Filipino American community, and many more.

Reflecting on these charged lyrics, Chamoru blogger Paleric made Candy Taman's audio and lyrical content available online only very recently in 2020. A devoted community archivist, Paleric has also posted language lessons as well as broader historical facts about the Marianas archipelago since the early 2010s on *blogspot*. As early as 2011, Paleric contemplated the deeper message behind this open-ended statement as well as its accompanying tune sung by Candy Taman. He went on at length about the ills of shedding one's accent, losing the language, relinquishing their Chamoru ways of dressing and behavior upon arrival and settlement to Turtle Island and how these diasporic Chamorus are often "judged as thinking themselves "too good" for island ways" by their friends and relatives remaining on-island.[97] Paleric continues to

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[96] Candy Taman, "Amerikånan Pao Asu," posted onto *Youtube* by palecap, posted August 3rd, 2020, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9qtz2KjD16U.
[97] Paleric, "Amerikånon pao asu," *blogspot*, September 11th, 2011, https://paleric.blogspot.com/2011/09/chamorro-expressions-amerikanon-pao-asu.html.

contemplate the role of skin color as well: how any Chamoru is ripe for ridicule regardless of how brown they are due to the fact that their actions are perceived as pretentious despite being Chamoru all the same. As for the quality of being "smokey" or "smoke-smelling," he provides these questions for the reader to reflect on: "Is that a reference to the brownness of their skin? Like smoked meat? Or is it a reference to being from the farm, as all Chamorros were at one time? Cooking over wood or coconut husks? Burning trash outdoors? Take your pick. Whoever invented the term didn't explain him or herself in writing."[98] Returning to the harsh reality of colorism in our community, this essentialism of skin color and facial features persists in Paleric's consideration of the song and its deeper meaning: "The *Amerikånon pao asu* still smells like smoke (remains a Chamorro), despite their American airs, because they are still brown like a Chamorro and still have the facial features of a Chamorro and still descend from Chamorros."[99]

More than anything, this idea of possessing a "holier than thou" attitude really gets at the heart of what can further define a line of division between "on-island" and "off-island" Chamorus. Both groups constitute the same people yet are acculturated in drastically different environments and, as a result, may develop remarkably different patterns of behavior and socialization given their varying levels of access to resources, community, culture, and the ever-important idea of "opportunity." Whilst stateside Chamorus have access to expanded educational services and economic options, Guam-based Chamorus are able to grow up in our collective Indigenous homeland within systems of care and support via extended family networks and a Chamoru-centric community context: in this way, privilege is not inherent to one single group.

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[98] Paleric, "Amerikånon pao asu," *blogspot*, September 11th, 2011, https://paleric.blogspot.com/2011/09/chamorro-expressions-amerikanon-pao-asu.html.
[99] Ibid.

Having experienced both lifestyles herself, PDN journalist Chloe Babauta recently provided her own analytical approach to such binary diasporic v. island-raised discourse within the online Chamoru community on her personal *YouTube* account.[100] Through a comparative framework of privilege, responsibility to the homeland, and Chamoru values, Babauta's video essay urges viewers to move beyond intra-communal conflict and push for collective efforts at home and in diaspora through our Indigenous cultural and belief system of *inafa'maolek*. Rather than simply claiming an ethnic identity or repping one's heritage for the namesake of it, Babauta reminds us that "we have a responsibility to give back to the place that has given us our culture, our history, our land, and our essence."[101] The very same call to not only think critically about one's identity but act upon cultural obligations for care and reciprocity moves beyond surface level understandings of *inafa'maolek* and calls for perpetuation of the Chamoru language.[102]

Similar to Babauta's sentiments of rootedness, Dr. Michael 'Miget' Bevacqua, historian, community leader, and language revitalist, discussed with me the importance of preserving Chamoru language as the lifeline of our people through his Chamoru language classes and immersion program. Rather than rely too heavily on our current perceptions of Chamoru identity politics and representational aesthetics, he pushes us to think about continuity into the future. In an interview I conducted with him for my undergraduate thesis research over the summer of 2019, Bevacqua impressed upon me the significance of viewing the Chamoru language as "the

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[100] Chloe Babauta, "Let's talk about Chamoru identity: Diaspora vs Guam raised Chamorus/ My take on the Twitter drama," mestisachamorrita on *YouTube*, January 22, 2020, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=66aR0vRhplc&t=53s.

[101] Ibid.

[102] As a reminder, *chenchule'* is a core tenant of *inafa'maolek* that can be understood as social reciprocity. It includes the act of giving and receiving money for special occasions like weddings, birthdays, funerals, etc. but also extends into a broader connective system of connection, exchange, and support. For more information, look into: Guam Young Men's League of Guam and Guam Visitors Bureau, *Chamorro Heritage a Sense of Place: Guidelines Procedures and Recommendations for Authenticating Chamorro Heritage* (Hagåtña, Guam: Dipåttamenton i Kaohao Guinahan Chamorro= Department of Chamorro Affairs Research Publication and Training Division, 2003).

sovereignty of our people"—it is a struggle to recuperate our collective access and widespread usage of it because prior generations were forced to relinquish it during periods of war and colonial turmoil. It is a labor of love to preserve or even recuperate one's Native language because it is not as easy as other forms of Chamoru consciousness or nationalistic virtue-signaling that are more easily produced and therefore can be readily commodified for profit.

He discussed the act of buying a t-shirt or wearing a *sinahi* [necklace] as well as the ability to make and sell food to not only our people but outsiders as well; whilst you can purchase food, clothing, or jewelry from a Chamoru-owned brand with little to no connection to the culture, one cannot consume our language with the same ease.[103] In this way, Chamoru language revitalization is a true commitment to perpetuating Chamoru history and culture for future generations: "saving the language and keeping it safe is really like a test as an Indigenous people in your sense of pride, your sense of sovereignty because the language is basically evidence of your story, your particular people's story of the world…And so if you let it die, in a way, it is one of the last gasps of your peoplehood."[104] In a world increasingly driven by monetization, profit, and greed, protecting the Chamoru language is integral to reconnecting with ancestral ways of knowing, being, and communicating and expanding a sense of sovereignty into the future despite present colonial constraints. The act of perpetuating our Native language

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[103] In terms of Bevacqua's usage of the term "Chamoru pride necklaces," he is referring to either a necklace made of silver or gold with a pendant shaped like the Guam seal on a chain or a *sinahi*, which is a necklace that is "traditionally carved from a large Hima clam shell, beads made of cone sea snails, and a carved fitted clasp from a local Guahan tree. Today, *sinahi* are made of different materials such as abalone shells, cow bones, clay, and ancient stones." For more information regarding historical and contemporary connotations of the sinahi, refer to: Amal Khalil, "Sinahi," *Connecting Threads: Fashioning Identity In a Global World*, CUNY LaGuardia Community College and Bard Graduate Center COVID-era website project, https://bgcxlaguardia.bgcdml.net/connectingthreads/sinahi/#:~:text=Islands%20in%20Micronesia.-,Sinahi%20necklaces%20are%20traditionally%20carved%20from%20a%20large%20Hima%20clam,%2C%20clay%2C%20and%20ancient%20stones.

[104] Michael 'Miget' Bevacqua Jr., oral history interview, conducted by me as part of Summer Undergraduate Research Project (SURP), Pomona College, July 22, 2019.

beckons Chamorus to crack the superficial sheen of internalized conceptions of Chamoru identity and forgo simplified applications of *chencule'* in our daily lives. Doing so allows us to expand beyond solely economic or opportunistic goals set up and supported by Americanization. However, this is presently a lofty ideal as many Chamorus are driven to stateside relocation for the very purpose of advancing one's lot in life as influenced by the infamous "American dream." The following segment tracks the early educational journeys and occupational experiences of Chamorus currently residing stateside.

Education as Entanglement: Buying into the "American Dream" and Socioeconomic Mobility

Throughout my interviews with Adrian Sanchez Lupola, Shannon Terlaje Cruz, and Jacquelynn Artero Maley, all three indicated the essential role education played in their upbringing and how it factored into their decision-making for leaving their home island. Lupola, the oldest and only male interviewee of the stateside Chamoru faction, graduated from Simon Sanchez High School in 1990.[105] A Sanchez himself on his mother's side, Lupola would even be celebrated as the great grandson of Simon Sanchez on his ancestor's birthday—this annual ceremony was commemorated in the school's newspaper and the tradition occurs to this day, as my cousin Savannah attested during her time at Sanchez. Given that this was one of the better public schools on island, Lupola notes he did not necessarily feel an immense lack by not going to a private school like Father Dueñas (FD). In fact, by reflecting on his placement at Sanchez rather than FD, he remembers being rather happy because, "they [FD] didn't have girls there and

[105] Simon Sanchez was an instrumental educator who was key to the foundation and formalization of Guam's public school system before and during World War II. Beyond his teaching and administrative roles, he also served as a member of the first and second Guam Congress. From serving as a Superintendent to facilitating teacher training programs, he became known on island as "Mr. Education." He is also my great, great grandfather. For more information, refer to: Samantha Marley Barnett, "Simon Sanchez," *Guampedia*, last modified November 29th, 2022, https://www.guampedia.com/simon-sanchez/.

[I] was happy I could attend Sanchez with Scott, Chad, and Vince [his cousins].”[106] Also, he felt his upbringing as a military dependent inherently conflicted with the all-encompassing and fraternal aspect of FD, as his own family would habitually move every three years and he would be the new kid right after Christmas break. Self-identifying as a “military brat,” Lupola had only known friends partially from his days at Bishop Baumgartner Middle School for half of eighth grade and all of ninth grade, so attending school alongside his cousins provided a sense of support when moving back to Guam from Maine.

As for his female counterparts, Jacquelynn Artero Maley and Shannon Terlaje Cruz, both of them wound up at the Academy of Our Lady of Guam (Academy), graduating in 1991 and 1993, respectively. Academy is an all-girls Catholic school on Guam that is renowned for its tightknit community culture and high propensity as a “feeder” school, funneling its female pupils into stateside colleges and universities. Cruz shared that her educational journey held similar strands of movement to Lupola, shifting from public to private as well as all over the place for her own high school experience. She started at Notre Dame High School, which was an all-girls school at the time, transferred to George Washington (GW) for two years, and then ultimately took it upon herself to move to Academy. Per her reasoning, Cruz divulged, “my senior year, I knew I wanted to go to college. So, I went to Academy and graduated from Academy.”[107]

As for Maley, she and her siblings “were always Catholic school raised.”[108] Prior to her time at Academy, Maley had attended Bishop Baumgartner alongside Lupola during its time functioning as a middle school from the seventh through the ninth grade. Afterwards, she spent

[106] Message from a text conversation in the Lupola family group chat, November 2023.
[107] Shannon Terlaje Cruz, oral history interview, December 22nd, 2022.
[108] Jacquelynn Artero Maley, oral history interview, January 7th, 2023.

her entire high school experience at Academy. Contrary to the comments of Lupola, she discussed standards like taking theology, wearing a school uniform, and having seven academic periods. In contrast, Simon Sanchez students like my father and mother were able to opt for half schedules and work part-time jobs off campus instead. Maley confided,

> "I didn't know any different and I guess at the end of it all, it was kind of nice to just be able to go to school and not worry, like in retrospect, right? Not have to worry about the distraction of boys. And you could just be yourself, you know, and like, I don't know, and feel comfortable in that. But I don't know any different. So, I remember wanting to go to public school, but it wasn't an option. And I even tried to fail classes so that I could, yeah, but Academy just doesn't like, you know, even if you just do the minimum to get by, right? Yeah. And I was always a good student otherwise, and I never even got to go to summer school. So, I don't know what public school would have looked like."[109]

Due to their enrollment at Academy, Cruz and Maley were favorably positioned to explore higher education because this premier "feeder" school prioritized sending their students stateside for college. Maley first attended Chaminade University of Honolulu (1991-1992) in Hawai'i but took time off from school to raise her son. She then resumed her schooling at Saddleback College (2012-2014) and California State University, Fullerton (2013-2016), from which she received an A.A. and B.A. in Communication, respectively. Cruz was the first in her family to graduate from college, attending Seattle University (1993-1998) and receiving her first bachelor's degree in Marketing and Management as well as another Bachelor's degree in Business Administration.

Like many Chamorus before her, Cruz was inspired to start in one place unknown to her because of chain migration, or moving someplace other than your place of origin because you know a friend or family member who has already set roots there. Cruz held a prior close

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[109] Jaquelynn Artero Maley, oral history interview, December 22nd, 2023.

connection but that sole individual relocated elsewhere right before she left Guam for school. This lack of an expected safety net of support terrified Cruz. After finding out this harsh truth, she remembers experiencing an anxious inclination to turn back and return home to Guam. This is how she recalls her first trip to Seattle for school:

> "So I, my mom and dad, we stopped here in the States to visit with family. And then we flew into Seattle in the evening, and I'll never forget looking out the window. When the pilot said, you know, it's a beautiful night in Seattle. You could see, it was a very clear night, because normally it's raining, and I had no idea about the weather. I did not do my research at all. So, I looked down. And I remember seeing high towers and skyscrapers and freeways. And I started panicking. And I basically had a panic attack on the plane. I did not want to be there. And I just wasn't ready. I was just like, 'I drive on 30 miles per hour roadways. This is too much for me.' And my mom was so smart. She just said, 'You know, why don't we just check into our hotel, go for a nice breakfast. And then we'll pop by your dorm. And we'll just see what it looks like. But if you don't want to go, you don't have to go.' So, I would say, 'Promise you won't let me stay. I want to go home.' And she said, "I promise." And so, we did it….
>
> We get to my dorm and we see my name on the door. It said, 'Shannon Terlaje, Guam,' and then, 'Missy Michelle, Hawai'i.' And my mom said, 'Oh, this girl is from Hawai'i, maybe she's in so you can meet her. And you know, just tell her that you're not going to be going to school here anymore.' So, we knocked on the door and she opened it and she said hi. So, we introduced ourselves and she said, 'My mom is from Guam.' And my mom said, 'Is your mom Bennett Crisostomo?' and she said, 'Yeah.' And she said, 'Meet your cousin.'
>
> And my cousin Missy, my roommate, will actually confirm that with you. That's exactly how that played out. She said, 'My mom's from Guam, I was raised in Hawai'i and my dad is English, but we lived in Hawai'i all my life.' …so, she and I just started talking and then my mom and dad let us kind of catch up and get to know each other. And she says, 'Okay, honey, let's go to lunch, don't you want to leave?' And I was like, 'No, I'm good. I'm happy. I'm not hungry, you can go without me.' And she was like, 'Are you sure?' 'Yeah, I'm good.' And I never looked back."[110]

Despite preliminary nerves almost getting the better of her, Cruz was encouraged to explore her potential surroundings before relinquishing her shot at stateside education. In her eyes, it was not

[110] Cruz, oral history interview, 2022.

only her mother's gentle but firm support but the universe conspiring in her favor as well through her fateful roommate assignment. In the case of diasporic Chamoru connections, it is rare to meet another person from Guam spontaneously; however, there tends to be some sort of mutual person or point of contact between previously unfamiliar parties upon comparing locations, names, and people of personal importance. This act of exchanging information an essential part of Chamoru socializing, as genealogical ties found between villages lived, schools attended, as well as surnames and clan names possessed by each participant can elucidate lines of connection like mutual friends or family members. In the case of Cruz, her mother was able to swiftly sort out how closely related the two roommates already were after a brief conversation in the dorm. Such a coincidence reassured the young Cruz as she chose to stay instead of returning back to Guam. Her initial feeling of fear when migrating from one place to another is not uncommon, especially in terms of adjusting to a new environment. The first marker of migration is culture shock: packing up your belongings and believing in the possibility and promise of a new life in a new land only to be left with the standalone thought: "What did I just get myself into?"[111]

[111] For more information on Chamoru diasporic identity and culture shock upon settling in the continental United States, refer to: Michael P. Perez, "Insider Without, Outsiders Within: Chamorro Ambiguity and Diasporic Identities on the U.S. Mainland," *Global Processes, Local Impacts: The Effects of Globalization in the Asia Pacific Region* (Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America, 2005).
Even today, a recent Reddit thread inquired about whether or not Guamanians (yes, there is discourse on usage of Guamanian versus Chamoru on the webpage as well) experience culture shock upon permanent relocation to the continent. This forum was created two years ago by a non-Chamoru, as the prompt read: "I am just curious, do Guamanians experience some culture shock when moving to the mainland for the first time? I recently met a very friendly Guamanian who moved to California for the first time after 30yrs of not leaving the place. They mentioned that Guam is like the US and they have no issues with the culture shock unlike other nationalities but their actions are different otherwise."
For more information, refer to: r/guam, "Guamanians moving to the mainland for the first time," 2022, https://www.reddit.com/r/guam/comments/x2uxbn/guamanians_moving_to_the_mainland_for_the_first/.

In his own way, Lupola experienced extreme mental discomfort and even physical pain resulting from his decision to uproot his livelihood in the Marianas and become a part of the Chamoru diaspora in Arizona for the supposed betterment of his nuclear family.[112]

Although Lupola had lived stateside before as a child in Maine, young adulthood presented different circumstances: this time, his migration to the continent was intentional and made on his own terms rather than as part of military-induced familial relocation. His first major move would be to California, to join my mother, Christina Marie Castro at the time, as they both explored the community college system, and then to Arizona a decade later for permanent stateside settlement. In both cases, their chosen locales serve as examples of chain migration: Castro's two older brothers, Ron and Ken, each lived in California and Arizona, respectively. Their physical presence and moral support provided an added safety net if needed to the young couple, as is the case with many individuals, couples, and families who make the choice to migrate. Knowing someone already in the area, especially a friend or family member, provides comfort and care within close proximity despite initial waves of culture shock and adjustment to the continent.

In the case of a teenage Christina Castro, she experienced "rock fever" and sought a stateside college education alongside her cousin Gina at Cal Poly Humboldt for her first year. Born and raised entirely on Guam, she felt the urge to move off-island during high school: she devoted a significant part of her last year at Simon Sanchez to working part time and taking minimal classes in the hopes of attending college in the continental United States. Despite a notable lack of support from her school counselor, Castro reached her goal of trying her hand at

[112] Maley's experience differed drastically because her initial migration route took her to Hawai'i, where she would meet and hang out with many other Chamorus. In fact, her high school sweetheart turned ex-boyfriend was also on the same flight to Hawai'i—they ended up in having the same ride from the airport, shared the same social circle, and reunited as a couple during this time. They would soon have their son, Daniel, shortly thereafter.

stateside education and realizing it wasn't for her: after graduating from Sanchez in 1990, her diasporic tour took her to multiple academic institutions. She spent her first year at Humboldt University (1990-1991), tried out Orange Coast College and Cal State Fullerton for a few years in-between, and eventually rematriated to Guam to receive her Bachelor's degree in Business Administration from the University of Guam (UOG) in 1994. In the middle of Castro's college career in Southern California, Lupola would proceed to join her; he would then follow suit and achieve the same degree at UOG a year later. In contrast to his future wife, Lupola moved around a lot during his adolescence and would pursue a very different career path afterwards.

As a half-Chamoru, half-Italian American man, Lupola has always been proud of his mixed ancestry and holds space for both the positive and negative aspects of his upbringing. In our interview, my father was especially protective of the role and influence his Italian American father, Joseph Martin Lupola, played in his life given his service in the U.S. Navy. Prior to my Papa Joe's retirement on Guam, Lupola and his nuclear family would constantly relocate all over throughout his childhood. This cycle of ceaseless migration heightened my father's Gemini sensibilities for seeing both sides and seeking adventure, an attribute he shamelessly attributed to his lifelong status as a "military brat."[113] As a self-identified "base kid," a term normally held in contempt on Guam, Lupola held an interesting mix of early migration memories and a predominantly on-island upbringing through Guam's public school system from middle school

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[113] Several interviewees who held personal ties, especially those who were dependents of a U.S. service member, utilized this term to describe their positionality. As someone who actively critiques the U.S. military from a place of privilege rather than personal attachment or investment like my father, I respect their right to utilize this term. As for usage of the term "base kid," this term also applies to the figure of the "military brat" but is more specifically utilized to refer to non-Chamoru children who live in Guam and attend Guam schools because they are part of a military family stationed on island. For more information on "military brat" perspectives and narratives, refer to: Caren J. Town, *Brat Life: Growing up Military in Fiction and Nonfiction* (Jefferson: McFarland & Company, Incorporated Publishers, 2024).
Kelsey Schertz and Cassidy Watson, "What Becomes of America's Military Brats?" *American Journal of Public Health (1971)* vol. 108, no. 7 (2018): 837–837, https://doi.org/10.2105/AJPH.2018.304481.

onward. This is a portion of our interview regarding his experience during high school, his path to college, and why he ultimately chose to major in business administration at UOG:

> "I did that just because I knew I wanted more. I knew I need[ed] an education. Neither one of my parents had a college education. The military was my dad's college, and then my craft was taught to me through my dad. [I got a] business degree, but what I do today is more related to what I learned in eight years working with my dad, Joe, doing telecommunications and internet connections, and business systems.
>
> [me] Did you ever consider joining the military?
>
> I would've. I took the ASVAB [Armed Services Vocational Aptitude Battery] actually. Here's the funny thing, I took the ASVAB… it's almost like an SAT, and I did it to get out of class. So, you sign up, and they're like, 'Whoever wants to take the ASVAB,' and it's a test by the military to see, if you went to the military, what you could be. I aced it. Me, one of mom's best friends, the class president, and one of the guys I played football [with], another honor roll guy, all of them were NHS [National Honor Society], not me, got invited to the principal's office, and I thought I was in trouble. But then I saw who I was with, and it was not people who would be getting in trouble, and that's when they told us that we had the highest scores for the ASVAB. And the guy that talked to me, I talked to all of the services, was [that] I can be anything I wanted to do. I could go in and be like a medic, go through school, get college through there, they pay for it, and then I can move onto Officer.
>
> But I was dating mom at the time and I asked her and she said she didn't want anything to do with that. I thought maybe I'll stay with mom; so, I just decided not to do it. [I] decided to give a year of school a chance at UOG and then that's when I reconnected with mom and decided to go to college and move out. So, mom really was a big catalyst for me. Even in high school, because we'd sit together and she would show me… they would say, 'Hey, what grades you have?' and I'd have like a B or a C, and she would have an A and all her friends, and that's now who I'm hanging out [with] and dating. So, peer pressure, I pick my grades up. You know, it was just studying. I never studied.
>
> [me] That's inspiring; good job, mom. [dad] Good job, mom. [me] How did Papa Joe feel about that. Did he encourage you to join [the military]?
>
> No. He told me straight out that I'm too headstrong. I don't listen to people well, and you have to listen in the military…He said that he saw more out of me and thought that I would be better for college. So, he supported that. They [his parents] would support anything that we did."[114]

[114] Adrian Sanchez Lupola, oral history interview, January 6th, 2023.

Lupola noted that, although he felt no grand ambition to pursue stateside education, it was ultimately his love for my mother that convinced him to spend time in California. He also expressed how vital Castro was in diverting his interest from enlisting in the military after graduating from Sanchez because of her personal aversion to the military as a whole. His father was another force who pushed him to consider other avenues outside of serving in the military, because he knew how difficult and unforgiving this path would be for his son if he decided to pursue it. As the son of poor southern Italian immigrants who grew up in Brooklyn, New York in the wake of Great Depression era economics, my Papa Joe had very little opportunity—enlisting in the military was a guaranteed source of income with added benefits for himself and his eventual family. Akin to a similar lack of options on Guam, the U.S. military provided him a way out of poverty and capitalized on skillsets less appreciated in the classroom. For his son, Adrian Sanchez Lupola, he was able to develop an expansive technical skillset because his father passed down useful knowledge he gained through his occupation in the military. Ranging from information technology (IT) to automotive and broader engineering-level work, my father proudly proclaims these lessons were much more impactful than the classroom.

Alongside his penchant for computer, IT, and engineering work, Lupola harbored a desire to migrate elsewhere and move around cyclically in adulthood as he had done in his youth. After spending some time in Southern California for college, both he and Castro missed home and decided to move back to Guam. They married in 1996, my mother gave birth to me in 1998, and they jointly concluded to take a leap of faith and move stateside as a young family in 2001. Given my father's propensity for perpetual resettlement throughout his life, this intense inclination to move elsewhere was nothing new for him. In her capacity as a born-and-bred Chamoru and Capricorn, my mother was (and still is) a bit more pragmatic in her approach to

major life decisions. Through her personal negotiations with Lupola, she agreed to relocate with the stipulation that they must move somewhere near her brother, Ken Castro, and his family in Tucson, Arizona. Similar to their time spent in Huntington Beach, spent living with her other brother Ron Castro, they had yet to understand how little these places resembled home.[115]

Prior to their big move off-island, my father had limited experience in the desert state; but, from what he remembered, this seemed like a reasonable bargain. They had visited Arizona briefly during the wintertime and the climate seemed nice and temperate. To no one's surprise but their own, they were struck by the August summer sun and dry desert heat upon their second arrival. Whilst his wife was able to mitigate this hot climate by mainly staying indoors, Lupola grew both physically and psychologically sick of this place, which he saw as an affront to his home island and overall lifestyle. As someone who loves to be outdoors and exercise to the point of exhaustion, he would run outside in the midday heat with Halls cough drops to coat his throat. The doctor had to advise him not to go out and to avoid exercising outdoors when there was a high pollen count. In addition to personal health and wellness issues, the start of Lupola's

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[115] Orange County is a particularly polarizing region of Southern California which is most widely recognized for its polished exterior of elitism with an overtone of racism. Despite its humble beginnings as a sleepy beach city, Huntington Beach is now recognized as a right-wing stronghold. This city's history of racism and prejudice dates back to the 1990's. For more information, see:
Gustavo Arellano, *Orange County: A Personal History* (New York: Scribner, 2008);
Shannon Sands, "HUNTINGTON BEACH Racism Alleged in Fight at Restaurant: Orange County Edition," *The Los Angeles Times*, August 2nd, 1991;
Thao Hua, "Beating of Teen Called Hate Crime; Racism: Huntington Beach Again Scene of Assault on Minority as Four Young Men Punch and Kick a Latino Student: Orange County Edition," *The Los Angeles Times*, October 31st, 1996;
Gustavo Arellano, "Column: How Huntington Beach Became Angrytown, USA," *Los Angeles Times*, November 24th, 2020, https://www.proquest.com/blogs-podcasts-websites/column-how-huntington-beach-became-angrytown-usa/docview/2463632095/se-2;
Reis Thebault, "How a laid-back beach town became California's MAGA stronghold," *The Washington Post*, March 2nd, 2024, https://www.washingtonpost.com/nation/2024/03/02/huntington-beach-maga-conservative-california/.

stateside residency was marked with compounded struggle in the sector of labor. In his line of work, Lupola's move stateside proved ill-timed and ill-fated.

As the main impetus for leaving Guam behind, securing a stable and reasonably well-paid job in Arizona was at the top of his to-do list. Returning to the image featured in "Chapter One: Personal Reflections and Historical On-Island Context for the Modern Chamoru Diaspora," my family left Guam in August 2001. In a little over a month's time, I would turn three years old and spend my first birthday off-island. The day after was when the twin towers fell in New York City. For my nuclear family, and my father in particular, September 11th, 2001 wholly confirmed the gravity of permanently relocating stateside and navigating the precarious promises of the "American dream." Naturally I could not comprehend this travesty for what it was and what it would come to signify until much later. But my father, Adrian Michael Sanchez Lupola, who was looking for a position in the ream of Information Technology (IT), he experienced its detrimental impact on the Arizona job market firsthand. He noted it was extremely difficult to find any opening, let alone one with a salary that was comparable to the one he made back home. In fact, he even had interviews lined up with different companies, but the only place hiring after the attack on national security was Microsoft. At the turn of the 21st century, Window XP Home and Pro had launched when our family arrived, so this idea of a tech bubble operated in theory rather than practice in a post-9/11 world.[116] His first stateside job with Microsoft started at $10 an hour, from which he worked his way up, achieved a 50-cent raise, stayed for a year, and then

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[116] For more information on the evolution of internet and broader technology in a post-9/11 world, refer to: Christopher H. Sterling and David Alan Grier, "CBQ REVIEW ESSAY 1: Histories of Computer Programming and Software: From ALGOL to Windows XP," *Communication Booknotes Quarterly* vol. 34, no. 3 (2002): 151–67. https://doi.org/10.1207/S15326896CBQ3403_01.

Leslie Ellis, "Tech since 9/11: It's Changed a Lot," *Multichannel News* vol. 32, no. 34 (2011): 32.

left to work as the IT specialist for Tucson's school district.[117] Reflecting on the relatively low level of job opportunity present stateside at this time, he felt the security crisis compounded preexisting racial tensions. He posited finding a position was even harder for him as a brown man in a predominantly white area, which I believe to be true. In a post-9/11 world, brown men were altogether targeted, surveilled, and brought into question for suspicion of collusion with ideas of "terrorism."[118] In Lupola's purview, the odds were truly stacked against him in terms of occupational obstacles and environmental discord. Reflecting on this stateside stint, he considers not only this moment in time, but the entirety of our time spent in Arizona (2001-2007) as "one of the worst times of my life, eight years of hell."[119]

With a grimace, he recalled, "It was okay, I just hated it because I didn't have what I wanted: the water. I wanted to be outside. It's not me, it's not even the beach… I've always lived near the ocean: Guam, D.C., Florida, Maine, California, Hawai'i: ocean. I've never lived in a landlocked place until Arizona. Forget about it, I don't even remember it."[120] As an Indigenous

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[117] Adrian Lupola, prior to leaving Guam, held a steady, well-paying job where he worked with his father, Joseph Michael Lupola, and brother, Joseph Alan Lupola, that compensated him better than this. It is also vital to note that migrating to the U.S. and seeking jobs fit for one's talents and pay grade is not an unusual struggle for immigrants, as many are unable to utilize their degrees and licenses to their full potential because of discrimination based on barriers against those who lived, learned, and worked internationally. In the case of Lupola, he notes the necessity of earning a college degree but the importance of learned experience in the field from working with his father.

[118] Although my father is not Middle Eastern or South Asian, the two groups most targeted in a post-9/11 world given Islamophobia and its connotation with the two broad racial groups, he looks ethnically ambiguous and is often confused for being mixed with Middle Eastern amongst other ethnic backgrounds. For more information on the detrimental impact of 9/11 on people of color, specifically Middle Eastern and South Asian men, refer to:

Clara Eroukhmanoff, *The Securitisation of Islam: Covert Racism and Affect in the United States Post-9/11* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2020).

Amir Saeed, "9/11 and the Increase in Racism and Islamophobia: A Personal Reflection." *Radical History Review* n. 111 (New York: Duke University Press, 2011), 210–15, https://doi.org/10.1215/01636545-1268821.

Steven Salaita, "Beyond Orientalism and Islamophobia: 9/11, Anti-Arab Racism, and the Mythos of National Pride," vol. 6, no. 2 (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2006): pp. 245–66, https://doi.org/10.1353/ncr.2007.0011.

[119] Adrian Sanchez Lupola, oral history interview, 6th January, 2023.

[120] Ibid.

Pacific Islander, Lupola wanted to be close to the ocean for spiritual and personal reasons.[121] Back on Guam, he actively played football and paddled for Haggan, an outrigger canoe crew, who met at Matå'pang Beach in Tumon Bay. His passion for being in the water continued after I was born and persists to this day. In 1998, he and the Haggan crew competed in an international race in Australia. During the summer of 2023, Lupola and his current team, the Oceanside Outrigger Canoe Club, competed in the Queen Liliʻuokalani Memorial Race launched out of Big Island, Hawaiʻi. As a meditative practice combined with physical rigor, paddling serves as a healthy outlet to help Lupola consistently cope with melancholic feelings of being away from home and healing from the unexpected loss of loved ones like his father, brother, and mother (all gone way before their time).[122] In the advent of living, it is essential to one's well-being that they not only enjoy, but thrive, in the environment in which they live. If one has the ability to move and control the conditions in which they live, it is understandable to live and start anew on both sides of the diasporic coin; even then, much of life is out of our collective control.

## Chronically Corporate: Diasporic Chamorus Navigating Capitalism in California

Adrian Sanchez Lupola, Shannon Terlaje Cruz, and Jacquelynn Artero Maley all wound up in corporate workspaces. All of them have worked at the same company for the past several

[121] I do not intend to perpetuate biological essentialism to the point of self-exoticization, but the ocean plays an integral part to our livelihoods and well-being both at home and in diaspora. For more information, refer to: Flora Aurima-Devatine, Jean Anderson, Tusiata Avia, Bonnie Joy Etherington, Joe Balaz, Sarita Newson, and Lia Barcinas, *Indigenous Pacific Islander Eco-Literatures*. Edited by Kathy Jetñil-Kijiner, Leora Kava, and Craig Santos Perez (Honolulu: University of Hawaiʻi Press, 2022).
To see how solidarity and connection can be erected between Indigenous communities in diaspora, look into: Cate Tynjala, "Canoes: Indigeneity, Relocation, and Maintaining Tradition," *University of Minnesota American Indian Studies website*, April 16th, 2018, https://cla.umn.edu/ais/story/canoes-indigeneity-relocation-and-maintaining-tradition.
[122] Joseph Martin Lupola (October 6th, 1939-February 11th, 2000) passed away at the age of 60, Joseph Alan Lupola (April 18th, 1968- July 30th, 2014) passed away at the age of 47, and Diane Jane Taitano Lupola (January 16th, 1941-October 18th, 2015) passed away at the age of 74 years old. They are all laid to rest on cemeteries in Guam.

years: Cruz at Morgan Stanley (12 years, 10 months), Maley at National Corporate Housing (8 years, 5 months), and Lupola at OneSource Distributors (15 years, 4 months).[123] They have each remained loyal to their employer. Both Morgan Stanley and National Corporate Housing are corporate companies outright, as the former deals with wealth management and financial advice and the latter manages corporate housing. OneSource is an electrical and industrial distributor which services commercial, residential, utility, contractor, and industrial markets. Although operating in different sectors, all three of these stateside Chamorus are college graduates who happened to end up in corporate fields of work. Despite the stereotype of the corporate world being a cold and disquieting environment, these diasporic Chamorus have remained loyal to their company of choice. Whilst Cruz has been a branch administrator (2011-present) in San Diego for more than ten years, she also worked as a complex administrator (2013-2015) for the same company in Washington D.C.; Maley worked her way up over the course of eight years from a being a market account executive (2015-2018 in Irvine) to a national account executive (2018-2020, Orange County), and now works as a regional sales manager (2020-present, Southern California). Lupola has served as a senior voice network engineer (2009-2016), a product manager in network, security, and systems (2016-2021), a network solution consultant (2021), and currently operates as an information software business development manager and consultant (2021-present) at One Source.

When discussing the importance of work, no one declared their job was their life's passion, but they all expressed gratitude for having financial stability, company loyalty and

[123] All of this is public information accessible online via the social media app LinkedIn, accessed early April 2024:
Shannon Cruz: https://www.linkedin.com/in/shannon-cruz-3b995b25/
Jacque Artero Maley: https://www.linkedin.com/in/jacque-artero-maley-08b88337/
Adrian Lupola: https://www.linkedin.com/in/adrian-lupola-b388794/

longevity, and health benefits and retirement. As they navigated corporate systems, it became abundantly clear that each had a unique story to tell about their conception of ethnicity. Cruz confided that her Chamoru identity does not directly impact her work at Morgan Stanley:

> "Well, it has its pros and cons. I like it [being Chamoru] because it makes me feel different. So, I like it. Of course, I'm a Leo and I do stand out. It hasn't affected my job. So, they don't know what I am. I don't really talk about my ethnicity until I'm a lot more comfortable in my role. Maybe it has a lot to do with not wanting to be thought of differently… I don't want to be an 'other' when I'm in the office, I just want to be known for someone who works hard and does a good job. So I don't want to be treated any differently because of the diversity factor. I just want to be known for what I do."[124]

Through Cruz' personal interpretation of ethnicity's role in the workplace, she recognizes it is a part of herself she embraces and is proud of, much like her affinity for her astrological sign, but she does not want her Chamoru identity to be her only recognizable trait. Her nods toward diversity and hard work harken back to late 20th century ideals of Americanization. Embedded in capitalist conceptions of self within the workplace, one must prioritize acculturation to a societal standard, in this case the white work culture of private wealth management, rather than highlighting or accentuating differentiation from other workers. Moreover, this idea of obfuscating one's ethnic background to avoid accusations of being considered a "diversity hire" is an approach shared by others in Cruz' generation compared to subsequent ones.

In terms of Maley's experience and subsequent perception of ethnicity, she divulged this about her current corporate experience:

> "We're pretty diverse… My boss is Filipina, she was born in the Philippines but moved at a young age to NorCal [Northern California]. Most of the other leadership in my company is female, maybe not women of color but our company has a very strong DEI [Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion] policy and program, so I feel good about it. And my team, because I have a sales team, we're not quite diverse, you know; a woman on my team who's from Russia, then another woman who [was] born and raised in the

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[124] Shannon Terlaje Cruz, personal interview, December 22nd, 2022.

> DC/Richmond area, and she's Black, but all the men on my team are Caucasian… I don't feel like I'm out of place, I don't think I ever did. I remember working with a woman a long time ago at a company that Jim [her husband] was working at, where I met him. She was a Hispanic lady, and she actually said to me that when she walks into a room full of white people, she felt insecure. And I was like, really? Like, I didn't get that. I didn't understand that. And I don't know if that had anything to do with education or maybe even personal self-confidence; it just didn't impact me. I didn't walk into a room and feel like I was the only person that had color on their skin…It never was something I felt insecure about.
>
> [me] You could recognize it when you walked in the room?
>
> Not really. To me, I feel like my eyes are blind to that, but when I go to places that are even [more] heavily diverse, that's when I recognize it."[125]

Akin to the sentiments expressed by Cruz, Maley's commentary maintains a similar train of thought regarding ideas of representational politics in the workplace. Despite her capacity to comment on the abundance or lack of racial and gender diversity on her team, Maley brought up the idea of "color-blindness." Whilst she said that she's never felt insecure or worried about "standing out" in a room of white people, compared to a Hispanic colleague of hers, she did mention feeling strange in the South at a restaurant with predominantly Black patrons.[126] Compared to her Latina co-worker, who has a higher probability of being in community given California's already preexisting and growing Latinx population, Maley is accustomed to being part of an ethnic minority. Moreover, her heightened awareness in predominantly Black spaces rather than white spaces attests to Maley's relative comfortability around white people, given she has lived in Orange County for the past few years as well as the lingering impact of Guam's racial demographics. Although the island has a majority Chamoru population, exposure to other

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[125] Jacquelynn Artero Maley, oral history interview, January 7th, 2023.

[126] This is not an experience unique to only Maley, as non-Black visitors to the South unfamiliar with the region's ongoing structure of socially segregated services carries on a legacy from the era of Jim Crow up until now. Before my Grandma Diane passed away, she divulged her own concerns of where to use the bathroom prior to the passing of Brown v. Board of Education (1954), in which public restrooms were still segregated by racial lines. Similarly, the documentary, *Forbidden City, U.S.A.,* also discusses the issue of bathroom politics for non-Black people of color. For more information, refer to: Arthur E. Dong, *Forbidden City U.S.A.* (New Jersey: DeepFocus Productions. 2002).

racial groups is mitigated through preexisting migratory streams and militarized currents throughout Oceania. This means heightened exposure to other Pacific Islanders, namely Micronesians, as well as Asians and Asian Americans before Latinx and Black communities on Guam. Chamorro affinities for whiteness, namely through proximity to power and extended exposure, are just beginning to take shape through works like Chamoru scholar Tina Taitano DeLisle's work *Placental Politics*.[127] For a broader understanding of racialization in the Pacific, works like Maile Arvin's *Possessing Polynesians* and Nitasha Sharma's *Hawaiʻi is my Haven* might be useful for approaching and understanding Chamoru internalizations of race and ethnicity.[128] Rather than feigning a lack of awareness in the corporate sphere, Maley notes the power of public perception, namely the role of staring, in terms of addressing and accepting the influence of ethnicity through both expected and unusual social interactions.

When asked about how he navigates work through the lens of race and ethnicity, and whether or not his realm is traditionally dominated by a certain type of person, Lupola replied,

> "Male. And then white male. So I've felt discrimination and I've even been discriminated against in Tucson. Someone was stealing stuff during the summer projects and some white lady, a Caucasian out in the sticks, said that she saw a Mexican guy taking it and then she saw me and pointed me out but I wasn't even there. I wasn't even fully part of the district at the time it was stolen, I wasn't even assigned [to] those schools even though I did come in. So we verified in the end it ended up being one of the white female technicians that was taking a printer out to fix it. She took it and never brought it back…What you go through, and you see [in the] desert….they have rebel [Confederate] flags, and you know, they're out in the sticks, they're also not doing well. I understand,

[127] Christine Taitano DeLisle, *Placental Politics: CHamoru Women, White Womanhood, and Indigeneity under U.S. Colonialism in Guam* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2021).

[128] Maile Arvin, *Possessing Polynesians: The Science of Settler Colonial Whiteness in Hawaiʻi and Oceania* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2019).

Nitasha Tamar Sharma, *Hawai'i Is My Haven: Race and Indigeneity in the Black Pacific* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2021).

> they see me as somebody different, somebody coming in their area, I look like something that they don't like. So yeah, it's just ignorance."[129]

Throughout this portion of the interview, Lupola elaborated on the importance of lifelong experiences of discrimination. From microaggressions, such as not being invited to classmates' sleepovers in Maine, to blatant scapegoating, as when he was blamed for a theft he did not commit, Lupola opened up about experiences I had no idea about until this interview. Lupola was very thoughtful in relaying past personal experiences of prejudice and discrimination. He hinted at the kind of unspoken associations a person of any "undesirable" ethnic background naturally assumes, and rightfully so, about white American society's unjust treatment of Black, Indigenous, and other People of Color (BIPOC) communities. When he notes he was not invited to sleepovers in Maine, he is referring to how the discovery of his mixed ancestry influenced his acceptance or exclusion from certain privileges or even rights.

Whereas he experienced racist episodes in the continental United States for being Chamoru, he also faced prejudice for being part white in Guam. As a teenager, he showed up to the Department of Motor Vehicles (DMV) with his white Italian American father and tried several times to pass his driver's license test. To no avail, he was rejected. He finally passed when he brought his Chamoru mother to the DMV instead, as the instructor jokingly remarked he should have brought his mother with him to the DMV in the first place instead of his father. In this way, prejudice and discrimination along racial and ethnic lines are not always spoken or straightforward, but persist in impacting our lives. In this case, whiteness served as a barrier rather than a privilege for Lupola on Guam. This experience illustrates the complexity of

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[129] Adrian Sanchez Lupola, oral history interview, January 6th, 2023.

negotiating race and ethnicity as a mixed-heritage person. Given his breadth of racialized experiences, Lupola strongly identifies with both sides of his lineage. Moreover, he began tapping into his mixed identity to explain how his interest in other people allows him to be open-minded and make genuine connections in and outside the workplace:

> "I feel like sometimes I'm a chameleon… and that's why I'm good at what I do. I'm able to adapt and have a good rapport with whoever I'm talking to: I'll find some common base… I am interested in hearing because I love traveling and learning about people….
>
> And it's also probably the social skills from my Sanchez side, or politicians. Even my Italian side: my uncle Mike, my dad, they're very personable. So maybe just a mix. Both sides. I use all of it: technical, non-technical; political and non-political. But there are barriers because I'm brown and bald [laughs], I'm not…majority of the people out here, especially if they're in a Caucasian community, [they] are not going to be like, 'Hey, you remind me of my nephew! You know, you remind me a Pacific Islander though, not somebody inside my family.'
>
> So, it's just, I feel it and I understand it. It's not that it's right or wrong. It is wrong, but [there is] nothing I can do about it. It's my job to go in there and change their opinion about me. [For others] You come in and they'll just give you the trust; me, a lot of times, I feel like I have to earn [their] trust. Whereas in Guam, I never felt like that. Hawai'i never felt like that. Micronesia never felt like that."[130]

From my interpretation of Lupola's words, "that" is a feeling of acceptance, belonging, or at least a sense of willingness to engage and potentially connect despite perceived difference. In this portion of our lengthy interview, he was secure in ascertaining assets he brings to the table. As an open communicator with a vested interest in learning about others, he is accustomed to listening and learning because he usually possesses somewhat differing life experiences than the person he is talking to. He is no stranger to feeling the cool indifference of a predominantly white male work environment. In this scenario, he is always forced to "prove himself," whereas when he is in the Pacific, especially in Guam, he feels more at ease interacting with those who

[130] Adrian Sanchez Lupola, oral history interview, January 6th, 2023.

also come from a shared, or at the very least similar, islander background. As he routinely visits Oceania for both work and personal reasons, he confidently made this statement of never feeling "that" due to countless years of comparison.

My interviewees' varied recollection of workplace interactions and ethnic identity provide us with a wide spectrum of neutral to negative experiences and perceptions. Lupola imparted personal ponderings regarding attitudes based on race, both in and beyond his source of income, whereas Cruz and Maley opted for more general answers that veered towards indifference or dismissal of race and ethnicity's role in their respective work environments. While all three interviewees shared a deep sense of pride and joy in Chamoru heritage and culture outside of work, the announcement and espousal of their identities in the corporate realm felt unnecessary and often required an involved explanation for their coworkers. Cruz and Maley's more succinct reflections on being perceived as "different" at work also included the task of explaining their ethnicity. Overall, Cruz and Maley seek to mitigate prejudice by emphasizing a strong work ethic and self-confidence. For example, Cruz applied a joint affinity for her ethnicity and astrological sign as a source of pride, noting, "I like it because it makes me feel different. Of course, I'm a Leo and I do stand out."[131] Her invocation of her astrological sign may indicate a Chamoru and/or generational attachment to placements in one's zodiac charts.[132] Maley also shared the dilemma of whether to identify as Chamoru or from Guam, as wording is

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[131] Shannon Terlaje Cruz, oral history interview, December 22nd, 2022.

[132] As a lover of astrology myself, I often discuss its impact with friends as well as family. In the course of my interviews, both Cruz and Lupola brought up their sun signs spontaneously whilst I brought up my mother being a Capricorn. Their dual unprompted announcement of their main signs, that of Leo and Gemini respectively, attests to their strong personal affiliation with their sign and its traits. For my father, he identifies strongly with being a Gemini because his mother birthed twins, but they passed away before he was born; as a result, it connects them.

essential to the task of deliberating how long a Chamoru wants this mini-lesson on Guam sociocultural history to last.[133]

As for my father, Lupola felt more comfortable confiding in his daughter about his more harrowing experiences, but he also shared the perks of being Chamoru given that his consumer base ranges from Southern California and Arizona to Hawaiʻi and even Guam. When he is working with clientele who also share Chamoru heritage or lived a similar island lifestyle, he can utilize this facet of identity to his advantage. Compared to Lupola, there is no outright reason to bring up one's ethnic background for Cruz or Maley because their corporate jobs do not engage the Pacific in a significant way like Lupola's line of work. Additionally, I would argue that their positionality as Chamoru women pushes them to obscure highlighting their ethnic difference because they are already deemed as "other" given the role of gender in the corporate world. In a workplace setting that relies on conformity, individuality may be honored on a surface level through short-lived, promotional events as well as diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI) initiatives, but there still exists a gender gap when it comes to corporate presence, pay, and leadership.[134] In turn, the interplay of racial and gender performativity is subjective to each individual, but logically Cruz and Maley's responses share more in common than Lupola.

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[133] As someone who has undergone this rite of passage myself time and time again, there is truly no limit to the range of responses one can give others who are curious about race, ethnicity, place of origin, etc. It is a truly subjective experience that shifts depending on one's mood and/or capacity to care for explaining. In Maley's case, she typically opts for "I'm from Guam" to make it simple for her audience.

[134] Francisco Bravo-Urquiza and Nuria Reguera-Alvarado, *Gender and Corporate Governance* (London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2020).

Polly Reed Myers, *Capitalist Family Values: Gender, Work, and Corporate Culture at Boeing* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2015).

Different Strokes for Different Folks: Connection to Culture and Community in California

Although all Chamorus who reside stateside are part of the diaspora, their levels of community engagement and cultural practice. Personal commitment and the presence of extended familial networks in diaspora can dictate the amount or intensity of interest and follow through when it comes to attending cultural events and being actively involved in community organizations. In terms of Lupola's perception of the Chamoru community in San Diego, he confided he was never involved in any clubs himself:

> "I don't know, I'll be honest. I'm not part of it. I never went and I'm secure. Maybe it's my fault. I'm so secure with my Chamoru side because I grew up on it, and I am it, and I go to Guam, and I still have family on Guam. I don't need an extra connection out here to feel more connected to Guam. I was born there, I was raised half of my life there. Whereas out here, maybe there's some people who have never done it. They're trying to, even our family, reconnect with it and I never lost connection. It's in me; even my professional life, I go there. I support all of it. So, I don't have a need to reconnect…But even mom, she's just not that into doing that. It would be cool. We have our extended Chamoru family; I think that's good enough for us… [Lists names of stateside Chamoru friends and family members] So we don't need to be part of the club. I would love to be a part of it and go…reconnect but I don't need that."[135]

Lupola then proceeded to draw particular attention to the Chamoru custom of finding lines of affiliation between someone you just met "on-island" versus "off-island." He remarked that there are more connecting points when tracing lineages of friendship and family when on Guam compared to linking relations between Chamorus in diaspora. He added that this practice is harder for diasporic Chamorus who are born and raised in the continent and have not been taught how to navigate this discussion of informal Chamoru networks. Utilizing myself as a case study, a diasporic Chamorrita born on Guam but primarily raised in Turtle Island, I have been trained by my parents to memorize our family villages, clan names, etc. but this alone does not compare

[135] Adrian Sanchez Lupola, oral history interview, January 6th, 2023.

to the art of exchanging lived experiences amounting to spontaneous lines of connection on-island Chamorus may share. This gap in lived and learned experience highlights an added layer of difference within the Chamoru diaspora, as there are those who grew up on Guam and those who grew up stateside amongst our present population. Given the impact of military movement and other causes for migration, there is also room for those who exist inbetween both spaces—such diversity calls into question whether or not those who grew up on Guam truly consider themselves part of the stateside Chamoru contingent or not. For Lupola, he can recognize his current lot in life as someone who resides stateside, but he is also proud to proclaim his ongoing connections to the island despite the distance. By traveling for work and other occasions frequently, he holds a multi-site lifestyle: his accessibility to Guam acts as firm assurance of his deep ties to not only his heritage but a sense of Chamoru community, even if he does not feel that same pull in diaspora. In terms of showing up to events, Lupola makes cyclical appearances at the Pacific Island Festival Association (PIFA) festivities and more Chamoru-specific events to celebrate our heritage. Like many others, he utilizes his purchasing power to buy the latest Guam hats and t-shirts as a form of expression and pride. As for Maley, she placed herself in the middle when it came to her own involvement in diasporic Chamoru community affairs:

> "I'm not involved in any clubs. I don't go to the Guam club stuff. But I can say that, at least compared to my sisters, I probably have a stronger network of Chamorus…because, you know, it takes effort. You have to make sure you stay in touch with your friends. But I don't know…there's not many Chamorus here in San Clemente. All of the parties I go to are not all Chamoru. Like Auntie Shannon [Cruz, part of this interview group], you go down there, they're all Chamoru…because there's a bunch of them in San Diego. And she has a network of family down there also. But for us, like with my mom's family, they weren't a Chamoru family that had a huge bunch of people that lived in the States and spread their seeds in the States, so all of our family is still on Guam. My sisters and I, and two of my other cousins, the older ones, we're the only ones gone. Everybody else is on Guam. And even in terms of my girlfriends, most of them, my friends, are on Guam but I have a couple here in SoCal [Southern California]… Yeah, but if anybody does slide

through or travel through, I'm always like, "hit me up, let me know!" And then of course, PIFA, we never miss an opportunity to go to PIFA ever."[136]

As a family friend, Maley has known my parents for decades: they lived in Orange County during the 1990s as young adults (as shown in the image for this chapter), North San Diego County during the 2010s, and now they all set aside the time and make the effort to gather given Maley, Lupola, and their families both still reside in Southern California. Akin to Lupola's sentiments, Maley maintains that the majority of her family still lives on Guam. Both Lupola and Maley maintain a similar thread of disengagement when it comes to joining ethnic-affinity clubs. In light of Maley's reference to Cruz, it is harder for Lupola and Maley to engage in such clubs given their distance from the growing core of Chamoru community closer to the city of San Diego. However, they still manage to make time for those in their close circle of Chamoru friends and continue to feel connected to their ethnic identity through their on-island ties. For Cruz, a propensity to take part in such organizations dates back to her time as the Vice President for the Marianas Club of Seattle University (1993-1998). Now a resident of San Diego, Cruz enthusiastically reported about her experiences socializing with other Chamorus:

> "It's nice. You know, there are a lot of Chamorus that I hang out with out here with amazing jobs. You know, we all work really hard. And they're all very successful. You know, their kids are raised out here and they're raised American, but they still have a lot of Chamoru culture like you and your sister, and my daughter. And you know, my friends' kids. They're still raised with the Chamoru culture always in them.
>
> [me] Have you ever interacted or been involved with any of the organizations out here or PIFA or anything like that?
>
> Here in San Diego, my daughter danced for PIFA, but she danced for a Tahitian dancing group. I never really got involved with PIFA… [but] I did [go], I usually do, we go to PIFA. And the House of Chamorros in Balboa Park, I recently became a member… so I help out [with] the Chamoru clubs. Because we have bamboo back there, we donate a lot of our bamboo to families or organizations for fiestas and stuff. I also host a lot of kids for Thanksgiving. So, there's a lot of kids out here who don't go home and a few years,

[136] Jacquelynn Artero Maley, oral history interview, January 7th, 2023.

we host all the college kids for Thanksgiving to give them a taste of Chamoru [culture]… We have a lot of parties in our backyard where we kind of have mini fiestas."[137]

During this portion of our interview, Cruz made room to discuss her role as a relatively active community member as well as the role of mothering and supporting newly diasporic Chamoru youth migrating to San Diego for the purpose of education. She points to the fact that second generation children, such as her daughter and myself, exist as American yet maintain a sense of cultural connection through our parents, adding another dimension to diasporic identity. Her ability to act as a conduit for college age kids coming from Guam to the continent in addition to her recent membership at the House of Chamorros in Balboa Park highlight opportunities of connection and community-building that are abundant in the city of San Diego specifically. Whilst Lupola and Maley are also located in Southern California, their distance from the city naturally inhibits similar levels of engagement. They are more likely to venture out for the sake of familiar friends, family, and events, but less likely to meet other Chamorus spontaneously. With the advent of more diasporic Chamoru cultural programming across the state, there may be higher chances of turnout and participation for less involved individuals and family units. For instance, the city of Oceanside recently held a Chamoru heritage month event by the pier this spring and it will be hosting a language immersion program run by Siñot Bevacqua this summer. In this way, events are diversifying to meet different needs and desires. Altogether, the three participants offer diverse views regarding involvement in stateside community-building. As first-generation migrants who still have fresh memories of island life, they also do not feel an overwhelming desire or insecurity to take part in stateside clubs compared to Chamorus born and raised in California or broadly stateside like those of my generation and beyond.

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[137] Shannon Terlaje Cruz, oral history interview, December 22nd, 2022.

<u>Chapter Three: Na' *Mahålang*: Diasporic Chamorus and Return Migration to Guam</u>

Figure 3 (left to right): Jonathan Coughenour, Anthony (Tony) Blas, Jeff Jones, Scott Ishizu, Ray Rojas, and Adrian Lupola in Hamilton, Australia for an outrigger canoe race in 1998.

*Humånao gue' para California lao ha bira gue' tåtte Guam sa' pot i minahalång-ña.*[138]

S/he went to California but came back to Guam because s/he missed Guam.

To associate or identify with the ethnic moniker Chamoru, especially with the added layer of 'diaspora,' is not without its scruples: to be from Guam but raised away from home is vastly different than being from a place whilst also living there. Although the two experiences are interconnected, their opposing qualities seemingly outweigh their commonalities. Although one

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[138] Paleric, "Today's Chamorro Word: Mahålang," blogspot, May 22nd, 2012, https://paleric.blogspot.com/2012/05/todays-chamorro-word-mahalang.html.

can be raised with Chamoru customs and values in diaspora, living and breathing the culture as well as being directly connected to and part of community on-island cannot be replicated. For those of us who are descendants of Chamoru migrants to the continent, we often carry a sense of yearning for what we were not given the chance to experience ourselves. We will wonder what life might have been like if our families had stayed on Guam, but we might also consider what if we returned. The following chapter tracks tales of diasporic journeys of return to the homeland.

As of 2024, there are more people of Chamoru descent who live away from home than those still residing in the Marianas archipelago. As a diasporic community, we mainly live in the continental United States given our island history and have done so for decades. Generations of Chamorus have been born and raised in Turtle Island with little to no time spent in Guam. Whilst direct island-to-continent experiences are gaining more traction, in light of predominantly island-based narratives, very little coverage has been done for diasporic Chamorus who rematriate. I began to wonder if there were any stateside Chamorus who decided to take a leap of faith and return home for good. Despite not living there for the majority of their livelihoods, were there any diasporic Chamorus who decided to move to Guam permanently? How and why did they choose to do so? Were there any notable or significant differences between this set of diasporic Chamorus compared to the others I spoke with? And lastly, why does this matter?

Similar to the messy movement associated with the livelihoods of Cruz, Lupola, and Maley discussed in Chapter Two, this group subverted my preliminary preconceptions too. Their migration paths are also complex, interwoven webs of interdependence in which nothing is linear or obvious. For Jason S. Biggs, Anthony (Tony) J. Blas, and Arnell Perez Medler, none of them held straightforward "continent-to-island" routes. Multiple individuals experienced childhood as military dependents and therefore had brief moments on island, the length of which was subject

to change because of where their fathers were stationed. It is important to note their movement pattern during their adolescence was entirely dependent on their families and the U.S. military. By centering the lived experiences and personal thoughts of diasporic Chamorus who made the conscious decision to live on island, I seek to provide proof of alternative ways of contending with diasporic identity as a dispersed Indigenous people yearning to connect more deeply with our culture and community.

At the beginning of this chapter, I included an image of young men posing in front of a six-man outrigger canoe at a paddling race in Australia. Dating back to the year 1998, the photo includes two men, Anthony (Tony) Blas (second from the left) and Adrian Lupola (furthest right), who are both featured in this study. I found it fascinating that these two Chamorus, the former primarily raised stateside who now lives on Guam and the latter on the opposite end of the spectrum as examined in my previous chapter, not only crossed paths on-island but through the outlet of outrigger paddling, nonetheless. The year of this particular paddling race, 1998, was also the year I was born at Guam Memorial Hospital. It would only be two years after this photograph was taken that my family would uproot our lives and migrate to Turtle Island.

Alongside other paddlers, including my Uncle Scott Ishizu featured in that same image, Blas and Lupola represent a late 1990s iteration of Chamoru watermen who actively sought to reconnect with ancestral modes of travel and movement in their own modern 20$^{th}$ century way. Although relegated to a recreational or competitive activity depending on the athlete, paddling has become a source of joy and sustenance for both men to this day: Lupola paddles nearly every day as part of the Oceanside Outrigger Canoe Club in California, and Blas serves as the head paddling coach of the Father Dueñas Memorial School (FD) paddling team. In addition to helming the crew of this all-boy Catholic high school, Blas serves as the Director of Curriculum

and Instruction and teaches subjects like Guam Studies, AP US Government, AP US History.[139] He noted that his early career as a teacher, still his ongoing occupation to this day, was set up to support his self-described "paddling habit" and in turn created a copacetic, mutually beneficial deal for Blas. He was able to strike a harmonious work-life balance between his passion for paddling and being out on the water, even expanding his love for the sport through coaching his own son and other FD boys in a competitive capacity with the paddling club Haggan as well.[140] Akin to Blas, Arnell Perez Medler and Jason S. Biggs, Ph.D, my other two interviewees, also gravitated to careers revolving around education and awareness. Medler works as a transition teacher in the realm of special education for Guam's Department of Education (DOE) and Biggs serves as the Assistant Chief for Guam's Department of Agriculture Division of Aquatic and Wildlife Resources. Biggs previously worked as an Associate Professor of Marine Biochemical and Molecular Ecology at the University of Guam's Marine Laboratory for 14 years.

In their own individual interviews, all three described their journeys back and forth between Guam and the continental United States. Despite their separate trajectories, they all came to the same conclusion of living in Guam for the long term. Such a decision involves great sacrifice by making commitments those of us living stateside do not have to consider or contemplate on a daily basis. Living on Guam is no easy feat, especially if you are coming from the context of living stateside. As an island run on imported goods and services rather than the pre-World War II agrarian society it once harbored, standards like food, gas, and the like are

[139] Tony Blas's personal website, *MrBlasFDMS*, utilized to provide students and parents the weekly class schedule as well as useful information pertaining to the aforementioned classes he teaches (no public access); there is also information about the FD Paddling Teach, Guam History Dation, and National History Day, https://sites.google.com/a/fatherduenas.com/mrblasfdms/home?authuser=0.

[140] Haggan is a paddling club outside the realm of school, the very same one he and Lupola paddled for as young men in the image above. This is also the same team that I was also able to join for a couple of early morning practices during my trip to Guam during the summer of 2022.

exorbitantly expensive. Unless you have access to socialized costs and services by being part of or directly connected to the U.S. military, it is expensive to live on-island. Moreover, not all diasporic Chamorus maintain the same levels of connection: whereas some are able to be hosted by family during their trips back home, others must book hotel rooms. The difference between a short-lived and permanent stay at a relative's household may also reverberate and impact more than just a one-on-one relationship between host and guest. Adjusting to a slower pace of living as well as acclimating to traditional Chamoru customs and cultural protocols are also features of island living that diasporic Chamorus are not as actively aware or participate in nearly as much as their on-island Chamoru counterparts. For instance, upholding the rights and responsibilities of *inafa'maolek* within community can present unexpected moments of difficulty and growth. One can self-isolate anywhere, but it is harder to escape Chamoru friends and family on-island.

Throughout this third and final chapter, I aim to tell the stories of those who not only tried to make a life back home but succeeded in staying permanently. The following narrative portion documents the shared and disparate pathways of migration as well as the diversity of thought brought by diasporic Chamorus returning to Guam. Biggs, Blas, and Medler comprise a select group of interview participants who are also around the same relative age (currently in their 40s and 50s) as their counterparts in Chapter Two. Their oral histories are also laden with stories about the 1980's and 1990's as defining decades that still hold a lingering influence on Biggs, Blas, and Medler's propensity for self-identification, cultural connection, and the key role of education throughout their individual journeys. Migration is simply an additional layer. Towards the end of this chapter, I will explore the impact diasporic identity has on the collective flexibility of these particular individuals when it comes to finding and/or making one's way on island as well as the project of contemporary Chamoru family formation, unity, and continuity.

Early Adolescence and Education as a Gateway: Chamoru Identity in the Late 20th Century

All three diasporic Chamorus interviewed for this project grew up in a different part of the continental United States. This variety in migration pattern acts as testament to the oft-told statistic of Chamorus being the most widely dispersed Pacific Islander group in the country. Their journeys span from living in the Midwest (Biggs), from the East Coast to the West Coast (Blas), and even down South (Medler). Perhaps the most standard yet scattered migration narrative, customary of Chamorus with a military background, is that of Anthony (Tony) Blas.

Born in Yuma, Arizona on a formerly active and now defunct U.S. Marine base, Blas has lived all over the country. Places he cannot recall from memory but experienced during his infancy include Yuma (1972), Oak Harbor in Washington state, Guam for a year whilst his father served in the Vietnam War (1973), Long Beach and Santa Ana in Southern California (1974), and Jackson, Florida (1975). Although he was too young to remember this prior part of his family's migration pattern, he was cognizant of his time spent in Virginia Beach and Norfolk because he attended kindergarten in Viriginia. Years later, he and his family would take a cross-country road trip from Virginia back to Washington state with a stop in Southern California along the way to visit extended family. Blas noted that his second time in Washington state, which lasted from 1978 up until 1982, was the longest sojourn his family had spent in one place thus far. Because his father was in the military, the entire family was forced to habitually move every couple of years. After their second stint at Oak Harbor, Blas moved down to National City/Paradise Hills in San Diego for middle school, back up to Washington state, and returned again to San Diego after reassignment. He then attended high school in Mission Bay for his sophomore through senior

years. Upon recollection of his militarized travels and relocations, Blas observed that he must have gone to at least eight different schools.

When it came to self-identification, Blas reminded me that modern debates of Chamoru versus Guamanian were not up for debate. Usage of Chamoru, let alone discussion of its proper spelling, was not present until the tail end of the 1990's—this change occurred with the onset of a widespread Chamoru cultural resurgence as evidenced by native language revitalization and a renewed fight for self-determination.[141] In his historical unpacking of a generational shift from Guamanian to Chamoru, Blas offered this food for thought with chronology in mind:

> "The word Chamoru wasn't commonly used until probably the 90s when we start identifying as Chamoru but up until then, stateside we'd always refer to [ourselves] as Guamanians. In fact, the old Fonoghe Chamoru was "Stand ye, Guamanians" [we say in unison] so we learned that…. I think the reason why I'm into those times is that the Chamorus here want to distinguish themselves from the Saipanese, the Rotanese,and the Tinianese, especially after World War II. Then after they begin to lose their culture, that's when they decided we should call ourselves Chamoru. Everyone, we're all Chamoru. Yeah, probably in the mid-80s, into the 90s, that name [Chamoru] becomes more complicated."[142]

His narration instills the key role social division can play in an intra-communal setting, this time between Chamorus of Guam and the Commonwealth of the Northern Marianas (CNMI) when it comes to the idea of potential reunification across the archipelago. To further compliment the topic of race and ethnicity at the end of the late 20th century, Blas noted the importance of diverse demographics in the military and throughout his schooling that enabled him to connect easily:

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[141] For information on organized efforts towards Chamoru self-determination during the late 20th century, refer to: Political Status Education Coordinating Committee, *I manfåyi, Who's Who in Chamorro History (The Hale-ta Series)* (Agaña: Department of Chamorro Affairs, Government of Guam, 1994).
Gabrielle L. Lupola, "The Past as "Ahead": A Circular History of Modern Chamorro Activism," *Pomona Senior Theses* (2021), https://scholarship.claremont.edu/pomona_theses/246.
[142] Anthony (Tony) Blas, oral history interview, July 27th, 2022.

> "When you're in first grade, you don't know the difference, and everyone brown has got to be just like you. Yeah, it's natural to make that connection with other islanders and a lot of times, we would get lumped in with Asians and everyone thinks you're the same, so we always sort of migrated to each other. But not always, I learned to interact with everyone because I lived in different areas. I lived in Norfolk, Virginia, which is almost all Black. I lived in Oak Harbor, Washington, mostly white. San Diego's a very diverse city. I went to a school in San Diego, [which] was mostly Filipino. So, I learned how to interact with all different groups… learn how to adapt, how to interact with people, how to make friends, how to not make friends, how to make new connections, how to… just how to survive. No, but I never tried to just act Hawaiian because my friends are Hawaiian. I always tried to be myself. But it was easy to connect with other Islanders."[143]

In this way, akin to the sentiments of Lupola expressed in Chapter Two, the problematic privilege of being a "military brat" enables one to live in all kinds of places and become friends with different kinds of people. Diasporic Chamorus such as Blas develop an ability to adapt and make sense of the world through both their culture and their personal migratory experiences, especially places that resonate with them on a deeper level. In a continental context, they exist as minorities alongside other ethnic groups and, in turn, are more likely to enact friendships and relationships with those they have more in common with. Militarized environments both reinforce racial divides whilst creating spaces of interracial interaction as well; the temporary nature of such a lifestyle facilitates endless encounters yet also prevents the development of sustained community. As a result, ideas of home are not immediately connected to that of place.

When prompted, Blas identified Washington state as his favorite stateside locale. He reminisced fondly on his time spent with family, as two of his uncles on his mother's side were also stationed at a nearby military base. In a semi-regular manner, ranging from weekly to monthly, Blas and his nuclear family unit would reunite with these extended family members on weekends. They would spend time fishing, barbecuing, and doing what Blas called "Chamoru

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[143] Anthony (Tony) Blas, oral history interview, July 27th, 2022.

stuff.” Because he lived in a small, rural town, the abundance of open space reminded him of what it is like to live in the southern, more agrarian areas of Guam. Due to his love for Washington state, Blas pursued an undergraduate experience at the University of Puget Sound, a private liberal arts college in Tacoma. He majored in History with an emphasis in American History, a minor in Asian Studies, and he even managed to craft his own unique independent study so that he could study abroad in Guam. Blas studied at UOG for a year, gained credit, graduated on time, and wrote his senior history thesis on Guam historiography, or how books about Guam changed over time. Reflecting on his ability to return as a young adult, Blas shared:

> “We never had the money to come visit Guam. We came when I was a year old, but I don’t remember that. We came when I was nine, when my grandfather passed away, my mom's dad. Again, in high school one time, my grandmother was [sick], we came just for vacations, but the year after that we had to come again because she got sick. That was my junior year in the middle of football season, I had to miss a couple of games. But she recovered. She passed away in 1991, my sophomore year in college, and that's when I decided to do the study abroad: to go back home to Guam. So, I was here for that short period of time, I got glimpses of what life was like here, and I wanted to experience what it was like to live like my cousins, and all my uncles and aunties did, so I arranged for that. And after college, I decided to come back to Guam. Semi-permanently, I wanted to explore it, to what it was like and ended up staying. So, from here, I wasn't sure what I wanted to do but I wanted to stay here long term. I wasn't really planning to teach. I was thinking about going back to grad school and civic studies, or Guam studies or Micronesia studies, something of that effect. But it never really got fully into that.”[144]

By charting his quick trips back to Guam during the earlier part of his life, Blas points out a larger trend amongst stateside Chamorus regarding the harsh reality of return trips. Guam is quite far away from Turtle Island, as departure from the state of California requires a layover in places like Hawai‘i, the Philippines, or even Japan; in this way, flying between Guam and the continental United States has always been a costly venture.[145] In turn, diasporic Chamorus only

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[144] Anthony (Tony) Blas, oral history interview, July 27th, 2022.

[145] Although there are no numbers or statistics available for the price of a flight from the United States to Guam dating back to the 1950’s, we can recognize the relative exclusivity of accessing flights back home given this general

visit home for the most significant occasions, whether happy (e.g. holidays, weddings, baptisms) or bad (e.g. funeral of a loved one). Prior to World War II, the passing of a loved was observed with rrituals such as the overnight vigil (*bela*), construction of a coffin free of charge to the family, and the immediate burial of the deceased's body within a day or two. Lilli Perez Iyechad, a Chamoru scholar married to a Palauan, recounted the role of death and the evolution of expressions of grief in Chamoru culture and community. The onset of a death in the family brings together all sides of one's family. She writes that, "…although the rituals associated with death entail much labor, it is also an occasion that promotes closeness among family members. This sentiment was shared by one interviewee [left unnamed] who had this to say regarding the support he received on the day he buried a family member, 'People I hardly ever saw were there to help. For a while it felt like we were one big family again'."[146]

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statement regarding mid-century flight prices within a continental context: "In the 50s, a flight from Chicago to Phoenix could cost $138 round-trip—that's $1,168 when adjusted for today's inflation. A one-way to Rome would set you back more than $3,000 in today's dollars." Now imagine how much more expensive and inaccessible it was to travel to Guam given these flight prices focus on major cities. For more information, refer to:
Suzy Strutner, "This is What Your Flight Used to Look Like (and it's Actually Crazy)," *The HuffPost*, updated December 6th, 2017, https://www.huffpost.com/entry/air-travel-1950s_n_5461411#:~:text=You%20might%20have%20paid%20up,than%20%243%2C000%20in%20today's%20dollars.
Throughout the late 20th century, travel became more accessible because there were multiple companies competing in the market economy and because the U.S. federal government passed the Airline Deregulation Act of 1978, which allowed the state to consider airlines as a public utility and therefore set the standard price of airfare (this was in the case of interstate travel, more research on the act's impact in Guam-centered travel is a topic that has yet to be fully unpacked). For more information, refer to: Marisa Garcia, "What Flights Used to Cost in the 'Golden Age' of Air Travel," *Travel + Leisure*, August 13th, 2017, https://www.travelandleisure.com/airlines-airports/history-of-flight-costs.
From the end of the 20th century up until the mid-2010s, Guam's unique market for airline prices has remained expensive. With the disappearance of Continental Airlines and other competitors, Guam's airline industry is practically monopolized by United Airlines in today's modern world. There are Asian-owned airlines as well, but the standard option is United: current tickets fall somewhere around the price of $1500+, depending on a passenger's choice to remain in economy pricing ($1,357) or a higher tier of seating. The cost can also increase depending on the time of year as well as location, because Chamorus returning to Guam from other areas of the country will have to pay more than this standard price given their relative distance from the island's position in the Pacific. For more information, refer to United Airlines booking website for fluctuating prices.
[146] Lilli Perez Iyechad, "Death: The Expression of Grief," *An Historical Perspective of Helping Practices Associated with Birth, Marriage and Death Among Chamorros in Guam* (Lewston, New York: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2001), 141.

This bittersweet bringing together of family feels especially significant when we think of the efforts stateside Chamorus make to come back to Guam for the purpose of a funeral. Although the commercial aspect of funerary services has escalated to the point of replacing customary pre-war rituals, the habitual indebtedness of Chamoru *chenchule'* (social reciprocity) is still at stake when it comes to supporting those grieving. We can see this at play when it comes to the generosity displayed at the fiesta table for rosaries, the gifting of money to the grieving family, as well as the sheer presence of diasporic Chamorus at the event itself.

Observing death and mourning in community is impactful, as it works to fortify the strength of interpersonal connections and Chamoru culture at large. Blas' decision affirms this truth through his own study abroad solo experience.[147] Inspired by his desire to experience life like his extended family on-island as well as the recent passing of his grandmother, Blas felt called to petition his school and curate his own unique independent study experience on Guam. Proving pivotal, it confirmed his personal intention to stay on Guam for the foreseeable future. Through lessons learnt in and outside the classroom, "studying abroad" in the wake of grief would later inform Blas' ongoing occupation and life path as a Guam studies teacher, paddling coach, and steadfastly passionate person.

Akin to Blas, Arnell Perez Medler was also a byproduct of militarized currents. Her personal migratory pattern was determined by forced familial relocation as well, but from a different standpoint. Medler, who is a dear auntie of mine through marriage (she is the wife of my dad's first cousin, Vincent (Vince) Sanchez Medler), holds mixed heritage and less sporadic,

[147] It is also interesting to analyze how visiting Guam in an academic setting is cast as "studying abroad" despite Guam being a U.S. territory. Through the hard work of Keith L. Camacho, UCLA has hosted a summer travel study program on Guam in recent years, but the language used for this program differs compared to what Blas narrated.

but still quite spontaneous, migration story to the continental United States. She was born at Guam's Naval Hospital in 1971 to Chamorro parents Arnold F. and Shirley R. Perez, and lived on-island until 7th grade. Medler then moved to Pensacola, Florida, where she spent a significant portion of her youth. In terms of geography, it is essential to note that Pensacola is located on the border of Florida and Alabama, which secures its spot as part of the American South. Pensacola also hosts numerous U.S. naval bases and installations.[148] Although she didn't like migrating to Florida at first, Medler regarded this time in her life spent stateside as a positive experience: she reminisced on the joys of making friends, being involved in school activities, and how Florida eventually became her home. After acclimating, she did not want to go back home to Guam. Although there was only one other Chamoru kid at school that she can recall, Medler thoroughly enjoyed this episode of stateside living. When prompted to discuss the details of her ethnic background, she had differing approaches depending on her comfortability and presumably the time and place she found herself in. Similar to Maley, her answers varied depending on audience:

> "But they would ask me where I was from and to explain where Guam was, was just so difficult. That I would just say it's close to Hawai'i. I would always say that just because they knew what Hawai'i was. People usually thought that I was American Indian or Filipino.
> [OR]
> I would just say 'I'm from Guam.' Just to keep it simple. And so, you know, people would say, like oh, Guamese, but I would say [that] I'm Chamoru because they would say 'What are you, Guamese?" then I would say 'No, I'm Chamoru,' because I was always taught that anybody can be a Guamanian but you are a Chamoru…people [who are] descendants from Guam are Chamoru but anybody can be a Guamanian."[149]

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[148] According to Military.com, Pensacola, Florida has been referred to as "The Crade of Naval Aviation" because of its extensive history. In fact, Naval Air Station Pensacola was the first Naval Air Station commissioned by the U.S. Navy in 1914. Pensacola hosts many military bases, including the US Navy Public Works, US Naval Education & Training, US Navy Safety Office, US Navy Alcohol & Drug Safety, US Navy Electronic Warfare, and more. For more information, refer to: "Pensacola Florida Military Bases," *military.com*, https://www.military.com/base-guide/pensacola-florida-military-bases.

[149] Arnell Cruz Medler, oral history interview, 25th July, 2022.

Medler notes the demographics of Pensacola primarily comprised a Black-white binary, with some Filipino and Vietnamese students, very few other Asian Americans, and even fewer Pacific Islanders.[150] Whilst Blas and Medler had different ways of approaching whether they identified as Chamoru or Guamanian, their joint experiences reveal the immediacy of ethnic self-identification in a military context. Perhaps such a response depended on where they were and with whom, as more Chamorus seemed to be stationed in Southern California and the broader West Coast compared to the U.S. South and Pensacola specifically. Altogether, both were able to integrate in stateside school settings because of such diversity, even if they themselves were considered the minority. But Medler endured a rather negative experience being in a more islander-centric place as a young girl. During our interview, for example, she recounted how moving to Hawaiʻi and even relocating back to Guam held its own joys and setbacks. Quite candidly, she confided that her two years spent in Hawaiʻi for high school were rather difficult:

> "As a teenager, I didn't like living in Hawai'i. It was rough…And I don't know if it's because of the area we lived in, we lived in Ewa Beach. The first high school I went to was Campbell High School, it was a very rough school. So, my color: I fit in. I looked like an islander, but once I spoke, it was like, 'Where did you come from?' The school was so bad that by the end of the school year, they had a day called 'Kill Haole Day'—[they would] pick on white kids and military kids…So I was terrified. I begged my mom to send me to a private school and she did, so the next year I went my junior year. But it was rough, and I want to say it's probably because of the area I grew up in."[151]

Here, Medler's personal experience attests to multi-layered tension in Hawaiian society given the intersection of race and class. Although she was able to escape ridicule or discrimination because she was not perceived as white physically, her underlying ties to the U.S. military as a "military

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[150] Supporting Medler's retrospective claims, the 1990 U.S. Census purported that Pensacola's racial demographics were "66.17% white, 23.22% Black or African American, 6.4% two or more races, 2.32% Asian, 1.72% other race, 0.11% Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander, and 0.06% Native American." For more information, refer to: U.S. Department of Commerce, "General Population Characteristics-Florida," *1990 Census of Population*, April 22nd,1992, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1990/cp-1/cp-1-11-1.pdf.

[151] Arnell Cruz Medler, oral history interview, 25th July, 2022.

brat" could render her susceptible to harassment. In this way, her entanglement in broader power struggles brings into question dynamics of race and class given her mention of living in a "rough area."[152] In several ways, Medler worried about parts of her identity which could be discovered later and leave her vulnerable to bullying and/or seen as "other." Medler remembered harboring apprehension to speak aloud for fear of being ostracized and perceived as different once others heard her Southern drawl. This initial anxiety, attached again to her unwitting affiliation with the U.S. military, revolved around her accent rather than worries regarding being seen as *haole* and/or white-passing. Although this bewilderment at her Southern accent also took place on Guam, it did so to a lesser degree because she was still Chamoru. Despite being raised in diaspora from the 7th grade onwards, Medler nevertheless returned to a preexisting network of family and old friends on her home island. However, this does not mean that she reacclimated without considerable adjustment, especially in terms of standard customs and behaviors.

> "You know, in Florida, girls were walking around with their bikinis. And I was outside washing the car at my grandma's house in my bikini top and my shorts and my uncle came out and told me to go put a shirt on, that girls on Guam don't dress like that. That was in the 90s. And the guys, and I'm not even joking, they [would] wear their jeans: they [would] wear their jeans in the water. Like if you go to the beach, they were all in the water with their jeans. A lot of them, I'm not joking… Back in the 90s, they were very conservative."[153]

Medler's tale confirmed the fixed status of conservative rules and regulations pertaining to a woman's body and how they were normalized by figures of familial authority. Concerns and questions regarding young people's attire were also brought to the forefront, as teenagers collectively on Guam were not comfortable revealing portions of their semi-clad bodies to one

[152] For more personal experiences on growing up in Hawai'i amidst ideas of multiculturalism in the 90s, refer to: Dennis Kawaharada, *Local Geography: Essays on Multicultural Hawai'i* (Honolulu: Kalamakū, distributed by the University of Hawai'i Press, 2004).

[153] Arnell Cruz Medler, oral history interview, 25th July, 2022.

another and the public at large. Returning to Guam meant adjustments on the part of diasporic Chamorus, especially in the case of women. Associated with ideas of female liberation and sexualization of the feminine body, Medler's evocation of the sanitized term "bikini," parallels the traumatic history of nuclearism that plagues Eniwetok, Bikini Atoll, and the Marshallese people who are still displaced to this day.[154]

Whereas the skimpy swimsuit had become popular around the mid-1960's in the continental United States, the influence of Catholic ideals such as privacy and modesty regarding the body and clothing for all, regardless of gender, dominated Guam society until the turn of the century.

Despite such chaste narratives, Guam's island style norms regarding marriage, children, and homemaking both complemented and contradicted ancient Chamoru belief systems as well as imported Catholic structures of guilt and reproduction revolving around and relating to gender, sexuality, and feminine experiences. From *Repositioning the Missionary* (2010) to *Placental Politics* (2021), decolonial Micronesian scholars like Vince Diaz and Tina Taitano DeLisle have worked ceaselessly to contextualize and critique systems of power that hold sway over Guam's society and culture.[155] From interrogating the canonization of Pale' (Padre) San Vitores and revisiting the story of Matå'pang to remembering the Indigenous birthing practices of Chamoru *pattera* (midwives), there is a felt need and desire to understand and explain the stereotypes and realities about Guam with a foundation of care and reverence. It is also important

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[154] For more information on the life-altering repercussions of nuclearism in the Pacific, namely the detrimental and deadly role it played in the lives of Marshallese women, refer to: Teresia K. Teaiwa, "Bikinis and Other s/Pacific n/Oceans." *The Contemporary Pacific* vol. 6, no. 1 (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1994), pp. 87–109.

Traci Brynne Voyles, "Anatomic Bombs: The Sexual Life of Nuclearism, 1945–57," *American Quarterly* vol. 72, no. 3 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2020), pp. 651–673, https://doi.org/10.1353/aq.2020.0039.

[155] Vicente M. Diaz, *Repositioning the Missionary: Rewriting the Histories of Colonialism, Native Catholicism, and Indigeneity in Guam* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2010).

to take stock of the fact that behind statistics and standard patterns of island life, each individual has their own story to tell, which should inform, but not define, their life journey. As a sensitive and important topic, I will unpack and consider the trope of teenage and/or unexpected pregnancy for young women on Guam through the oral histories of Maley and Medler alike.

Although Guam's contemporary birth rate has notably declined given economic inflation, sociopolitical turmoil, and a rise in preventative sexual education, Guam has long prioritized the perpetuation of family, regardless of whether marriage is involved or in the "proper" Catholic order of marriage preceding the birth of children. According to the *Guam Population Profile: A Guide for Planners and Policy Makers* (1997) prepared by researchers on the South Pacific Commission, Guam's late 20th century population growth was due largely in part to its relatively high birth rate, with fertility rates hitting a peak in 1993 and 1994 but leveling out around 1995. Perhaps most insightfully, the report states that the "fertility pattern, usually described as the percentage age-specific fertility rates (PASFRs), shows that women of Guam are relatively young when they bear children…. It can be seen that the highest fertility group is women aged 20-24 (31 per cent), and that 14 per cent of Guam's births are to women younger than 20 years of age; in other words, teenage fertility is high."[156]

For women like Maley and Medler, their trajectories took a turn with the onset of their unexpected pregnancies. In Medler's case, she was quite candid about the unconventional nature of her teenage visit to Guam through the lens of legalized drinking in correlation to her own experience of unexpected pregnancy. At first reluctant and resistant to return, she recalls how

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[156] Andreas Demmke, Gerald Haberkorn, Vilimaina L. Rakaseta, and Christelle Lepers, "Guam Population Profile: A Guide for Planners and Policy-Makers," Population/Demography Programme (Noumea, New Caledonia: South Pacific Commission, 1997), https://bsp.guam.gov/wp-bsp-content/uploads/govarchieve/G02-30.132%201997_Guam%20Population%20Profile%20A%20Guide%20For%20Planners%20and%20Policy%20Makers.pdf#:~:text=Guam's%20fertility%20has%20increased%20rapidly%20in%20recent,7&.%20&%20for%20males%20and%20females%20respectively.

Guam's societal norms held contradictory yet complimentary realities for teenagers during the 1980's and 1990's. Whilst Catholic modes of conduct ascribed stringent dress codes, the island also possessed a relaxed attitude when it came to young people and underage consumption of alcohol and other vices. In Medler's interview, she commented on their interconnected nature.

With two of her children present during this portion of the interview, she half-jokingly, half-seriously rejoiced at how the legal drinking age on island used to be 18 years old rather than 21. With collective laughter resounding in the background, we were all curious to know more about her migration story. My second cousins, Savannah and Alucious Medler, were previously unaware that their mother not only did not want to come back to Guam but that she was forced to do so by her father. They were well aware of the fact that their older sister Summer was a surprise baby, but they did not know how little their mother desired to return home at this point in her life prior to her first pregnancy. During this period of her life on Guam, Medler lived with her grandparents whilst her parents were in Hawai'i because she no longer wanted to attend school there. Despite primary protestations, she spoke fondly about socializing and partying on-island. Especially after graduating from high school, she no longer wanted to leave Guam after having such formative experiences.

Although Medler would tease and hint about the role of alcohol linking to early pregnancy, we might also consider the role of community comfort and connection as well as social taboos regarding awareness and enactment of safe sexual practices. By re-entering a space full of welcoming friends on the precipice of young adulthood, Medler was open to making new connections and falling in love. Guam's chaste Catholic society in and outside of formal education also plays a role in restricting access to and general knowledge of abortion and other

services impacting young Chamoru women.[157] Similar to Medler, Maley's first pregnancy was also unexpected and occurred at a young age—she reunited with her high school ex-boyfriend during their brief time on Oahu, gave birth to her son Daniel in 1992, then relocated to Southern California where she would reunite with my parents in their mid-20s. She and her ex did not intend on reuniting during their time in Hawai'i, but they possessed the same social group and naturally resumed their relationship until they realized it was not meant to be.

In this way, we see the role of romance and general relationships as a marker of community and an avenue through which new life is brought forth into this world, expected or otherwise. In 1990, Medler would soon give birth to her beloved daughter, Summer Anna Medler, at the age of 19, only a year after reaching the legal age of alcohol consumption. Ironically, Guam raised the legal drinking from 18 to 21 through the Ramon Someros Oberiano Act (2010), enabling a then twenty-year-old Summer to "get a taste of it but then it was taken away."[158] During this collective portion of the interview, one being held amongst family, Medler remarked that the change in the legal age of drinking alcohol did not directly lessen the cases of public intoxication among young people. Rather, the new law brought into question the law's perception of 18-year-olds, as we contemplated the fact that you can join the military at 18 years old, but you cannot legally drink. Ideas of youth and personal agency were brought into question.

[157] Discussions revolving around abortion still occur to this day on-island: it is a particularly charged debate given how involved Guam's Catholic school system is. Cousins on my maternal side who attended Academy confided how they were mandated to attend "pro-life" rallies or protests for class credit. For more information, refer to this website on Academy's website about their attendance at the March for Life picket line in 2019: https://www.aolg.edu.gu/student-life/faith-and-service-2/liturgies/march-for-life-2019.

[158] Arnell Medler's wording in the interview. Also, not only did Guam raise its legal drinking age from 18 to 21 in July 2010, but GovGuam also banned alcohol sales between the wee hours of 2 am and 8 am. For more information, look into: Communities Talk, "Guam Town Hall Meetings—Changing Underage Drinking Laws and Social Norms," *Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration (SAMHSA),* https://www.stopalcoholabuse.gov/communitiestalk/successstories/tellyourstory.aspx?ID=12.

When considering whether or not she ever thought about joining the military, Medler responded with a resounding "no": "I think because my dad was in the military, so I already traveled. But I mean, I didn't mind if my spouse was in the military, but I never thought of doing it; I should have. Maybe if I didn't become a mother, so young… I didn't really have much of a choice of what I was going to do."[159] As a resilient woman, wife, and mother, Medler discussed her desire to work with kids in some capacity, ultimately becoming involved in special education. She noted she was too squeamish to deal with bodily fluids, hence she could not enter the profession of nursing like her two daughters, Summer and Savannah, but she still wanted to work a job where she could help people and mainly work with kids. Routinely throughout the interview, Medler downplayed or undermined her own achievements despite her dual ability to shepherd her family and maintain employment. Her capacity to care for and support her children despite unexpected circumstances enabled them to all succeed and be self-sufficient, a true testament to her relationship with my Uncle Vince and her power as a *maga'håga.*[160]

I see Maley and Medler's ability to create and sustain their families, their careers, and themselves with grace, humor, and humility as a marker of their personalities, position within Gen X, and their differing but interrelated diasporic Chamoru identities. Both women were able to be candid about this crucial part of their lives whilst expressing a sense of gratitude for the lives they lead. They are both bright, bubbly Chamorritas who carry such vivacity as well as humility in light of trials and tribulations they experienced as young mothers. Their tendency to cope with their circumstances by not complaining was especially apparent and may connect to

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[159] Arnell Cruz Medler, oral history interview, 25th July, 2022

[160] *Maga'håga* is a term utilized colloquially to refer to Chamoru women of value, service, and fortitude. For more information, refer to:
Kelly G. Marsh-Taitano, "Maga'håga: Highest Ranking Daughter," *Guampedia*, last modified February 19th, 2023, https://www.guampedia.com/maga-haga-2/.

broadly Gen X values. In response to the unexpected, Maley and Medler continue to lead lives of love and abundance.

Jason Biggs was the only interview participant who was not a military dependent in this subset of diasporic Chamorus. Instead, it was his father, a *haole* man, and his personal pursuit of education that brought Biggs, as a baby, to the Midwest. Born in Iowa, Biggs lived on Guam until six years old. He then returned to live with his father in Iowa. Although their marital discord formally ended in divorce when he was 6 years old, Biggs recalls being caught in the middle of fights between his parents and seeking an escape. He remembers running amuck around the country club he and his dad lived at as well as taking it upon himself to befriend people outside his nuclear family in Iowa. During our lengthy interview, Biggs rehashed many fascinating tales. From unfair fist fights to learning French cooking haphazardly, he often met many characters from all walks of life. In reflection, he noted that he was "drawn towards older people, the calm, cool, collected wisdom of it all," so he was inclined to connect with more mature individuals.[161] Despite his recklessness as a youth, Biggs' wealth of experience and affinity for learning enabled him to excel in school and avoid getting into any serious trouble.

Despite the chaotic nature of early life, he was able to replicate the same results upon relocating to Guam in the mid-1990's and attending George Washington High School (GW). In fact, Biggs' accelerated academic performance whilst in diaspora created a real crux for him back on island. During his first meeting with the principal at GW, Biggs was presented with good and bad news to consider upon arrival and enrollment:

> "[GW principal] 'Good news: by GovGuam [and] DOE (Department of Education) standards, you already graduated from this high school–you have taken all of the courses, even the advanced placement courses that we offer.' [Biggs] And granted third grade,

[161] Jason S. Biggs, oral history interview, July 25th, 2022.

> they lied to me and told me I tested in gifted and talented. So, I was… the kid with an IBM PC in the back of the room that I get to go to soon as I finished homework and tests and whatnot… So yes, I had already taken algebra, already taken algebra two, already taken trigonometry, already taken chemistry, physics... [Biggs to principal] 'Okay, well, that's awesome. What's the bad news?' [GW principal] 'Oh, the bad news is that your school and your educational system back in St. Louis, has seven hours of instruction time. We only have six. Unfortunately, we can't accept that seventh hour. And so, I only have two options for you. Option one is for you to graduate by getting your GED: so just drop out, get your GED, and go to college and be the smart Doogie Howser that you are.'
>
> [Biggs] And I was like, 'Okay, what's the other option?'
>
> [GW principal] He was like 'Or you can retake all those classes again and finish high school like normal.' [Biggs] And I said, 'Well, that's a dumbass decision. Of course, I'm going to stay in high school. I'll take all the classes again. These are the best years of my life, sir.' There's no way you're going to rob me of that and stick me in college. Where all of a sudden, I'm surrounded by crazy frat boys. I'm too young to drink and party with them. No, no, no. I'll take the blue pill. So that was that.
> But my mother wasn't satisfied. And she realized that after doing some research, the University of Guam already had something in mind. It was an advanced placement because GW has always been the sister school or the little brother of UOG (University of Guam)…. We basically have to reinvent what was already invented. And next thing I know, I have a car and I have an off campus pass that allowed me to drive my car and my mom was a teacher [at George Washington High School], so I had teacher's parking, and I would park in front of the school and then I could drive off campus whenever I felt like it. How's that for a recipe for disaster on Guam?"[162]

In this instance, Biggs was able to benefit from a resource-deprived high school because of his prior achievements stateside as well as his mother's status as a teacher at GW. He was secure in his ability to skip class and do as he pleased, given the lax regulations and his stellar academic aptitude affirmed elsewhere.

Ultimately, it was Biggs' graduate level journey spent away from Guam which brought him long-lasting life lessons. Biggs stayed on Guam to receive a bachelor's degree in biology (1997) as well as his master's (2000) from UOG, but he eventually moved stateside to join the Department of Pharmacology and Toxicology at the University of Utah. Biggs recounted how

[162] Jason S. Biggs, oral history interview, July 25th, 2022.

this life choice to leave Guam for his PhD was ripe with turmoil both internally and externally. He underwent a severe sense of conflict regarding Guam and navigating his place in it as a diasporic Chamoru at that pivotal time in his life:

> "So I did my PhD and I went to Utah for that (pursuing a mentor and particular lab) but I also went to Utah to get as far away from the ocean and all of its issues as possible…. I remember this as a poignant time in my career. I looked out the window as this poor, broken soul. And I just stared at the reef as the plane took off and circled the island. And all I thought was, 'The world would be a better place if the human race would just go extinct.' And I left once again, I leave my island with disdain and shame and confusion as to how my people could just burn the fucking world and fight for the right to burn the world."[163]

These feelings of sadness, disdain, and shame would prove particularly important in Biggs' relationship to his home island as well as Chamoru community and culture later in life. He felt this sense of confusion could potentially be resolved, or at least somewhat ameliorated, away from home. Distance not only makes the heart grow fonder but it can also provide a buffer: a place to contemplate one's struggles separate from the situation in which they find themselves. Prior to, during, and after his graduate experience in Utah, Biggs emphasized the importance of personal growth, self-awareness, and protecting his commitment to a better world on his own terms. During this time in graduate school, he encountered the trying realm of mentorship, refused the allure of the pharmaceutical industry, and pushed past ideals of what may or may not be considered a "typical Chamoru."

By taking the opportunity to spend a couple more years stateside, even meeting his wife who he would eventually bring back to Guam and start a family with, Biggs contended with personal grievances both on and off island. One such area he was passionate to share about was the sector of fishing and ideas of "sustainability," which he encounters in his personal life as a

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[163] Jason S. Biggs, oral history interview, July 25th, 2022.

*peskådot* (fisherman) and through his present occupation as an Assistant Chief in Guam's Department of Agriculture Division of Aquatic & Wildlife Resources. In both private and professional capacities, Biggs divulged how he was and still is particularly aggrieved about a lack of community interest or care regarding adaptive approaches to fishing, diving, and the like given decreased access to bountiful fishing with each passing decade. Prior to his departure from Guam to pursue his PhD, Biggs remembers giving a speech at a Guam Marine Protected Areas (MPAs) meeting that was very painful. In his testimony at this particular MPA meeting, Biggs felt compelled to strongly advocate for more responsible ways of fishing and diving on Guam before environmental and fishing parties alike. Although Biggs confided that making this speech required him to "defy his culture" (in his own words), I would argue that he actually showcased his earnest ability to plead his case and that of subsequent generations with humility:

> "All the fishermen were like, 'I can still catch the same kind of fish that I always catch. You come with me, tell me what kind of fish and I'll catch it. You tell me how many and I'll catch it.'
>
> So I just got fed up with this back and forth and it looked like the MPAs weren't going to fly and I got up on a table and I was like, '*Dispensa yu'* (I'm sorry/excuse me), I'm sorry but I have to break through our culture. So, I'm going to introduce myself now. My name is Jason Biggs, I carry a haole last name. *Familian* Pettan Cruz from Barrigada Heights. Some of you know me here, some of you don't. But I'm a good fisherman. Or at least I like to think I am…Everybody's right; that peskådot right there, I'm sure he can catch exactly what he says he wants to catch. I too can catch anything I want, at any time; but let's not fucking fool ourselves. I'm going deeper than I've ever had to go before and I'm pushing it. I'm pushing it to the point where sometimes I actually get fooled by the fish I'm coming after, and I look up at I honestly think for a split second, 'Am I gonna make it back to the air? Am I gonna make it back to the surface? Am I gonna survive this fucking dive?' That's not the way we should be fishing and I don't want my kids to fish like that. Because sooner or later, our children are going to start dying. And so please, please just consider this as a band aid to the problem. Just save your children the agony, I can't promise it's going to work but nothing else that we put forth so far has done anything.'
>
> That week later, they pass the MPA law a month later. After that I graduated (from UOG) and like a couple of weeks after that, I was on a plane to Utah."[164]

[164] Jason S. Biggs, oral history interview, July 25th, 2022.

By sharing his personal experience fishing and diving as well as noticing a change in his approach that is not healthy nor should be normalized, Biggs played a role in pushing for the passing of legislation that would protect not only himself but the health and safety of future *peskådots.* In contending with an impacted ability to fish freely, one that prioritizes preparing subsequent generations for altered lifestyles, Biggs went against a cultural tradition of being *mamåhlao* in order to evoke an activist-oriented approach in which we tell ourselves and others the truth of the matter rather than feigning otherwise.[165]

Whilst a surface level translation of *mamåhlao* associates the term with an English equivalent of "shame," more expansive understandings of this Chamoru value see it as putting *respetu* (respect) into action and shifting towards humility. Rather than seeing it solely as guilt or shame, *mamåhlao* can be a productive term on all fronts when evoked not only for the sake of embarrassment but in negotiating how we can as approach one another respectfully as valid and valuable member of community.[166] In the spirit of Chamoru poet and legal scholar Julian Aguon, Biggs' attempt to reconcile his own personal gripes and communicate these feelings to both

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During this portion, Biggs refers to a new MPA law that was passed the year he left for Utah. In 1997, Guam Public Law 24-21 was passed, which was also entitled "An Act to Establish Rules and Regulations for the Control of Fisheries by the Department of Agriculture." According to the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration Coral Reef Conservation Program, "This legislation covers a broad array of modifications to Guam's approach to fisheries management, the most significant being a new section on marine preserves." For more information, refer to: Dana Wusinich-Mendez and Carleigh Trappe (eds.), *Report on the Status of Marine Protected Areas in Coral Reef Ecosystems of the United States*, *Volume 1: Marine Protected Areas Managed by U.S. States, Territories, and Commonwealths* (Silver Spring, MD: NOAA Coral Reef Conservation Program, 2007), https://library.oarcloud.noaa.gov/noaa_documents.lib/NOS/CRCP/TM_CRCP/TM_CRCP_2.pdf.

[165] Being or practicing *mamåhlao* is a key tenet of *kustumbren Chamoru* which translates to shame on the surface. Harboring space for shame is integral to upholding and maintaining *respetu* within the social hierarchy of Chamoru culture (familial, political, and the like). For more information, refer to: Art De Oro, "Mamåhlao: Shame," *Guampedia*, last modified January 7th, 2023, https://www.guampedia.com/mamahlao-shame/.

[166] The Chamoru Hoekage (@pulanhu), "Mamahlao is frequently referred to as "shame," and is a core cultural value, but does shame in Chamoru mean the same as shame in English? Wouldn't humility be a much more productive and healthier perspective of mamahlao?," *Twitter*, 28th May, 2022, 10:56 pm, https://twitter.com/pulanhu/status/1530790135419138048.

fishing authorities and local fishermen reflects the "work of the activist-writer, which is the work of bearing witness, wrestling with the questions of one's day, [and] telling children the truth."[167] I think it is especially brave of Biggs to do so given he was a young, aspiring scientist at the time of his testimony: the traditional tenet of being *mamåhlao* requires the utmost *respetu* for elders. In turn, speaking truth to authority figures in community, especially those of an older age can be a scary, slippery slope. In addition to preemptively apologizing for his intervention by invoking the phrase "*Dispensa yu,"* Biggs clearly expressed how the decisions they made in this meeting could impact future generations. In this way, Biggs exerted his own form of Indigenous activism.

Family, Flexibility, and Finding One's Way: Diasporic Chamorus and Island Living

After compiling all three interviews, the most consistent thematic narrative revolved around the importance of family and modifying one's life to support and nurture this intimate setting for community, culture, and belonging. In many ways, life happens to us unexpectedly and we have to choose how to respond, rather than react. This is easier said than done. As bell hooks wrote in *All About Love*, a classic for those trying to find themselves and connect with other people in a world seemingly devoid of the idea of "love": "The heart of justice is truth telling, seeing ourselves and the world the way it is rather than the way we want it to be."[168] In this way, the oral histories of Biggs, Blas, and Medler reveal bits and pieces of their core selves, without making compromises, which illuminate underlying remnants of their diasporic identity.

For Medler, her perspective was straight to the point whilst also pondering the 'what if's' of her life: from realizing she never had the stomach to handle nursing (again, oddly enough,

[167] Julian Aguon, "The Properties of Perpetual Light," *No Country for Eight-Spot Butterflies* (New York: Astra House, 2021), 4.
[168] bell hooks, "Chapter 3: Honesty: Be True to Love," *All About Love* (New York: Harper, 2000), 34.

both of her daughters grew up to become nurses on Guam) towards focusing her energy on education as a line of work, she was honest through and through. She admitted,

> "I only went back to school when we moved back to Guam. And that's one thing that I would change, is that I would have—my excuse was that I had two kids, but you know, that was just a lame excuse. I could have done it if I really would have put my mind to it. I could have made arrangements for somebody to watch them, or I could [have] rearrange[d] my schedule, but my excuse was my kids. And that, you know, everybody else was going to school, so I was the babysitter. So, like I babysat: all the moms that went to college while we were in Georgia, I watched the[ir] kids…. But yeah, it was hard. I was home all day, every day watching kids, and I was just like, 'This is not the life for me.' I do not want to be a stay-at-home mom. So, when I came home, the first thing I did was I got a part time job and then I enrolled in school and then I got my degree."[169]

Her critical reflection brings to light the way individuals plague themselves with regret in retrospect, but her ability to not only provide for her children and others attests to her resolve to cultivate her own sense of self sufficiency outside the domestic sphere. I see her resolve to self-actualize and honor her own desires of pursuing a career rather than staying home as indicative of strong *maga'håga* energy. During this portion of our interview, she skimmed over her time spent in the States as a military wife—I never knew about their time spent stationed elsewhere since my Uncle Vince retired from the military years before. In spite of this involuntary movement, Medler made life happen and charted her own course during and after the fact. She was already familiar with military migration from childhood, so she simply bided her time until it was over and she was back home on Guam to pursue a career in special education.

Childrearing, a facet of life universal to humankind, is no small feat: it is additionally challenging in the midst of attaining one's education. All three interview participants noted the way they had to modify their educational plans in order to accommodate their growing families,

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[169] Arnell Cruz Medler, oral history interview, 25th July, 2022

naturally to varying degrees. For Blas, his delicate balance of work, paddling, and home would later be influenced by the arrival of his two sons:

> "I finished my undergrad in 94. I tried taking classes in 98, but I was too busy paddling, so I put that off again... I started again in 2004 (the year before his first son was born). I was working full time, so I'd only do my master's part time, do a couple of classes every semester—[it] took me about three years, three or four years. I finished in 2008 right after my second son was born. So, the challenging thing I think was just being a parent. And most of my work I did after midnight when everyone else was asleep. I do a lot of research and writing my thesis late, late at night."[170]

As for Biggs, his decision to linger in Utah preceded fatherhood, but his interest in staying longer than needed worked in his favor yet again:

> "But at the time, I was on an accelerated path. I was actually planning or I was almost done with my PhD already. After three years, I was going to graduate with a PhD in three years and just get the hell out of there. And then I met her [my wife] and I walked in mentor's office, and I [Biggs] was like, 'Hey, you got any funding for me for an extra couple years because I know I was going to graduate next month, but I think I'm gonna slow down and smell the roses for a while.' And he's [mentor] like, 'What the hell's gotten into you?' and I [Biggs] was like, 'Nothing, but I'm planning on getting into something.' [mentor] 'What?' [Biggs] 'Man, I don't know, I really like that one.' [mentor] 'All right, graduate school is the time of your life. PhD is only bested by postdoc. All of the power and none of the responsibility. Go forth, young man, and conquer.' So, I extended and ended up four and a half or five, I think it was five years to get my PhD."[171]

For the purpose of pursuing romance, Biggs prolonged his own academic journey in a fashion similar to the additional time it took for Medler and Blas to complete their degrees. Each of their individual journeys reflects the way they chose to adapt their preset lifestyle and pursuit of academic accomplishments to suit their core desires for love, romance, and childrearing whilst also maintaining a sort of flexibility I have come to distinctly recognize in diasporic Chamorus. When put into conversation with the temporalities of life held by Cruz, Lupola, and Maley, all

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[170] Anthony (Tony) Blas, oral history interview, July 27th, 2022.
[171] Jason S. Biggs, oral history interview, July 25th, 2022.

their trajectories reveal the messiness of life impacting "traditional" timelines. Lost lovers, new beginnings, and extended experiences beyond standard expectations, namely when it comes to ideas of retention in higher education and graduating "on time." Perhaps indicative of their generation's ambivalence earned through age and experience, they feel less encumbered to stick to a timeline because they know they will eventually reach their end goal. Their collective reality of migration and movement also attests to their ability to adapt and exhibit enduring resilience.

## Conclusion: Creating and Curating Chamoru Diasporic Connection and Community

For nothing is fixed, forever, forever, forever, it is not fixed; the earth is always shifting, the light is always changing, the sea does not cease to grind down rock. Generations do not cease to be born, and we are responsible to them because we are the only witnesses they have.

The sea rises, the light falls, lovers cling to each other, and children cling to us. The moment we cease to hold each other, the moment we break faith with one another, the sea engulfs us and the light goes out.[172]

James Baldwin, "Nothing Personal"

Much like this beautiful meditation by Black poet, activist, and artist James Baldwin, diasporic Chamoru identity and community formation is subject to shift and take different forms. From interpersonal dynamics to broader societal forces, outside influence has the potential to inform and influence our collective sense of culture and communal connection. However, we have the blessing and the burden to carry this responsibility and respond to such challenges of cultural denigration or dismissal with courage and conviction in our cause as a diasporic people.

At the start of my project, I posited questions like: What does it mean to be Chamoru? How does one stay connected to their culture and community whilst living away from home? Is diaspora the proper term for off-island Chamoru communities and what differences might we find in such a diverse population? What does *mahålang* mean in the context of those who live *sanlagu*? How do ideas of authenticity and belonging play a role in how individuals identify with their own culture and community? How are Chamoru culture, community, and migratory patterns impacted by and indicative of larger power structures? How and why is our citizenship liminal?

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[172] James Baldwin, "Nothing Personal," *Contributions in Black Studies* vol. 6, article 5 (Amherst: UMass, 2008), 60, https://scholarworks.umass.edu/cibs/vol6/iss1/5.

Throughout this thesis, I sought to explore such open-ended questions with an admittedly slanted, analytical viewpoint and mindset of my own. I initially wanted to conduct a comparative study through preconceived notions of “on-island” versus “off-island” narratives, in turn reifying a harsh dichotomy that would do my informants and their stories a disservice. I quickly realized this approach, with the aid of my thesis committee’s input, was not nearly expansive enough to encompass the diverse thoughts, feelings, and experiences of those who participated in my oral history interviews. I maintained this structure in the organization of this thesis for the sake of coherence and consistency, but they rightly challenged my previously harsh delineation of diasporic categorizations. After deeper analysis, reflection, and review, I came to realize how faulty this original model was and instead opted to honor the interconnected nature of them all. Altogether, these interviewees exhibited a collective sense of strength and security in terms of their identity as Chamoru and how their diasporic memories and livelihoods inform their views.

Doubts and insecurity attached to embodying and performing one’s “Chamoru-ness” for others, namely those within our community both on-island and in diaspora, seemed like a silly question to ask at the end of each interview. They all possessed a firm sense of self-assurance when it came to being Chamoru because they felt they had nothing to prove; or rather, their age and experience on Earth thus far as Chamorus served as proof enough. Adolescent anxieties were rendered unimportant or simply an obstacle conquered in the past. As they waxed nostalgic about good and bad memories, they still managed to culminate safe, sound, and vibrant livelihoods of relative happiness and gratitude. I believe they were able to do so because they never let go of their lore, especially when given the chance to reminisce and reflect on their journeys. Each participant came to terms with their own relationship to ideas of ethnicity and Indigeneity given their varying experiences of outside exposure through stateside migration and settlement.

For these separate yet interconnected interview groups, I wanted to offer these final insights. In terms of the secondary group discussed in Chapter Three, Blas, Biggs, and Medler all possess a unique kind of adaptive nature that came in handy during their time stateside and further reveals the commitment and dedication taken by diasporic Chamorus who intentionally chose to live and work on Guam. Individually, they navigated diverse landscapes and social spheres unknown to them without a true sense of autonomy given their age. As members of an outmigration outside of their own control, they experienced a lack of agency as kids moving from base to base or from locale to locale.

Throughout the course of their lives, their shift from adolescence to adulthood permitted increasing empowerment to migrate and eventually settle on their own per their own unique interests and goals. Although Biggs, Blas, and Medler have lived all over the continental U.S. as a unit, they maintained Chamoru cultural values of kindness and hospitality despite perceived differences and living away from their home island.[173] Due to the length and duration of their diasporic journeys, chock full of destinations known and unknown to Chamorus before them, Blas and Medler expressed a shared wish to remain in one place. Despite the fact that both of their fathers were part of the military, neither Blas nor Medler wished to take part in the service themselves. Blas decided not to join the military because he did not like moving around all the time without his own say: "I wanted to be able to choose where I went, stay put if I wanted to. So that's probably why I stuck to Guam this whole time, it's hard [I'm] tired of moving around."[174] For Medler, she expressed an ability to move elsewhere, but that she would only do so if her grandchildren were to relocate; otherwise, she would be more than happy to remain on island,

[173] This propensity towards friendliness is still held at large in Guam society, but these stateside Chamoru stories of existing in more diverse areas can certainly benefit efforts to dispel rampant anti-Micronesian sentiments on Guam.
[174] Anthony (Tony) Blas, oral history interview, July 27th, 2022.

again affirming the component of family when it comes to essential Chamoru cultural and communal values. As for Biggs, he is also committed to staying on-island and perpetuating Chamoru pride through his work.[175] Given they all had visited Guam at some point prior to making a formal, sustained commitment to moving back home, their return trips operate within the framework of circular migration as well as through sentiment of *mahålang.*

*Mahålang* is a Chamoru word that can be understood as a deep yearning, to be lonely, or even to miss someone or something to the point of inducing nostalgia.[176] The intensity of this feeling impacted those in Chapter Two throughout as well as towards the end of their interviews. Cruz, Lupola, and Maley all shared memories of their past lives with a sort of unending reverence: their love for home even fueled hopes for the future in regard to revisiting Guam, as they all entertained the prospect of returning to retire. Cruz divulged, "I mean, if my parents said, we want to retire in Guam, I'll eventually move back because I want to take care of them…they're already in their mid-70s. And my job is to take care of them. Eventually, you know, they're gonna move in with me or I'll move in with them."[177] Maley was open about her potential plans to split time throughout the year in the Turtle Island as well as on Guam, as she wanted to be available to care for her family. Lupola and Maley also discussed the possibility of retiring in Guam for the purpose of familial care and questions of structural support. Both of them acknowledged the state of the island's healthcare system as a cause of concern for their

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[175] In 2008, he returned to the Guam and became the first person of Chamoru decent to earn a tenure-track faculty position at the UOG Marine Laboratory and began fulfilling one of his lifelong goals: to provide Pacific Island students with the opportunity to conduct scientific research on the biodiversity found within their local resources by forging mutually-beneficial collaborations with internationally renowned institutions that create new and exciting opportunities to aspiring scientists attending the University of Guam. For more information, refer to: "Jason S. Biggs, Ph.D.," People page on UOG's website, https://www.uog.edu/biggs-lab/people.php.
[176] Donald M. Topping, Pedro Ogo, and Bernardita Camacho-Dungca, *Chamorro-English Dictionary* (Honolulu: University Press of Hawai'i, 1975), 129.

[177] Shannon Terlaje Cruz, oral history interview, December 22nd, 2022.

elderly relatives as well as themselves if they were to permanently relocate back on Guam. Such contemplations attest to the sacrifices made when returning home from afar.

In the final two chapters of my thesis, I foreground oral histories because I view personal narrative as valid evidence to be taken into consideration. Despite incursions made by U.S. empire and militarization, such stories are vital when contemplating the formation as well as maintenance of contemporary Chamoru identity and culture. I strongly believe historical context puts these counterpart conversations into perspective, as there exists a give-and-take, a genuine push-and-pull between those who decided to leave and those who chose to stay. Their decisions to do so are all marked with *mahålang,* as this yearning remains part of the diasporic Chamoru experience in spite of American influence.

Nonetheless, its impact can still be profound, as can be seen through each subject group's chosen career path. Whereas diasporic Chamorus who reside stateside all work in the corporate world, those who rematriated are engaged in education. Cruz, Lupola, and Maley all showcased the power of education and demonstrated the centrality of corporate workplace environments when it came to how they negotiated identity on their own terms on a day-to-day basis, often through the veneer of "American dream" idealism. This is not to say they lacked pride or care in their Chamoru identity and culture, but rather it was a rarity to display and incorporate their ethnic affiliation and its subsequent values in diaspora. American capitalist values of productivity and seamless placement in a uniform body of workers take precedence in the continent over a desire to be of service to others in an on-island context. This trend in particular does not seem coincidental but rather a residual side effect of the "American dream" and differing ideas of socioeconomic mobility and well-being in each setting.

In terms of personal interpretations of Chamoru identity, community, and culture, I felt each interview was indicative of a collective identity marker: being born into Generation X. Whilst American colonial history and assimilationist tactics have subjugated and acculturated our people as a whole, its affect truly differs generation to generation. Whereas the historical ramifications of World War II and the Organic Act of 1950 were heavily felt and widely received their parents of the Baby Boomer generation, their second-generation absorption of such intensely pro-American or nationalism rooted in gratitude was more watered down. Guam's liberation narrative did not dissipate completely but transferred to a group wrapped up in American youth culture and aspirations towards late 20$^{th}$ century socioeconomic success.

With unmitigated access to the island, outside interests and the rising militourist model infilitrated the hearts and minds of many impressionable Chamoru youth of the 80s and 90s. Known as the MTV generation, they consumed romantic portrayals of stateside life which coincided with consistent trends we might refer to as the "brain drain" on island for the purpose of college enrollment, military enlistment, or simply seeking work off-island. Beyond an enticing depiction, the turn of the 21$^{st}$ century did witness the heightened facilitation of Chamoru migration to the continental United States, namely via contracted engagement in the U.S. military-industrial complex. Despite this harsh reality, diasporic Chamorus made the choice to come back to Guam and stay permanently. Biggs, Blas, and Medler provided narratives of on-island living that were equally as tenuous, if not a tad a bit glamorized by someone who contemplates permanently residing on Guam for a portion of her life (me, I am that someone). We discussed education, unexpected pregnancy and childrearing, as well as commitment to the island lifestyle—their return migration acts a form of leaning into and healing *mahålang*.

In terms of lack, I wish I had more time, energy, and page space to explore so much. Ideas of intracommunal conflict are still ripe and ready for further research, especially in light of privileged Chamoru narratives focusing on Guam rather than the entire Marianas archipelago. I also acknowledge my own shortcomings and hope that further academic inquiry into the gendered aspect of these oral history narratives can be contemplated for the advancement of our collective Chamoru community alongside a more rooted return to matrilineal cultural values. I am curious to see how future Chamoru migration streams take place, especially in light of more mixed-race relationships and family experiences. Chamoru proximity to whiteness as well as growing association with other Pacific Islander communities, as well as broader Indigenous peoples and nations in particular, are all areas of study that could be fruitful for future research. In the vein of circular migration, I envision more back-and-forth movement between our home island and Turtle Island will become normalized. Beyond mere tourist traps, I hope this becomes a feasible and sustainable future in light of a growing interest in cultural revitalization for both on-island and diasporic communities and due to a recent airline promotion honoring Liberation Day.[178]

[178] Dr. Michael "Miget" Bevacqua has been running on-island Chamoru language lessons in person for the past decade or so and recently expanded his language lessons for an off-island audience since the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic in 2020. He also recently started facilitating language immersion programs both on Guam (2022, 2023) and in diaspora (summer 2024 the program will be held in my hometown of Oceanside, California. I would attend but I do not currently have the funds to do so). As for the sales promotion, United Airlines, in partnership with the Guam Visitors Bureau, is operating a "Homecoming Campaign." They are reducing summer flight prices by 30% as a "homecoming invitation to more than 150,000 potential Guamanians residing in the U.S. Mainland" (their words, not mine). They cultivated this campaign to commemorate and celebrate Guam's 80th Liberation Day anniversary in July 2024. For more information, refer to:
Haidee Eugenio Gilbert, "Up to 30% airfare discount via GVB-United promo for Guam's 80th Liberation fest, arrivals now at 50% of pre-pandemic levels," *Pacific Daily News*, March 24th, 2024, https://www.guampdn.com/news/up-to-30-airfare-discount-via-gvb-united-promo-for-guams-80th-liberation-fest-arrivals/article_ed073066-e99f-11ee-9f14-339ffff6d278.html.
"Homecoming Campaign," Guam Visitor's Bureau, https://guamvisitorsbureau.com/homecoming.

## Final Closing Remarks: February 10th, 2024

Last night was the eve of Lunar New Year, the Year of the Wood Dragon: an auspicious year offering opportunities for growth and innovation through its double weight of the dragon symbolizing power, good fortune, harvest, and prosperity alongside the wood element signifying stability, honesty, loyalty, creativity, and again: growth.[179] Coincidentally, it also happened to be the eve of Chamoru New Year. Constituting the commencement of *Tumaiguini*, the first month of the ancient Chamoru calendar ruled by the moon and riddled with markers for traditional farming and fishing practices dictated by *pulan* (moon).[180] For the first time in my life, I got the chance to celebrate *Tumaiguini* with other diasporic Chamorus.

Since Guam was colonized centuries before other European "explorers" reached neighboring Pacific nations, our turn towards "tradition" can be seen as a radical act of both retrieval and creating anew. In typical health-conscious LA fashion, namely influenced by our collective propensities towards veganism and vegetarianism, our spread consisted of meatless *tinaktak* (Impossible beef "meat," tomatoes, green beans, spinach, onion, and garlic alongside standard inclusions of coconut milk and vegetarian broth), blended mango and calamansi margaritas, beets and asparagus, a winter medley mix salad with avocado, olive oil, and vinegar, and of course: rice.

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[179] Valerie Chiu, Valerie Shek, Sophia Ling, and Jaime Wong, "Enter the Dragon: all about Lunar New Year 2024 and what the magical beast means in Chinese culture," *Young Post*, February 9th, 2024, https://www.scmp.com/yp/discover/lifestyle/features/article/3251111/enter-dragon-all-about-lunar-new-year-2024-and-what-magical-beasts-mean-chinese-culture.

[180] Shannon J. Murphy, "Ancient Chamoru Calendar," last modified January 21st, 2024, https://www.guampedia.com/ancient-chamorro-calendar/.

Hosted in Long Beach by my dear *prima* (cousin) and best friend Megan Vitko, technically my auntie given our relative positions in the Taitano Queto line, her home was decked out with shells collected responsibly from our homeland, tea light candles, and other meaningful objects reminiscent of our Chamoru heritage. The meal itself was a gathering of relatively new friends turned family, as we discovered ties of connection to Olivia Diaz Anderson, a dear friend I made during my first year at UCLA in an Asian American and Pacific Islander History class with Keith L. Camacho, as well as Samantha (Sam) Olvera, whom Megan met serendipitously at a Whole Foods in Long Beach after spotting some kind of Guam-related memorabilia.

As for me and Megan, we had only just met in 2021. She had grown up on the other side of the country in South Florida whilst I was raised in Arizona for a few years and Southern California thereafter. Despite our diverse diasporic migration stories, our paths were finally able to cross in Los Angeles after she decided to stay in the area after graduating from the Fashion Institute of Design and Merchandising (FIDM) and once I made the choice to relocate to the west side of the city to attend UCLA. Seeing as we were separated for the majority of our lives, the fact that we were given the chance to meet and grow closer after graduating from our respective undergraduate institutions in Los Angeles is truly a blessing. Whether fate or divine timing, I truly believe our ancestors brought all of us together at the dinner table for *Tumaiguini*.

As members of a small ethnic community, what I often refer to as a "minority within a minority" identity, this sort of found family is extremely important for our own personal development in additional our collective cause of creating meaningful, communal connections as diasporic Chamorus. Moreover, we were able to enjoy this sumptuous feast with more loved ones: our cousin Drake Trimble, my sister Aubrey Lupola, Olivia's roommate and our joint

friend Malia Otuhiva, and Sam's partner Cody Miranda. Following our hearty meal, we played a compilation of Chamoru songs coupled with hilarious stock images and heartfelt, handmade captions in Chamoru made by *Fanachu!* on the living room television; we also closed the night out with a screening of Disney's Mulan. As diasporic Chamorus, much like those preceding us, our only form of community stateside has typically been that of the nuclear unit or extended family within our designated locales.

In the spirit of *Tumaiguini*, we must take up the mantle for ourselves and future diasporic Chamorus in not just perpetuating community and culture as we have come to know and live it but generating new traditions and ways of being. *Tumaiguini* means "to become like this." Alongside the wood dragon emblem of 2024, such intentional gatherings by those of the next generation are merely symptomatic of our collective desire for growth and innovation. In light of the aims of my thesis, this season of renewal and growth ushered in by the month of *Tumaiguini* serves as a reminder that the Chamoru diaspora undergoes constant evolution. By modernizing on our own terms, namely by returning to or creating a sense of tradition honoring our lineages and legacies, we continue this chain of ongoing diasporic Chamoru identity, community, and culture. At its core, the heart of this thesis truly revolves around a collective, vested interest in protecting and perpetuating culture through our own and our families' legacies. It is a humble but earnest attempt to learn from previous generations, in this case that of diasporic Chamorus of Generation X, so that we can move forward as a people with multiple perspectives in mind. By perceiving their stories in retrospect as adolescents and young adults coming of age around the turn of the 21st century, young diasporic Chamorus of today and down the line can contemplate these lived experiences whilst living and making sense of our own journeys.

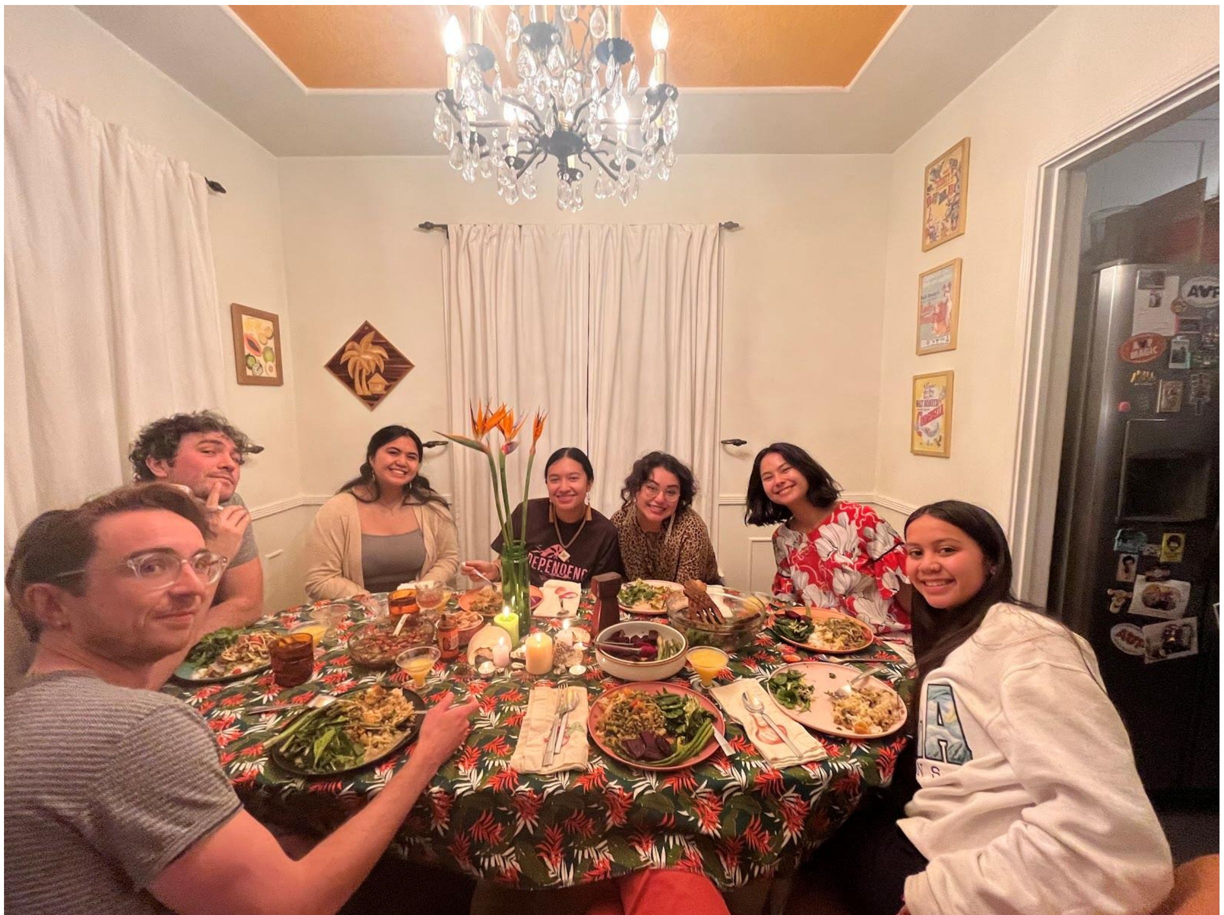

Figure 4 (L-R): Cody Miranda, Drake Trimble, Malia Otuhiva, Olivia Anderson, Samantha Olvera, Megan Vitko, and Aubrey Lupola celebrating *Tumaiguini* and the start to Chamoru New Year in Long Beach on February 9th, 2024.

Oral History Interview Guide: Chamoru Identity, Migration, and Diaspora (Living Sanlagu)[181]

1. Biographical
    a. What is your name?
    b. What is your birthday/date? When were you born? How old are you?
    c. Where were you born? Where did you grow up?
2. Identity Questions
    a. What is your race and/or ethnicity?
    b. How do you identify?
    c. How important is your ethnic identity to you?
3. Migration
    a. How many places have you lived in your life? What were they like?
    b. Which was your favorite place to live?
    c. What brought you to each location? (education, military, etc.)
4. Diaspora
    a. Have you (ever) been back to Guam?
    b. Where do you consider home?
    c. Are you connected to the Chamoru community in San Diego/area?
5. Place & Race (Keith's brainstorm)
    a. Chamoru dominant demography, cultural and racial politics in Guam as opposed to Chamoru "minority" demographics, cultural and racial politics vis-a-vis Black, Asian, Native and/or white populations?
    b. Citizenship status
    c. Mixed race? Cultural pluralism? Cultural difference? Sameness?
    d. Political status/sovereignty in Guam and county/state political issues (eg climate change, abortion)

[181] These are standard starter questions for the interviewer to utilize in guiding conversation, but the purpose of this study is to allow project participants to share their life stories and take the interview in directions they are drawn to and desire to discuss.

# Glossary

Bela: overnight vigil or wake, time of visitation and viewing of the body of the deceased

che'lu: sibling; brother, sister, or non-binary relation; also used to refer to a peer or close friend

chenchule': social reciprocity, typically in the form of donating or gifting for the sake of an event (usually money)

Dispensa yu': I'm sorry/excuse me

Fanachu: to rise up or stand for something

Familian: family, usually in reference to one's Chamoru clan

Haole: Hawaiian term for foreigner, usually refers to white people; Chamorus use this often

i trongkon nunu: banyan tree, significant in Chamoru culture because we associate banyan trees with ancestral spirits

Inafa'maolek: cultural value system of respetu, manginge/nginge', mamahlao, chenchule', che'lu, and påtgon

Kånta: to sing; it can also mean song

kustumbren Chamoru: traditional Chamoru customs which developed in the Marianas during Spanish colonial rule

Maga'håga: female leader

maga'låhi: male leader

mahålang: longing, yearning, nostalgia

mamåhlao: shame, humility

manginge/nginge': smelling or sniffing of the back part of an elder's slightly raised hand as a sign of respect

pākehā: Māori term for foreigners, usually reserved for white people

papālagi/palagi: Sāmoan term for foreigners, usually reserved for white people

påtgon: child; through inafa'maolek, children are valued and raising is a collective responsibility

pattera: midwife

peskådot: fisherman

prima: cousin

pulan: moon

respetu: respect afforded to everyone, but namely elderly and significant individuals within family and community

sanlagu: any place overseas, foreign land; typically refers to America; Chamoru prefix sa (place) + lågu (overseas)

sinahi: carved shell necklace incorporating cone sea snail beads and a carved fitted clasp from local trees on island

Siñot: Señor, Mister

Tinaktak: Chamoru dish of finely chopped meat, typically beef, with vegetables and cooked in coconut milk

Tomhom: Tumon, a coastal village on Guam; home to Tumon Bay, full of hotels and touristy part of the island

Tumaiguini: the first month of the ancient Chamoru year; it means "to become like this" or "this is the way"

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