

UNDERGRADUATE RESEARCH JOURNAL OF MICRONESIA

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UNDERGRADUATE RESEARCH JOURNAL OF MICRONESIA, VOLUME 1

The *Undergraduate Research Journal of Micronesia* features undergraduate research and writing about Micronesia by students from the region.

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INTRODUCTION

In Fall 2010, I was given the opportunity to teach EN111 (Writing for Research), a general education requirement at the University of Guam (UOG). I taught two sections of the course every semester after that for the next five years. An undergraduate student at UOG cannot take any of her/his major program courses until passing EN111, since it is one of their foundational courses. During the time that I taught EN111, one of the main course objectives was that students produce an 8-to-12-page argumentative paper (in my classes, students had to write 10-to-12-page papers). From the very first semester I taught the course, I assigned my students the argumentative paper, with a specific focus: the topic or issue had to be related to Guam and/or the greater Micronesia. Semester after semester, my students would embark on the long and rigorous journey of researching, writing, and editing their long papers on topics that would often have barely any available sources. At the time, there were little-to-no academic sources published by local or regional scholars on topics such as sex education courses for Guam Department of Education high schools; the legalization of marijuana (medicinal and recreational); the Mariana Islands Training and Testing (MITT) plans for the region; or the Chinese tourism company Exhibition Travel Group (ETG) and its development plans in Yap. Sure, there were some newspaper articles and even locals who commented on the issues, but the academic sources were unavailable to my students. This often caused frustration, particularly since they were being encouraged to write papers about topics that were related to the region, and related to them, but how could they write in depth about topics that didn't have sources readily available to cite?

In addition to the lack of academic resources, a majority of my students also didn't see the need to do anything with their papers once they were finished. They simply waited to be assessed, hoping they'd earn a desirable letter grade that would help them to pass the course, and then moved on to taking courses related to their majors. While they spent most of the semester researching, writing, editing, and presenting their 10-to-12-page papers, they didn't ever think of publishing their work (especially since at the EN111 level, students are rarely asked to think about publishing their papers). However, I always encourage my students, even at this early stage of their undergraduate experience, to consider publishing for the following reasons: it allows them to share their original research with others; it exposes them to the publishing process early on; it encourages further study beyond their undergraduate programs; it allows them to contribute to a much-needed canon of academic research by indigenous, local, and regional scholars for our indigenous, local, and regional communities on topics that are relevant to us.

With these integral opportunities for students in mind, the *Undergraduate Research Journal of Micronesia* was created. This journal is designed to make academic articles and resources related to the region of Micronesia more accessible, so that students and scholars may use these resources

as references in their work. The journal provides an opportunity for undergraduate students to showcase their academic writing and join a larger academic conversation about their place in the world. It supports the work of undergraduates in Micronesia, who partake in the rigorous processes of researching and writing, and it gives value to their unique and important voices and perspectives.

In this inaugural issue of the *Undergraduate Research Journal of Micronesia*, five student papers are featured from various academic disciplines, including Anthropology, History, Psychology, and Communication. Each paper is different and highlights the research interests of the students as well as their respective research skills and writing styles. Even more, it provides a glimpse at their unique perspectives. Each paper topic also relates to Guam or the greater Micronesia.

“Navigating the Seas: The Canoes of Yap” by Rico Roldan explores Yapese seafaring, focusing on knowledge, practices, and canoe styles and on the significance of this tradition to Yapese national and cultural identities. Roldan provides information from his interviews with master canoe carvers. Lastly, he offers a perspective on the influences of modernization on Yapese seafaring practices and how despite such influences, it is essential to maintain and perpetuate traditional knowledge and practices.

In “Addressing American Empire in the Pacific: Chamorro-American Identity and Filipino Settler Colonialism in 20th Century Guam,” Kristin Oberiano looks at the impacts of Filipino settler colonialism on the indigenous community of Guam and the historical underpinnings of the decades-long contention between the two groups of people. She begins her article with a landmark in Asan, the statue of Filipino nationalist Apolinario Mabini, and uses the incident to situate the contention. She further examines the implications of Filipino settler colonialism and the emergence of a Chamorro-American identity on Chamorro self-determination and decolonization.

Maimia Orino, in “Birds of a Feather Laugh Together: A Correlational Study between Humor and Intercultural Sensitivity,” presents her findings on her investigation of the correlation between humor and intercultural sensitivity. She surveyed 161 undergraduate students at the University of Guam and hypothesizes that there is a positive correlation between affiliative humor and self-enhancing humor and between respect for cultural differences and interaction engagement. She also hypothesizes that there is a negative correlation between aggressive humor and respect for cultural differences and interaction engagement.

Archie Matta Jr.’s “Thinking beyond the Box: The Need for Cognition as a Link between Intercultural Sensitivity and Cognitive Flexibility” focuses on the notion that people change either in a particular multicultural situation or that they are influenced by personal cultural biases. The paper additionally looks at how social interactions and perception in diverse situations can lead to “increased productivity, creative problem solving methods, group coordination, and intergroup feedback and discussions” (Matta Jr., 2017). Participants were University of Guam students in an introductory psychology course.

In “No Trust, No Us: Online and Offline Civic Engagement among Millennials in Guam,” Ashley Sablan compares the online and offline behaviors in terms of civic engagement among the millennials of Guam. She describes how millennials may be interested in political issues on Guam and may express comments or engage in discussion via online mediums, but offline, they are not as actively engaged. Moreover, this article concludes that both online and offline, millennials’ participation in civic engagement was low overall and that the causes of this are connected to low levels of self-efficacy and trust, in addition to the need to avoid conflict.

Combined, the research and writing featured in this journal tell a powerful and relevant story about our community and our region. It is exciting to know that this journal has created a space that ensures the hard work of students like the writers featured here will continue to have a life beyond the classroom. This has been a personal dream of mine that also fulfills a great need in our region. I am extremely elated to have been a part of this issue and to have been able to see it through to fruition.

This issue of the *Undergraduate Research Journal of Micronesia* would not have been possible if it weren’t for the support, guidance, and assistance of Dr. Monique Carriveau Storie, Director of the Micronesian Area Research Center and the RFK Library and Victoria-Lola Leon Guerrero, Managing Editor of UOG Press. Thank you both for listening to my ideas and talking them through with me, and for always providing me with unwavering support and love.

I would also like to extend my deepest gratitude to the UOG faculty review board for this journal: Dr. Lisa Linda Natividad, Professor Teresita Perez, and Dr. Yoshito Kawabata. Thank you for agreeing to be part of the review board, for being patient with me and this new publication (and its new process), for providing input when needed, and for mentoring our undergraduate researchers.

To the students who submitted their papers: Thank you for working hard on your writing, and for being brave enough to share your work. To the faculty mentors: Thank you for mentoring and motivating your students to research, write, and publish. Let’s continue to do so in hopes that we can grow our undergraduate publishing community.

Finally, to my former EN111 students: Thank you for being the inspiration behind the creation of this journal.

Whether you are a student, a faculty member, or a member of the community, I hope you enjoy this issue of the *Undergraduate Research Journal of Micronesia*. Let’s keep sharing the stories of our region, from *our* perspectives!

Kisha Borja-Quichocho-Calvo

2017 Editor

Undergraduate Research Journal of Micronesia

NAVIGATING THE SEAS: THE CANOES OF YAP

RICO ROLDAN

University of Guam – Anthropology program, College of Liberal Arts and Social Sciences
(Faculty mentor: Dr. William Jeffery)

Abstract

In the spring semester of 2016, Dr. William Jeffery of the University of Guam proposed a field study to his AN462: Advanced Research Methods in Archaeology class. Dr. Jeffery has conducted previous work in Yap for many years, researching the cultural significance and use of the Yapese fish weirs, called *aech*. His research provided the class with an opportunity to further explore and elaborate on his research question of how significant a role the *rai* (stone money), *aech*, and canoes factor within the Yapese discernment of their cultural identity. This paper focuses on the canoe-building and navigation portion of the study, elaborating on both the tangible and intangible heritage aspects.

Key terms: *Identity, tangible heritage, intangible heritage, Sennap, sawei*

Within the last century, concerns about diversity and globalization have added pressure to the level of preservation, analysis, and importance ethnic identity plays on every level of a society, from the individual to the national. Western influences on lifestyle have transformed Yap, like most other Pacific Islands states and nations, from subsistence living to a cash-based economy. As a direct consequence of this phenomenon, traditions and social rules are being disregarded or changed in favor of a more modern lifestyle. The lessons and techniques that have been passed down from generation to generation could easily be lost if one generation decides not to participate in the practices of its people (Carucci, Falgout, & Poyer 2004: 307).

Smith (2006:307) defines heritage as a cultural and social process; a process of remembering and memory making, of mediating cultural and social change, of negotiating and creating and recreating values, meanings, understandings and identity. Through participant observation and experience, my research reveals that the canoe is still considered to be the essence of the Yapese cultural identity. Canoes were the tool through which the Yapese people have in part defined their cultural accomplishments of navigation, and the acquisition of *rai* (stone money) for which the capital island is famous. Following the Federated States of Micronesia (FSM) being recognized as a sovereign nation in 1980, both the *rai* and canoe were chosen to be the symbol of Yap State on their flag (Krause 2015:294). As Pacific Islands progress with modernization, however, some traditional practices are in danger of becoming merely symbolic, rather than a lived experience.

The kinds of knowledge that exist in these societies can connect the past and the future; despite the decline in the youth's interest of traditional practices, Yap's inhabitants are finding new ways to implement their heritage for its continuity, the sustainability of their resources and as a solution for combating climate change.

This paper explores both the tangible and intangible aspects of the canoe in Yap society and explores how it is deeply rooted in both the Yapese national and cultural identities. UNESCO defines tangible cultural heritage as “the legacy of physical artifacts and intangible attributes of a group or society that are inherited from past generations, maintained in the present and bestowed for the benefit of future generations.” Intangible heritage, as the name suggests, refers to “the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artifacts and cultural spaces associated therewith.”¹ The application of both are necessary for giving a holistic viewpoint of how deeply rooted seafaring is in their society. This paper will apply these aspects to Yap Proper and its outer islands' most important cultural functions: gathering of food, war, and the voyages for stone money. Next, the intangible principles will be applied to the practices of navigation and the traditions of the *sawei* trade routes. Lastly, these concepts will be applied to current concerns such as globalization and the Yapese response to change.

Yap: An Overview

The Federated States of Micronesia includes four clusters of island groups: Yap, Chuuk, Pohnpei and Kosrae. The Yap atolls cover one-fourth of the Caroline Islands. Yap ‘Proper’, as the main island is called, is composed of four volcanic islands, one of which holds the state capitol of Colonia. The outer coralline islands reach far to the east and south, some as far away as 500 miles, specifically the atolls of Eauripik, Elato, Faraulep, Gaferut, Ifalik, Lamotrek, Ngulu, Olimarao, Piagailoe (West Fayu), Pikelot, Sorol, Ulithi, and Woleai, as well as the islands of Fais and Satawal.

From the Yapese perspective, the ocean is not a massive obstacle; rather, the Pacific is regarded as roads, waterways, and channels (Taoka 2004: 50). Validating this mentality is their six centuries worth of experience of building canoes and skillful sailing using traditional methods of navigation; their knowledge has contributed to the success of thousands of voyages, including the *sawei* trade system, and the journeys to the islands of Palau to retrieve their prized stone money. To this day, the canoe remains the most symbolic identifier of the Yapese culture throughout Micronesia. Understanding Yapese seafaring requires exploration of the different aspects of maritime

¹ UNESCO stands for United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. They are responsible for coordinating international cooperation in education, science, culture and communication. Their World Heritage list protects natural and cultural heritage. Definitions retrieved from <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/cairo/culture/tangible-cultural-heritage/>

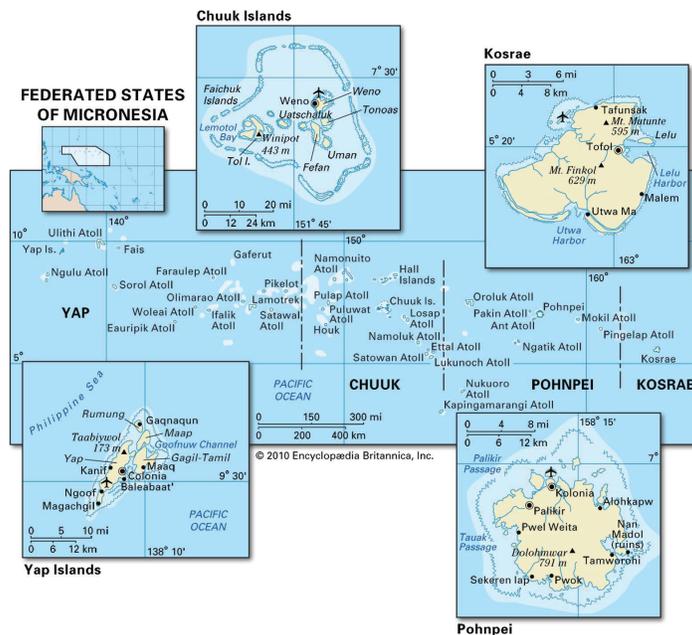


Figure 1: The four Federated States of Micronesia

culture, particularly the difference in styles of the outer islands versus Yap Proper—including folklore, magic, rituals and customs as well as current public perceptions of identity.

Methods

The AN462 project proposal offered to conduct archaeological surveys and ethno-archaeological research in investigating the cultural identity of Yap. To fully understand the subject matter, the research proposal required the examination of both tangible and intangible heritage of the canoes: This not only required scrutiny of physical objects, but also the rituals, superstitions, and folklore associated with canoes. The class was split into three groups to cover three separate topics: *rai*, *aech*, and canoes. As a student assigned to study canoes, I was tasked to learn the master carver’s measurement system. The Yapese used a hand measurement system for the construc-



Figure 2: Asymmetrical stitching of canoe (Rico Roldan, 2016)

tion of their community houses as well as their canoes; we wanted to measure their finished vessels with the metric system to see how accurate the hand system was.

Research

We conducted an interview with Larry H. Raigetel, the recently appointed master carver (*senaap*) of Woleai. He was tasked to construct a fleet of canoes for the twelfth Festival of the Pacific Arts (FestPac) on May 22, 2016 to June 04, 2016 on Guam. FestPac is a celebration of cultural diversity with Oceania. Every four years, a new island host offers 26 different island nations their home for sharing their traditions and culture with each other. As part of their offering, the Yapese were to display their navigational prowess by sailing to Guam using traditional means, instead of utilizing modern GPS technology. At the time of the interview, Raigetel and his team of carvers were in the process of carving a *Walwei*-style canoe.

The canoe pieces the men were constructing had keel and mast posts assembled and were carved from mahogany wood, filling in the side of the hull with pieces of breadfruit. Raigetel explained that mahogany wood is always fitted on the bottom of the canoe for strong support of the craft, since it will not crack or break when hitting the reefs (personal communication, 2016). Depending on the availability of lumber, breadfruit trees can be used for the rest of the canoe given its lightweight timber for easy sailing. We observed an inconsistency in the pieces of breadfruit planks, and learned that the pieces of the hull do not have to be a uniform shape, as they are designed to fit together like a puzzle.

Throughout the interview, Raigetel walked around the canoe, inspecting construction and giving guidance to his team of carvers by drawing a line on the other face of the planks using a traditional form of measurement using one's arm span, called *seiang*.² The men were shaving the planks of wood using a traditional tool called an *adze*. It used car springs rather than the traditional stone as a sharp object, fishing line for binding and a mahogany wood as a handle. The local carvers were using a type of modern oil paint which would reveal uneven spotting or marks on a mahogany wood to carve off its pieces until it is in uniform shape. The planks are then brushed with glue and are sewn tightly together with rope made from hibiscus bark. Raigetel mentioned that carvers used breadfruit sap as a sealant, filling the gap between the planks. In addition to the sap, the carvers traditionally employed stucco made from limestone powder. However, with the introduction of modern technology, carvers have disregarded old customs in favor of silicon or epoxy, for it is more effective and extends the life of the canoes.

² Alkire (1970: 23-37) gives a detailed report on the Woleian measurement system.

Canoe Parts and Setup

The design for the Yapese canoe is distinct in its simplicity. The style consists of the keel, hull planks and matching end-pieces (Alkire 1970: 25). The following description uses figure 3a as a point of reference.



Figure 3a: Anatomy of Yapese canoe (Rico Roldan, 2016)

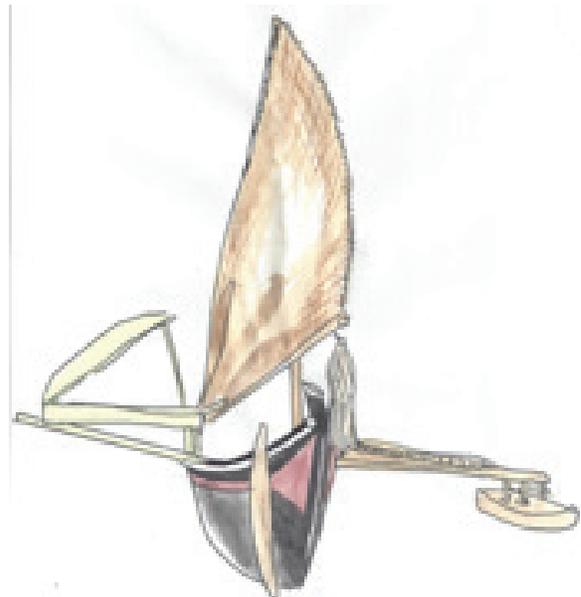


Figure 3b: Lee platform attached to left of canoe (Rico Roldan, 2016)

The large sails (1) were originally woven of pandanus leaves. At the end of one point of the sail is a charm or effigy (2), used for good luck for the voyage. In larger canoes, there was an attached rudder (3), held in place by a wooden pin. It is thought that the design originated in Indonesia (Haddon & Hornell 1936: 377-378). The canoe includes a single outrigger (4); constructed in a way that enables the craft to go forwards, in reverse and complete a 180° pivot in the water. The matching end-pieces (5), typically carved to mimic a finch's tail, aid in navigation. The paddles (6), though seldom used, can aid in propelling the canoe in turbulent waters. Lastly, every boat must carry rope (7). Rope is essential for repairing a canoe, among other things. Rope can be made with the dried husk of a coconut.

For an open-ocean voyage, a lee platform was added (see figure 3b). The lee platform is a separate compartment that can be inserted under the weather gunwale, and the platform is lifted by two main booms. They typically supported store huts with thatched roofs that were held down by netting. In addition to storage space, the lee platform could also act as a lodging tent for either the master navigator or accompanying women.

Yap Outer Islands Canoe Styles

There are five different kinds of canoes made in the outer islands. The names of these canoes originate from the islands of Lamotrek and Woleai, which have similar languages, and differ from those of Yap proper in purpose, size, and shape. The canoes are ordered from smallest to largest:

Shosemao – a single-person paddling canoe used by boys ages five to ten for practice and paddling within the inner lagoon;

Waafatul – canoe made for younger boys learning to sail on a short distance voyage. It can also be used by two men to go out sailing. It is the smallest voyaging canoe;

Maanpil – four- to five- man canoe for fishing outside of the lagoon;

Watera – the smallest version of the *Walwei*;

Walwei – voyager canoe referred to as a basket canoe. The entire village is involved in the building of the canoe. Its system or purpose is to feed the entire village, so it requires 20 or more men to get involved in the canoe building process.

Raigetel explained that there are at least five stages of building a canoe, each marking a significant stage of the construction process.

1) *Achiat* – Initial felling of the tree

The initial ceremony occurs after the felling of the tree. The construction of the canoe is typically open to the public; however, a taboo carving (*falataap*) is the construction of a canoe in isolation, and can occur for two reasons. The first reason could be that the *sennap* would wish to pass his knowledge only to certain students; the second when a tree does not fall properly (bad omen). If the tree is felled in such a way that it looks like a cat landing on its feet (*hatu*) or like a person trying to crawl away (*eiitgerag*) then it is perceived as a bad omen. The people who are involved in the manufacturing process might get hurt, or even killed, so the construction is then conducted away from the rest of the village, and is barricaded.

2) *Hapiwol* – Location of the root to cut and identification of the tree

This stage is orchestrated by the master carver. The first lining which is guided by the master carver is carved out from the bottom to make the wood lighter, allowing it to move more

smoothly over the water. The carvers work from the bottom up and the pieces of wood are assembled depending on size and shape and the availability of remaining wood.

3) *Hasupach* – Putting up the end pieces together

In this stage, the *sennap* determines the length of the canoe, using measurements specific to a given school. By assembling the end pieces, the carvers can set to work assembling the canoe.

4) *Yaipo* – When all the pieces are assembled

The canoe is painted between *Yaipo* (assembled pieces) and *Hefaifoi* (naming a maiden voyage), then the canoe figurehead is carved out before the *Hefaifoi* process. Traditionally, canoes were painted white, black and red. The red paint (*ariya* ') is made from the red dirt found in Gacham village (Tamil Municipality) and is mixed with the Yalad nut to make a gluey consistency. The black pigment is made from charred coconut sheathes and painted on with brushes made from the pandanus trees.

5) *Hefaifoi* – Naming a maiden voyage

During the maiden voyage, the craft receives her name.

During the course of the interview, it became clear that for Raigetal, canoes were not just being made to maintain Yapese traditions, but it was out of necessity. Modernization has not quite spread to all the atolls, leaving some living as they had for centuries. Superstitions regarding canoe construction are still very real to them, and the process is performed with utmost respect.



Figure 4: Danton Cruz and Rico Roldan interviewing Chief Bruno Tharngan of Maap Municipality (Bill Jeffery 2016)

Yap Proper Canoe Styles

For a holistic conception of the canoe-building, the perspective of another master carver was needed. We enlisted the aid of Master Carver Chief Bruno Tharngan of the Maap Municipality. In the absence of an apprenticeship, he taught himself to carve traditional canoes by using photographs as a reference. The canoes Chief Bruno builds have a different shape than those made by Raigetel; his canoes are taller, heavier, and shorter in length than their outer island counterparts. Rather than constructing the sides of the craft with breadfruit timber, he chooses to construct the entire canoe out of mahogany. The differences in structural design give Yap Proper canoes the advantage in terms of speed and resilience. Chief Bruno maintains that heavier boats sail faster and more steadily in rough waters.

WOLEIAN CANOE VS. YAP PROPER POPOW

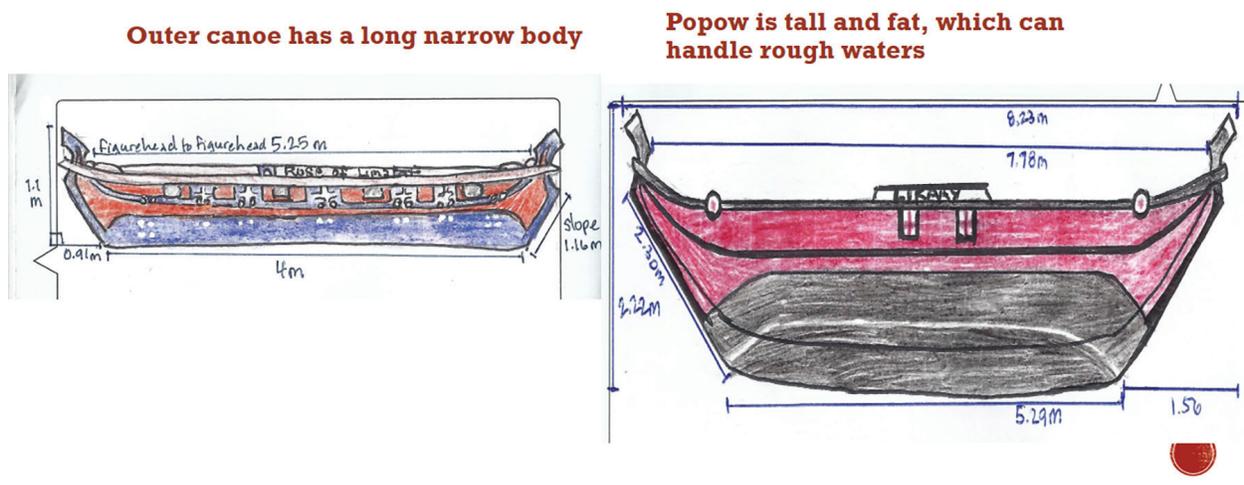


Figure 5: Side by side comparison of Woleian canoe and Yap Proper (Rico Roldan, 2016)

Like the outer islands, *Wa'ab* has its own styles of canoes. However, only one kind is still being used in modern times.

The most popular (which is still used today) style is the *Popow*. The original purpose of this canoe was to transport stone money from Palau, but it has been repurposed for racing and recreation. The *Popow* can vary in size; the largest of *Popow* can carry 80 people.

The *Thowaab* was possibly a canoe used for war, although its main purpose was for transport and net fishing within the calm waters of the lagoon. Its interior had a flat bottom, was equipped with two paddles and made to carry large amounts of cargo, clubs, spears, rock slings, and warriors.

The *gawel* was a transportation canoe featuring dual three-pronged figureheads, which could pivot to convey messages to other boats. When the trident's prongs faced perpendicular to the body of the canoe, it was a signal to engage in war. The closed position signaled that it was on a nonaggressive voyage.

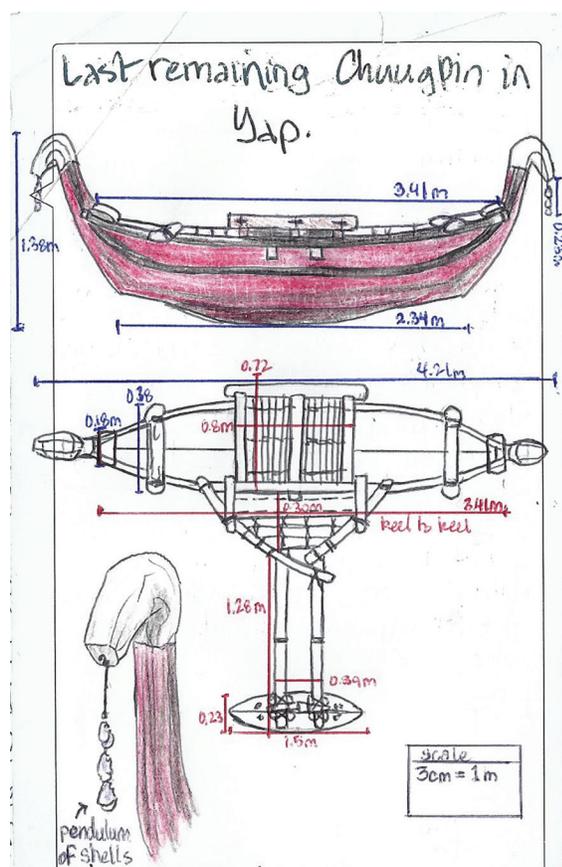


Figure 6: Sketch of Chuugpin. (Rico Roldan, 2016)

only exist as models in archival museums. Haddon and Hornell's *Canoes of Oceania* (1975) gives a more detailed account of Yapese canoes.

Since their introduction to Western maritime technology, Yap Proper has declined in its use of the traditional canoes and often opts for motorboats.

Navigation

The master navigators of the Carolinian Islands are highly respected, especially in regard to the indigenous cultural renaissance sparked by the maiden voyage of the Polynesian double-hulled canoe Hōkūleʻa. Herb Kāne was a Hawaiian artist who felt his culture was all but extinct when he assembled a multicultural group of islanders to build a ship like those of his ancestors. The crew needed the expertise of Satawalese navigator Mau Piailug, and the safe completion of team's voy-

The *chuugpin* was *Wa'ab's* most elegant canoe, with dual swan necks that gracefully dangled a string on both keel posts, tipped with shells that acted as a pendulum. The pendulum was used as an aid in navigating the ocean by following the ocean's wind patterns. The canoe was esteemed as a "sacred canoe" and was reserved for only the chiefly class. During the month when the southwest wind is strongest, the *chuugpin* was used for fishing for flying fish (*magal*).

Lastly, the *bulel* was the most basic design of the Yapese canoes. It is described as a large boat without figureheads and a flat, slope less floor, mainly used for inner lagoon travel. Unfortunately, the *popow* style canoes are the only *Wa'ab* canoes being used in modern times. Chief Bruno built the only *chuugpin* in existence in 2013 based off of oral traditions and photographs, and the other vessels

age is example enough of the Yap's seafaring prowess. Pailug was the first and only traditional navigator to help another culture and, without him, the Hōkūle'a would not have been successful.³

Navigators hold an esteemed position within Yapese society. Potential pupils are hand-picked and go through rigorous training of star memorization and recognition of weather patterns. They learn highly individual navigational chants and spells and are expected to create their own. During a voyage, the navigator sits in the center of the canoe while the man steering the vessel sits on the stern of the canoe with his foot on the oar, to feel the water. To stay on course, the navigator is responsible for instructing the man steering to follow certain stars and adjust accordingly, using the finch tail at the front of the canoe for guidance at night. During the day, the navigator has to rely on the direction of the wind and waves, or by watching the bubbles made by the back of the boat.

Besides being able to read weather patterns, the stars, and the ocean, navigators must master the magical chants and songs to protect them from storms, and identifying sea life as a location marker (Krause 2015: 300). When sailing, the crew would often carry effigies or charms carved from wood to ensure safe travels. Magicians use sea creatures as the source of their magic. Seabirds are important to the navigators; it is telling when a fleet reaches land by the proximity of seabirds visibly fishing. Canoes always travel in pairs in case of disasters, so they have a safety net to fall back on. It is the knowledge and skill of traditional navigators that give Yap its rich heritage and intercultural relationships with other Pacific island nations. Their efforts ultimately led to the two most recognizable trade systems: the *sawei* tribute system and the stone money voyages.

***Sawei* Trade System**

There are several articles dedicated to understanding the relevance of the *sawei* tribute system to the Yapese society. Kuwahara (2001: 17) perceived the system as a parent-child relationship, whereas Sudo (1996: 63-65) viewed it as a promotion of power and the enforcer of clan hierarchy from the village in charge. Prior to German intervention in the early twentieth century, the *sawei* tribute system was conducted between the neighboring Carolinian islands and Yap Proper. The tribute system is likely to be related to the need for goods from the high islands, including food, turmeric and wood for construction of seagoing vessels.

An unforeseen consequence of the Germans discontinuing the tribute system is that it froze the changing of hierarchy, leaving the last village to hold power in charge today. While the primary purpose for this system was for the maintenance of the societal hierarchy and disaster relief, there was also an underlying motive. Krause concludes that the division in state territories helped

³ For more detailed reading on the voyages of the Hōkūle'a, visit <http://www.hokulea.com/voyages/our-story/>

preserve traditional knowledge used for long distance navigation, due to the continued need to practice and transmit their knowledge (2015: 295). Despite the cessation of the practice, the *sawei* relationship still exists between the islands in the form of funerary tributes and land permissions (Roddy 2007: 7).

Stone Money Trade

The most well-known use of the canoes has been for the acquisition of *rai*, paramount to the Yapese cultural identity. *Rai* are carved discs of limestone that vary in size. Yap Proper is composed of volcanic rock, so the limestone quarries were discovered elsewhere, on the island of Palau. Oral

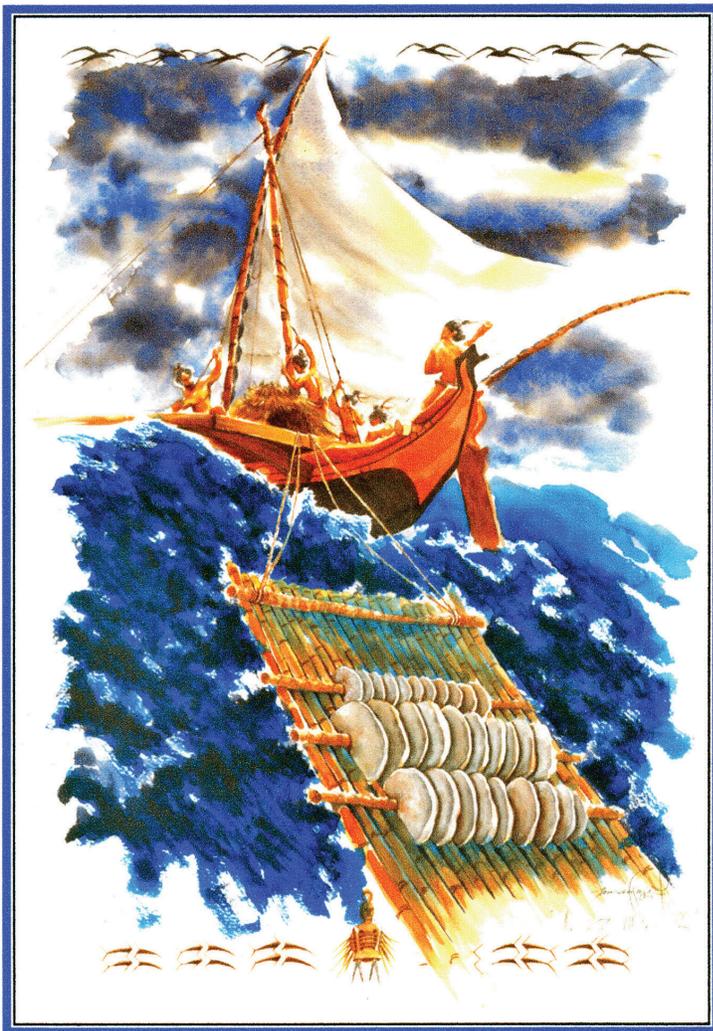


Figure 7: Illustration of rai voyage. Unidentified Yapese artist, c. 2009

histories and outside accounts regale remarkable stories of how the Yapese voyaged to Palau in their canoes for the acquisition of great megaliths of stone, carving them into giant discs using fire and shell adzes. The Yapese navigator Anagumang discovered the stones in Palau caves and ordered his men to carve the stones in the shape of a crescent moon with a hole in the center for easier transportation (Fitzpatrick 2001). Once the carving process was completed, the *rai* were transported to the shoreline by inserting timbers through the center of the disk and transported back to Yap on rafts, canoes, or ships. Upon their return, the stone money could be used as a cultural currency to purchase societal needs, such as marriage, land, settling a crime, getting out of debt and other favors. Even though

the stones stay next to the community house, the people of the village can keep track of who owns which stones though their oral traditions rather than written records.

The significance of the stone money voyage is so great that in 2004, UNESCO nominated O'Keefe Island in Palau and the Mangyol stone money paths as a joint World Heritage site. The stone money trade system is a testament to the Yapese spirit, ingenuity, and strength. Runman asserts that *rai*, navigation, and the canoes define the Yapese; without their canoes and stone money, Yap "would be like every other island" (personal communication, 2016).

Canoes in a Modern World

Like other Pacific Island cultures, Yap is struggling to deal with the consequences of modernization. Yap faces its own battles with modernization, an increased number of youth studying abroad, and increased money use to better their lives in a more modern lifestyle (Kuwahara 2001:16). The cash economy has significantly altered Yap in terms of hierarchy and respect, and people are turning away from traditional practices for more convenient ones (Runman personal communications 2016). Canoes for everyday use in Yap Proper have all been wiped out: The introduction of the motorboat has all but ceased interest in the traditional canoes. Chief Bruno stated that he once attempted to teach a group of 20 boys the art of canoe building, but they did not want to learn. Other issues affecting traditional practices are global and environmental. Climate change is affecting weather patterns, impacting navigators' ability to read the stars.⁴

In spite of these concerns, Raigetel and other groups remain optimistic. Raigetel founded Wa'agey, a Yap State nonprofit organization dedicated to confronting the economic, ecological and societal challenges by implementing traditions as their tool. In *Wa'ab*, there are organizations who view their cultural practices as complementary to science, as a way to address the challenges of climate change. The villages in the Tamil Municipality formed the Tamil Resources Conservation Trust (TRCT), which relies on the village chiefs to enforce regulation zones in order to protect their marine resources and encourage traditional practices.⁵ By discouraging the use of boats or vehicles that consume fossil fuels, the Yap Islands are doing their part to reduce the world's carbon footprint.

The canoe is a testament to the Yapese people's seafaring prowess and embodies the fundamental aspects of how they define their cultural identity: food acquisition and the establishment and maintenance of their inter-island relationships. The traditional knowledge of star reading has helped save the Pacific islands from cultural extinction and fueled the indigenous renaissance of island pride, intercultural exchange routes and reverence to the earth. The national affiliation to

4 Full story can be found at https://www.postguam.com/news/local/traditional-navigation-and-climate-change/article_89f5a9c2-19d6-11e6-8ea6-93d7a1b7b168.html

5 For more information on TRCT visit <https://trct.fm/> or their Facebook page.

the ocean, historical tribute voyages, and *rai* trade have all made a significant impact to the Yapese cultural identity.

While the canoe defines the Yapese, its relevance can seem less than it was during the conception of the Yapese state flag. It was a time when islanders wished to govern themselves, to identify themselves in a distinct state in a newly formed nation. As time changes, so do motives: the practices of navigation and canoe building are now being utilized to help combat the ecological, economic and societal issues. This is why such valuable knowledge must be preserved and nurtured through education and increased awareness/urgency.

Considering a modernizing world and the integration of various cultures and heritage, the retention, local knowledge should still be engaged because they are *lived experiences*. Efforts of organizations such as Wa'agey and TRCT showcase the innovative and adaptive nature of the Yapese, incorporating new materials while still preserving traditional building techniques. The State government puts effort into pushing traditional subjects in the school curriculum, such as food gathering and how to ride a canoe. Culture Day is a celebration dedicated for students to display their cultural pride, and participating in events such as FestPac gives inspiration to show the world one's cultural pride, as well as spread awareness and offer aid and camaraderie. With the continued leadership, education, and national pride the people of Yap State have today, traditional navigation and seafaring can remain important to the Yapese in the modern world.

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ADDRESSING AMERICAN EMPIRE IN THE PACIFIC: CHAMORRO-AMERICAN IDENTITY AND FILIPINO SETTLER COLONIALISM IN 20TH CENTURY GUAM

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Abstract

By analyzing three phases of United States empire in the Pacific – Naval Government in Guam and the Philippines, the post-World War II militarization on Guam, and 1970s and 1980s Chamorro self-determination movements – this paper historicizes the emergence of the Chamorro-American identity in relation to the Philippine Independence and the effects of US-facilitated Filipino settler colonialism on Guam. Prewar publications demonstrate the need to distinguish Chamorro people from Filipino people under the American colonial government. After World War II, the militarization of Guam prompted the need for Filipino labors, displacing economic opportunities for indigenous Chamorros. Citing the Filipino population on Guam, the United States refused to grant Chamorros the right to self-determination in the 1980s, calling instead for the preservation of civil rights granted by American citizenship. Through a mutual understanding of each group's American colonial histories, the potential for Chamorro self-determination and decolonization in the future becomes possible.

In April 2015, the still-veiled statue of Filipino nationalist Apolinario Mabini bore the marks of a sledgehammer at The War in the Pacific National Historical Park in Asan on Guam. Joseph Jesus, a Chamorro United States military veteran, had expressed discontent with the placement of the statue because he “didn’t think Mabini had done anything to deserve a monument in Asan.”¹ Moreover, he thought that Mabini had no connections with the Chamorro people on Guam. According to the *Pacific Daily News*, Jesus said “he’s confused as to why Mabini would be honored on Guam since he fought against the U.S. being in the Philippines.”² Jesus’s comments reflects the difficulty with which some Guamanians recognize and understand the shared colonial legacy of Guam and the Philippines as U.S. territories. Mabini, who was the intellectual leader in the Philippine Independence Movement and the first president of the First Philippine Republic, was not considered an emblematic hero for self-determination and independence, but rather a traitor to the American flag. The subtle antagonism between Chamorros and Filipinos on the island, informed by misunderstood histories and the effects of Asian settler colonialism, affects the possibility for Chamorros to assert full self-determination and self-governance in the 21st century.

¹ Jerick Sablan, “Asan Man: Why is Mabini Worthy?,” *Pacific Daily News*, April 16, 2015, 4.

² *Ibid.*, 4.

The friction between Chamorros and Filipinos on Guam was present throughout the 20th century, starting during the Naval period in the late 1800s and into the 1980s. Some Chamorros sought to distance themselves from the warring Filipinos and welcomed the Americans to their islands. When the U.S. military hired thousands of Filipino construction workers in the aftermath of World War II to build the military bases on the Guam, the island's demographics shifted significantly, changing the political and cultural landscape.³ By the mid-twentieth century, a new wave of U.S.-sponsored Filipino immigration became a main concern for indigenous rights groups, which influenced the Government of Guam-sponsored Chamorro self-determination movements – the Guam Constitution in the 1970s and the Guam Commonwealth in the 1980s. Filipino immigrants diluted the power of Chamorro people, thus effecting a non-white settler colonialism on Chamorro lands.

Not only can a study of the history of the Philippines, Guam, and Filipino immigrants on Guam provide the insight into the relationship between Chamorros and Filipino-Guamanians, but it can also aid in the decolonization of the Chamorro people. By analyzing moments in the 20th century, specifically Chamorro imaginations of the Philippines prior to World War II, the postwar influx of immigration to Guam, and the Chamorro self-determination movements of the 1970s and 1980s, I chart the evolution in the Chamorro-Filipino relationship on an island that continues to experience American empire in the Pacific. Through an understanding of the Chamorro-Filipino relationship in Guam, I seek to underscore how the United States continues to play a crucial role in the politics and culture of Guam in the “postcolonial era” via Asian settler colonialism and the bolstering of American Civil rights of immigrants on Guam.

Colonial Siblings: Guam and the Philippines

In order to understand the colonial history of Guam and the Philippines, the story must start prior to the U.S. annexation of the two places in the aftermath of the Spanish-American War in 1898. From the 16th through the 19th centuries, the Spanish world trade facilitated small-scale encounters between Filipinos and Chamorros on Guam. The Spanish Galleons sailed through the Pacific between the Spanish-controlled ports of Acapulco in Mexico and Manila in the Philippines stopping occasionally on Guam for supplies.⁴ Chamorro resistance to the Spanish empire was directed toward the Spanish clergy that governed the island, such as the famed Chief Hurao's unification of 2,000 Chamorro warriors and their 40-day siege on the Agaña Church

3 Alfred Peredo Flores, “‘No Walk in the Park’: US Empire and the Radicalization of Civilian Military Labor in Guam, 1944-1962,” *American Quarterly* 67:3 (September 2015): 813-35.

4 Robert Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall: A History of Guam* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1995), 16.

and mission in 1671.⁵ The Spanish empire subjected the Guam and the Philippines to Spanish Catholicism with friars at the heads of government and Hispanicized the Chamorro and Filipino indigenous elites. Because of the similarities in colonial experiences, one historian wrote that “the history of the Marianas [Guam’s archipelago] was one with that of the Philippines as it diverted from the rest of Micronesia.”⁶ The Philippines and Guam share a history dating back to Spanish discovery in 1521 and shares a colonial history even after their acquisitions by the United States in 1898.

In the early 1890s, Filipino *illustrados* commenced the Philippine Revolution, which sought independence from the Spanish empire. *Illustrados*, according to Renato Constantino, “served to project a consciousness of nationhood among the people” through the “articulation of their ideas [that] would help mobilize forces that would effect changes in the emerging nation and in the people.”⁷ These *illustrados* formed the basis for intellectual and practical resistance against the Spanish empire and sought the establishment of an independent Filipino nation. Helping their cause, the United States was also at war with Spain. With the aid of the U.S. Navy, the *illustrados* and their army declared victory in Manila with the Philippine Declaration of Independence on June 12, 1898. Despite resistance to empire and his own reluctance, the U.S. President William McKinley passed an Executive Order on August 17 calling for the U.S. annexation of the Philippines, in which “the insurgents and all others must recognize the military occupation and authority of the United States and the cessation of hostilities proclaimed by the President.”⁸ Once deemed heroes of independence, the *illustrados* became insurgents. Filipino *illustrados* continued to lead the Philippine “Insurrection” against the United States until 1902, which nevertheless resulted in a U.S. Naval government in the Philippines.

The U.S. acquisition of Guam was more passive in circumstance. Between June 20 and the 21, 1898, the *Charleston*’s and its captain Henry Glass approached Guam’s western shore and “prepared to land an armed force.”⁹ Both Spanish officials and the Chamorro people did not know that Spain was at war with the United States. Unable to engage in armed resistance against the *Charleston*’s weapons, the island surrendered bloodlessly on the second day of the encounter. Guam, then, became a United States territory without much resistance. In the first

5 *Ibid.*, 52.

6 Domingo Abella, ed. *Vignettes of Philippines-Marianas Colonial History* (Manila: President and Board of Governors of the IAHA, 1962), No.1: 2.

7 Renato Constantino, *A History of the Philippines: From Spanish Colonization to the Second World War* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1975), 147.

8 William McKinley: “Executive Order,” August 17, 1898. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project*. <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=69303>.

9 Rogers, *Destiny’s Landfall*, 110.

petition to the US government regarding the political status of Guam in 1901, Chamorro leaders seemed to accept the role of the United States on Guam. According to Penelope Bordallo Hofschneider,

There is no doubt that so far as the Chamorro people were concerned, the Americans simply filled in the position held by the Spanish [...]. The change in sovereignty at the turn of the twentieth century was not understood to cause a change in the structural relationship between rulers and the ruled.¹⁰

The differences in the U.S. acquisition of the Philippines and Guam might have foreshadowed the separate paths in the twentieth century. The *illustrados* in the Philippines drove violently towards independence, while Guam acquiesced to their new colonial masters. While the Philippines succeeded to become an independent nation after World War II, Guam remains a territory of the United States today.

Under this new American colonial government, Guam and the Philippines experienced a new form of imperialism. Often quoted as “benevolent imperialism,” the United States sought to impart civilization through the Americanization of the local populations. This included the inculcation of the English language, the banning of native languages, the ironic Christianization of peoples, as well as the development of sanitation practices and health standards. To an extent, racism played a role in the United States’ inclination towards aiding the civilizing of non-white peoples. According to Paul A. Kramer, “[W]ithin the Euro-American world, imperial powers often rationalized their conquest by linking national destinies to broader, shared Pan-European racial solidarities.”¹¹ The “White Man’s Burden” of Anglo-Americans necessitated that they aid the “half devil and half child” peoples of Guam and the Philippines.¹² Imported notions of race and ideologies of civilization played a crucial role in American involvement in Guam and the Philippines well into the 20th century.

Rise of Philippine Nationalism and Guamanian-American Identity

In the Philippines, the *illustrados* developed the beginnings of Filipino nationalism in the last decade of the 19th century. Under the leadership of President Emilio Aguinaldo and the legacy of recently deceased Jose Rizal, the *illustrado* class challenged the authority of both the Spanish

10 Penelope Bordallo Hofshneider, *A Campaign for Political Rights on the Island of Guam 1899-1950* (Saipan: Commonwealth of Northern Mariana Islands Division of Historic Preservation, 2001), 51.

11 Paul A. Kramer, *The Blood of Government: Race, Empire, the United States, and the Philippines* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 13.

12 Rudyard Kipling, “The White Man’s Burden,” from *Modern History Sourcebook: Rudyard Kipling, The White Man’s Burden, 1899*, accessed 5 April, 2016, <http://legacy.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/kipling.asp>.

and American governments. Pleading for the right to self-govern, these leaders instigated armed revolt against both governments. Interestingly, the U.S. government exiled many of the leaders of the Philippine Revolution to Guam, including Apolinario Mabini.¹³ Guam was home, for a few years at least, to the most powerful leaders in the Philippine resistance against U.S. empire. Anti-imperialist nationalism characterized the Filipino identity during the revolution, while American nationalism pervaded Chamorro identity.

After the annexation in 1898, the US Navy instituted the Naval Government of Guam which had ultimate control of the island. Despite nine petitions over almost 40 years, urging the U.S. government to define the political status of Guam, the United States chose to ignore the undefined political status of the Chamorro people.¹⁴ In 1937, Baltazar “B.J.” Bordallo, a Chamorro-American businessman, pleaded before U.S. Congress to grant U.S. citizenship to the residents of Guam. He wanted United States citizenship for Chamorro people, believing that doing so would require the United States to respect the civil rights of the Chamorro people. Independence was not the goal, but rather a delineation of rights that could protect Chamorro interests on Guam. Bordallo argued,

It is my opinion that if this country is not contemplating giving independence to the people of Guam, which they emphatically do not desire, that extending them full citizenship rights will not only bring about the fulfillment of our aspirations to become citizens but will also cement firmly and permanently our internal relations with the mother country.¹⁵

Unlike their Filipino counterparts, the Chamorro elite wanted to strengthen their relationship with the United States. Perhaps seeing the benefits of American citizenship under the Naval Government, Chamorros wanted integration into the United States.

The differences between Chamorro and Filipino reactions towards the United States empire demonstrates the divergence between their countries’ relationships with the United States in the 20th century. Guam would not have its own self-determination movement until much later and even then the movements were smaller in scope and more conservative in reality. Chamorros sought to create a distinct identity from Filipinos and continued to fight for the preservation of their culture through patriotic displays of American loyalty. By contrasting themselves to Filipinos, Chamorros resisted the U.S. imagined homogeneity of its Pacific annexations.

13 Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, 124.

14 Hofshneider, *A Campaign for Political Rights on the Island of Guam*.

15 U.S. Congress, Representatives, Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs, *Citizenship for Residents of Guam*, 75th Cong., 1st sess., 1937, 9.

Sibling Rivalry: Chamorro and Filipino Reactions to American Empire

In 1926, leaders in the Philippine Legislature proposed a bill to the U.S. government requesting to consolidate Guam and the Philippines. For Chamorros on Guam, such a move permanently undermined the legitimate cultural differences between Chamorros and Filipinos. In November of the same year, the *Guam Recorder*, Guam's Navy-sponsored newspaper, published the Guam Congress's resolution to such appeals. The Guam Congress, a Navy Governor-appointed advisory board of Chamorro leaders, requested that the U.S. President and Congress take "no action tending to the transfer of the Island of Guam from the government and protection of the United States."¹⁶ Some Filipino and American government officials believed that the similar race and colonial legacy of Guam and the Philippines justified the proposal that Guam be annexed by the Philippines.¹⁷ Disregarding the Chamorro identity, the Philippine Government and the U.S. consideration of such action demonstrates the simplified notions of the differences in identity of the Pacific territories. This is an extension of the racial ideologies promoted by the U.S. government in which all non-white peoples fell into the same "uncivilized" category.

The Chamorro people vehemently opposed the resolution. The Guam Congress wrote, "whereas, the Chamorro may have in ages past been of the same race as the Filipino, they have been so long apart that they are now so widely separated in thought, language, and customs, etc., that there is little in common between the two peoples."¹⁸ Furthermore, Veronica San Agustin, an essay contestant, argued that "it is true that the Chamorros are racially connected with this people [Filipinos], but their habits, language, interests and ways of thinking are far apart."¹⁹ While the Philippines and the U.S. supposed that Guam was similar enough to call for annexation, Chamorros thought of and articulated themselves as different from Filipinos. Furthermore, they proposed a closer relationship with the United States, frequently seeking American citizenship for Guam residents. In some ways, the shaping of the Chamorro-American identity formed through the comparison to that of the Filipino identity.

An essay contest sponsored by the *Guam Recorder* in 1926 reflects the formation of this hybrid type of Guamanian-American nationalism. Participants responded the question "Shall the Island of Guam Be Ceded to the Philippine Government?" Overwhelmingly and unsurprisingly, the answer was "no." Agueda Iglesias, who received first prize for her essay, wrote "this resolution was made without the knowledge or consent of the inhabitants of Guam who had never been

¹⁶ Guam Congress, "Appeal Against Annexation," in *Guam Recorder* (November 1926), 209.

¹⁷ "Cession of Island of Guam to the Philippines," *New York Times*, September 17, 1926.

¹⁸ Guam Congress, "Appeal Against Annexation," 209.

¹⁹ Veronica S. San Agustin, "Annexation of Guam to the Philippines," in *Guam Recorder*, November 1926, 231.

consulted as to their wishes in the matter.”²⁰ She argued that the Philippine Legislature’s disregard for the voices of Chamorros on Guam foreshadowed the subjugation of the Chamorro people under the Philippine flag. For her, self-determination for the Chamorro people is not accomplished through the Philippine annexation of Guam. She wrote that “it is a safe assertion to state that a very large majority of the natives on Guam had rather retain their present status [nationless] than to become citizens of the Philippine Government.”²¹ Incorporation into the Philippine government, especially with their desire to become independent, was beyond what Guamanians were willing to do to attain a political status.

The Chamorros on Guam believed that their loyalty to the United States contrasted the Filipinos’ desire for independence. The Guam Congress resolution states that “the people of Guam have been peaceful and law-abiding citizens since the American occupation in 1899, and have not given the slightest sign of rebellion, insurrection, or trouble.”²² Referring to the Philippine “Insurrection,” the Guamanian leaders wanted to distance themselves from the United States’ rebel colony. The Guam Congress emphasized their loyalty, writing that they “have formed the strongest ties of love to the American flag” and that “the people of Guam are perfectly satisfied with the present form of government.”²³ Iglesias wrote in her essay that “the Chamorro people have a deep seated feeling of loyalty and affection for the United States and they heartily wish to see no other flag than the Stars and Stripes fly over their Island Home.”²⁴ Although under the same colonial power, the Filipino and Guamanian elite had different perspectives of their potential relationships with the United States. Filipinos fought for the formation of the independent Philippines, while Guamanians sought further incorporation into the American body politic.

Another contestant, Veronica S. San Agustin, argued that Guam’s successful Americanization proved that Guam is better under the United States’ government rather than that of the Philippines. She emphasized Guam’s loyalty, writing “the American Flag, the symbol of liberty, equality, justice, and opportunity, is highly respected and deeply loved by all the Chamorros in this Island.”²⁵ Like Iglesias, San Agustin compared the Philippines’s resistance to Guam’s assimilation, a demonstration of the development of a Chamorro-American identity. San Agustin wrote further, Guam “having no uprising nor the least disturbance made by the people toward the government since the American administration of the island, is a positive evidence of the wise and good man-

20 Agueda Iglesias, “Shall the Island of Guam Be Ceded to the Philippine Government?,” in *Guam Recorder*, November 1926, 210.

21 Iglesias, “Shall the Island of Guam Be Ceded to the Philippine Government,” 210.

22 Guam Congress, “Appeal Against Annexation,” in *Guam Recorder* (November 1926), 209.

23 *Ibid.*, 209.

24 Iglesias, “Shall the Island of Guam Be Ceded to the Philippine Government,” 231.

25 San Agustin, “Annexation of Guam to the Philippines,” 232.

agement of the American people.”²⁶ The American government on Guam successfully acculturated the Chamorro people. Whether or not this was forced, what matters is that Chamorros, from the beginning of America’s rule, saw themselves as loyal to the American government.

Chamorro loyalty exceeded political affiliation. Guam and many Chamorros became symbols of the United States’ successful benevolent empire. The island’s infrastructure progressed “along the lines of sanitation, agriculture, roads, communications lighting, education,” which prompted many Chamorros to believe American governance was much better than any other option. Iglesias wrote that “under the American government conditions have been improved fully 100%. The standard of living is much higher and the natives are happier and more prosperous.”²⁷ The Chamorro people, accustomed to neglect by the Spanish government, embraced the benefits of U.S. “civilization” brought to Guam. Through the advancements in Guam’s infrastructure, the Chamorros political affiliation and loyalty swayed in the direction of the United States.

American culture, however, played a more important role.²⁸ As a result of the mandatory Naval education, Chamorros were “Americanized in dress, language, habits and waves of living,” and willing “to live and die gloriously under the American Government.”²⁹ Chamorro children learned English, home economics, and agricultural skills in public schools.³⁰ Along with the practical skills, Chamorro children had civic lessons, learning American history and rhetoric. Iglesias, herself, received a foundational education under Guam’s Naval government and earned a degree at the American Correspondence School in Chicago, Illinois.³¹ Citing the “Star Spangled Banner,” San Agustin raved about the American presence on Guam and hoped that more Chamorros solidified their allegiance. Chamorro families desired to adapt to American culture, unlike Filipinos who resisted Americanization. Guam Chamorros’ willingness to assimilate into American culture justified keeping Guam within the United States and further realized a Chamorro-American nationalism that continued into the 1970s and 1980s.

The Philippine Organic Act in 1902 allowed the United States to continue its oversight over the archipelago nation, while also developing a form of Filipino self-government. Guamanians, not isolated from world events, viewed such progress as a disadvantage to the developing nation. Noting these developments, Iglesias and San Agustin argued against the Philippine annexation of

26 *Ibid.*, 232.

27 Iglesias, “Shall the Island of Guam Be Ceded to the Philippine Government,” 211, 231.

28 San Agustin, “Annexation of Guam to the Philippines,” 231-32.

29 *Ibid.*, 232.

30 Rogers, *Destiny’s Landfall*, 134.

31 Patrick Long Diego and Jillette Leon-Guerrero, “Agueda Iglesias Johnston,” *Guampedia.com*, Accessed February 14, 2016, <http://www.guampedia.com/aguada-iglesias-johnston/>.

Guam. Iglesias lambasted the Philippine government, calling it “immature and inexperienced.”³² In another essay contest titled “Should the Philippine Islands be Granted Independence?” Iglesias wrote “the large majority of the people [Filipinos] know nothing whatsoever of democratic institutions nor of the responsibilities of government. They are... illiterate and have no conception of the outside world nor of the position the Philippine Islands would have to assume, if granted independence.”³³ Further, the Filipinos inability to completely understand democracy contrasted Guamanians willingness to ascribe to American values. Iglesias’s opinion is very much in line with that of the *New York Times*, which wrote that Filipino exiles should take a pilgrimage to the United States, where “after they had undergone a ‘campaign of education’ for six months, safely return them to Luzon as American missionaries.”³⁴ In the general Guamanian and American perspective, Filipinos did not understand the advantages of American rule and democracy, and sought to uphold the “backward” nature of the Spanish colonial rule in the Philippines. Iglesias thought that such resistance to Americanization was unacceptable, and sought to build upon a Chamorro-American identity contrary to the disloyal Philippines.

The first few decades of American rule in the Philippines and Guam charted different paths in their relationships with the United States. Because Philippine opposition to empire began prior to the U.S. annexation, Filipino *illustrados* had begun to form their ideal nationalism, separate from any hegemonic power. For Guam, the situation was opposite. With the benefits of the U.S. benevolent empire, Chamorros felt loyalty to the Americans who supplied them with access to infrastructure and education. This loyalty, however, was challenged once the U.S. took advantage of the hospitable Chamorros in the aftermath of World War II.

Filipino Immigration in the Post World War II Era

World War II shifted the United States’ involvement in the Pacific to one of hegemonic authority. According to Rogers, “the geopolitics of the Pacific were thus transformed [...] in which Guam was a lonely American outpost surrounded by hostile Japanese islands, to one in which Guam was the center of an American dominated lake that encompassed the entire western Pacific Ocean.”³⁵ With the U.S. occupation of Japan and rising Cold War tensions, the U.S. sought to build a larger military presence in the Pacific. The United States invested millions of dollars into the construction of an air force base and a naval base on Guam. In order to accomplish the task,

32 Iglesias, “Shall the Island of Guam Be Ceded to the Philippine Government,” 231.

33 Agueda Iglesias, “Should the Philippine Islands Be Granted Independence,” *Guam Recorder*, December 1926, 238.

34 “Filipinos in Exile,” *New York Times*, January 11, 1901.

35 Rogers, *Destiny’s Landfall*, 207.

however, the U.S. needed to recruit foreign laborers because Guam's small and unskilled population could not meet the demands of such a rapid and extensive project. "[I]f Chamorros lacked the 'characteristics' and 'skills' necessary for skilled labor, this was not due to their being lazy or incompetent."³⁶ The naval education of Chamorros prior to World War II did not prepare students for the manual labor needed to rebuild the island, teaching instead "elementary English language, health and sanitation, citizenship training, and vocational training in unskilled work."³⁷ The naval education on Guam was thus ineffective in aiding Chamorro self-sufficiency in the modern world, and the United States had to look elsewhere for help.

Because of its proximity and special relationship with the United States, the U.S. military looked towards the newly independent Philippines for unskilled and skilled laborers. The massive population provided an ample population of electricians, engineers, and mechanics who could travel to work on Guam. In 1947, the U.S. and the Philippines agreed that the U.S. would recruit skilled Filipino laborers for military purposes on Guam.³⁸ LUSTEVECO, shortened for Luzon Stevedoring Company, was the primary military contractor on the island, and Brown-Pacific-Maxon (BPM) was the other U.S. continent based corporation. Each contributed to the growth of Filipino laborers on Guam, with BPM also hiring white Americans. However, employment on Guam was not benevolent. As stated by Flores, Guam's military buildup "was predicated on a hierarchical labor system that exploited Filipinos based on their race and nationality while marginalizing Chamorros and privileging white Americans."³⁹ Suggesting that LUSTEVECO as an agent of imperialism itself, Flores also argues that "acquisition of US military contracts was a result of a historical legacy that directly linked American colonial interests in the Pacific."⁴⁰ The company, owned and operated by American veterans, instilled a racialized understanding of the peoples in the Pacific, and transferred those ideologies to their business practices as well. LUSTEVECO became an agent for United States settler-colonialism also bringing racial ideologies to Guam. Along with Filipino immigration, LUSTEVECO relationship with the U.S. Navy strengthened American empire not only geopolitically in the Pacific, but also culturally on Guam.

Because Filipino laborers were employed by the U.S. Navy, certain federal immigration laws did not apply to them including the need for Philippine passports or U.S. visas.⁴¹ The relaxed laws made it easier for thousands of Filipinos to immigrate to Guam, creating "huge camps, towns

36 Alfred Peredo Flores, "No Walk in the Park," 815.

37 *Ibid.*, 815.

38 *Ibid.*, 817-818.

39 *Ibid.*, 830-831.

40 *Ibid.*, 818.

41 Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, 218.

in fact, [that] were constructed to house these men and the few Filipinas among them.”⁴² Camp Roxas was the largest of these towns, which was exclusively Filipino. While the separation of Filipinos from the rest of Guam’s population allowed for the continuation of Filipino culture within the camps, the segregation of Chamorros, Filipinos, and Americans within the tiny island of Guam intensified racialized ideologies. The companies housed immigrant workers in camps separated by race and ethnicity and from the local population. According to Flores, racial segregation of company camps was akin to “Jim Crowe prejudices and sensibilities,” and further emphasized “the racial logic of white supremacy.”⁴³ Undoubtedly, the immigration of Filipino laborers together with racist business practices reshaped the cultural dynamics on the island.

Racialized pay scales reinforced the hierarchal society. According to Flores, pay scales “transplanted a system of white male patriarchy that gave authority to white American men over Chamorros, Filipinos, and white American women.”⁴⁴ While white men sat at the top of the hierarchy, Chamorros and Filipinos battled for more power at the bottom. The Jim Crowe system clashed with the Chamorro notion of cultural and political power on the island. These racialized notions reinforced stereotypes that did not particularly exist prior to U.S. rule as it asserted a new hierarchal method of viewing Chamorro-Filipino relationships. Filipinos and Chamorros intermarried and integrated during Spanish rule.⁴⁵ The introduction of a hierarchal racial system systemized and institutionalized American race relations on the island. Filipinos, although an educated class, received the lowest pay for their work, with Chamorro workers earning more.⁴⁶ While the U.S. government wanted to protect local Guamanian workers, Filipino laborers expressed dissatisfaction with their lower wages, which incited tensions between the two groups: “[T]he general welfare of contract laborers was of primary concern, especially since laborers were on a different wage scale (\$0.31/hr compared to \$1.00/hr for local resident labor).”⁴⁷ Furthermore, the system implied that white Americans were superior to the original inhabitants of Guam, further threatening the Chamorro people on their island.

The building of the military bases also meant the U.S. acquisition of Chamorro ancestral land. Filipino laborers played a crucial part in the beginning of a true native dispossession of land on Guam. Rogers writes that “by late 1944, in addition to land taken for U.S. military bases, 15,000 acres of the best farmland on Guam were appropriated to grow produce and raise livestock

42 *Ibid.*, 218.

43 Flores, “No Walk in the Park,” 824.

44 *Ibid.*, 822.

45 Laurel Monnig, “Proving Chamorro,” 354.

46 Bruce L. Campbell, “The Filipino Community of Guam, 1945-1975” (M.A. Thesis, University of Guam, 1987), 33.

47 *Ibid.*, 42.

and poultry for military consumption.”⁴⁸ Some of the most powerful Chamorro landowners lost property during the war by the Japanese occupation and after the war by the Americans, for which they never received fair compensations. Moreover, while some Chamorros “sold or leased land to the military out of patriotism” others “began to object, and took their cases to court” because of the inadequate compensation rate.⁴⁹ The U.S. Naval Government thought the development of Guam as a military base necessitated the mass land acquisition. Ironically, however, the land often remained “unused for decades.”⁵⁰

The Naval government’s indiscriminate land acquisition further sped up the rapid cultural changes on Guam. Chamorros, no longer connected their land, adapted to American forms of income, but at a slow rate. According to Leland Bettis, a leader in Guam’s Commission for Self-Determination in the 1990s, “the land-takings, which severely hampered the Chamorros’ traditional agricultural economy, allowed for the imposition of an American ‘money economy’.”⁵¹ The land acquisition itself changed the way Chamorros earned income, transforming their culture within a very few years. Furthermore, because Chamorros did not have skilled education due to the type of Naval government education prior to the war, the American ‘money economy’ hampered their prospects for economic success. Paired together with Filipino immigration, which increased competition for jobs, the loss of land for Chamorro people propelled a whirlwind of change that limited their economic power in the future decades.

When the Organic Act passed in the 1950, which gave Guamanians American citizenship and labeled Guam as an U.S. unincorporated territory, the U.S. military had already acquired “42% of Guam’s land by right of eminent domain.”⁵² Although Guamanians received the protection of the American citizenship, they had to give up crucial areas of land for military purposes. The militarization of the island affected local economic development, as the island’s businesses catered to the military rather than to the local industry. It is debated today if the demilitarization of the island would devastate Guam’s economy. The dependence on the military for income, although not directly connected to Filipino immigration, demonstrates how the United States’ involvement in Guam also has its negative effects on the Guamanian local economy.

The Filipino laborers were supposed to be temporary in status. Despite laws and regulation to prevent them from attaining residency, these Filipino contract laborers stayed on the island due to

48 Rogers, *Destiny’s Landfall*, 215.

49 *Ibid.*, 216.

50 *Ibid.*

51 Leland Bettis, “Colonial Immigration on Guam,” in *Kinalamten Pulitikât: Siñenten I Chamorro: Issues in Guam’s Political Development: The Chamorro Perspective* (Agana, Guam: The Political Status Education Coordinating Commission, 1996), 107.

52 *Ibid.*, 35.

the growth of tourism, increased investments, as well as rebuilding after multiple typhoons, which “spurred on massive economic growth and brought cheap foreign labor and more immigrants to settle among earlier post-World War II immigrants and settlers.”⁵³ Filipino immigration started the wave of Asian settler colonialism on Guam that negatively affected Chamorro people’s access to economy of the island. Settler colonialism, according to Dean Itsuji Saranillio, “describes a historically created system of power that aims to expropriate Indigenous territories and eliminate modes of production in order to replace Indigenous peoples with settlers who are discursively constituted as superior and thus more deserving over these contested lands and resources.”⁵⁴ In the aftermath of WWII, the United States expropriated Chamorro land eliminating the possibility of subsistence economy, while limiting their ability to participate in a cash economy through the importation of skilled and unskilled Filipino laborers. Because of Asian settler colonialism, Chamorros were relegated to a limited role in their economic development on their home island. Furthermore, in their quest for self-determination, Chamorros saw how Filipino immigrants justified United States’ decision to halt self-governance for Chamorro self-governance on Guam.

Destructive Typhoons, Growth of Tourism, and Vietnam War in the 1960s

In November 1962 and April 1963, two massive typhoons, Karen and Olive respectively, hit Guam, destroying the infrastructure of the island, so much so that “within hours after the storm [Karen] ended President Kennedy, who was still coping with the October Cuban missile crisis at the time, declared Guam a major disaster area.”⁵⁵ The rebuilding of the island started almost immediately with support of financial packages from the federal government, such as the Guam Rehabilitation Act. In order to rebuild the island, the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) brought in Filipino laborers on short term contracts. The disaster response raised the number of alien workers once again, which continued to destabilize the Chamorro population on Guam.

The living and working conditions of these Filipino laborers were hardly better than those of the military camps in the Camp Roxas period. Labor unions, comprised mostly of Filipinos, together with the Philippine Government grieved complaints to the Government of Guam as well as the U.S. federal government.⁵⁶ This resulted in the investigation of contract labor companies on Guam, as well as the installation of the Philippine Consulate, charged with overseeing the Filipino

53 Vicente Diaz, “Bye Bye Ms. American Pie: The Historical Relations Between Chamorros and Filipinos and the American Dream,” in *Isla: A Journal of Micronesian Studies* (Rainy Season 1995), 153.

54 Dean Itsuji Saranillio, “Settler Colonialism,” in *Native Studies Keywords*, eds. Stephanie Nohelani Teves, Andrea Smith, Michelle Raheja (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2015), 284.

55 Rogers, *Destiny’s Landfall*, 238.

56 *Ibid.*, 238.

immigrants on the island. With the Philippine Government and U.S. Government controlling and regulating immigration to the island, the local Chamorro people could only cope with the changes around them. Furthermore, Chamorros could not elect their own governor until 1970, a vestige of the Naval government period when the U.S. President appointed military and civilian governors.⁵⁷ Chamorros did not have consent in terms of the U.S.-controlled immigration policies and laws even though these very laws impacted the economic growth of their island. While the local government did have control over what infrastructural projects were completed after the typhoons, the Chamorro people could not affect change in the regulation of immigration which would become a concern in later self-determination movements.

The tourism industry, Guam's only local industry, also needed Filipino laborers to construct hotels and other attractions. In 1962, President Kennedy lifted the security clearance requirement to land on Guam, making it exponentially easier for Americans and foreigners to visit the island. He reasoned that doing so would further "our national policy of promoting self-government and encouraging expanded social and economic development."⁵⁸ A short distance from Asian countries of Japan, China, and Korea, Guam is the closest American tropical soil to visit. Forward-thinking investors built hotels and resorts on the island to make tourism the staple economy. Yet again, the expansion in tourism necessitated a skilled workforce. The same Filipinos who worked for the U.S. military tended to extend their stays and work in the tourism industry, thus prolonging their intended "temporary status" set right after World War II.⁵⁹ Furthermore, high rise hotels on Tumon beach signified new cultural influences on the island as more and more Japanese investors contributed to the island's economic growth.⁶⁰ Catering to Japanese tourists, these hotels would welcome a new wave of transitory foreigners on Guam whose cultural effects are, nonetheless, profound.

The United States' involvement in the Vietnam War also affected Guam considerably. The military bases on the island served as storage facilities for ammunition and other military weapons. Nuclear weapons systems including "long range bombers...; submarine-launched ballistic missiles (SLBMs) under the navy; and intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs)" were stored in massive concentrations.⁶¹ Military technology dotted the island including NASA dishes for satellites and electronic intelligence-gathering installations. Militarization of the island continued to

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 242.

⁵⁸ John F. Kennedy: "Statement by the President Upon Signing Order Removing Restriction on Entry Into Guam and the Pacific Islands Trust Territory," August 23, 1962. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project*. <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=8828>.

⁵⁹ Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, 251.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 247.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 241.

increase with the escalating tensions between the United States and the USSR during the Cold War. The reduction of Filipino laborers could not happen as long as militarization continued to rise.

Filipino laborers have become a permanent fixture in the islands' cultural and economic spheres. The rapid increase in population did not go unnoticed by the Chamorro population. The presence of Filipinos in their economic power threatened Chamorros' ability to assert political dominance on their island. Chamorros began to articulate their fears Chamorro culture's extinction in the late 1960s, which grew to become the self-determination movements in the 1970s and 1980s. According to Vicente Diaz, the migration of Filipinos shortly after WWII was the first of many immigration waves that contributed to "the fear of Chamorro cultural extinction" which articulated itself locally through indigenous rights movements in the 1970s and 1980s.⁶² The post-WWII Filipino immigration abruptly started new cultural dynamics on the island. In reaction to these changes, Chamorro leaders attempted to assert control over immigration which they saw was detrimental to the preservation of Chamorro culture.

A Constitution and a Commonwealth

The culmination of Spanish and American empire, Filipino immigration, and rapid economic and demographic changes came to a head in the 1970s and 1980s. The Chamorro people protested the inability to control the forces that were dramatically changing their island. The Constitution Movement of the 1970s and the Commonwealth Movement of the 1980s represented the articulation of the Chamorro people for their rights for self-determination. According to Diaz, "the movement for commonwealth status...becomes articulated in the late twentieth century in light of economic development and constraints and the threats to the environment, but especially the rapidly expanding presence and encroachment of non-Chamorros led by Filipinos." This resulted in "the fear of the marginalization and displacement of Chamorros in their own island."⁶³ The political productions of these movements point towards a subtle antagonism of the Filipino and immigrant population on Guam. Rather than directing anger towards the United States' unwillingness to grant more rights, some Chamorro leaders suggested that the Filipino people were an obstacle to Chamorro self-determination. Rhetoric against immigration and the purity of Chamorro people created a Chamorro nationalist sentiment prevalent within the movements.

In 1968, Richard F. Taitano, a senator in the Ninth Guam Legislature, proposed a bill to create a Constitutional Convention (ConCon). The convention was charged with creating a Guam

62 Diaz, "Bye Bye Ms. American Pie," 153.

63 *Ibid.*, 154.

Constitution that would allow the Chamorro people to play a larger role in governing their island.

The bill writes that

certain provisions [of the Organic Act] are either outdated, inappropriate, or unenforceable such as the privileged position in territorial employment given to those of Guamanian ancestry, the never enforced requirement that the United States pay transportation costs of off-island territorial employees, and the narrow and hampering restrictions on bonded indebtedness of the territorial government.⁶⁴

All of these elements shows the systematic inability of Chamorro people to create and effect change during the U.S. militarization of the island. The issue of immigration played only a small role in the movement. Between 1950 and 1968, the Organic Act stipulated that Chamorros would have preference in government jobs. However, in 1968, the Elected Governors' Act removed this stipulation, thereby threatening Chamorros' positions within government bureaucracy. In response to the demographic changes on Guam, the U.S. government thought it un-American to prioritize one racial group over another.

The Chamorro people found it necessary to assert some power during a time when decisions were out of their hands. The Convention would represent "all the people of Guam" so that the "Congress of the United States can be advised in detail under a mandate from the people of Guam themselves as to what changes should be made to Guam's territorial constitution, its Organic Act."⁶⁵ The Convention did not attempt to change the political status of Guam, but rather to make improvements that allowed Chamorros to participate in government. The changes in the post-World War II period awakened the voices of the Chamorro people who were loyal and tolerant enough of the United States actions in their home island.

While the Constitution Convention began as a fairly conservative movement to improve the political status of Guam, more and more Chamorro leaders saw the convention as a way to question the political status of the island. The second Constitutional Convention, created in 1975, attempted to "address all the elements of Guam's relationship with the United States and resolve all the issues of self-government."⁶⁶ Chamorro leaders plead for more self-governance a challenge to the U.S.'s full control over immigration and militarization that marginalized the Chamorro peo-

64 Guam Legislature, "An Act to add Chapter 3 to Title XVI of the Government code of Guam to authorize a Constitutional Convention for the purpose of reviewing and making recommendations on proposed modifications to the Organic Act of Guam, to authorize an appropriation for such Convention, and for other Purposes," 2nd Sess., 1968, 3.

65 Guam Legislature, "An Act to add Chapter 3 to Title XVI," 2-3.

66 Joseph F. Ada, "The Quest for Commonwealth. The Quest for Change," in *Issues in Guam's Political Development: The Chamorro Perspective*, (Agaña: Political Status Education Coordinating Commission, 1996), 129.

ple in during Guam's economic development. After almost a decade of proceedings and meetings, the Conventions completed a draft of the Guam Constitution.

Ricardo Bordallo presented the final draft of the Guam Constitution to Congress for approval in 1977.⁶⁷ For the most part, the Constitution addressed Guam's relationship to the United States and Guamanians participation in the relationship. Interestingly, however, the Constitution emphasized the preservation of Chamorro culture, with articles specific to "Natural Resources" and "Chamorro Culture." The Constitution reads:

The environment of Guam shall be conserved and managed to preserve scenic beauty, to guarantee clean air and pure water, to reserve for recreation adequate public lands, waters and other natural resources, and to encourage the development and improvement of agricultural lands.⁶⁸

Clearly, a response to the military's land grabs after World War II and the infrastructural changes on the island, the Chamorro leaders wanted to forestall the indiscriminate development of the island. In addition, a Chamorro culture commission shall ensure that "the evolutionary development of the Chamorro culture may not be abridged and no law may discontinue the Chamorro language, traditions, customs or other cultural components of Guam."⁶⁹ The inclusion of these issues within the Constitution demonstrates how these Chamorro leaders recognized the environmental and cultural changes brought upon by the U.S. militarization of Guam. The Chamorro leaders sought to assert via politics and law their place within the development of the island.

The Constitution conferred some preference for Chamorros over other racial groups. In opposition to the Constitution, Gregorio S. Perez, the President of the Guam Chamber of Commerce, testified before US Congress during the Guam Constitution congressional hearings in 1977. He opposed the Chamorro-centered Constitution stating that the article which preserved Chamorro culture "contains provisions which may not be in the very best interest of our island's society as a whole." He reasoned that "Our present community is made up of diverse ethnic and cultural groups. Chamorros, Japanese, Chinese, Philipinos [*sic*], Europeans, white and black Americans who now call Guam home."⁷⁰ While some Chamorro leaders believed that the Constitution should protect the rights of Chamorro people, other Chamorro leaders believed that doing so would thwart

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 148.

⁶⁸ Constitutional Convention. *Draft Constitution of Guam*. Richard F. Taitano Micronesia Area Research Center. (Mangilao, Guam: University of Guam, 1977), 29.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 33.

⁷⁰ U.S. Congress., Senate, Committee on Energy and Natural Resources, *Constitution of Guam: Hearings before the committee on Energy and Natural Resources*, 95th Cong. 2nd sess., May 22, 1978, 67-68.

economic progress for other immigrants. Clearly, the Chamorro people were split over how to encourage the economic development of the island without threatening the Chamorro culture. Nevertheless, immigration and the infiltration of other cultures became a target of Chamorro self-determination and self-governance movement in the 1970s.

U.S. Congress did not approve the Guam Constitution due to opposition from Guam's local government, indigenous rights groups (PARA-PADA and Organization of People for Indigenous Rights), as well as federal disagreement with the stipulations within the Constitution.⁷¹ However, this did not deter Chamorro leaders from attempting to change the political status of Guam. In 1980, very shortly after the federal disapproval of the Constitution, the Guam Legislature founded the Commission on Self-Determination with the purpose to "ascertain the will of the people of Guam and to thereafter represent them in manifesting such will to the Congress and to the government of the United States."⁷² A way to emphasize the self-determination of the Chamorro people, the commission moved more radically towards Chamorro self-governance of Guam.

The question of who should be able to vote in the plebiscites and referendums held by the Commission on Self-Determination was highly contested, and may have caused a rift between the Filipino and Chamorro communities on Guam. Indigenous rights groups, especially Organization of People for Indigenous Rights (OPI-R), argued that only Chamorro people should be able to determine the political status of Guam because they had not exercised indigenous self-determination. As Hope Cristobal Alvarez, a lead member of OPI-R, wrote, "it is illogical and unfair to allow them [immigrant citizens from the U.S.] to move to Guam and participate in Guam's self-determination because the Chamorro people have yet to exercise their own self-determination."⁷³ In this reasoning, even if a non-Chamorro was born and raised on Guam, he or she could not participate in self-determination exercises. For non-Chamorros living on Guam, such an idea seemed threatening to their American civil rights. By this time, the Chamorro population dwindled to only 43 percent of Guam's population, down from 91 percent in 1940.⁷⁴ According to Rogers, "Guamanians of Chamorro descent had slipped from a majority to a plurality of the island's inhabitants" which propelled some activists to believe that "American pluralism perpetuates what they

71 Ada, "The Quest for Commonwealth," 150; Jimmy Carter: "Territory of Guam Message to the Congress Transmitting the Territory's Proposed Constitution.," April 28, 1978, Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, The American Presidency Project. <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=30719>

72 Guam Legislature, "An Act to Create the commission on Self-Determination for the People of Guam and Appropriate the Sum of One Hundred Fifty Thousand Dollars (\$150,000.00) to Carry out the Activities of the Commission," 3.

73 Hope Cristobal Alvarez, "The Organization Of People For Indigenous Rights: A Commitment Towards Self-Determination," in *Chamorro Self-Determination* ed. Robert Underwood and Laura Torres Souder (Mangilao: University of Guam Micronesia Area Research Center, 1987), 82.

74 Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, 273.

perceive as the cultural and political victimization of Chamorros on Guam.”⁷⁵ Indigenous rights leaders saw immigration as a threat to the Chamorro population and sought to protect the rights of the Chamorro people by excluding Filipino-Guamanians in the self-determination vote.

The Chamorro people were no longer a majority in the population of Guam. Consequently, many other racial groups believed that they were discriminated against. According to Rogers, “Many statesiders (residents of Guam born in the states, usually Caucasians), Filipinos, and older Guamanians on Guam disapprove of the Chamorro activists, believing them to be anti-American radicals of the Left.”⁷⁶ This led to a large opposition during a 1982 plebiscite, which attempted to determine which political status Guamanians desired. Ada wrote that “on one side were Chamorro activist groups who stood firm on the position that the right to ‘self-determination’ and Guam’s political status belonged only to the Chamorro people. On the other side were vocal non-Chamorro U.S. citizens [...] who stood equally firm about preserving and protecting their own rights.”⁷⁷ The question of who should be allowed to vote for self-determination pitted Chamorros and Filipino-Guamanians against each other. Diaz argues, however, that “Filipinos [...] are not innocent bystanders [...]. Many Filipinos look down on Chamorros as not as culturally rich as people in their mother country.”⁷⁸ The antagonism flowed in both directions, and Chamorros were not the only one to hold racialized ideologies of the other. The results of the plebiscite would impact the entire island. Filipinos had just as much economic interest on the island as Chamorros had cultural stakes.

The voting issue was only one example of the tension between Chamorros and Filipinos during this crucial time of Guam’s political development. An educational campaign led by the Political Status Coordinating Commission published a series of essays titled “Chamorro Self-Determination” which emphasized the importance of these movements. Robert Underwood, a key member of OPI-R, wrote an essay titled “Immigration and Guam’s Future,” in which he argued that Guamanian control over immigration is essential to the preservation of Chamorro culture. His sentiments are easily summed up in one of his paragraphs.

Guam today is an island society comprised of diverse ethnic elements which draws its strength from Asian, American, and indigenous Chamorro sources. The Chamorro people still constitute the largest group and generally still control the political structure of the Government of Guam. However, based on the rate of

75 *Ibid.*, 273.

76 Robert Rogers, “Guam’s Quest for Political Identity,” *Pacific Studies*, Vol 12, No.1 (November 1988), 58.

77 Ada, “The Quest for Commonwealth,” 158.

78 Diaz, “Bye Bye American Pie,” 155.

Chamorro out-migration and Asian (especially Filipino) in-migration during the past three decades, this will no longer be the case in the 21st century.⁷⁹

For Underwood, Filipino immigration in the post-WWII era was partly responsible for the decay of Chamorro power on Guam. Although not directly attacking Filipinos, Underwood criticizes the tools and methods in which immigration brought about change. According to Monnig, “Chamorro attempts to problematize the nature of immigration on Guam revealed how discourses of colonialism and race were at the same time reshaping narratives about identity and belonging to Guam.”⁸⁰ With Filipinos also staking a claim to their political rights on Guam, Chamorros sought to assert their place and identity within Guam’s rapidly changing society. Chamorro identity was in opposition to Filipino immigration.

Leland Bettis was perhaps the most avid proponent of local control over immigration. In an essay “Colonial Immigration on Guam,” Bettis argued that the United States-sponsored immigration on Guam was a form of settler colonialism. Bettis targeted the rise in the Filipino population, rather than the white Americans or military population on the island. He also argued that “if immigrants are allowed into non-self-governing territories [Guam’s political status under the Organic Act], they many eventually outnumber and supplant the native people, especially if they too expect and demand entitlements which rightfully only belong to the colonized natives.”⁸¹ Bettis’s ideas reflects the fear of immigration and the effects on the power and self-governance of the Chamorro people. Furthermore, Monnig notes that “if Filipinos could gain a majority on Guam, Chamorros would lose control in the legislature which, as Ron Teehan said, is ‘the last stronghold of Chamorros,’ and thereby, their leverage on power dynamics on the island.”⁸² Filipino immigration was seen as a form of settler-colonialism which threatened the power of the local indigenous peoples. The movement for Commonwealth of Guam exacerbated the tensions between Filipinos and Chamorros.

The politics of the island demonstrated how the effects of Filipino immigration placed pressure on Chamorro leaders. However, this tension was also felt in the community. Vicente Diaz, in his article “Bye Bye Ms. American Pie: The Historical Relationships between Chamorro and Filipinos and the American Dream,” noted how “the confrontation, occurring largely since the end of the war but especially in the last two decades (1970s and 1980s) and certainly throughout

79 Robert Underwood, “Immigration and Guam’s Future,” *Chamorro Self-Determination*, (Mangilao: University of Guam, 1987), 59.

80 Laurel Anne Monnig, “‘Proving Chamorro’: Indigenous Narratives of Race, Identity, and Decolonization on Guam” (Ph.D diss., University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign, 2007), 334.

81 Leland Bettis, “Colonial Immigration on Guam,” 111.

82 Monnig, “‘Proving Chamorro,’” 365.

earlier periods of documented history, often results in subtle or open hostility and violence.”⁸³ He wrote about his experiences growing up as a Filipino-Pohnpeian student in the public school system, and how he witnessed violence between Filipinos and Chamorros. A matter of pride, he argues, this violence was misdirected as it forgets the impact of American colonialism in both the Philippines and Guam. Diaz argues that it is “an ongoing American colonial history that has orchestrated relations and growth in Guam, a troubled legacy that has unfortunately and unwittingly pitted indigenous Chamorro against non-Chamorro residents.”⁸⁴ The violence is a symptom of the American colonial legacy on Guam, in which Filipinos and Chamorros must deal with their trouble histories in the present.

In 1989, after years of plebiscites, debates, conventions, and educational campaigns, the final draft of the Guam Commonwealth Act was presented to the United States government. One vital section specifically dealt with the Government of Guam’s inability to control immigration. The Commonwealth of Guam would “have the authority to control entry of all aliens [...] to include the admission, exclusion, and expulsion of such aliens.”⁸⁵ The Chamorro leaders, seeing the impact of the U.S.-sponsored immigration of Filipinos and the influx of foreign investors, wanted to control the number of people who lived on the island. In the explanatory “legislative history” that follows each section of the working draft, Guamanian control over immigration was necessary because “continuous and mounting immigration from Asian countries under the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization law has imposed hardships on the people of the island, and could submerge their Chamorro identity under an outside majority within a few decades.”⁸⁶ The inclusion demonstrates Filipino and other immigrants threatened the existence of Chamorro economic and political power.

The Guam Commonwealth of the 1980s did not succeed despite the many compromises and Congressional testimonies. Despite over 80 testimonies that advocated for approval of the Guam Commonwealth, Stella Guerra, the one voice from the federal government, was perhaps the most influential in Congress’s decision to deny the passage of the Act. Federal and international laws prevented the Commonwealth Act from being a viable political status option. Further, in terms of Chamorro-only self-determination, Guerra argued “such a limitation would violate the express language of the Fifteenth Amendment. It would also violate the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, by impinging in a racially motivated manner, on the fundamental

83 Diaz, “Bye Bye Ms. American Pie,” 155.

84 *Ibid.*, 155.

85 Commission on Self-Determination, “Working Draft for Final Revisions,” 29.

86 *Ibid.*, 30.

right to vote.⁸⁷ In light of this, Chamorro-only self-determination would never be fulfilled under the jurisdiction of the United States Constitution. The non-Chamorro populations on Guam proved too large for the United States to ignore their existence. The disapproval of the Act is an official demonstration of how American settler colonialism via Filipinos on Guam limited the self-determination of the indigenous Chamorro people.

The Constitution and Commonwealth movements highlighted the tensions between Chamorros and Filipinos, especially over the who could decide Guam's political and economic development. Filipinos and other immigrants became a more permanent fixture in the Guamanian demographics, while Chamorros struggled to retain their power on the island. The U.S.-facilitated militarization, Japanese-invested tourism, and Filipino labor changed the structure of island culture and political power. Foreigners continue to gain more power over the Chamorros people's island of Guam.

Tensions Today

Joseph Jesus's attack on the Apolinario Mabini Statue in The War in the Pacific National Historical Park in Asan in early 2015 is a reflection of over a century of problematic historical relationships between Filipinos and Chamorros on Guam. Although Chamorro identity has evolved with the Filipino people and other immigrant groups, what is not acknowledged is the centrality of United States imperialism in the creation of an ambiguous Chamorro-Filipino relationship in the 20th century. The acquisition of the Philippines and Guam after the Spanish American War, the U.S. Naval government rule in both territories, the U.S. sponsored immigration of Filipinos to Guam, and the U.S. disapproval of the Chamorro's right to self-determination, all demonstrate how the U.S. has influenced and affected the development of the cultural dynamics on Guam. Some misunderstandings between Chamorros and Filipinos still exist, but it is the shared history under the United States rule that has been fundamental to the story.

Today, Chamorros have yet to succeed in their goal of self-determination. With the increase of Filipino-Americans on Guam and other immigrants on Guam, the chances for Chamorro self-governance dwindle. Some indigenous Chamorro leaders proposed that Filipino-Guamanians should not be allowed to vote in self-determination referendums, because "their people" have expressed self-determination in the Philippines.⁸⁸ So then how can Filipinos, American post-colonials themselves, contribute to the Chamorro desire for self-determination? How can an understanding of an

⁸⁷ U.S. Congress, Representatives, Committee, *Guam Commonwealth Part II*, 275.

⁸⁸ Alvarez, "The Organization of People for Indigenous Rights," 82.

intertwined history initiate cooperation between Filipinos and Chamorros? To answer the questions of the roles of Filipinos on Guam, Vicente Diaz writes,

I suggest that mutual respect can go a long way, provided that a particular historical asymmetry is recognized. This asymmetry is the unequal way by which Chamorros and Filipinos in Guam get to exercise survival within the terms of Spanish and American colonial history that continues to wreak havoc on the Chamorros in Guam and a neocolonial history that continues to drive people away from the Philippines.⁸⁹

Filipinos must understand how their position as settler colonials affects Chamorro decolonization efforts. Chamorros can learn from Filipino revolutionary heroes like Mabini to articulate their rights to self-determination. While the historical paths of Filipinos and Chamorros are starkly different, both are striving to find identity within the imperial dynamics created by the United States. It is against this background that they can learn from and support each other in the quest for decolonization and in their continuous resistance to the vestiges of American imperialism in the Asia-Pacific region.

89 Diaz, "Bye Bye Ms. American Pie," 156.

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BIRDS OF A FEATHER LAUGH TOGETHER: A CORRELATIONAL STUDY BETWEEN HUMOR AND INTERCULTURAL SENSITIVITY

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Abstract

In order to investigate the association between humor and intercultural sensitivity, the Humor Styles Questionnaire (Martin et al., 2003) and the Intercultural Sensitivity Scale (Chen & Starosta, 2000) were given to 161 undergraduate students at the University of Guam. It was hypothesized that Affiliative humor and Self-enhancing humor would have a positive correlation with Respect for Cultural Differences and Interaction Engagement and that Affiliative humor, specifically, will have a more positive correlation with Respect for Cultural Differences and Interaction engagement. In contrast, Aggressive humor was hypothesized to be negatively correlated with Respect for Cultural Differences and Interaction Engagement. Results found significant positive correlations between Affiliative humor and Respect for Cultural Differences ($r = .265, p < .01$) and Self-enhancing humor and Interaction Engagement ($r = .246, p < .01$). As predicted, Aggressive humor was found to be significantly negatively correlated with Respect for Cultural Differences and Interaction Engagement. These findings are discussed in the context of multicultural psychology.

Keywords: humor styles, intercultural sensitivity, personality theory

Humor is understood to be phenomenon which includes prosocial and positive attributes (Mendiburo-Seguel, Paez, & Martinez-Sanchez, 2015) and is often regarded as a sensation, a behavior, and a coping mechanism (Hehl & Ruch, 1985). It is a multifaceted construct that, over the years, psychologists have shown a perpetual interest in studying (Martin, 1998). Two of the most influential researchers in humor are Herbert M. Lefcourt and Rod A. Martin. Both are professors of psychology at the University of Waterloo, Ontario, Canada. Lefcourt and Martin have contributed several studies that explore the benefits and influences of humor that include humor's influence on stressors and moods (Martin & Lefcourt, 1983) and the development of the Situational Humor Response Questionnaire (Martin & Lefcourt, 1984). This trend in interest is only predicted to increase, especially with the rise of positive psychology that focuses on adaptive traits that include humor (Snyder & McCullough, 2000).

Perhaps one of the more interesting concepts that was explored is the influence of humor and empathy on interpersonal relationships and how both are associated with “satisfying and

healthy” relationships in general (Hampes, 2010). Humor has been suggested to enhance positive interaction by minimizing conflict and tension (Yip & Martin, 2005). This could be because empathy is associated with facilitating disclosure through intimacy (Simpson, Orina, & Ickles, 2003) by allowing a speaker to disclose or communicate emotions and thoughts while the listener conveys understanding of the content of the speaker’s disclosure. This indicates that the listener shows acceptance or validation and at the same time views the speaker more positively (Laurenceau, Barrett, & Pietromonaco, 1998).

There have also been several studies that suggest humor’s role in bringing couples together. Mcgee and Shevlin (2009) found humor to play a part in mate selection and attraction, describing it as a desirable quality in a romantic partner. In addition, Murstein and Brust (1985) state that humor is also indicative of other features such as values, interests, and intelligence that help regulate the compatibility of humor preferences of couples. Indeed, exhibiting a good sense of humor has even been found to be the best way in approaching or attracting a potential mate (Buss, 1988). Moreover, while humor brings couples together, it also helps in keeping them together during conflict. A study by Fincham, Paleari, and Regalia (2002) found that emotional empathy promotes positive attributions between couples during conflict, which consequentially positively affects forgiveness.

Furthermore, humor and empathy have also been closely linked to emotional intelligence (EI). Emotional intelligence has been defined as the ability to adapt to the situations properly and deal with emotions, especially negative emotions to maintain harmonious relationships (Ioannidou & Konstantikaki, 2008; Tümkaya, Hamarta, Deniz, Çelik, & Aybek, 2008). Humor and empathy have been suggested to be elements in emotional intelligence. Social uses of humor are comprised of the ability to express emotion and the ability to respond appropriately based on the situation, which demonstrate EI (Yip & Martin, 2005). While empathy shares the same emotional regulation process as humor, it is focalized more as a way of creating a basis of understanding another’s emotion to enhance interaction and communication (Ioannidou & Konstantikaki, 2008).

In accordance with these implications, Hampes (2001) conducted a correlational study that utilized three different humor scales: Coping Humor Scale, Situational Humor Response Questionnaire, and the Multidimensional Sense of Humor Scale. Results of the study showed the positive correlation between all three scales and empathic concern. This study, however, did not go without limitations. The most prominent limitation was that the scales used only measured a single aspect of humor. As Martin, Puhlik-Doris, Larsen, Gray and Weir (2003) suggested, it would be ideal to

assess at least two dimensions of humor: adaptive and maladaptive. This distinguishes that humor styles that are beneficial to psychological well-being and humor styles that are not.

Martin et al. (2003) identified four humor styles: affiliative humor, self-enhancing humor, aggressive humor, and self-defeating humor. Two of them (affiliative and self-enhancing) were classified as adaptive, while the other two (aggressive and self-defeating) were classified as maladaptive. Affiliative was defined as humor that enhances relationships by telling jokes, saying funny things to put others at ease and maintain interpersonal relationships. Self-enhancing humor was characterized by having a humorous perspective of life and seeing the humor in difficult situations. Self-enhancing humor has also been said to be related to coping humor (Martin, 1996).

Nearly a decade later, Hampes (2010) revisited his study to address these limitations. First, Hampes used the Humor Styles Questionnaire, a measure developed by Martin et al. (2003) that categorized humor into two dimensions (adaptive and maladaptive), which was then further divided into four styles: affiliative, self-enhancing, aggressive, and self-defeating. Second, Hampes supplemented empathic concern with two other types of empathy, perspective-taking empathy and personal distress (Davis, 1980). Results from this second study demonstrated a positive correlation between affiliative humor and empathic concern and a positive correlation between self-enhancing humor and perspective-taking empathy. In contrast, aggressive humor was found to be significantly negatively correlated with both empathic concern and perspective-taking empathy. In short, the results indicate a relationship between humor and empathy, thus suggesting the potential relationship between humor and a similar concept to empathy: intercultural sensitivity. Empathy is an aspect of intercultural sensitivity. Empathy has been described as appreciating another's emotions and by understanding another's experience vicariously (Zinn, 1999). Communicating with empathy encompasses conditions such as emotional understanding, respect, and authenticity, which is related to intercultural sensitivity.

Interestingly, the possible relationship between humor and intercultural sensitivity has yet to be studied, despite the possibility of further enhancing interpersonal relationships through such research especially since we live in a world where interaction with people from different cultures is inevitable. For instance, Nguyen and Nguyen (2014) found that cultural sensitivity influenced the relationship quality between exporters and foreign partners, as it demonstrated the exporter's willingness to adapt and respond to the foreigner's culture. The willingness to adapt and respond according to culture also makes intercultural sensitivity an effective component in the healthcare field as healthcare providers are required to have the knowledge to communicate in an effective

manner to a range of culturally diverse patients (Lau, Woodward-Kron, Livesay, Elliot, & Nicholson, 2016). Even the U.S. military recognized the importance and advantages of intercultural sensitivity. Cepoi (2012) stated that intercultural sensitivity is “very important for a modern soldier (p. 261).” Military programs, such as Civil Operations and Revolutionary Development Support (CORDS), were even created on the foundation of cultural sensitivity and awareness. In essence, the overall benefit in exploring ways to enhance intercultural sensitivity is that it creates understanding, acceptance, and harmony within people of different cultures.

A model created by Bennett (1986, 1993) called the Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity (DMIS) suggests the motions individuals go through in acquiring intercultural competence. According to this model, the understanding of cultural differences becomes a key component in an individual’s world view which grows into a better understanding of one’s culture, as well as the culture of others, thus increasing intercultural competence (Hammer, Bennett, & Wiseman, 2003). This means that an individual’s intercultural competence increases as his or her experience with intercultural differences becomes more comprehensive. The DMIS consists of six orientations: denial, defense reversal, minimization, acceptance, adaptation, and integration. Individuals begin in the state of denial of cultural differences and then flow through the rest of the states respectively as their experience with other cultures increases. These orientations are further subdivided into conceptualizations of ethnocentrism and ethnorelativism.

The Present Study

In regard to the present study, it endeavors to adapt Bennett’s model to explore the possible relationship between humor styles and intercultural sensitivity. The study will focus particularly in determining if humor styles and intercultural sensitivity are correlated. Furthermore, if there is a correlation between the variables, which of the humor styles predict high and low intercultural sensitivity. The present study hopes to replicate the results of Hampes (2010) with the variable supplementation of intercultural sensitivity in lieu of empathy.

The first hypothesis is that affiliative and self-enhancing humor is positively correlated with intercultural sensitivity. Moreover, the second hypothesis is that affiliative humor is more positively correlated to intercultural sensitivity. Aggressive humor was identified as enhancing oneself at the expense of others. It is also identified with the use of sarcasm, teasing, and the use of humor to manipulate others by threatening to ridicule them. The third hypothesis, therefore, is that aggressive humor is negatively correlated with intercultural sensitivity. Further, the fourth hypothesis is that aggressive humor shows a negative correlation with intercultural sensitivity.

Method

Participants

The participants for this study consisted of 156 undergraduate students, 70 males and 91 females, from the University of Guam, who are enrolled in Psychology classes. Initially, 205 survey packets were distributed. However, only 156 were included in the survey as 6 of the surveys were completed by minors, 4 were lacking information and signatures of consent, 5 returned empty, and 34 packets were not returned by the students.

Procedure

After IRB approval from the University of Guam, the materials for the study were distributed for students to answer. The materials were included in a packet that consisted of materials from other researchers, including a consent form. The students were given 15-30 minutes permitted by their respective professors to complete the survey.

Materials

The Humor Styles Questionnaire (HSQ; Martin, 2003) consists of four scales, each containing eight items. Each of the items have seven answer options in a Likert-type scale, ranging from 1 = Totally Disagree to 7 = Totally Agree. There are a total of 32 items. Sample items are: “I don’t have to work very hard at making other people laugh—I seem to be a naturally humorous person” (Affiliative), “Even when I’m by myself, I’m often amused by the absurdities of life” (Self-enhancing), “Sometimes I think of something that is so funny that I can’t stop myself from saying it, even if it is not appropriate for the situation” (Aggressive), and “Letting others laugh at me is my way of keeping my friends and family in good spirits” (Self-defeating). All scales have “adequate internal consistencies [...] demonstrated by Cronbach alphas ranging from .77 to .81 (p. 57).” Three subscales were taken from this measure: Affiliative, Self-Enhancing, and Aggressive.

The Intercultural Sensitivity Scale (ISS; Chen & Starosta, 2000) is a measure consisting of 24 items that can be subdivided into five factors: Interaction Engagement, Respect of Cultural Differences, Interaction confidence, Interaction Enjoyment, and Interaction Attentiveness. Sample items from the scale include: “I enjoy interacting with people from different cultures” (Interaction Engagement), “I respect the ways people from different cultures behave” (Respect for Cultural Differences), “I feel confident when interacting with people from different cultures” (Interaction Confidence), and “I am sensitive to my culturally-distinct counterpart’s subtle meanings during our interaction” (Interaction Attentiveness). The scale has been demonstrated to have high internal

consistency levels with a .86 reliability coefficient. However, only two subscales were utilized in the study: Interaction Engagement and Respect of Cultural Differences.

Results

Prior to analyzing the correlation between the variables, the reliability of the subscales was tested (see Tables 1 and 2). The Cronbach's alpha of Affiliative, Self-Enhancing, and Aggressive humor (.623, .737, and .596 respectively) were accepted as they met the minimum requirement score of at least a 0.6. Likewise, the Cronbach's alpha of Respect of Cultural Differences (.675) and Interaction Engagement (.667) were also accepted as the subscales also met the minimum requirements. The means and standard deviations of participant scores were also analyzed (see Table 3).

Affiliative humor ($r = .265, p < .01$) and Respect of Cultural Differences were found to have a significant positive correlation, which partially supports the first and third hypothesis that Affiliative humor would be positively correlated with Intercultural Sensitivity and that Affiliative humor, in particular, would show a more significant correlation to Intercultural Sensitivity than Self-enhancing humor. A significant positive correlation was also found between Self-Enhancing humor ($r = .246, p < .01$) and Interaction Engagement. This also partially supports the second hypothesis that Self-enhancing humor would be positively correlated with Intercultural Sensitivity. Lastly, Aggressive humor was found to be significantly negatively correlated with both Respect of Cultural Differences ($r = -.266, p < .01$) and Interaction Engagement ($r = -.197, p < .05$) which fully supports the fourth hypothesis that Aggressive humor would be negatively correlated with Intercultural Sensitivity.

Discussion

The results of this study provided support for a correlation between humor and intercultural sensitivity. Affiliative humor was positively linked to Respect of Cultural Differences, which indicated that those with high levels of Affiliative humor are more likely to respect the values, traditions, and norms of culturally distinct people. Self-Enhancing humor was positively correlated with Interaction Engagement, suggesting that those with high levels of Self-Enhancing humor are more likely to be open to interactions with people from different cultures. And that, as predicted, Aggressive humor was found to have a negative relationship with both Respect of Cultural Differences and Interaction Engagement, further validating the negative effects it has on interpersonal relationships. Perhaps the most interesting finding in this study was the differences in association with the adaptive humor styles (Affiliative and Self-Enhancing) and the components of intercultural

tural sensitivity (Respect of Cultural Differences and Interaction Engagement). It was originally hypothesized that because of the characterization of Affiliative humor, it would be positively linked to both components of intercultural sensitivity. This was only partially supported by the study, as Affiliative humor was more significantly and positively linked to Respect of Cultural Differences. This could be because of the more interpersonal aspect of Affiliative humor. Likewise, the explanation of Self-Enhancing humor's significant and positive correlation to Interaction Engagement could be due to Self-Enhancing humor's intrapersonal aspect.

Martin et al. (2003) conceptualized Affiliative humor as being an overall altruistic humor style, as it centers on making others feel at ease and amused to enhance relationships and ease tensions. Although it was also noted that Affiliative humor at times involves some level of disparagement of self and others, it is benign and still affirms one's self and others that may be involved. Therefore, since Affiliative humor is more interpersonally oriented than anything, those who exhibit high levels would be more compassionate and warm towards others. This is consistent with the correlation between Affiliative humor and Respect for Cultural Differences, especially since a level of respect towards another is a key component in maintaining a relationship.

It was hypothesized that Affiliative humor would also have a significantly positive correlation with Interaction Engagement. Results of the study, however, disconfirmed it. However, the results indicated that Interaction Engagement was more correlated with Self-Enhancing humor. Hampes (2010) found that Self-Enhancing humor was correlated with perspective taking empathy, which meant that those with high levels of Self-Enhancing humor are better able to understand others by seeing through the perspective of others (Davis, 1983). This, therefore, reaffirms the intrapersonal orientation of Self-enhancing humor, since it involves a more internal way of understanding. Furthermore, since Interaction Engagement involves a more cognitive, internal processes, such as forming impressions of people of a different culture and being open to culturally-distinct people. This is also consistent with the idea that Self-Enhancing humor is positively related to openness to experience (Martin et al., 2003).

In short, the contrasting correlations could be explained by the components of the variables. Affiliative humor is altruistic and interpersonal, whereas Self-Enhancing humor is more self-focused and intrapersonal. Thus, they would be linked to variables of the same or having similar components.

The hypothesis of the significantly negative correlation with Aggressive humor and both Respect of Cultural Difference and Interaction Engagement was validated with the results of the

study. The results came with no surprise considering its described characteristics. Aggressive humor uses teasing and high degrees of disparagement along with manipulation by risk of ridicule (Zillman, 1983; Janes & Olson, 2000). This, of course, would have a negative effect on interaction with individuals in general, but more so towards culturally different people who may not be fully understanding of such humor. Furthermore, those with high levels of Aggressive humor express inappropriate humor without concern of its potential effect on others (Martin et al., 2003). This lack of concern could be translated to a lack of respect towards others.

Limitations

Measures of this study were included in a packet along with five other measures for two different studies. Because of this, full use of the HSQ and ISS were limited, as only three out of four subscales from the HSQ were used and only two from the ISS. The generalizability of the study could also be questioned. Participants were all college students—people who may be more educated than others, and so the results could be potentially different if the study was applied outside of universities and colleges. In addition, the students who completed the surveys were all enrolled in Psychology classes. It is possible that these students may have been exposed to or may have had prior knowledge of the contents, theories, and foundations of the present study.

Other issues with the participants may have affected the results of the study as well. As previously mentioned, 205 packets were assembled and distributed. However, only 156 were used in the analysis, as 6 of the surveys were completed by minors, 4 were lacking information and signatures, 5 returned empty, and the remaining 34 packets were not returned by the students. These participants were therefore excluded from the data analysis. The results of the study could have been different if all 205 packets were filled properly and returned.

Another limitation of the present study is a relatively low reliability for each measure. For instance, when the Affiliative humor subscale was tested for reliability, it had a value of 0.3, which was twice as low as the recommended 0.6. To refine this, an item that was indicated to not contribute to the scale's reliability was deleted from the subscale. It is possible that this low reliability could be due to the number of participants and could be improved in future studies by increasing the number of participants.

Furthermore, social desirability may have also contributed to the quality and distribution of the data, especially when it came to the ISS. Several participants indicated extreme degrees in the ISS, strongly disagreeing with items with negative connotations (“I don’t like to be with people from different cultures”) or strongly agreeing with items with positive connotations (“I respect the

values of people from different cultures”). This is problematic because it implies the difficulty of getting a truly unbiased response from participants.

Future Research

The present study leaves areas in which to conduct further research in, while also prompting research with humor in different areas. This study was limited in the number of items per measure used. Each packet was limited to a hundred (100) items between three different studies. This study did not include the subscale for Self-Defeating humor, as well as the subscales for Interaction Confidence, Interaction Enjoyment, and Interaction Attentiveness. Full use of the HSQ and the ISS may yield more interesting and applicable results.

According to a consensus, Guam is known to have a population consisting of Chamorro, Filipino, Caucasian, Chuukese, Korean, Chinese, Palauan, Japanese, Pohnpeian, other Asian, and people of mixed ethnicities (The World Factbook, 2010). But according to the data, participants in the study consisted mostly of individuals who identified themselves as Filipinos (n= 72), Chamorros (n= 37), and Caucasian (n= 20). It is apparent that a number of Guam’s population is under-represented. Thus, it may also be beneficial to reconduct the study by gathering participants outside of the University of Guam in order to gain a larger sample while being able to compile a much more generalizable data set.

In addition, this study was limited in time. This research was conducted for an undergraduate research course. Thus, this study was allotted with only about three and a half months for background research, data collection, and data analysis. An extension of time could help in refining the quality of the data and the research in general.

Initially, it was the interest of the researcher to investigate the possibility of an ethnic specific humor style. That is, investigating the idea that one’s ethnicity predicts his or her humor style and that those of the same ethnicity will have the same humor style. It would also be interesting to use a different scale to measure humor, such as the Sense of Humor Questionnaire (Svebak, 1996). This questionnaire took into account the differences individual senses of humor, which included culture, and neutralized those differences in the measure (Svebak, 2010). Pursuing the investigation of this idea, however, was not followed through. Initial research indicated that there has yet to be a study that explores this idea and, while interesting, it is possible that it would require resources and funding that was beyond the capabilities of the researcher.

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Table 1

Cronbach's Alphas of Humor Style Questionnaire and Intercultural Sensitivity Subscales

<u>Subscale</u>	<u>Cronbach's Alpha</u>	<u>Cronbach's Alpha Based on</u> <u>Standardized Items</u>	<u>N of Items</u>
Affiliative humor	.623	.652	7
Self-enhancing humor	.737	.737	8
Aggressive humor	.596	.598	8
Interaction	.675	.689	7
Engagement			
Respect of Cultural Differences	.667	.673	6

Note. Minimum requirement for Cronbach's alpha was 0.6. The Cronbach's alpha value for Aggressive humor was accepted despite being below the minimum of 0.6 since it could be rounded to 0.6. An item was excluded from the Affiliative humor subscale to increase the Cronbach's alpha value.

Table 2

Means and Standard Deviations for the Humor Styles Questionnaire and Intercultural Sensitivity Scale

	<u>N</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Std. Deviation</u>
Affiliative Humor	156	33.86	5.54
Self-Enhancing Humor	157	32.13	8.42
Aggressive Humor	158	24.04	6.43
Respect of Cultural Differences	160	22.62	2.79
Interaction Engagement	160	24.83	3.33
Valid N (listwise)	153		

Note. Certain surveys were not included due to incomplete or missing information or because the participants were identified as minors.

Table 3
Correlations Between Humor Styles Humor and Intercultural Sensitivity Scale

	Respect of Cultural Differences	Interaction Engagement
Affiliative Humor	.265**	.149
Self-Enhancing Humor	.054	.246**
Aggressive Humor	-.266**	-.197*

Note. * $p < .05$ (two-tailed), ** $p < .01$ (two-tailed), *** $p < .001$ (two-tailed)

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THINKING BEYOND THE BOX: THE NEED FOR COGNITION AS A LINK BETWEEN INTERCULTURAL SENSITIVITY AND COGNITIVE FLEXIBILITY

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Abstract

Based on Crisp and Turner's Categorization-Processing-Adaptation-Generalization (CPAG) model, exposure to various cultures, especially within intercultural groups, will lead to a series of cognitive dissonances. In general, individuals who face cognitive dissonances attempt to challenge stereotypical beliefs and preconceptions, which could possibly drive an individual to a state of increased cognitive flexibility. This study was an aim to utilize intercultural sensitivity as an indicator for cognitive flexibility, which may detail the internal mechanisms of whether an individual adapts to a multicultural situation or remain guided by his or her personal cultural biases. Furthermore, the personal preference for a need for cognition was investigated as another possible variable. Participants from introductory psychology classes at UOG will record their responses on three scales, the Intercultural Sensitivity Scale (ISS; Chen & Starosta, 2000), the Need for Cognition (NFC) scale (Cacioppo, Petty, & Kao, 1984), and the Cognitive Flexibility Scale (CFS; Martin & Rubin, 1995). The items in each scale were coded from the recipients' responses and were analyzed for correlations and regression. The data supported my hypotheses. There was a correlation between ISS and CF, NFC and CF, and both ISS and NFC were found to be predictors of CF. However, individual differences such as a person's experiences with acculturative stresses, acculturation, and longevity within another country are considered and discussed. This study provides a comprehension of social interactions and perception within a diverse situation that may bring about increased productivity, creative problem solving methods, group coordination, and intergroup feedback and discussions.

Keywords: need for cognition, intercultural sensitivity, cognitive flexibility

The world has become a fast-paced, technologically astute expanse that is still progressing in terms of philosophical ideals, sociopolitical standards, and intercultural communications. In the span of several centuries, interconnectivity has become increasingly accessible. International collaborations and cross-cultural research have contributed to the body of knowledge and the betterment of human development. Regardless, political turmoil and disputes, prejudicial and stereotypical thinking, and a sense of culture superiority still hold as impediments to progress. Camaraderie, cooperation, and eventual productivity can transpire within a culturally diverse group of individuals if there is acceptance and adaptation to the new situation. The potential for

contention and disagreements or resolution and compromise regarding cultural differences may be due to experiences where an individual is confronted with beliefs or traditions that may contrast their own.

The main objective of this study is to verify the association between intercultural sensitivity and cognitive flexibility. Based on Crisp and Turner's model (2010), an individual that would score significantly high in intercultural sensitivity should also score high in cognitive flexibility. Underlying individual mechanisms that guide a person's choice to accept stereotypic beliefs or not will also be investigated. Cultural and social implications will also be discussed as the evidence of a positive correlation between the two variables and the role of a mediator could provide an understanding on and the betterment of intergroup interactions and attitudes.

Crisp and Turner (2010) constructed the Categorization-Processing-Adaptation-Generalization (CPAG) model that supports the dissonance of cognition in the exposure of different cultures or customs. This model suggests that the introduction of cultural heterogeneity must be processed in a manner that preexisting stereotypes are tested; the individual must actively seek to sort out the contradicting stereotypes, and once resolved, various cognitive outcomes occur, including the guarding of self-esteem, positive interactions within groups, and creative problem solving skills (Crisp & Turner, 2010). To summarize, Crisp and Turner (2010) argued that there are four mechanisms that guide the flow of the CPAG model. Under categorization conditions, the individual can recognize or deny the disparities between the multicultural experiences and their personal stereotypical beliefs. If recognized, the individual then undergoes processing conditions, where they must take the initiative and must be capable to actually settle these disparities; individuals attempt to repress stereotypic ideas or conjure new ideas that are beyond the scope of predisposed standards. In adaptation, the individuals are subjected to instances where their personal stereotypes are in repeated contact and conflict with multicultural experiences. Eventually, the individual achieves the cognitive ability to shift from one concept to another.

The main basis of this model emphasizes on the cognitive aspects underlying the first three levels. Those levels are guided by the perception of exposure to cultural diversity, and thus either a cognitive activation to sort stereotypes occurs (thoughtful deliberation) or automatic stereotypical expectations are regulated. A study by Katrinli and Penbek (2010) found that individuals in a foreign country "with high intercultural sensitivity will [be more] compatible with diverse colleagues, and [the] established accommodating work environment will [...] increase self-reported creativity" (p. 760). Furthermore, in a study conducted by Deardorff (2006), a group of post-educational

administrators from all over the U.S. were tasked to define “intercultural competence”, and results exhibited the inclusion of “cognitive flexibility” as a key aspect. Thus, with the increase of global socialization and interconnection, it has become exceedingly crucial for the adaptation to multicultural perspectives and customs.

As the driving force of the CPAG model, the reference to intercultural sensitivity may be the affective portion under the umbrella term of “intercultural communication competence”, which also includes “intercultural adroitness” that refers to behavioral aspects and “intercultural awareness” that corresponds to the cognitive aspects (Chen & Starosta, 2000, p. 4). Intercultural sensitivity is defined as the capacity to establish a positive outlook on the comprehension and recognition of other cultural customs, values, and traditions in order to form proper means of interaction and communication (Chen & Starosta, 2000). In support of that definition, Bhawuk and Brislin (1992) clearly demarcated their use of the term at the beginning of their study as “sensitivity to the importance of cultural differences and to the points of view of people in other cultures” (p. 414). To delve deeper into the issue of defining cultural sensitivity, a closer inspection of the cultural identity of an individual can be seen as the initial stages of the formation or absence of intercultural sensitivity. Crisp and Turner (2010) mentioned that acculturation is a process of an internal change to the introduction of a new cultural environment, and thus must resolve either through assimilation, separation, marginalization, or integration. Thus, it can be gathered that an individual who integrates two or more of their cultural identities can achieve intercultural sensitivity, while those who assimilate, separate, or marginalize have varying levels of sensitivity.

Flowing through in the CPAG model, exposure to cultural and social diversity stimulates and promotes cognitive flexibility. However, cognitive flexibility, similar to intercultural sensitivity, varies among different contexts within the literature. Dennis and Vander Wal (2010) generalized the concept as the adaptability to changing environments, and specified the three properties that involve perceptions of governable situations, identification of alternates, and generation of alternates. Similarly, Martin and Ruben (1995) segmented the definition to three portions: the acknowledgment of alternate and accessible choices, adaptability to various conditions, and a belief in accomplishing flexibility. To an extent, cognitive flexibility can encompass creativity, although there should be caution on using those terms interchangeably. To exhibit the relationship between the two, Miller (2014) expounded the cognitive processes associated with creativity within a scale that she had developed. Furthermore, creativity can be subdivided as scientific (abstract), engineering (concrete), or art (empirical) (Wang, 2009). In the case of this research, the

definition based on Dennis and Vander Wal (2010) would best fit, as it involves aspects of Miller's (2014) subscales, Martin and Rubin's (1995) definitions, and Wang's (2009) engineering creativity, which is creation limited by the environment and encourages the individual to accomplish goals based on available resources. These environmental limitations would describe a situation of multicultural exposure and intercultural interactions as an individual must evaluate and eventually challenge stereotypic beliefs with adaptation to the stated environment.

This study also aims to comprehend the underlying mechanisms in the CPAG model and its possible utilization of need for cognition. According to Cacioppo, Petty, and Kao (1984), a need for cognition is defined as "individual's tendency to engage in and enjoy effortful cognitive endeavors" (p. 306). Prior to approaching the cognitive flexibility, an individual undergoes processes that challenge their stereotypical judgments on cultural diversity; each condition in the intermediate processes gives the opportunity for the individual to ask him or herself questions and responding by attempting to resolve the cognitive dissonance or not adapting at all (Crisp & Turner, 2010). This is in relation to dual-process models, which have long been considered as an explanation for the types of problem solving and judgment approaches, further delineating intuition and deliberative analysis (Pretz, 2008). Epstein, Pacini, Denes-Raj, and Heier (1996) emphasized the existence of two information processing systems, which stated that they are "parallel and interactive" with one another and operate together in an effortless manner until affective-cognitive disparities occur. In their Rational-Experiential Self-Theory, the rational process was described as functioning consciously and "is intentional [and] analytic" (p. 391). In a research by Cazan and Indreica (2014), students exhibiting a high need for cognition spent more time using deep learning methods such as, critical processing and analyzing. It can then be argued that an individual's thinking process that favors cognition is needed in order to achieve cognitive flexibility after a multicultural experience.

Although the link between these two factors has been supported by evidence, how intercultural sensitivity and cognitive flexibility are related to one another is not known. Thus, in the basis of this study, the underlying process of how people retain stereotypical views or accept multiculturalism can be attributed to an individual's preferential thinking style, particularly a personality variable defined by a need for cognition. The present study endeavors to obtain self-reported responses for intercultural sensitivity, need for cognition, and cognitive flexibility. Thus, it is predicted that individuals that will score high in intercultural sensitivity and in cognitive flexibility will also report a high score in a need for cognition.

Method

Participants

A total of 205 student participants of various ethnic backgrounds were recruited for this study from sections of introductory psychology courses at the University of Guam, where the professors were informed that participating students might receive extra credit. The pool of participants was further narrowed down to 161 participants, as 44 participants were reported as missing, did not sign the consent form, or were under the age of 18 years old.

Materials

This study contained three questionnaires that correspond with the variable that is being assessed—cognitive flexibility, intercultural sensitivity, and need for cognition. These inventories were compiled with other undergraduate researchers' inventories for their respective studies. The compilation process was based on the similarities among the researchers' topics. The questionnaires were administered within the participating class's room. The measurement of intercultural sensitivity, the Intercultural Sensitivity Scale (ISS) was utilized, which includes 24 items that can be scored from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). The scale has a .86 Cronbach's alpha reliability score, which indicates high consistency. However, the subscales for interaction engagement and respect for cultural differences were utilized as they capture more of the meaning of intercultural sensitivity. Thus, only 13 items were presented from the ISS (Chen & Starosta, 2000). To measure self-reported cognitive flexibility, a 12-item scale called the Cognitive Flexibility Scale (CFS) was used, where the participants will score items from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 6 (*strongly agree*) (Martin & Rubin, 1995). The Cronbach alpha score was .81 (Martin & Anderson, 1998). For the variable of need for cognition, a scale derived from Cacioppo and Petty (1982) and revised by Cacioppo et al. (1984) called the Need for Cognition Scale was provided, which is an 18-item scale that can be scored with a 1 (*extremely uncharacteristic of me*) to 5 (*extremely characteristic of me*). This scale has a Cronbach's alpha score of .90.

Procedure

The participants were asked to complete the compiled questionnaires given at a random order. The participants were limited in time in accordance and accommodation of their professors. Prior to initiating with the scales, the participants were provided a cover letter, a consent form, which highlights their rights as participants to this study, and a demographics questionnaire that records their sex, age, ethnicity, country of origin, and other vital information that may be used

(see Demographic Questionnaire). For this particular study, the scales were completed in random order along with several other measures by other undergraduate researchers. With the ISS, the participants scored statements that were based on two of the five original factors—interaction engagement and respect for other cultures (Chen & Starosta, 2000). The Need for Cognition allowed the participants to score statements that they would find characteristic of themselves in terms of deliberative thought (Cacioppo et al., 1984). On the Cognitive Flexibility Scale, the participants were asked to rate their agreement on each statement regarding their ability to recognize problematic situations as governable, their ability to identify alternate explanations to the problem, and their ability to distinguish other solutions to the problem (Martin & Rubin, 1995).

Results

There were initially 161 total collected responses. However, two participants did not complete all three scales, and two other participants did not complete the NFC scale. Thus, there were a total of 157 participants that were deemed valid under SPSS. All responses for each item of each scale were completely averaged (see Table 1). The ISS had a total of 13 items, six of which were reverse-coded. Originally having five subscales, two subscales were used. ISS had a total Cronbach's alpha value of .768. Each of the subscales had a Cronbach's alpha score of .684 and .667, respectively (see Table 2). There were no delineated subscales for the CF and NFC scales. The overall Cronbach's alpha of CF and NFC were .752 and .849, respectively (see Tables 3 and 4). Four items were reverse-coded in the CFS and nine were reversed in the NFC scale. Each of the scales and two subscales were subjected to a normality test. The ISS and its two subscales were discovered to have had $p < 0.05$, which suggests that the responses did not come from a normal distribution (see Table 5). The ISS responses were positively correlated with CF with a coefficient of .273 at $p = .000$. The NFC responses were positively correlated with CF with a coefficient of .469 at $p = .000$. The ISS responses were positively correlated with NFC with a coefficient of .226 at $p = 0.004$. All of the p -values mentioned above were significant at $p < 0.01$ (see Table 6). The regression is found to be $R = .499$ when the predictors are set to be ISS and NFC. The regression analysis also indicated that about 25 percent of variances can be explained by this model (see Table 7). Furthermore, the analysis indicated that ISS is a predictor of CF, $\beta = .173$, $p = 0.017$, and NFC is a predictor of CF, $\beta = .430$, $p = 0.000$ (see Table 8).

Discussion

The present study investigated the association between intercultural sensitivity and cognitive flexibility. Based on the results of the correlational analysis, there was a positive correlation

between intercultural sensitivity and cognitive flexibility. A need for cognition was also highly correlated with cognitive flexibility. As extrapolated from the results of the regression test, it is also supported that intercultural sensitivity may be a predictor for cognitive flexibility. Similarly, there is also support that personality preference for a need for cognition may be a predictor for cognitive flexibility.

Based on the overall fit model of the regression test, $R = .499$ indicates the correlation between the observed and the predicted values of CF. As mentioned above, $R^2 = .249$, indicating a 25 percent variability explained by the model. Furthermore, this is to state that about one-fourth of the variant responses in CF can be taken into consideration based on the independent variables (ISS and NFC). Overall, this also reflects the strength of the association of ISS and NFC with CF. Statistically speaking, an R -square value of .249 indicates a moderate to low association. However, since the present study mainly investigates the relationship between the three variables, examining if the outcome can be predicted solely on R -squared value may not be reflective of the nature of this study. In elaboration, this study aims to accentuate the relationship between the two main variables garnered from Crisp and Turner's (2010) model, as well investigating a possible internal variable within their model that may expedite the entire process. Thus, it would be best to examine the results at the correlational perspective, which indicate a moderate relationship between ISS and CF ($r = .273, p = .000$) and a strong relationship between NFC and CF ($r = .469, p = .000$). Further examining the results, the parameter estimates from the regression test indicate that ISS responses had $\beta = .173$ with $p = 0.017$, while NFC had $\beta = .430$ with $p = 0.000$, both of which were tested with CF as the dependent variable. This highlights that NFC had a stronger and more significant effect on the CF responses compared to ISS. Under the t -statistics, the ISS (.223) and NFC (.422) coefficients are significantly different from 0, both at $p < 0.05$.

Limitations for this study exist in the initial stages of the recruitment process. Ultimately, surveying psychology students, especially aspiring or current psychology majors, may have formed a bias in the results. This may also be magnified, as the students may have been aware of what the study may have been seeking and may have tried to sway their responses to fit the research criteria. The compilation of other studies present in the packet may have also caused stress and fatigue for some participants, and thus they may have rushed through without carefully reading the items or instructions, or carelessly answered the items randomly. Scales, such as the ISS (Chen & Starosta, 2000) may have also been too straightforward with their items (i.e., "I think my culture is better than other cultures"). Social desirability may have also posed as a confounding variable, as some

participants may have found the need to score high in intercultural sensitivity or cognitive flexibility, as to seem more appealing or in a more favorable light. This is most evident in the items on the Intercultural Sensitivity Scale, as it included statements regarding the superiority or greatness of one's own culture over another culture. This may form the basis of a desirability bias that may have swayed individual responses and thus, skewed the results with high ISS responses.

Another limitation is within the framework of the CPAG model, as it implies that experiences through intercultural situations to achieve cognitive flexibility may be unidirectional. That is, there may be no implications of a bidirectional model, with cognitive flexibility as a predictor. Also, with majority of correlational studies, causation cannot be implied. Thus, expanding this research in a longitudinal study as an experiment may be more informative and may further support the CPAG model. Other factors could also impact an individual's movement in the model that has been omitted in this study. The socioeconomic status of an individual could have impacted a person's cognitive development and consequently affect their ability to adapt to situations (Hackman, Farah, & Meaney, 2010). Similarly, schooling and the level of education completed by an individual may have also shaped a person's cognitive ability (Falch & Massih, 2011).

Acculturative stress from prejudice and discrimination could have influenced a person's cognitive ability and intercultural sensitivity (Crisp & Turner, 2010). The longevity of a person's residence in another country and the cultural diversity of their country of origin may also have determined the person's level of acculturation. Acculturation may have indicated that individuals who score high in marginalization or separation would also score low on intercultural sensitivity. This is in comparison to individuals who would score high on integration or assimilation and thus score high on intercultural sensitivity. In a prior study, for example, immigrants who were exposed to constant and high amounts of discrimination were more likely to have a preference for separation than those who were subjected to less discrimination and favor integration or assimilation (Berry, 2006). This is further exemplified by the demographic sheet only asking participants to indicate the years they lived on Guam. However, this study did not take into account the number of years a participant may have lived outside of Guam (see Appendix I).

Numerous instances of exposure to cultural diversity occur in vast arrays of organizations, corporations, government facilities, post-secondary institutions, and cities and towns. In educational institutions, a highly diversified student population would indicate cognitive flexibility and would consequently affect academic performance (Crisp & Turner, 2010; Katrinli & Penbek, 2010). This study indicated various supports for claims that cultural sensitivity has a link with cognitive

flexibility, such as the aforementioned. According to data from the National Center for Education Statistics, college enrollment in the U.S. between 1980 and 2008 from Blacks and Hispanics increased, while Asians and Pacific Islanders have had the highest rates of enrollment beginning in 1990 (Aud, Fox, & KewalRamani, 2010, p. 120). There are also further implications for workplace environments, as highlighted in findings by Bantel and Jackson (1989) that indicated that more innovative banks were comprised of managerial personnel possessing more diverse experiences. Similarly, in a report by the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics (2014), 51 percent of Asians and 30 percent of Blacks work in management and professional fields, and 47 percent of Hispanics work in service, sales, and office fields (p. 4). According to Triandis, Hall, and Ewen (1965), intergroup relationships are at an efficient capacity to produce creative resolutions for cognitive dissonances that emerge from cultural diversity. However, Mannix and Neale (2005) argued that when culturally diverse individuals are placed in a working group, low cohesive approaches and cooperation arise from a social divide. Furthermore, increased absences, lax commitment to work, and mental detachment from tasks occurred more in groups of diverse ethnicities (Tsui, Egan, & O'Reilly, 1992). These findings may seem to oppose the study at hand; however Crisp and Turner (2010) and van Knippenberg, De Dreu, and Homan (2004) attribute these non-adaptive behaviors to the lack motivation and ability to settle cultural differences, which is the categorization condition in the CPAG model. Similarly, an individual's lack of motivation may cause them to perceive diversity as a source of threat and stress (Rudmin, 2003).-

In the cultural context of Guam, the implications provided may benefit the direct productivity of schools, businesses, and organizations, as information processing is quintessential for those settings. At a much smaller scale, the U.S. territory of Guam's population is comprised of a unique amalgamation of ethnic origins, including the indigenous Chamorros, Filipinos, Japanese, Koreans, Chinese, Whites, Palauans, Chuukese, and other Pacific Islanders (*The World Fact Book*, 2016). Interestingly, the Chamorro culture itself boasts a rich heritage that is influenced by early Spanish colonization, American territorialism, and Japanese occupation (Guampedia, 2015). Regardless of the ethnic diversity, Guam has had recent issues regarding the deportation of Chuukese convicts arranged by the Governor, with one member of the Chuukese community even acknowledging that they experience discrimination by other residents (O'Connor, 2016).

Thus, diverse cultures within confined perimeters of one another, such as in the context of Guam or even within organizational groups, weigh in as an influence on social productivity, openness, acceptance, and eventual cognitive malleability. In a study by Gutierrez and Sameroff (1990),

they found that Mexican-American mothers described behaviors in vignettes depicting families as more interactive and having multiple causes, as opposed to Anglo American mothers who would attribute behaviors based on a single cause. A matrix completion task using social stimuli was administered to children by Bigler and Liben (1992) for one week and found an increase in the organization of counter-stereotypical combinations. Crisp and Turner (2010) argued that this was evidence for the growth of cognitive flexibility, and “because it results in information elaboration and the exchange of information and perspectives” (p. 15). Thus, a need for deliberative cognition is vital for the resolution of disparities between cultures. A more cautious and rational approach to judgments and decisions may impede “rash decisions” and even risky behaviors, especially with judgments on cultural differences.

Conclusion

The main focus of this study was to provide evidence for the CPAG model, where the main emphasis was given to the notion that exposure to cultural diversity in a multiethnic setting apprehends social biases and cultural stereotypes. Thus, a sort of cognitive dissonance occurs within an individual, and once these internal disparities are actively resolved, the individual achieves an increase in cognitive development, including cognitive flexibility. Based on this concept, it was supported through this study that those who are reported to score relatively high in intercultural sensitivity also scored high in cognitive flexibility. There also seems to be an implication within the different conditions of cognitive dissonance within the CPAG model. Staying at one condition and not actively seeking to resolve inconsistencies would yield an individual to disregard adapting to the intercultural experiences, and an active approach to resolving existing stereotypes would lead individuals to increase cognitive flexibility (Crisp & Turner, 2010).

In the case of those who are guided by preconceived stereotypes, it was supported in this study that the decision to not remain with their personal biases might have been consciously driven. Thus, individuals with a high correlation between the two variables seem to exhibit a preference for a deliberative and analytical information processing. Collective individual responses from participants will provide a closer inspection at the cognitive benefits from understanding, respecting, and engagement with other cultures. A better comprehension of and needed improvement on an individual’s social interactions and perception within a diverse situation may bring about increased productivity, creative problem solving methods, group coordination, and intergroup feedback and discussions. However, individual differences may play a role in the results, as well as the individual’s level of acculturation, acculturative stresses, social desirability, and fatigue, as mentioned

beforehand, which may place several implications on the model and its application to real world situations and settings.

Future directions for possible studies may come to understand the cultures in Guam in order to gauge and construct better culturally relevant questionnaires. This can be further examined with the ISS's relatively low Cronbach's alpha and multiple components for a two-subscale questionnaire. This can be accomplished by creating a panel consisting of selected people from Guam. A set of items can be brainstormed. These items can be compiled and conducted using a beta-testing group. Responses from these local people on Guam can be analyzed using SPSS and reliability and validity can be tested. Repeated tests on smaller samples can assist in the reliability and validity of these potential items. These scales can be utilized in the possible interpersonal performances of office workers, pre-evaluative measures to test the intercultural skills of teachers or professors, as well as other occupations that require employees to interact with various people of different backgrounds. It could also be valuable in educational settings to test the academic and interpersonal skills.

Potential variables can be further investigated. As mentioned beforehand, acculturation and acculturative stresses could possibly be factors. A future study could not only include the amount of time an individual spent outside of Guam on the demographics sheet, but also include an acculturation-based scale or questionnaire as an outcome variable. Another possible study is on bilingualism and its effects on and relationship with creativity. According to a study highlighted by Crisp and Turner (2010), those who were bilingual were more likely to create detailed descriptions on the background of certain characters provided by presented narratives. Most importantly however, a cross-sectional, longitudinal study would be able to address the direction of the relationship between intercultural sensitivity and cognitive flexibility. In this study, the relationship between the two variables was established as correlation, with ISS and need for cognition as the predictors and cognitive flexibility as the outcome. With a cross-sectional study over the course of a year, it can be possible to further determine if the model in this study can occur in reverse.

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Table 1
Descriptive Statistics

	N	Range	Min	Max	Mean		Std. Dev.	Variance
	Statistic	Statistic	Statistic	Statistic	Statistic	Std. Error	Statistic	Statistic
YEARS GUAM	161	49	0	49	15.89	.659	8.367	70.004
AGE	161	57	0	57	20.83	.423	5.373	28.865
ISS ^a	160	2.46	2.54	5.00	4.1923	.03575	.45225	.205
CF ^a	160	3.67	2.25	5.92	4.4443	.04597	.58148	.338
NFC ^a	158	3.11	1.44	4.56	3.1927	.04734	.59508	.354
Valid N (listwise)	157 ^b							

Notes. ^aThese responses were retrieved by taking the mean of all the items within each scale.

^bOnly 157 out of the original 161 participants were considered due to two not completing all three scales and two not completing the NFC. Thus, these were rendered as ‘missing values’ and were marked as ‘0’.

Table 2
ISS: Item-Total Statistics

	Scale Mean if Item Deleted	Scale Variance if Item Deleted	Corrected Item-Total Correlation	Cronbach's Alpha if Item Deleted
IE1 ^a	49.99	30.094	.495	.745
RCD3 ^b	49.85	30.694	.492	.748
IE2 ^a	50.69	30.757	.260	.768
IE3 ^a	50.01	30.478	.473	.748
RCD4 ^b	50.14	29.591	.494	.744
IE4 ^a	50.54	29.344	.458	.746
IE6 ^a	50.84	31.156	.245	.769
IE7 ^a	50.67	28.686	.451	.747
RCD1 ^{bc}	50.44	30.148	.328	.761
RCD2 ^{bc}	50.01	30.755	.343	.758
RCD5 ^{bc}	50.17	29.978	.370	.756
RCD6 ^{bc}	50.14	30.044	.360	.757
IE5 ^{ac}	50.50	28.566	.458	.746
Overall Cronbach's Alpha				.768*

Notes. *Cronbach's $\alpha > 0.6$.

^aThe subscale of interaction engagement (IE) has a Cronbach's $\alpha = .684$.

^bThe subscale of respect for cultural differences (RCD) has a Cronbach's $\alpha = .667$.

^cThese items were reversed-coded.

Table 3 <i>CF Scale: Item-Total Statistics</i>				
	Scale Mean if Item Deleted	Scale Variance if Item Deleted	Corrected Item-Total Correlation	Cronbach's Alpha if Item Deleted
CF1	48.94	41.299	.512	.723
CF4	49.58	42.408	.378	.736
CF6	48.74	40.116	.543	.717
CF7	48.58	42.182	.405	.734
CF8	48.50	44.138	.233	.753
CF9	48.49	43.019	.373	.737
CF11	48.28	42.858	.479	.729
CF12	48.92	39.597	.529	.717
CF2 ^a	49.38	39.193	.520	.718
CF3 ^a	48.89	42.045	.319	.744
CF5 ^a	49.27	43.883	.132	.776
CF10 ^a	49.06	41.267	.390	.735
Overall Cronbach's Alpha				.752*

Notes. *Cronbach's $\alpha > 0.6$. There were no delineated subscales for these set of items.

^aThese items were reverse-coded.

Table 4
NFC Scale: Item-Total Statistics

	Scale Mean if Item Deleted	Scale Variance if Item Deleted	Corrected Item-Total Correlation	Cronbach's Alpha if Item Deleted
NFC1	54.35	103.732	.451	.842
NFC2	54.24	99.534	.642	.833
NFC6	54.54	101.778	.472	.841
NFC10	53.89	107.325	.305	.848
NFC11	53.77	102.865	.539	.838
NFC13	54.42	98.614	.614	.833
NFC14	54.10	102.639	.500	.839
NFC15	54.08	103.197	.479	.840
NFC18	54.07	110.728	.128	.855
NFC3 ^a	53.91	100.278	.556	.837
NFC4 ^a	54.17	98.550	.608	.834
NFC5 ^a	54.06	99.142	.595	.834
NFC7 ^a	54.92	105.426	.341	.847
NFC8 ^a	54.69	106.279	.288	.850
NFC9 ^a	54.99	103.943	.428	.843
NFC12 ^a	53.65	101.759	.553	.837
NFC16 ^a	54.96	108.151	.220	.852
NFC17 ^a	54.15	104.525	.375	.845
Overall Cronbach's Alpha				.849*

Notes. *Cronbach's $\alpha > 0.6$. There were no delineated subscales for these set of items.

^aThese items were reverse-coded.

Table 5
Tests of Normality

	Kolmogorov-Smirnov			Shapiro-Wilk		
	Statistic	df	Sig.	Statistic	df	Sig.
ISS	.073	157	.039*	.972	157	.003*
NFC	.064	157	.200	.991	157	.432
CF	.046	157	.200	.990	157	.329
IE	.097	157	.001*	.958	157	.000*
RCD	.139	157	.000*	.914	157	.000*

Notes. * $p < 0.05$, two tailed.

Table 6
Correlations Between NFC, CF, ISS, and Two Subscales from ISS

	1	2	3	4	5
1 ISS	-				
2 NFC	.226**	-			
3 CF	.273**	.469**	-		
4 IE	.881**	.254**	.277**	-	
5 RCD	.828**	.123	.181*	.464**	-

Notes. * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$

Table 7
Model Summary

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.499 ^a	.249	.239	.51127

Notes. ^aPredictors: ISS, NFC

Table 8
Regression Coefficients

Model	B	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
		Std. Error	Beta			
1	(Constant)	2.156	.403		5.347	.000
	ISS	.223	.092	.173	2.420	.017*
	NFC	.422	.070	.430	6.001	.000*

Notes. Dependent variable: CF
* $p < 0.05$, two-tailed.

Demographic Questionnaire

Sex: ___ M ___ F

Age: _____

Student Status (check one only):

___ Freshman (30 credits or less)

___ Junior (60 to 90 credits)

___ Sophomore (30 to 60 credits)

___ Senior (90 credits and above)

Major(s) (& Minor(s), if applicable): _____

Ethnicity: _____

Native Country: _____

Language:

___ English is my native language

___ English is my second language

How long have you been on Guam: _____

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NO TRUST, NO US: ONLINE AND OFFLINE CIVIC ENGAGEMENT AMONG MILLENNIALS IN GUAM

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Abstract

Civic engagement on the island of Guam is relatively low, even in spite of the passage of a particular public law that sparked feelings of indignation—most notably—in the local online community. This paper seeks to describe the disconnect between these online and offline behaviors, specifically among millennials—Guam’s youngest generation of voters. Millennials’ reactions to social and political issues will be measured, along with their attitudes towards politics and government officials; drawing a comparison to their levels of online and offline civic engagement. The study finds that while millennials are very much interested in the issues that beset their island, it does not necessarily mean they will be more inclined to participate in political discourse or civic actions on either platform. The study concludes that civic engagement on both platforms is relatively low, and posits that this may be related to low levels of trust and self-efficacy, as well as a notable desire to avoid conflict.

On November 21, 2014, the Guam Legislature was called to an emergency session to vote on a piece of legislation sponsored by the Governor of Guam that would “effectively and retroactively” increase the annual salaries of the island’s top government officials, including themselves, by 40 percent (Sablan, 2014). That same day, under the pretense of an emergency, without a public hearing, and just two weeks after the incumbents had won the gubernatorial election, Public Law 32-208 was passed and signed into law, placing Guam’s legislators among the highest paid in the United States, with an annual salary of \$85,000—only second to California’s.

Unlike California, however, Guam is a small U.S. unincorporated territory—a remote tropical island located in the North Pacific situated just 1,550 miles south of Japan and 1,500 miles east of the Philippines (“Distance From To,” 2017). It is approximately 212 sq. miles with a population of about 173,000 (“Guam Population Live,” 2017). Yet, despite its modest size, the island is beset with a multitude of unresolved social, economic, and political issues. Because of this, in light of the bill’s passage, former Senator Bob Klitzke said, ““Your salaries now rank second in the nation among state legislators [...]. But how about some of the endeavors some of your constituents think are priorities? Do the public schools rank second in the nation? Do our public libraries rank second in the country? How about our hospital?”” (as cited in Stole, 2015). Indeed, there exist local public

schools that need to be rebuilt, roads riddled with potholes, a hospital that cannot pay its bills and is constantly running out of supplies, power plants that need to be replaced, and a current debt of \$1.5B (Cagurangan, 2014).

That being the case, after news broke of the retroactive pay raises, feelings of indignation and disapproval arose within the community with similar concerns being echoed throughout the island's online community as well. Just three days after the passage of PL 32-208, KUAM News asked their Facebook followers what they thought about raises and retroactive pay for cabinet members and elected leaders. Over 100 people responded, and all but a few commenters referred to the bill as being a scam, a misappropriation of monies, and pointed to other agencies that could better use such resources.

“Boo! You tricked us! You guys should improve the education, hospital & roads!”
(Capati, 2014)

“I don't know if the raises are warranted or not, but here is my perspective. If the government officials have not been able to balance the budget, return refunds and pay all outstanding debts for the island then how can they afford the raises? Quite frankly we need to see better pay for the personnel on the front lines such as police and educators.” (Knutson, 2014)

“All I can say is that it was a very sneaky strategy to address this after the election. Would have definitely affected who I voted for. I'll keep this in mind next election.”
(Quinata, 2014)

These comments and others like them encouraged a small group of legislators to propose several bills over the course of the next ten months that would rescind the raises granted by PL 32-208. For each bill, a public hearing was held respectively. According to the Office of Michael F.Q. San Nicolas, however, each hearing drew in no more than 100 people, almost half of whom were actually directors and cabinet members there to defend their pay raises (Office of Michael F.Q. San Nicolas, personal communication, November 5, 2015). This turnout comes into conflict with the Facebook comments; as well as a recent phone survey conducted by AP government students at a local high school, which has shown that 91% of respondents (N=1243) would like PL 32-208 to be repealed (Baynum, 2015).

The numerous proposals to repeal the raises, none were passed despite public outcry presumably because not enough people physically turned out to oppose PL 32-208. This notable disconnect between public opinion and civic activity is what this research study is centered on.

It was not until March 9, 2017 that Bill 4-34 put forth by Sen. Frank Aguon, Jr. passed through the senate with a vote of 10-5. This bill would repeal the raises given to the governor, lieutenant governor, and senators through PL 32-208. However, it is thought that this vote was only made possible due to a transfiguration that the Guam Legislature underwent after the population voted out seven incumbent senators during the General Election (“No. 5: Legislative Shake-up,” 2016).

The mobilizing role of social media has been specially documented over the last several years. Scholars, journalists, and professionals alike have documented popular contemporary movements such as the 2011 Arab Spring and Occupy Wall Street as historical examples of the impact online social media networks can have on social and political change through the advocacy of civic engagement.

Five of the senators voted out in the 2016 General Election had appeared in the “Mist8ke” counter campaign run by local activist group, Guamanians for Fair Government (“No. 5: Legislative Shake-up,” 2016). Primarily, the group operates through social media, but does occasionally utilize traditional mediums (personal communication, March 2017). Prior to the election, the campaign set up billboards and circulated digital fliers on social media that featured the faces of the eight senators who voted numerous times against the pay raise repeals (“No. 5: Legislative Shake-up,” 2016).

Still, while many journalists and scholars who have studied cyberactivism would agree that communication via social media does indeed have the power to impact the offline world, the phenomenon is a lot more complex and goes far beyond the basic idea that increased access to information will have an impact on public awareness and as a result, civic engagement. The reality is that social media has merely the *potential* to mobilize and effect change. Whether or not it actually does is dependent upon numerous variables, e.g. news consumption, perceived importance of sociopolitical issues, culture, apathy, complacency, skepticism, and perceptions of efficacy.

It should also be noted that there exists a wide range of digital activities that people can carry out which essentially have no impact on society but do well to create an illusion that those who partake have actually contributed to something important. This false participation, or *slacktivism*, may be useful for bringing about awareness, but also may subvert and trivialize social and political issues by oversimplifying complex situations (Wolfsfeld, 2011, p. 19). Moreover, the online acts of “liking,” “sharing,” and posting comments often contribute to a false sense of civic engagement, that—because it is not recognized by professionals—usually generates very little

impact and interaction with the offline world (Gordon, 2015). Offline engagement is still the key to inciting change.

Another example would be the public's reactions to the U.S. Ninth Circuit Court ruling on the case *Davis v. Guam*. On March 8, 2017, the federal court ruled in favor of plaintiff Arnold Davis, who as a non-native, challenged what he described as a "race-exclusive" decolonization plebiscite that would affect the future of Guam's sovereignty ("Davis v. Guam," 2017). This decision would then open the plebiscite to not just the native colonized people of Guam, but everyone residing on the island. After the ruling, people all over social media were trying to process what had happened, what it meant, and what the next course of action should be i.e., filing an appeal (Cruz, 2017), with a good portion of that indignation belonging to millennials (personal communication, March 2017).

However, it was the testimonies on March 17, 2017, during the Committee on Culture and Justice public hearing, that really made it clear to legislators that they needed to take the issue of self-determination and potential appeal seriously (Cruz, 2017). Yet, again, the turnout was similar to that of the previous raise repeal hearings with less than 50 people in attendance, no more than 10 being millennials (Guam Legislature Media, 2017).

Therefore, the significance of this study lies in the supposed mobilizing role of social media and the future of civic engagement. Together with digital technology, the world of civic engagement is rapidly evolving. There is now an increasing difference between what many citizens consider to be civic engagement, and what professionals—policy makers, journalists, and even scholars—deem civic engagement. If a healthy democracy is characterized by consistent public participation, this shifting style of civic engagement raises questions about the future of democracy and political processes that take place outside of the voting booth, especially in the hands of technologically inundated millennial voters.

Review of Literature

To really understand the impact of social media on civic engagement, it is first necessary to acknowledge how people today view and utilize the medium. Traditionally, "many discussions about the impact on political and civic life assume that the people who take part in political activities on social networking sites are separate and distinct from those who take part in political activities outside social networking sites" (Smith, 2013, p. 5). Today, however, unlike traditional mediums such as newspapers, radio, and television *from* which people merely receive information and assemble symbolically, the *social* aspect of social media allows people to actually assem-

ble albeit not physically; and make exchanges, participate, and build networks instantaneously *through* the medium. In his book, *Tweets and the Streets* (2011), Paolo Gerbaudo insists that social media is understood to not be separate from reality, but rather, an extension of it (p. 159). Likewise, another study conducted by Pew Research Center found that, “The world of politics on social networking sites is—for most users—not a separate domain of political activity” (Smith, 2013, p. 5). Online users, particularly young adults, are “depart[ing] from this escapist vision of the internet as a virtual space wherein to refuge [themselves] from the crisis of public space” (Gerbaudo, 2012, p. 159) and are now taking part “in a wide range of behaviors that occur outside the boundaries of sites like Facebook and Twitter” (Smith, 2013, p. 5).

However, although social media has the ability to facilitate social and political discourse, it does not have the definite power to politicize users. Online users who civically engage, whether it be online or offline, are probably only likely to do so because of pre-existing interests in social or political issues (Cruz & Stoil, 2015). A research study entitled, *Social Networks and Mobilization for Self-Determination: The Case of Guam*, indicated that this is especially true for persons ages 18-27:

Only the minority of youth who already are strongly interested in Guam’s future political status are likely to generate and/or transmit digital messages on the subject. ... In fact, those who are likely to mobilize as a result of using personal digital communication do so with a pre-existing opinion (in support of or opposition to change) or motivation (a perceived benefit or harm) for the issue. Those who are generally indifferent to Guam’s political status remain unmotivated to generate and/or transmit digital messages and are highly unlikely to mobilize as a result. (Cruz & Stoil, 2015).

This implies that those who already actively engage offline are also the ones who are more inclined to engage online (M. Cruz, personal communication, November 2015). This relates to the Pew study, which concluded that most people who civically engage at all more commonly do so offline:

Despite the increased prominence of online platforms when it comes to Americans’ political activity, much of the day-to-day conversation around those issues takes place in traditional offline channels. ... Americans are three times as likely to discuss politics or public affairs with others through offline channels (in person, by phone call, or by letter) as they are through online channels. Even with the most tech-savvy users—such as young adults, college graduates, or those with high incomes—discuss politics with greater frequency offline than online. (Smith, 2013, p. 5)

It seems, however, that although this may be true for Americans, it is not a universal rule. An article published in the *Journal of South Asian Studies* about youth participation in civic and political life in Pakistan indicated just the opposite of the Pew study:

The findings of the present study showed that youth participation in institutional/formal political activities was lower compared to that through Facebook [...]. Overall, [a] large proportion of the youth participated in under reference political activities through social media. It implies that social media (Facebook) provides the youth with more political space to that of traditional politics. (Ahmad & Sheikh, 2013, p. 359)

Something to be considered is that the differences in civic engagement between the two models may be due to the differences in perceptions between Pakistanis and Americans regarding the roles of community and the government. Naturally, ideas about what is necessary and proper vary throughout the world based on cultural and personal experiences

This is why Guam makes such an interesting case. The island is a relatively westernized U.S. territory located in the middle of the Asia-Pacific region. In addition, its people are natural born U.S. citizens—most of whom, nevertheless, are of Pacific Islander or Asian descent likely brought up in their respective cultures. As a result of this cultural juxtaposition, western ideals have become fused with eastern and Pacific ideals on the island almost seamlessly.

On the one hand, as Americans, people from Guam largely believe in democracy and their right to participate in the political process and believe in the power of the individual. On the other hand, they are part of a *collectivistic culture* that is witnessed throughout Asia and the Pacific, which places “high value in group goals, collective harmony, social consensus, and interdependence” (Hofstede, as cited in Dalisay, 2012, p. 484). Such a desire for collective harmony “could encourage a high need to conform, creating an environment that inhibits individuals from expressing opinions that are not favored by the majority” (Dalisay, 2012, p. 484).

During his research, Dalisay sent out a mail-survey in Guam that examined the locals’ willingness to express opinions about the relocation of 8,600 marines along with their dependents from Okinawa, Japan to Guam known as the “military buildup” (p. 481). In his study, he suggests:

Guam’s collective nature, the close ties that bind reference groups on the island, and the fact that the island is small and homogenous could have facilitated a greater pressure to conform, resulting in a significant and positive association between perceived climate of opinion and willingness to express opinions. (Dalisay, 2012, p. 495)

In various interviews in *The Outrage Industry* (2014), Berry and Sobieraj highlight similar fears, such as “social rejection/isolation, looking uneducated/uninformed, and being unable to defend their positions” as reasons why one might refrain from political engagement (p. 130). This appears to fall right in line with Guam’s local Chamorro culture, in which these collectivistic tendencies actually have names and are often considered to be pillars of society.

Inafa’maolek, which means to “restore harmony,” is a value central to the Chamorro people that “depends on a spirit of cooperation” and “a powerful concern for mutuality rather than individualism (Cunningham, as cited in Perez-Iyechad, 2014). Another Chamorro value is *mamåhlao*, or shame, as a way to show respect that “guides social interaction” (De Oro, 2014).

It means to know one’s place and to not act out in such a way to draw too much attention to yourself or to shame your family. Most Chamorros accepted this to mean a Chamorro could not challenge authority—to just accept things the way they are and not cause trouble. (Bevacqua, 2015)

To some extent, this tendency to avoid conflict is contradictory to democracy. Conflict avoidance is characterized by its “non-confrontational style associated with withdrawing from threatening situations, remaining silent, postponing discussion of conflict-inducing issues, and refusing to publicly acknowledge that a conflict exists between one’s self and the parties involved” (Rahim, as cited in Dalisay, 2012, p. 487). Generally, in any political discourse conflict is inherent (Dalisay, 2012), but democracy, by its very nature, goes so far as to encourage conflict by inviting all citizens to act and speak out regardless of popular opinion or who holds power.

In addition to culture, levels of civic engagement are also very much determined by one’s personal experiences. The Kushin and Yamamoto (2010) study surveyed perceptions of cynicism, skepticism, efficacy, apathy, and complacency (p. 12). To add, an article by Budish (2012) cited two studies of the 1964 Freedom Rides conducted by Doug McAdam, which found that each participant’s engagement complimented how they viewed themselves and their government (p. 768).

Overall, if citizens feel as though their concerns are irrelevant, will backfire, or will go unheard; or feel frankly that their government does not care, they may switch over to “new types of talk” (Berry & Sobieraj, 2014, p. 150), or stop engaging in social and political processes altogether. “The idea [is] that continual exposure to the negativity in the media not only leads to cynical citizens, it also encourages people to ‘check out of politics.’ When people lose faith in the political system, they have less motivation to get involved.” This is called *media malaise* (Wolfsfeld, 2011, p. 81).

A democracy whose citizens do not wish to civically engage is not a true democracy. Instead, it is a “spectator democracy”—an unhealthy, broken democracy in which “the common interests elude public opinion entirely” (Lippman, as cited in Chomsky, 2011, p. 14):

There is first of all the class of citizens who have to take some active role in running general affairs. That’s the specialized class. They are the people who analyze, execute, make decisions, and run things in the political, economic, and ideological systems. That’s a small percentage of the population. ... The specialized class, the responsible men, carry out the executive function, which means they do the thinking and planning and understand the common interests. Then, there is the bewildered herd, and they have a function in democracy too. Their function in a democracy, he said, is to be ‘spectators,’ not participants in action. ... Occasionally they are allowed to lend their weight to one or another member of the specialized class. In other words, they’re allowed to say, ‘We want you to be our leader’ or ‘We want you to be our leader.’ That’s because it’s a democracy and not a totalitarian state. That’s called an election. But once they’ve lent their weight to one or another member of the specialized class they’re supposed to sink back and become spectators of action, but not participants. (Chomsky, 2011, pp. 15-16)

The danger of spectator democracy is quite straightforward. As Wolfsfeld puts it, “When those in the opposition are unwilling to come out physically against the president, the journalists have no critics to quote” (p. 25). Here, Wolfsfeld speaks specifically of presidents and journalists, but this extends to all professionals in the “specialized class”. When not enough of those in opposition are willing to come out physically against policies, the policy makers have few critics to quote and see no obligation to change their policies. Presumably, this is what had initially happened in Guam with the first few attempts to repeal the pay raises.

Then, of course, there are the traditional costs such as time, money, and energy (Berry & Sobieraj, 2014, p. 166). In Guam, there exists another pillar of Chamorro culture called *chenchule’*, or social reciprocity, which can also come in these forms of time, money, and energy (Aguon & Marsh, 2014).

Chenchule’ is a support system of exchange in which families express their care and concern for each other, as well as a sense of obligation to each other while working together to help each family meet its needs. It signifies the core Chamorro value of mutuality expressed in innumerable ways and is meant to sustain the integrity of the Chamorro family and community. (Aguon & Marsh)

Receivers of *chenchule* are expected to reciprocate. This constant interdependence through “acceptance and reimbursement of support” results in feelings of continued indebtedness in relationships (Perez-Iyechad, 2015).

However, “the amount of time and attention any of us can or will devote to any one thing is still extremely limited” (Wolfsfeld, 2011, p. 18). Going back to civic engagement, the online platform—for that reason—has the potential work to combat this limitation due to its instantaneous nature.

Wolfsfeld does point out that, “Even if a movement has the best technology available it will remain small and obscure unless it appeals to a relatively large number of people who are willing to devote time and money to the cause” (p. 18); and even at that, “too many people decide to donate a penny where they may otherwise want to donate a dollar.” This behavior of participating with little to no cost is called *slacktivism* (Morozov as cited in Wolfsfeld, 2011, p. 19).

The perceived costs and benefits of participation, the value of reciprocity, and the way they are lowered/heightened by each platform (online or offline) could explain the levels of civic engagement in a community. That said, if civic engagement is low, then it seems the sensible solution would be to try to merge the benefits of each medium:

From the Internet side, we draw upon the medium’s unique ability to thin slice labor and reduce the barriers to participation. From the traditional side, we recognize the importance of interpersonal networks and the participant’s conception of their own identity. By merging these strengths, we hope to mitigate some of the standard critiques of online activism. (Budish, 2012, p. 763)

Therefore, in an attempt to describe the seeming disconnect between the Guam millennials’ online and offline behavior, this study seeks to first examine their patterns of civic engagement and identify any perceived costs/benefits of participation. Additionally, it looks at their news consumption and existing interests in sociopolitical issues; and seeks to measure their attitudes about themselves and Guam’s government.

Methodology

Instruments

This study utilized the survey method to answer the research questions posed. A convenience sample of young adults in Guam was asked to complete at one time, an anonymous questionnaire containing a variety of questions measuring news consumption and influence, online and offline civic engagement, importance of social and political issues; and attitudes that, accord-

ing to the literature reviewed, could be impacting civic and political participation in Guam. This study specifically targeted the “millennial” generation (defined by Pew Research Center as persons ages 18-33) to eliminate the question of respondents’ social media usage as possibly being caused by a technological generation gap. Also, because they are the newest and largest group of potential voters, this study looked at millennials to examine the possible need for government officials to accommodate a shifting style of civic engagement in the future.

The survey was administered both online using Qualtrics research software and face-to-face in general education classes at the local university. The target sample was a minimum of 100 respondents. Data from those surveys were treated as aggregate results.

The survey was composed of a variety of questions—some of which were original to this study, and others, which were instrumental in previous studies. Additional questions were extrapolated from previous studies but modified to fit this particular research study. Demographic information was also obtained, along with information about access to digital technology and social media use.

Measures

Social media use. Social media use was measured by asking respondents how many hours a week they used popular platforms such as Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, and YouTube, as well as any others they might consider relevant. Respondents were then asked whether or not they subscribed to any of the major local news outlets (*Pacific Daily News*, *The Daily Post*, KUAM, or Pacific News Center) on social media.

News consumption and influence. News consumption and influence was measured by asking respondents how often they consumed local news online via Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, and Instagram on a scale of 1 to 5 with 1 being “never” and 5 being “more than once a day”. Using the same scale, the survey then asked how often respondents consumed local news via traditional mediums—newspaper, television, and radio.

The media’s influence over political discussion, awareness, and mobilization was measured three ways. First, respondents were asked how frequently they discussed local politics or public affairs via both the online and offline platforms. Second, the study looked at whether or not respondents had decided to further learn about a political issue due to something they saw on social media or through a traditional medium. Finally, the survey asked whether or not respondents had ever taken action involving a political issue due to something they saw on social media or through a traditional medium.

These questions were original to this study and were used to match the respondents' patterns of media usage to their ideas and perceptions of civic engagement, local issues, and their role as citizens of a democratic society.

Civic engagement. To measure civic engagement, this study looked at respondents' online and offline participation in public forums and civic activities borrowing from a Pew Research study entitled, *Civic Engagement in the Digital Age* (Smith, 2013). Respondents were asked about the various ways in which they (1) directly took part in an offline political or civic activity; (2) directly took part in an online political or civic activity; (3) contacted a government official or spoke out in a public forum via offline methods (i.e. in person, by phone, or by letter); and (4) contacted a government official or spoke out in a public forum via online methods. The survey also inquired about the extent to which respondents performed these actions within the last year, using a scale of 1 to 5, with 1 being "not at all" and 5 being "often."

Offline engagement was measured primarily by asking respondents how often they had committed themselves to specific real world political events, such as public hearings, political rallies, speeches, and protests. Volunteer work for a political party or candidate, working with the community to solve a problem, and service as an active member of a group that tries to influence the public or the government were considered as well. Lastly, respondents were asked how often they signed paper petitions; contacted government officials in person, by phone, or by letter; sent letters to the editor of a print newspaper or magazine; called into a live television or radio station to express an opinion; and encouraged others to vote by speaking to them in person or over the phone.

Online engagement was measured by asking respondents how often they had online discussions concerning political or social issues; commented on an online news story or social media post about a political or social issue; and written an online post about their own political views. Microblogging actions—such as posting links to political stories, articles, interviews, or speeches, and "liking" or "sharing" politically related material—were also considered. In addition, the survey asked participants about other online actions, such as signing online petitions, contacting government officials, sending letters to the editor of an online newspaper or magazine, "liking," "following," or "joining" online political groups; "following" elected officials on social media, and encouraging others to vote by communicating over the Internet.

Perceived importance of social and political issues. The survey measured the importance of social and political issues by asking respondents to rate, on a scale of 1 to 5, with 1 being "very

unlikely” to 5 being “very likely,” their likelihood of reacting, either online or offline, to socio-political issues. 12 issues were presented. Broader issues included poor governance, corruption, crime and public safety, poverty and unemployment, inequality or discrimination, infrastructure, health, and education; the more Guam-specific issues included the military buildup, tourism, cultural preservation, and self-determination.

Attitudes. The following attitudes were measured using questions from a study conducted by Kushin and Yamamoto (2010) with minor modifications. Respondents were asked to what degree, on a scale of 1 to 5, with 1 being “strongly disagree” and 5 being “strongly agree,” they agreed with a number of statements. All but two statements (those about media malaise and preference for privacy and anonymity) were taken from the Kushin and Yamamoto study under the presumption that they would provide telling information about perceived costs and benefits of online/offline communication and civic engagement.

To gauge perceptions of efficacy, the survey looked at both participants’ confidence in themselves and in the current political setup. Statements about self-efficacy included the following: “I consider myself to be well qualified to participate in politics,” “I think I am as well informed about politics and government as most people,” “I feel I have a pretty good understanding of the important political issues facing our islands,” “I feel that I could do as good a job in public office as most other people.” Statements about the political system included, “People like me don’t have any say in what the government does,” “Under our form of government, the people have the final say about how the island is run, no matter who is in office,” and “There are many legal ways for citizens to successfully influence what government does.”

To measure cynicism, participants were asked to respond to the following statements, “Politicians are only interested in the people’s vote, not in the people’s opinions,” “Politicians and government officials put their own interests ahead of the public interest,” and “Politicians and government officials lose touch quickly with the public after they get elected.” With specific regard to media malaise, the survey asked participants to respond to the following statement: “Bad news dominates headlines and I am much happier when I do not read/watch the news.”

To measure skepticism, participants were asked to respond to the following statements, “I critically evaluate what news stories say,” “I critically evaluate statements made by government officials,” and “I always think twice about statements made in news stories.”

To measure apathy, participants were asked to respond to the following statements, “Voting or getting involved takes too much time,” “Engaging in political/social issues is more trouble than

it's worth," "Staying informed about the government is too much trouble," and "Keeping up with political issues takes too much time."

To measure complacency, participants were asked to respond to the following statements, "The island will be fine whether or not I get involved," and "There is no real need for me to get involved."

To measure conflict avoidance, participants were asked to respond to the following general statements about confrontation: "I try to stay away from disagreement with others" and "I generally avoid conflict situations with others." Participants' willingness to engage in discourse where they might be confronted with differing opinions was also assessed by having participants respond to the statement, "I usually avoid open discussions of differences with others." Finally, for insight into why participants might choose to avoid conflict, the survey included the following: "I try to keep my disagreement with others to myself in order to avoid hard feelings," "I prefer anonymity and/or privacy regarding my political opinions," "I keep disagreements with others to myself to prevent disrupting my relationships with them."

Data Analysis

All data collected from the surveys was initially entered into Qualtrics for percentage analysis. Subsequently, they were entered into SPSS and relationships among selected variables were analyzed.

Results

Demographics

A total of 127 survey responses were recorded. Participants' ages ranged from 18 to 33 with the average respondent being about 24 years old. Demographics for race and ethnicity were as follows: 43% identified as Chamorro, 37% Filipino, 9% other Pacific Islander, and 6% other Asian. Only 2% of respondents identified as Caucasian, and only 2% identified as African American. At 61%, most respondents were employed. Of those employed, 56% worked full-time and 40% earned under \$1000 per month. Only 3% had not graduated high school. About 26% had only obtained their high school diploma. The rest of the 71% had, at least, some college experience.

When asked about access to digital technology, 89% indicated that they owned or had consistent access to a Smartphone. This was followed by personal laptops and computers at 81%, tablets at 50%, and 5% other, specifically gaming devices with online components.

Media Consumption

Social media. On average, respondents said they spend about 16 hours per week on Facebook, 11 hours on Twitter, and 4 hours on YouTube. Instagram was the most popular, coming in at 24 hours per week. These figures are likely due to constant access via Smartphones.

News media. With specific regard to obtaining news, Facebook was the most popular platform. A total of 93% of respondents were subscribed to local media on Facebook, 31% on Instagram, 25% on Twitter, and 7% on YouTube. About 53% of Facebook users received news at least once a day. Most respondents only received news from traditional platforms (newspaper, TV, radio) about once a week.

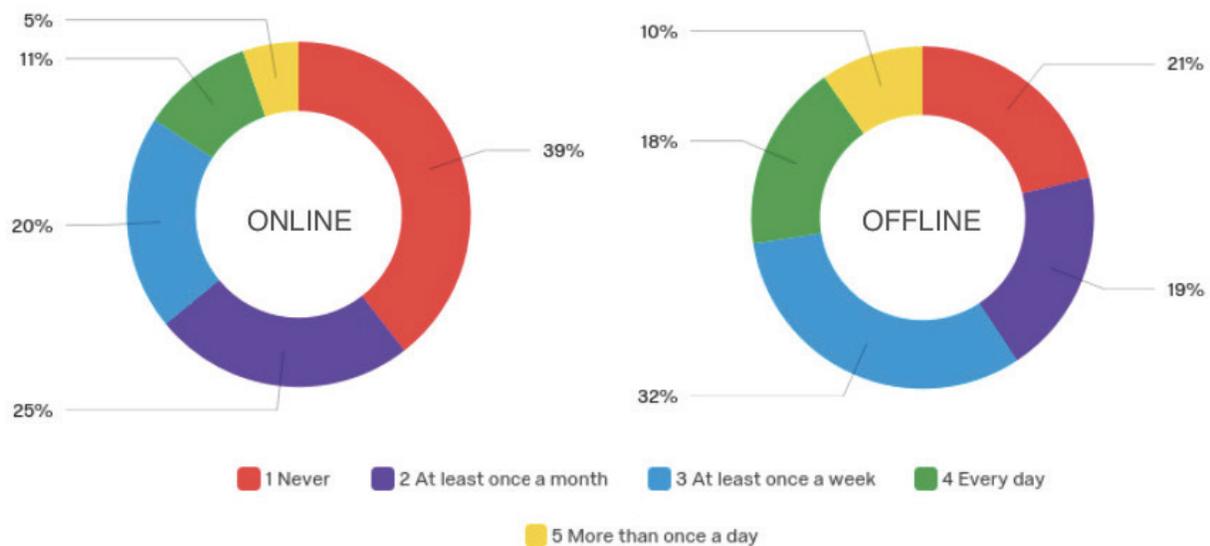


Figure 1.1 Political Discourse - On a scale of 1-5, how often do you have online/offline political discussions?

Patterns of Civic Engagement

Political discourse. The results showed that respondents were inclined to engage in political discourse more frequently offline than online. About 32% of respondents had offline political discussions at least once a week, whereas most online political discussions took place at least once a month—if ever at all. Approximately 39% of respondents said they never engaged in online political discourse.

Offline engagement. This study found that overall, those surveyed rarely engaged in offline civic actions. Only two forms of offline engagement were performed significantly more often than the rest: (1) signing paper petitions and (2) encouraging others to vote.

About 48% of those surveyed indicated they had never attended a public hearing, while another 23% said they rarely attended. This is compared to the remaining 20% who sometimes attended; 17% who occasionally attended; and 2% who often attended.

Notably, the three lowest forms of offline civic action were linked to the use of traditional media and communication. The survey showed that most respondents never contacted their government officials in person, by phone, or by letter; never called into live radio or television shows to express their opinions; and were even less inclined to write a letter to the editor of a newspaper or magazine.

Online engagement. The top three forms of online civic engagement amongst millennials were “liking” or “favoriting” online posts; “sharing,” “re-blogging,” or “re-tweeting” material; and “liking” or “following” an online group or page working to address a social/political issue

Similar to patterns of offline civic engagement, the results showed that respondents were least inclined to write a letter to the editor of an online newspaper or magazine about an issue that was important to them.

Levels of Interest in Sociopolitical Issues

Overall, respondents held a rather moderate interest in sociopolitical issues as shown in Figure 2.1. Nevertheless, the data also showed that respondents would still be more likely to react to news about local sociopolitical issues rather than ignore them, with the least popular issue having a mean of 3.12 ($SD = 1.09$).

#	Field	Mean	Std Deviation	#	Field	Mean	Std Deviation
1	Inequality/Discrimination	3.83	1.00	7	Cultural Preservation	3.47	1.12
2	Crime and Public Safety	3.79	1.04	8	Poverty/Unemployment	3.45	1.02
3	Education	3.77	1.13	9	Self-Determination	3.41	1.24
4	Corruption	3.64	1.06	10	Infrastructure	3.16	1.00
5	Health	3.59	1.10	11	Military Buildup	3.15	1.16
6	Poor Governance	3.50	1.12	12	Tourism	3.12	1.09

Figure 2.1 Levels of Interest - On a scale of 1-5, where 1 means very unlikely and 5 means very likely, how likely are you to react to news about the following sociopolitical issues?

However, interest in an issue does not necessarily drive action on either platform. When asked if they decided to learn more about an issue based off something they heard or saw on social

media, 77% said yes. However, only 40% said social media had inspired them to take action. Likewise, when asked if they decided to learn more about an issue based on something they heard or saw on traditional media, 65% of respondents said yes; however, only 38% said traditional media had inspired them to actually take action.

Attitudes and Perceptions

Efficacy. Respondents appeared to have a modest sense of self-efficacy, and were seemingly indifferent about their ability to assume an active role in politics. As seen in Figure 3.1, many of the attitudes collected on efficacy came back relatively neutral, if not below average.

Respondents also had a middling certainty about their influence in the current political system, with 35% agreeing; 35% disagreeing; and 40% neither agreeing nor disagreeing to the statement, “Under our form of government, the people have the final say about how the island is run, no matter who is in office.” However, respondents did seem to think they had a good understanding of local issues and believed there were enough legal ways for citizens to influence the government.

#	Field	Mean	Std Deviation
1	I consider myself to be well qualified to participate in politics.	2.53	1.06
2	I think I am as well-informed about politics and government as most people.	2.63	1.08
3	I feel that I could do as good a job in public office as most other people.	2.45	1.10
4	People like me don't have any say in what the government does.	2.92	1.15
5	I feel I have a pretty good understanding of the important political issues facing our island.	3.13	0.97
6	Under our form of government, the people have the final say about how the island is run, no matter who is in office.	2.82	1.10
7	There are many legal ways for citizens to successfully influence what government does.	3.52	0.92

Figure 3.1 Efficacy - On a scale of 1-5, where 1 means strongly disagree and 5 means strongly agree, how much do you agree with the following statements regarding efficacy?

Cynicism and skepticism. Next, participants were asked to react to statements regarding their views on politicians. More people seemed to generally agree that politicians are only interested in the people's vote, and have a tendency to put their interests ahead of the public's.

Moreover, a substantial number of respondents agreed to some degree that politicians and government officials lose touch quickly with the public after they get elected. About 40% of respondents agreed with the statement while another 21% strongly agreed. Only 11% of respondents disagreed with the statement to a certain extent. The remaining 28% were indifferent. Subsequently, many respondents also indicated that they critically evaluated statements made by government officials as well as information put out by local news media.

When asked to what extent they agreed with the statement, “Bad news dominates headlines and I am much happier when I do not read/watch the news,” 10% strongly disagreed, 19% disagreed, 32% felt neutral, 22% agreed, and 16% strongly agreed.

#	Field	Mean	Std Deviation
1	Politicians are interested only in the people’s vote, not in the people’s opinions.	3.50	1.00
2	Politicians and government officials lose touch quickly with the public after they get elected.	3.68	0.97
3	Politicians and government officials put their own interests ahead of the public interest.	3.54	0.99
4	I critically evaluate what news stories say.	3.58	1.03
5	I critically evaluate statements made by government officials.	3.57	0.96
6	I always think twice about statements made in news stories.	3.73	0.94

Figure 3.2 Cynicism and Skepticism - On a scale of 1-5, where 1 means strongly disagree and 5 means strongly agree, how much do you agree with the following statements regarding cynicism and skepticism?

Apathy and complacency. Questions about apathy and complacency yielded mostly neutral responses. However, as shown in Figure 3.3, the overall percentage of respondents who generally disagreed with the statements was still notably greater than those who agreed with them.

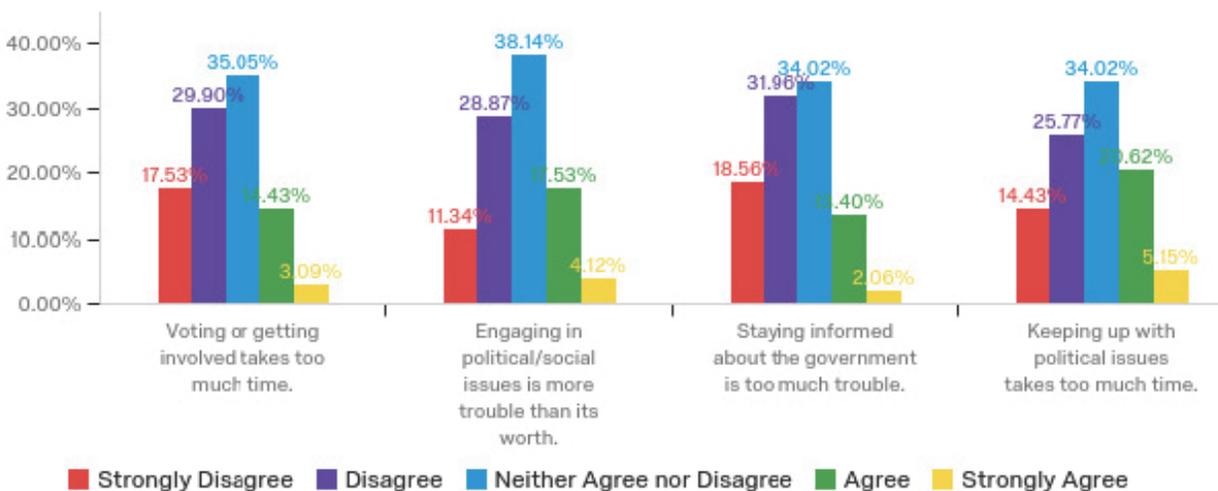


Figure 3.3 Apathy and Complacency - On a scale of 1-5, where 1 means strongly disagree and 5 means strongly agree, how much do you agree with the following statements regarding apathy and complacency?

Conflict avoidance. Survey responses regarding conflict avoidance were fairly neutral as well. Participants more or less preferred to stay away from disagreements, conflict situations, and valued privacy; but did not totally object to having open discussions of differences.

#	Field	Mean	Std Deviation
1	I try to stay away from disagreement with others.	3.50	1.00
2	I usually avoid open discussions of differences with others.	2.95	1.04
3	I try to keep my disagreement with others to myself in order to avoid hard feelings.	3.05	0.95
4	I prefer anonymity and/or privacy regarding my political opinions.	3.23	1.12
5	I keep disagreements with others to myself to prevent disrupting my relationships with them.	3.18	0.98
6	I generally avoid conflict situations with others.	3.34	1.04

Figure 3.4 Conflict Avoidance - On a scale of 1-5, where 1 means strongly disagree and 5 means strongly agree, how much do you agree with the following statements regarding conflict avoidance?

Discussion

Significance of Results

Contrary to the premise of this study, the data found the level of respondents' online civic engagement to be more or less equivalent to their level of offline civic engagement. The results were neither similar to the Pew study, nor the findings of Ahmad and Sheikh. For the most part, Guam's millennials seem to have little interest in participating in civic activities regardless of the platform.

Moreover, results showed that, on Guam, both online and offline media have an insignificant impact as a mobilizer. While news and information shared both online and offline may work to peak a reader's interest inasmuch as they would take it upon themselves to learn more about a topic, the likelihood of it inspiring civic *action* is minimal, thereby supporting the study by Cruz and Stoil which questioned the mobilizing power of social media. As for links between the will to learn more about a topic and pre-existing interest in sociopolitical issues, no correlative analysis was conducted and this serves as a limitation.

As for political discourse, it also appears that millennials prefer offline engagement rather than online engagement. Most never had online political discussions. This, however, does not necessarily mean that offline political discussions are being frequently had. While offline discussions take place more frequently, they only do so about once a week. The results also showed that respondents rarely posted original thoughts about sociopolitical issues online, commented on online news stories about sociopolitical issues.

Even so, this study still holds value as it has managed to pinpoint some of the contributors to the low levels of civic engagement on the island.

First, in line with the theory of *slacktivism*, the most common forms of online civic engagement amongst those surveyed were actions more timely, less costly, and that require minimal effort, such as “liking” or “favoriting” material, “sharing,” “re-blogging,” or “re-tweeting” material; and “following” online groups or pages working to address sociopolitical issues. Additionally, the data does reinforce the accounts of low turnout at local public hearings, with majority of respondents never having attended one.

Moreover, building upon the findings of Cruz and Stoil which implied that those who already actively engage offline are also usually those also engaging online, the results of this study show that certain offline actions actually parallel their online actions to some degree.

Like their online engagement, the most common forms of millennial offline engagement were also of low cost and had consisted of signing paper petitions or encouraging others to vote. Additionally, on both platforms, the least popular forms of civic engagement were either linked to, or imitated, the use of traditional media that would effectively require them to attach their opinions to their identities (i.e. writing letters to the editor, testifying, phoning in their opinions, or contacting officials as opposed to simply clicking “like.”)

This could perhaps be explained by respondents’ preference to avoid disagreement or conflict situations with others, as well as privacy being of relatively high importance.

Whether or not the tendency to avoid conflict is due to Guam’s collectivistic culture cannot be said for sure because no correlative analysis was conducted, serving as yet another limitation; although, it is not unimaginable that the cultural concepts of *mamåhlao* and *inafa’maolek* could have come into play here. Considering conflict’s inherence in politics, it is plausible that the Chamorro culture’s concerns for harmony and humility had influenced the minimal political participation.

Having said that, conflict avoidance does not necessarily mean millennials are passive. Many respondents actually stated that they were not afraid to have open discussions of differences with others, nor were they afraid to voice opposing opinions. However, much like in *The Outrage Industry*, this study found a particularly low sense of self-efficacy. Nearly half of the respondents did not believe in their own capacity to participate in politics, indicating that they did not think they were “qualified” or well enough informed. This corresponds with the fears of social rejection and looking uneducated/uninformed noted in the interviews conducted by Berry and Sobieraj.

Correspondingly, in Guam, social rejection, not knowing one's place, and looking uneducated are regarded as some of the consequences of *not* being *mamåhlao*.

The study also found that although self-efficacy was low, many of the respondents still believed themselves to have a firm grasp on local issues. While use of traditional media such as newspapers and radio was down, majority of respondents still received their news through Facebook on a daily basis. Moreover, results actually indicated a willingness to stay informed, as well as low amounts of apathy. When looking at levels of interest in sociopolitical interest, across the board, the actual response counts indicating a positive likeliness to react to news about local issues far surpassed the number of responses of people who said that they would not. With regard to the retroactive pay raises, the issues of poor governance and corruption seemed to be of rather average importance to respondents.

Survey responses also pointed to *media malaise* as a possible explanation for low civic engagement. Most respondents agreed to some extent that bad news dominates headlines and that they were much happier when they did not read/watch the news.

Interestingly, among the least popular issues, or issues that respondents said they would be least likely to react to, were infrastructure, the military buildup, and tourism. Taking into account respondents' admission of media malaise and comparing it with the type of reportage commonly witnessed in Guam's local news media, this makes sense. Stories of construction projects missing their deadlines make the front page several times a year; after decades of calling for self-determination, the island has still only had one plebiscite, which took place back in 1976; and despite protest, the military buildup is well underway, as are the continued threats of land militarization and appropriation. It could be that repeated negative coverage like this has discouraged the public and has resulted in respondents feeling hopeless and disempowered.

Moreover, issues such as the military buildup and tourism are, for the most part, beyond the general public's control. Touching on Chomsky's concept of *spectator democracy*, one could even suppose Guam's present colonial status to be a factor. The colonized mind by its own nature is both expected and accustomed to playing the spectator role.

Lastly, findings also suggest millennials have become discouraged from participating in politics partly because they do not trust government officials to act in the public's favor. The survey showed millennials' trust and confidence in elected leaders in Guam to be dismally low. Yet, they did acknowledge there to be many legal ways for citizens to successfully influence what government does. These results, compared to the low levels of apathy and the preference for low

cost engagement puts forward that millennials, despite the many avenues supposedly available to them, believe these avenues to be ineffective and therefore do not bother spending their time and money to such conflict-inherent civic activities and discussions. Additionally, with the Chamorro value of *chenchule*' being held in high regard, it could be that Guam millennials feel their past commitments to the political process have not yet been reimbursed and have let this affect their political participation outside of the voting booth.

Limitations and Recommendations

There were a number of limitations in this study. It is recommended here that future research remove the choice of "neither agree nor disagree" from their instruments to force a more accurate response. In addition, this study would have generated more definitive results if correlations were examined, particularly links between the willingness to learn about a topic and pre-existing interest; and those between ethnicity/demographics and conflict avoidance.

The survey also did not include any questions about participants' understandings of or commitment to local Chamorro values. Therefore, all interpretations concerning *inafa'maolek*, *mamåhlao*, or *chenchule*' are inferences based off the researcher's reasoning as opposed to statistical analysis, and this serves as another limitation.

It is also suggested that future studies be wary of any two-part statements, e.g. "Bad news dominates headlines and I am much happier when I do not read/watch the news." It may be that respondents agreed more with one half of the statement than the other, and it is suggested that future studies reword or split this into two separate statements.

Similarly, the statements "People like me don't have any say in what the government does," and "Under our form of government, the people have the final say about how the island is run, no matter who is in office" should also be reworded. It is possible that respondents answered in accordance with their understanding of the legal definition of 'our (democratic) form of government' as opposed to their personal beliefs. It might be that respondents were unsure whether the survey was asking for their personal perceptions, or their knowledge of the legal definition of democracy. To clarify, the intent was to gather personal opinions about the health of democracy in Guam.

Lastly, this study's main focus was to analyze civic engagement—defined as public participation in civic activities, but did not include voting. Future studies can incorporate further research about the online platform's ability to drive millennials to the polls and voting booths.

Conclusion

Guam has not yet seen as significant a shift in civic engagement and discourse from the offline platform to the online platform as this study had initially presumed. Civic engagement on both platforms is relatively low. Still, despite this and the limitations above, the findings shed light on the various influencing factors.

The island is seeing a notable shift in mediums from which millennials prefer to obtain their information, as well as in their understanding of what counts as civic engagement. There is also a notable popularity among low cost forms of engagement, and because the online platform offers such accessibility and timeliness, it could be that a shift in platforms just has yet to fully take place.

However, preference for low cost engagement seems to be more attributed to sociocultural factors, malaise, and personal perceptions, as opposed to youth laziness or apathy as is so commonly assumed of millennials.

The cynical views about government officials found by the survey reinforce the Facebook comments opposing the passage of PL 32-208 that were cited in this study, and when evaluated in the context of local Guam values, seem to be contributing factors to low engagement. *Inafa'maolek*, *mamåhlao*, and *chenchule'* may all be specific to Chamorro culture; but Guam is a melting pot of cultures—many of them Asiatic or other Pacific Islander, which hold similar collectivistic values of interdependence, and harmony. Feelings of powerlessness and malaise appear to have hijacked millennials willingness to engage. The unfulfilled expectations of government officials in Guam where reciprocity is highly valued might be causing millennials to disengage or cut out the seemingly one sided relationships.

Therefore, as there can be no community without unity, perhaps to recapture the millennial demographic, government officials may want to recognize the online platform, what is being said and the actions being taken on it, as an extension of reality—utilizing and dedicating more resources to it as a tool through which to promote and revive real life civic engagement in Guam.

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