

A tropical sunset scene with palm leaves in the foreground and the ocean in the background. The sun is low on the horizon, casting a golden glow over the water and sky. The palm leaves are silhouetted against the bright light, creating a dramatic effect. The overall mood is peaceful and serene.

Guam, Where America's Colonization Begins

Cultural Heritage, Identity and the Perception of the Chamorros

Timon Verschoor
Augustus 2011

Guam, Where America's Colonization Begins

Cultural Heritage, Identity and the Perception of the Chamorros



Universiteit Utrecht

This thesis is submitted to the University of Utrecht in fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science, Cultural Anthropology.

Name:	Timon Verschoor
Student number:	3460657
Supervisor:	Drs. Lotje Brouwer
Institution:	University of Utrecht, the Netherlands
Date:	August 2011
Contact details:	T.Verschoor@gmail.com
Photograph front:	By author

“All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights [...]”

(The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, United Nations 1947, art. 1)

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements	5
Prologue	6
Geography of Guam	7
Chapter I: Guam: a theoretical introduction	8
<i>I.I This land is my land</i>	8
<i>I.II Culture, a kaleidoscope</i>	12
Chapter II: Language, symbolism and Identity	18
<i>II.I Exclusion through politics</i>	19
<i>II.II Nationalism and identity</i>	21
Chapter III: Pãgat: an contested ancient Chamorro settlement	27
<i>III.I Identification through cultural heritage</i>	28
<i>III.II Colonization of the mind</i>	31
Chapter IV: Chamorro month: Celebration of the self	36
<i>IV.I Decolonization of the mind</i>	37
<i>IV.II Culture coming in as last</i>	41
Chapter V: Bud Lite as cultural heritage	46
<i>V.I Glocalization and law</i>	46
<i>V.II Glocalization, capitalism and the military</i>	48
Chapter VI: Conclusion	54
List of references	58

Acknowledgements

This thesis would not have been possible without the help of several individuals which all contributed in a valuable way. There are a lot of people who helped me out in one way or another and I am very grateful towards them and to all the inhabitants of Guam which I met during my most pleasant stay. I can honestly say that their hospitality is beyond any expectation I could ever had. I also want to thank all the people at Guam Preservation Trust and Gef Pa'go for making me feel at home during my stay on Guam.

It is my pleasure to thank Drs. Lotje Brouwer for her guidance and knowledgeable feedback. My dear friends and main informants Joe, Tony and Vince, I want you all to know that without your help I would have never succeeded in writing this thesis. I want you to know that I am very grateful for all the help, insights and of course the good times we had. I especially want to thank Tony and his sister for giving me a home during my stay on Guam.

To all of you, those who helped me in every way possible:

Si Yu'us ma'åse

(Thank you / God have mercy)

Timon Verschoor,
Utrecht, August 2011

Prologue

In 1521 Captain Ferdinand Magellan discovered a small Pacific island which is nowadays known as Guam. In 1565, decades after its discovery, Guam became a colony of Spain and remained so for over roughly 300 years. In 1898, when the Spanish-American war was almost at its end, Guam was ceded to the United States and became their colony until this day on. Although there was an interruption in the American rule through the Japanese administration of the island during World War II (Farrell 2011:145, Barusch and Spaulding 1989:63-66). Years after the war the Organic Act of Guam¹ was signed in 1951 and declared Guam as an unincorporated territory of the United States which eventually resulted in a self-governance, although an impaired one, and an American citizenship for its inhabitants (United States Department of Justice 2007:9; Perez 2005:572). Since the United States colonized Guam the island was controlled by Naval administrators. It took about twenty years since the Organic Act of Guam before a chosen governor replaced the Naval administrators. The first governor was of Chamorro ethnicity (Guampedia 2009a). The Chamorros are the indigenous people of Guam and count for 37.1 percent of the population and are the largest ethnic group of the island. The other 62.9 percent of the 183,286 (July 2011 est.) inhabitants of Guam consists mostly out of Filipinos and other Pacific islanders (Central Intelligence Agency 2011). The inhabitants of Guam are commonly known as Guamanians and, starting in 1952, the United States assimilated these Guamanians through public schools. Teaching English was the main instrument of acculturation and it opened the way for indoctrination of the Guamanians with American ideas, values and lifestyle. During the hundreds of years of Spanish and American colonization the cultural heritage of the indigenous people, the Chamorros, transformed significantly. For example, many of the Chamorro youth cannot speak the Chamorro language (Barusch and Spaulding 1989:63-74).

One could wonder what a history like this does with the Chamorros, how it influences their way of life and their cultural heritage which have both been transformed forcibly. How do they identify themselves as they are at the same time a Chamorro, a Guamanian and an American?

¹ "The Organic Act of Guam and related federal laws provide the framework for the government of Guam." (United States Department of Justice, 2011:3).

Geography of Guam

The island of Guam is located in the Pacific Ocean east of the Philippines and north of Papua New Guinea. The encircled village, on the second map, is Inarajan which was my home during most of my time on Guam.



Location of Guam in the Pacific Ocean (Central Intelligence Agency n.d.).



Map of Guam (Central Intelligence Agency n.d.).

Chapter I

Guam: a theoretical introduction

'Guam, where America's day begins' is a well known phrase in the Pacific. This small island is an United States (U.S.) territory where the international timeline starts. The largest ethnic group on the island are the Chamorros, by many seen as the true inhabitants and indigenous people of Guam. '*Fanohge Chamorro put it tano'ta*' is the first sentence of the Chamorro unofficial national anthem of Guam, a Chamorro hymn. Guampedia, a Guam-based website, translates it as following: "Stand ye Guamanians for your country." (2009b). The use of the term 'Guamanians' is superseding the Chamorros on Guam. The sensitivity around these two terms were highlighted in the discussion after 'the State of the Island' speech from Governor Eddie Calvo. After his speech on March 14, 2011, which subject was economy and poverty, there were complaints from Chamorros who felt offended because the governor mentioned the term 'Guamanians' six times more often as the term 'Chamorros'. The uses of the term 'Chamorros' were bounded to an ancient context whereas 'Guamanians' was used in the context of the modern community nowadays on Guam (Kelman 2011). Some of the Chamorros see themselves, or at least their ancestors, as the true inhabitants of Guam but the translation of the Chamorro hymn or the speech from the governor does not directly recognize Guam as the island of the Chamorros, but as an island owned by all the ethnic groups living there. This play on words is connected to contemporary political, cultural and identity issues on Guam.

I.I This land is my land

The political status of Guam is the best starting point for examining these contemporary issues. The official national anthem of Guam is the American anthem of which a part of one of the last sentences says 'the land of the free'. With the knowledge in mind that Guam is an unincorporated territory of the U.S. the part of the sentence of the U.S anthem and the political status of Guam can be conceived as contradictory. The Organic Act of Guam gave Guam a little self-governance by stating it as an unincorporated territory of the U.S., giving them the right of having an executive branch, a legislature and a judiciary (United States Department of Justice, 2011). However, the Congress delegate from Guam is a non-voting Congress

member. The inhabitants of Guam eventually became U.S citizens, through the Organic Act of Guam, but without voting rights unless they live on the mainland. Article 21 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights clearly states that;

"The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government; this will shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections [...]" (United Nations 1947, art. 21).

In short one could say that Guam is, opposed to the Human Rights Declaration, strongly impaired regarding their self-governance which is the consequence of deterritorialization of power, a part of globalization, which structures territories (Bauman 1998:20). The political status of Guam has far-reaching social and cultural consequences. An example is the implementation of U.S Laws which are restricting the way of life of the inhabitants of Guam, to which I will return later. The political situation of Guam should be seen through a lens of creolized politics. Anthropologist Thomas Eriksen (2007:113) defines creolization as a process where two or several groups, in this case the Americans and Chamorros, have a dynamic interchange of symbols and practices which are eventually leading to new forms with varying degrees of stability. As I just have shown, the political situation on Guam is a new form. Although the other Guamanians are involved too, not just the Chamorros.

On Guam one can see the effects of processes which have aspects of Westernization or Americanization, but these terms are too broad and unclear. A combination of two other terms will explain this process more clearly, namely: 'imperialistic glocalization'. Before explaining my choice for these terms they first have to be placed in the context of globalization. Anthropologist Arjun Appadurai (1996:31) approaches globalization by different 'scapes' which represent global flows on different levels like culture, politics, economics, et cetera. These global flows changed the world. Globalization, according to archeologist Christopher Tilley, is a "rapid development of multicultural urban societies, the increasing influence of multinational corporations and the growth of 'flexibility', and concomitantly insecurity, in the labor market, diasporas and large-scale movements and displacements of peoples, tourism and travel, the Internet and a collapsing sense of space and time." (2006:8).

Glocalization, a process closely connected to globalization, is defined by sociologist George Ritzer "as that which is locally conceived, controlled and rich in

distinctive substance.” (2004:8). Something that cannot be produced somewhere else. In the context of globalization this process is concerning the ‘products’ of the global flows. I use the term ‘imperialism’ because the U.S. are imperialistic towards Guam, especially on cultural and economic level (Perez 2002; Barusch and Spaulding 1989). Some authors (Tomlinson 1991:3; Hamm and Smandych 2005:4-5) use the term ‘cultural imperialism’ but ‘imperialism’ on itself is very difficult to define as they all agree on. I use it as an adjective to the process of glocalization which definition is in my opinion more clear and useful. As an adjective I define ‘imperialistic’ according to the definition of anthropologist Conrad Kottak. He defines it as “a policy of extending the rule of a nation or empire over foreign nations and of taking and holding colonies.” (2008:337). So imperialistic glocalization is a forceful process where the penetration of global aspects (cultural, social, political and economic) have to be locally conceived and controlled. The imperialistic aspect is that the glocalization is forced upon one.

There needs to be a footnote because imperialistic glocalization is not an essentialistic process. The process is plural and fluid. A good approach for making this more clear is the ‘structuration theory’ which explains the agency of people within the structure in which they find themselves (Giddens 1984). Sociologist Anthony Giddens and others are seen as ‘practice theorists’ by anthropologist Laura Ahearn (2003:7). They can be placed in the ‘school of thought’ which beliefs are that people make society while society makes them. According to Ahearn they try to solve the riddle about “how social reproduction becomes social transformation” where the key is ‘agency’ (Ahearn 2003:7). I use Ahearn’s definition of agency who’s description states that “agency refers to the socioculturally mediated capacity to act.” (2001:112). Structure is inextricably intertwined with agency. Giddens describes structure as “the structuring properties allowing the ‘binding’ of time-space in social systems, the properties which make it possible for discernibly similar social practices to exist across varying spans of time and space and which lend them ‘systematic’ form.” (1984:17). The people of Guam have agency which allows them to follow their own cultural road, but this road is full of obstacles because there are, of course, limitations, the structure. Ahearn (Khan 2007:654) mentions that there are different forms of agency and it is of great importance to identify the agency of the Chamorros and the structure in which this agency is possible because the agency of the

Chamorros shows the real impact of the imperialistic glocalization by the U.S. regarding their cultural heritage.

Cultural heritage and identification are contested issues on Guam, not only from a scientific theoretical point of view but also at a practical social and cultural level. Timothy and Boyd define cultural heritage as a "historic environment, both natural and built, but also [...] every dimension of material culture, intellectual inheritances and cultural identities." (Macleod 2010:64). As Brian Graham et al. (2000:17) shows, it is important to know that heritage is a selection of the past which we use in the present for contemporary purposes. These purposes can be economic, cultural, political or social. Heritage can be used as a resource because its worth lies in a "complex array of contemporary values, demands and moralities." (Graham et al. 2000:17). So cultural heritage can be used by the Chamorros for empowering their agency. Heritage also is a part of defining the meanings of culture and it can be used as a political resource. Concluding, 'agency' possesses a socio-political function. It is also connected to identification and potential conflicts (Graham et al. 2000:17).

Historian Eric Hobsbawm is known for his ideas about the 'invention of tradition'. Invented traditions are according to Hobsbawm "a set of practices [...] which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behavior by repetition which automatically implies continuity with the past." (Hobsbawm and Ranger 2010:1). Hobsbawm makes a clear distinction between 'tradition' and 'custom'. For example, a "'custom' is what judges do; 'tradition' [...] is the wig, robe and other formal paraphernalia and ritualized practices surrounding their substantial action." (Hobsbawm 2010:2-3). Traditions are according to Hobsbawm a part of cultural heritage and so they can be a resource on different levels and a part of defining the meanings of culture, it can be used in a socio-political sense and it is highly important for identification processes. So traditions can be used for empowering the agency of the Chamorros but also for amplifying their identification process. "(a) decline of 'custom' inevitably changes the 'tradition' with which it is habitually intertwined." (Hobsbawm 2010:3). This decline of custom is seen, by the Chamorros, on Guam because of the American presence. Of course one could take into mind the broader implications of time, globalization, et cetera, which can also alter traditions. But the focus of this research is the American influence and how the Chamorros perceive it.

The invention of traditions "occur more frequently when a rapid transformation of society weakens or destroys the social patterns for which 'old' traditions had been

designed, producing new ones [...]" (Hobsbawm 2010:4). This is according to me clearly the case on Guam because of the imperialistic glocalization. But one has to be aware of the fact that genuine traditions can have a high adaptability if the old ways are still alive so that they do not always have to be reinvented or be replaced. (Hobsbawm 2010:8).

Heritage contains, as I just showed, every dimension of material and intellectual culture, so it can also contain symbols like a flag and an anthem. By invention of traditions one can make use of these symbols (Hobsbawm 2010:11). This is particularly interesting in the case of Guam, an island with two flags and two anthems. Because the National Flag, the National Anthem and the National Emblem are symbols through which a nation can proclaim its identity and sovereignty. These symbols "reflect the entire background, thought and culture of a nation." (Hobsbawm 2010:11). But what if you have two of each?

The U.S. imperialistic glocalization of Guam is influencing the cultural heritage and the identification process of the Chamorros. Because of the long history of colonization on Guam the Chamorro cultural heritage transformed significantly. Traditions like music and dance started to be reinvented² (again) a few decades ago and are adding an extra layer of complexity to the identification process of the Chamorros.

I.II Culture, a kaleidoscope

The culture of the Chamorros is celebrated every year with 'Chamorro month' which is in March. There are activities everywhere on the island for the whole month, the activities are in the context of the ancient Chamorros and their 'unique' traditions like weaving, dancing and music but also intellectual heritage. A lot of these activities are reinvented traditions which are very interesting to puzzle out (Flores 1999:222). During Chamorro month I joined some musicians to a youth correctional facility

² "By the time planning for the 1984 Festival was underway, Guam's participation was strictly under the authority of a 'Festpac' Task Force [...] In 1983 when the task force first met to plan Guam's presentation, our initial discussion centred on the question of —What is our culture? It was generally agreed that we needed to present something more than our Spanish colonial-era artistic traditions. As noted in Frank Rabon's interview, former Guam Legislative Speaker Carlos Taitano was invited to help with the presentation of Guam's cultural history as told through songs and dances. Reinventions of ancient Chamorro dance began with those presentations, which also included an equally prominent presentation of Spanish colonial dances and contemporary rock n' roll and cha-cha." (Flores 1999:202,203).

wherein one of them, Mark³, made an important remark. He said “why not living it every day?” (Mark, interview by author, March 25, 2011). He meant that he thought that it was a little bit ridiculous that Chamorro month is a ‘once a year’ celebration while it should be celebrated every day for he said later on that “you are also a Chamorro the other eleven months of the year.” (Mark, interview by author, March 25, 2011). Why do the Chamorros celebrate their cultural collective identity only once a year? I noticed through a lot of conversations that many Chamorros think it is important to preserve their culture and cultural heritage. This is exactly what Chamorro month does because for a lot of Chamorros it is keeping their ‘old’ traditions alive. But Vince, a main informant, told me the following, “I am a Chamorro and I have a culture.” (interview by author, March 7, 2011). Then he said to me that although a lot of people think that their culture is slowly disappearing they do not see that they have a culture right now. This is also why some Chamorros felt offended by the use of the term ‘Guamanian’ by the governor. It is a term which felt like an attack regarding their identities as an individual but also as a collective, endangering the Chamorro culture. Vince thinks that some Chamorros do not understand that a culture always changes and that old traditions are not always necessary anymore. Vince did not mean to say that it is not important to preserve the Chamorro traditions, he agrees with that, he himself is even involved in preserving old music, song and chant. But looking more closely at this identification process one could speak of the presence of a dual discursive competence regarding the discourse of ‘culture’ which is used by the different inhabitants of Guam (Baumann 2008:34). People can affirm a dominant discourse or take a demotic one through this dual discursive competence. Chamorros can see themselves as Guamanians in a certain setting or context, like the governor did. But he was, probably unwillingly, imposing a dominant discourse because of his status ‘above’ the people. The demotic discourse among the Chamorros who were lightly aggravated was certainly not ‘Guamanian’. This shows that ‘culture’ can be seen as a kaleidoscope because there are different points of views and opinions about ‘culture’ and these change constantly regarding the context. The imperialistic glocalization of the U.S. added some reflections to this kaleidoscope, making it even more complex. The dual discursive competence also plays a major role regarding the identification of the Chamorros and shows these

³ Some of the informant names are fictitious on account of ethical considerations which I based upon the Code of Ethics of the American Anthropology Association.

added reflections. Another main informant, Tony, identifies himself as a Chamorro and sees himself only as an American in a formal political way because of the U.S. Law. On the other hand, a local historian, Anthony Palomo, told me that he identified himself as a Chamorro and at the same time as an American and a third one even identified himself mainly as a Guamanian. Reinvention of traditions, symbolism and nationalism is clearly connected to this and I will return to this subject later on.

The changes over the years on Guam by the imperialistic glocalization of the U.S. makes a lot of people think that they are Americanized and that their cultural heritage is slowly disappearing. Some even see their culture as a whole disappear. At least, this is the picture sketched to me by most of my informants. By claiming truth regarding 'Americanization', the Chamorros define their culture through cultural heritage and a certain way of living which is heavily contested in its contemporary form. They associate this with losing aspects of their culture. It is interesting to approach this process from the theoretical framework of 'colonization of the mind'. Anthropologist Vassos Argyrou (2005:23-24) describes 'unthought' as something that is perceived natural and unquestioned. This could be hegemonic knowledge systems, lifestyles, traditions, et cetera, which can find their way through colonization into cultural heritage. It is an unconscious assimilation. If the imperialistic glocalization of the U.S. makes people think that they are becoming Americans or Western people, which is why the most Chamorros use the term 'Americanization', they deny themselves their own distinctive culture and identity. One which is unique and completely different from the American culture because of the process of glocalization (Eriksen 2007:58). The finalization of colonization of the mind is according to Argyrou (2005:24) thinking the unthought, in the case of the Chamorros that means becoming aware of the 'Americanization'. By being aware they can accept it and see it as the truth and make it their own. But it does not have to be the truth. The imperialistic glocalization of the U.S. is a part of the 'opportunities' which globalization made possible. According to anthropologist Karen Ho (2005:69-70) the idea of 'inevitable globalization' is a world view which is not reflected from reality. There is place for agency but it is weakened by the colonization of the mind. Through agency, where cultural heritage is used as resource, and reinvention of traditions the Chamorros can possibly 'save' their culture.

The imperialistic glocalization is closely connected with the debate about cultural homogenization and cultural heterogenization. To understand the effects of

globalization in the world regarding culture one has to look with an isolated view, because the effects differ from country to country, as well with a broad view because the effects are coming from all over the world and are differently perceived by different individuals. One has to focus on glocalization in all his forms and where it is not present. This thesis will connect closely with this debate of cultural homogenization versus cultural heterogenization. It will show empirically how its influences, from within an American context, are on Guam regarding the Chamorros. During the months of February through April 2011 I conducted ethnographic research on Guam. The focus of my research is the question: what is the relation between the presence of the U.S. on Guam and the perception of the Chamorros regarding their cultural heritage and identification processes? According to different authors (Perez 2002, 2005, Barusch and Spaulding 1989) there is a relation between the American presence and a 'perceived decline' of cultural heritage on Guam. I wondered how this influenced the everyday life of the Chamorros and what the precise role of the processes of globalization and glocalization are.

During my time on Guam I cooperated with the Guam Preservation Trust (GPT) and I volunteered at Gef Pa'go, a 'touristic' cultural village in Inarajan. At GPT I mainly observed but I also participated as a judge during National History Day. My job at Gef Pa'go was diverse. I helped with maintenance, office work and supported cultural presentations on location. Thanks to all these activities and informal meetings I built up a good network of acquaintances from all over the island through which I gathered a lot of qualitative data. Among my informants I found three main informants, Joe, Tony and Vince. In most cases their ideas and insights are representative for those of my other informants. For that reason they will appear often but this thesis is absolutely not solely based upon them. Fieldwork is the main research method of Anthropology through which one gains data. The main method of gathering data was the principal of 'being there', living among the Chamorros and following their ways of life and literally being part of their communities. The last two months I lived with Tony, which gave me a lot of research opportunities and made it possible to build up a very good rapport with him and other informants. Through this rapport I had good insight into the emic perspective. Where I lived with Tony, Inarajan, people accepted me for they respected Tony. As I was told by different people, "if someone is disrespectful to you he is also disrespectful to Tony". (Pete, interview by author, March 4, 2011). *Respetu* (respect) is of great importance among

the Chamorros. Although I probably can never be one of them, they accepted me as one of them and allowed me to see their (emic) perspective on things. The hospitality I received sometimes looked endless. During all of my research I made sure that I applied the 'informed consent' principle, out of respect and to be ethical.

As an anthropologist one is an instrument of research itself which presents a paradox. As Argyrou (2005:17) states, anthropologists see that people are the product of circumstances but how can they have access to this explanatory insight if anthropologists are products of circumstances themselves? In other words, as an anthropologist one writes about a subject from within that culture but the anthropologist uses his or her own culture and education, his or her own framework to give form to the results, to interpret it. So how can the anthropologist be objective? One cannot totally free him- or herself from the influences of a social and historical environment. So an objective interpretation of an anthropological researcher will be difficult for two reasons. First of all, humans are formed by their own social and historical environment which influences their gaze on a subject. Secondly, at the same time the people one studies are formed by their own social and historical environment which influences their gaze on their own as a subject.

However there is a solution which makes anthropological fieldwork valuable, reliable and valid. Through 'participation observation', the most important research method I used. Anthropologists Kathleen DeWalt and Billie DeWalt (2002) state the importance of this method for qualitative research and the social science. For making the collected data reliable and valid one has to constantly reflect (Delamont 2004:226). According to Coffey (Delamont 2004:226) reflexivity is the keystone, regarding reliability and validity, for qualitative researchers. In my opinion the quality of reflexivity in combination with 'participation observation' is the way to overcome the human obstacle as a product of society and to secure objectivity.

Besides 'participation observation' I also apply other diverse methods for securing validation and reliability of my research. Among these methods are member validation, data triangulation and being aware of social reactivity. Other data collection methods I used are informal interviews and information sources like newspapers and the internet. This all will conclude in a research which is reliable and valid on an academic level. My research population are the Chamorro people of Guam, they differ in age and gender. A large part of my research I stayed at Inarajan,

a southern village where the 'traditional' culture is still strong compared to the northern part of Guam.

The first thing I learned about Guam was the unusual political structure that formed Guam as it is today. This is where the following, second, chapter starts. It will sketch the general framework regarding the political situation of Guam and its connection with nationalism and identity. Chapter three will show that the cultural heritage of the Chamorro is on one hand defended and revived by the Chamorros, which is placed in a context of limited agency in the existing structure and the reinvention of tradition. On the other hand this places the colonization of the Chamorros in a sometimes difficult position in which cultural heritage is somewhat ignored. Chapter four shows the influence of the past in the contemporary lives of the Chamorros. It also will show and clarify why the focus on the contemporary cultural heritage of the Chamorros is not that present, while the focus on historical cultural heritage is. In chapter five a relation between glocalization, politics and capitalism will be pointed out. The last, concluding chapter will, based upon the previous chapters, discuss the relation between the presence of the U.S. on Guam and how this influences the Chamorro cultural heritage and their identification processes. This discussion will include, among other things, the debate of cultural homogenization versus cultural heterogenization, glocalization and decolonization of the mind.

Chapter II

Language, symbolism and Identity

"I may look like a Filipino so the only thing that separates us is our language." (Brian, interview by author, April 23, 2011).

There I was, sitting in the legislature in Hagåtña, the capital of Guam. Although it is the capital of Guam, almost nobody lives here. During World War II Hagåtña was bombed by the U.S. in order to get the island back from the Japanese. The whole village was rebuilt after the war, but it seems it became an economical center. Everywhere there are businesses and shopping centers and there are almost no homes to be found. It also has a lot of restaurants including probably every fast food restaurants such as McDonalds, Kentucky Fried Chicken, Taco Bell, Wendy's, et cetera. The legislature was located nearby one of the banks in the village. I was trying to find a good position to sit on the hard white and grey folding chairs. It did not really match well with the blue carpet. At the end of the room was a big desk where the senators were sitting. Their name plates were beautifully carved in wood. In the middle part on the wall behind the senators was a big round sign with the text 'Iliheslaturan', Chamorro for legislature. It was a sign of identification and belonging which was overruled by English, as the primary and official language, which everybody spoke. On the right side was the flag of Guam and on the left was the U.S. flag. A flag of which none of the fifty stars represent Guam and its citizens. The meeting I joined was a general update concerning the Guam military buildup.

Language, symbolism and the military presence are three, very noticeable, factors which indicate a glocalization process on Guam. They are also connected to the identification process of the Chamorros as I will show in this chapter. Long before the American presence on Guam the Spanish started a glocalization process which evolved into a contemporary heritage which includes Catholicism and a Spanish influenced Chamorro language. The Spanish influence of the Chamorro cultural heritage is very important regarding the identification process of the Chamorros and their cultural heritage in general. However, this research is focused on the American influence on the Chamorro cultural heritage. The definition of the Chamorro cultural

heritage for this research includes the Spanish influence. The glocalization of the Chamorro cultural heritage by the U.S. is made possible by globalization. Ritzer (Eriksen 2007:59) sees the transnational standardization of commodities and services as one of the aspects of globalization. Eriksen (2007:59) argues the simplistic view of Ritzer regarding his thesis on McDonalidization, where he mentioned this. But he agrees with the argument of standardization and adds that his point is still valid even when the meaning of the products and services vary locally. In other words, in the case of Guam one can see the transnational standardization of the American lifestyle being displayed as commodities and services. This can be approached by the different 'scapes', global cultural flows, which Appadurai (1996:31) mentions. These scapes give a clear framework to explore the imperialistic glocalization of Guam. In the case of Guam the use of the ethnoscares, technoscares, financescares, ideoscares and mediascares as a framework to research the glocalization process will be sufficient as a starting point.

II.1 Exclusion through politics

The mentioned presence of the military, American flag, anthem and the English language are clearly connected to an existing ideoscape from the U.S. towards Guam. Appadurai (1996:34) describes ideoscares as ideologies of states and elements of the Enlightenment worldview which includes terms as freedom, welfare, rights, et cetera. This ideoscape influences the Chamorro cultural heritage through glocalization of American lifestyle and ideas. Another American influence regarding the Chamorro cultural heritage is the military presence. It can be seen from the point of view of an ethnoscape but their presence is in the first place one based upon a political ideology. Geyer defines militarization as "the contradictory and tense social process in which civil society organizes itself for the production of violence." (Lutz 2002:723) If a civil society organizes itself around the military then there have to be a cultural influence. This is exactly the case on Guam as this thesis will show. The English language as official and most broadly used language and the presence of the national symbols, the American flag and anthem, are signs of the imperialistic glocalization of Guam.

Guam lost their sovereignty on economical and cultural level through a deterritorialization of people, companies, finances and power (Bauman 1998). This started with the presence of the U.S. Navy on Guam and the educational system

which made the English language mandatory (Barusch and Spaulding 1989:63-66). At the same time a process came into being where the Guamanian people had a status change, a process of 'social closure' (Wimmer 2002). The process of social closure, according to sociologist Andreas Wimmer, excludes "those who are not felt to belong, drawing a dividing line between the familiar and the foreign. Social closure can lead to the formation of classes, subcultures, gender-defined group or ethnic groups and nations. [...] Borderlines between 'us' and 'them' are often marked by distinctive forms of everyday cultural practice [...]" (2002:33). An example of this is seen in the U.S. military who separate themselves from civilians by wearing their military suits. Another example more applicable are the fenced military bases. One can only get in with a certificate requested from the military. These bases are villages where the military personnel and their families live. There is everything from a McDonalds to a diving shop. It is not really an exclusion of those who are not felt to belong as it is a excluding inclusion of those who invade. The community on the military bases can be seen as a subculture, they are living their own lives within the fences. Their status is different than those of the other islanders.

Social closure goes together with the process of cultural compromise, which is the result of a negotiation. In the words of Wimmer, a negotiation about "[...] collective norms, social classifications and world-view patterns [in a certain society]" (2002:28). However, on Guam there was no successful complete cultural compromise because of the colonization of Guam by the U.S. The inhabitants of Guam did not have a voice, socially or political. The Organic Act of Guam made a cultural compromise partially possible because of the little self-governance which Guam gained. The agency of the government of Guam grew little by little but a complete cultural compromise does not yet exist. There is just no cultural compromise based on the "[...] acceptance by all actors relating to one another in a communicative arena." (Wimmer 2002:28). As Wimmer also states, "they cannot simply be defined by some centre of power." (2002:28). It has to be widely accepted by all those concerned. The imperialistic discourse of the U.S. made this complete cultural compromise impossible so that Guam could not become a nation through dialog but through force. Although there was no complete cultural compromise, the process of social closure was playing its part. This process in the context of an imperialistic glocalization of politics by the U.S. made the Chamorros (and Guamanians), as Vince sees it, second class or even third class citizens. The

Chamorros were finally given American citizenship, through a partial cultural compromise, but without voting rights, the same counts for their congress member, she is a non-voting member (Perez 2005:572-573). The people of Guam also have to follow the American law to a certain extent. Vince said third class citizen because according to him even the native Indians in the U.S. have more rights than they (the Chamorros). So the American creolized the politics on Guam, first colonizing them and eventually giving them their own government. One that is strongly impaired in agency, which I will show later on. So one could not speak of imperialism because there are signs of creolization. This exclusion through politics has far-reaching cultural consequences because of the phenomenon of nationalism.

II.II Nationalism and identity

The creolized political structure of Guam made glocalization of the cultural heritage of Guam an 'easy job'. Not only did the U.S. make the creolization of the political structure of Guam possible but also of their citizenship. The U.S. caused the Chamorros to have a dual discursive competence regarding a dominant discourse of identity. Chamorros are both U.S. citizens as well as Chamorro, an identification aspect which never disappeared. Both identity discourses are of importance to my informants and the Chamorros in general according to them. Although they do not exactly mention 'identification' they do show that both the U.S. citizenship and being Chamorro is important to them. Vince for example sees Chamorro and American aspects in his life where the last one holds the bigger percentage. One can see him now and then standing out in the ocean when the tide is coming in slowly. It is a tropical setting with clear blue warm water and palm trees. A cool breeze contrasts the hot sun and makes it relaxing. He is holding a 'traditional' fishing net. Waiting for the right moment, when he sees the fishes through the waves, to throw his net. Afterwards, but also during the fishing he enjoys a few cold Heineken and a cigarette. Besides the job of a mechanic he also works as a musician and has traveled to many places in the world for music festivals, which is all made a lot easier because of a U.S. passport. He enjoys his car, his beer, his clothes and his money. He used this as example to paint the picture for me that influences of the U.S. also have positive aspects. Being an official American citizen has its consequences regarding identification as Vince showed me with the following example. "If I went to prison in Cambodia and they would ask my identity it would be hard to say I am Chamorro."

(Vince, interview by author, April 5, 2011). He mentioned Cambodia because of my stories about backpacking there.

Philosopher Charles Taylor (Taylor 1994:25-34) argues that identity is partly shaped by recognition or its absence. So a person or a group can suffer real damage if the people or society around them mirror back to them a confining or demeaning picture of themselves. By having an U.S. citizenship forced upon oneself the consequence can be that one's identification is being confined. Nationality is namely a part of most people's identification. As Vince hypothetically showed, it is for Chamorros not always possible to identify themselves in the way they want. Nationalism is an important factor of the relation between the U.S. and Guam and hence the influence the U.S. has on the Chamorro cultural heritage. The connection between citizenship and identification I made is based upon the fact that nations inspire love. As Benedict Anderson, a professor emeritus, mentions "the cultural products of nationalism [...] show this love very clearly in thousands of different forms and styles." (2006:141). Even more important for the subject of this thesis is that Anderson states that "in the case of colonized peoples, who have every reason to feel hatred for their imperialist rulers, it is astonishing how insignificant the element of hatred is in these expressions of national feeling." (2006:142). Anderson (2006:143) explains this by stating that the bond a person has with his motherland is natural. In everything 'natural' there is an aspect of ascription, something unchosen. Because this is unchosen there is a disinterestedness present. This theory shows truth if one applies it to Guam. As I will show in chapter three, almost no Chamorro is against the military buildup or the U.S. in general. Contradictory to this, in the words of my informants, is that the U.S. endangers the Chamorro cultural heritage. Guam is part of the U.S. for over one hundred years so it is part of their lives and ideas about Guam. The bond of the Chamorros with Guam is natural. Therefore there is a certain disinterestedness present concerning the presence of the U.S. This shows resemblance with the colonization of the mind which is also about that which is perceived natural and unquestioned.

The question is what is so important about nationalism? Eriksen describes nationalism as an "ethnic ideolog(y) which hold that their group should dominate a state." (2002:98). This state embeds, according to Eriksen (2002:98), markers of identity in its official symbolism and legislation. Anderson (2006:6) sees the nation as

an imagined community. It is imagined because one will never know most of their fellow members. This community has a feeling of nationhood, a consciousness of a national belonging (Eriksen 2002:102). The origin of national consciousness had print capitalism as a most important feature (Anderson 2006:37-46). In short Anderson states that, among other things, a shared language makes people see themselves as a part of the same imagined community. This is why the Chamorros are so focused upon saving their language; it is important for them, for identification. A statement from Joe's brother makes this very clear, he said "I don't call them young Chamorros anymore, they are Americans. Unless they speak Chamorro". (Paul, interview by author, February 5, 2011). Everywhere on the island one can see the importance of the Chamorro language. During services in church there are always songs in Chamorro, all Chamorro performances with dance or music on the island involve Chamorro language, if one sits in a car and turns on the radio one can hear Chamorro songs and translated covers of popular international songs. The older generation Chamorros of around forty years and older speak Chamorro with each other. The Chamorro language, in general, is spoken fluently by the older generation but the younger generation can only understand it a little bit. As I was told it seems that the youngest generations will revive the language because of the attention towards the language in the school curriculum. The preservation of the Chamorro language is of importance to Chamorros in all age groups and not only for the elder ones. At the University of Guam campus where I lived the first month of my research, I spoke to two Chamorro students of around twenty years who really regretted the fact that they did not speak the language. They want to learn it but they just did not have the time. They never learned it at home or at school.

A national identity is of great importance in a modern world where nation-states are the standard. Without it someone would be lost. The nation-state has a symbolic function which can create a feeling of nationhood. To fulfill this feeling it uses symbols, like a national flag or a national anthem (Eriksen 2002:102). Eriksen (Eriksen and Jenkins 2007:6) shows that nowadays in a lot of countries a flag has little importance in everyday life and is associated to the state and not the people. On Guam there is also a Guamanian flag co-existing with the American flag which has interesting consequences. In Barcelona, for example, they have the flag of Barcelona signifying place, the Catalanian flag, signifying ethnicity and language, the Spanish

flag, signifying a federal union and the flag of the European union, signifying a international integration (Eriksen and Jenkins 2007:6). On Guam signifies the American flag a federal union. As Tony and Vince said that they saw themselves U.S. civilians in a formal and official way. But the Guamanian flag signifies a kind of ethnicity, a culture. This flag is associated with a 'state' and a people. It is used with all kind of cultural activities. According to Eriksen (Eriksen and Jenkins 2007:6) the multivocality of a single flag cannot do justice to all the moral obligations and levels of belonging experienced by a city dweller. First of all the American flag does not have a star for Guam so they are excluded in their flag. This does not mean that identification is impossible but contested. The flag of Guam is a different story. The



Flag of Guam (Central Agency n.d.)

flag represents the Chamorro culture. This is also interesting because there are a lot of Guamanians and one could ask how they identify themselves with the Chamorro flag, but this is a

topic for another research. The Chamorro seal is the centerpiece of the flag and is shaped like a sling stone, it refers to the use of these by the ancient Chamorros. In the Chamorro seal one can find the tree of life, a coconut palm, which was and is an important mean of sustenance to the Chamorros (Reynolds and Smith 2009). There is also an ancient canoe on the seal which the ancient Chamorros used. This flag is clearly tied to the Chamorro cultural heritage. A flag is a symbol of nationhood and signifies a metaphoric kin group of a nation (Eriksen and Jenkins 2007:2-3). So by introducing the U.S. flag the U.S. took away a part of the identification of the Chamorros. But by letting the Chamorros introduce their flag a kind of identification chaos came into existence. A glocalized citizenship was constructed which still exists. The uses of both flags in the legislature and all other official institutions, still symbolizes this today. A full assimilation of the Chamorros never happened. Besides the situation with the flag, there is the same principal applicable regarding an anthem. There is the official American anthem and a Guam hymn. So in the case of Guam one could say that it has two main imagined communities, the U.S. and the Chamorro. Especially because there are symbols of nationhood of both communities.

A universal norm for nations is according to social anthropologist Ernest Gellner (2006:37) exo-socialization. Production and reproduction has to be outside the local intimate unit of, for example, a small village. So state and culture have to be combined. In the case of Guam and the Chamorros the state and two kinds of cultures have to be combined. As Wimmer (2002) showed with his concept of cultural compromise, there has to be an agreement for a complete cultural compromise to exist. Which is about the social and cultural norms, an agreement between the Chamorros and the U.S. But there is not, one of the imagined communities is the kernel of power. The U.S. and their culture is dominant in terms of power. The culture of the Chamorros is secondary, just like their citizenship. Therefore it is the imposed cultural heritage of the U.S. influencing the cultural heritage of the Chamorros.

The identification process, regarding nationality, of the Chamorros is threatened by American nationalism. The U.S. succeeded in making Guam part of their nation by avoiding a complete cultural compromise through colonization. By doing so they made the Chamorros civilians of their nation. According to Nat Colletta (1976:113), Ph.D. in international studies, the introduction of the U.S. education system which assimilated the Chamorros made this possible. Eriksen states that "at the identity level, nationhood is a matter of belief." (2002:104). The U.S. made the Chamorros believe they are part of their nation. But as I will show in the following chapter concerning an ancient Chamorro settlement, Pãgat, there is resistance against some activity of the U.S. American nationalism on Guam which plays an important role regarding the influenced cultural heritage of the Chamorros.

The imperialistic imposed U.S. presence and U.S. nationality makes the U.S. influence on Guam easy. Nationalism also works on a symbolic level which is perhaps the reason why the Chamorros to a certain extent accept the American presence and lifestyle. For instance the Chamorros sing the American national anthem and display the American flag. But it also can be used to reinvent a Chamorro lifestyle which maybe most Chamorros are longing for. Because of the presence of American nationalism the Chamorros can sometimes feel they have to fight it. This can have as consequence that Chamorros will strengthen their collective identity. The Chamorros are not fully included in the U.S. nation-state and on the other hand they are part of an imagined Chamorro community. This community is unique by, among other things, its language like the informant in the citation at the beginning of this chapters explained. Eriksen (2002:99) explains that both Gellner

(2006) and Anderson (2006) stress that nations seek a way to link a cultural group and a state. The Chamorros had a state a long time ago, although not in the modern sense of the word. Most of my informants still feel like they are a distinct cultural group, but they do not have their own state. So the American nationalism can evolve to a kind of assimilation or the opposite, a kind of revolution.

So it is clear now how the framework of nationalism and politics in Guam in general contests the cultural heritage of the Chamorros. The following chapter will go into depth regarding this threat to the Chamorro cultural heritage. Furthermore, one needs to remember, and I could not say this any better than Appadurai, that:

“one man's imagined community is another man's political prison.” (Appadurai 1996:31)

Chapter III

Pågat: an contested ancient Chamorro settlement

Pågat, one of the U.S. eleven most endangered historic places according to the National Register for Historic Places, is endangered by the threat of development (National Trust for Historic Preservation, 2010). Pågat, an ancient settlement located in Yigo, Guam, is of great importance to the Chamorro cultural heritage for different reasons. One of those reasons is connected to the belief in the existence of the *taotaomo'na*. Loosely translated as 'the people before', id est, the ancestors of the Chamorros. The local belief in these spirits takes on diverse forms. Some of the Chamorros believe in the contemporary presence of these spirits and combine this with their Catholicism, which is by far the major religion on Guam. According to these Chamorros the *taotaomo'na* never went to heaven because they did not know of Jesus before His ascension. They will go to heaven with the second coming of Jesus. These Chamorros believe that their ancestral spirits can guide and help them if necessary. Others also believe that they punish people who deserve it. The contemporary practice of these rituals can be seen in the fact that before these Chamorros enter Pågat, or another sacred site, they ask permission from the spirits to enter their grounds. This is why Pågat is of great importance to a part of the Chamorros, because it links them to their history and their ancestors which are still 'present'. Other Chamorros who see the *taotaomo'na* literally as 'the people before' treasure Pågat as a site of their cultural heritage in general.

The endangerment of the ancient settlement lies in the threat of development which is the military buildup. This buildup involves a relocation of marines from Okinawa, Japan, to Guam. For this buildup the military wants to build firing ranges which, according to plan, would be located at Pågat. The National Trust of Historic Preservation, Guam Preservation Trust and We Are Guahan filed a lawsuit (Guam Preservation Trust, et al. v. Gregory et al., 1:10-cv-00677-LEK-RLP [2011]) against the United States Department of Defense because of their threat to the existence of Pågat. An interesting part of this process is that before this threat Pågat was not very widely known and if it was known not many Chamorros cared about it or were interested in it. The threat which was followed up by the lawsuit started an awareness about Pågat and its meaning among the Chamorros. During my time on Guam I

hiked to Pãgat twice. It is a hike of roughly one hour through the jungle where one can see remains of an ancient settlement. During these hikes I met Chamorros who have never been there before. But since 2010, the beginning of the lawsuit, a revival of awareness and interest in the past among the Chamorros started which focused on Pãgat. Like Graham et al. (2000:17) mentioned, heritage is that which one selects out of the past for contemporary purposes. The Chamorros chose Pãgat for a cultural purpose. Like Speaker Judi Won Pat said, when she talked about the emotional issues tied to the military buildup, "this is about the cultural survival of our island" (Buhain 2011). Or as We Are Guahan member Cara Flores-Mays stated, when she talked about Pãgat, "times may be hard. But there is no amount of money that can buy back our land or culture." (Pacific News Center 2011a).

III.I Identification through cultural heritage

The Chamorro people and the Guamanian government want to save Pãgat. But what makes Pãgat worth saving? Is it only because of the cultural value and for some people the presence of the *taotaomo'na*? There is more here than meets the eye. Pãgat is not just of simple cultural value it can be seen as an object of identification. It is the continuity of the Chamorro heritage. It connects the contemporary Chamorros to their ancient ancestors, to a time where there were no Americans or Spanish around. Graham et al. (2000:40) describe this same process in the context of Ireland which became independent of the English. The Irish used iconic sites of continuity of a heritage that was furthest removed from anglicizing influences. In the case of the Irish, the use of the heritage by the people was part of the process of evolving to a new nationalism. Hobsbawm (2010:12-13) mentions the invention of tradition and that the element of invention alters the meaning of that tradition. Geographer and historian David Lowenthal mentioned this same aspect in his book 'The Past is a Foreign Country'. He said that "new insights and needs, new memories and forgettings force each generation to revise what relics it notices and how to interpret them." (1985:264). According to him any treatment of the past invariably alters it. Knowing that heritage is the part of the past which we select in the present for contemporary purposes and which can be used as a resource on different levels, one could wonder why and how Pãgat is used. Is there a new need or new memories? On an island where I hear people say that they are 'Americanized' and that their culture is contested there is a clear need. The need of identification which is not

connected to any colonization aspects, just like in the case of the Irish. A reason for the need of a strong identification was told to me by Anthony. According to him many Chamorros lost their cultural identity. He blames this on the American influences and the dependency people have on them. So although there is a disinterestedness present regarding the American presence on Guam, it is not fully accepted as an ascription, as something unchosen or natural.

The past is the source of cultural heritage and so it is the source of cultural identification. But the invention of traditions and reforming memories happens in the present. The contemporary economic, cultural, political and social circumstances guides the selection of which aspects of the past will be used in the present and in which way they will be used (Hobsbawm and Ranger 2010; Lowenthal 1985). The need for an identification in contemporary Guam is bound to the presence of the U.S. The Chamorro cultural heritage is contested for centuries already and now a link to the past (Pågat) is endangered. This shows clearly that there is no complete cultural compromise between the Americans and the Chamorros.

Educationalist John Tomlinson (2003:269) describes cultural identity as a collective treasure of local communities. It is something people perceive that could be lost and needs protection and preservation. Cultural theorist and sociologist Stuart Hall (2006:436) describes cultural identity in terms of shared culture. So there is a clear link between Pågat and the process of identification. To understand the identification process of the Chamorros based upon cultural heritage one needs a firm definition of identification. Sociologist Richard Jenkins (2008:5) starts explaining 'identification' by simply arguing that it involves knowing who we and others are. It is a process and not a 'thing'. It is not something one can have, it is what someone does. Identification is connected to motivation and behavior but is not predictable, it does not determine what someone does. Identification is also connected to interest. Goldstein and Rayner (Jenkins 2008:8) see interest and identity claims as closely intertwined. What one wants is in some sense shaped by what one is. But what one wants can also redefine ones sense of self. The Chamorros focus their interest onto Pågat for it is their connection to an independent past where they look for their identification. Taylor (Taylor 1994:25-34) argues that an identity crucially depends on dialogical relations with others so it is not something isolated. In the case of Pågat and the Chamorros this is clearly visible. Joe, as Chief Program Officer of Guam Preservation Trust, had numerous interviews which were broadcasted at radio

stations and television channels or were meant for a newspaper. So it has to be a lively topic among Chamorros otherwise there would not be such an interest from the local media.

Identity can be distinguished in a social and cultural identity. Social psychologist John Turner sees social identification as a “process of locating oneself [...] within a system of social categorizations or [...] to any social categorization used by a person to define him- or herself and others.” (2010:18). A social identity is the sum total of the social identifications used by a person. So reasoning from the framework of Jenkins (2008) one can conclude that cultural identity is a part of identification where the interest of one person lies in a certain culture or cultural heritage. Cultural identity interpreted in this way can be, according to me, seen as a part of a social identity. So Pãgat is clearly a source of identification.

Eriksen (2002:68) states that when social identity is threatened it becomes of great importance. Pãgat is threatened and according to the different organizations who filed the lawsuit and local Chamorro people it needs protection because it could be destroyed. After being forgotten Pãgat regained the interest of the Chamorros and is of great importance now. This interest in Pãgat became collective among Chamorros through the lawsuit. The Chamorros identify themselves through Pãgat with their ancestors

Besides the social and cultural identification there also is an ethnic identification. Eriksen describes ‘ethnic symbolism’ which refers “to the ancient language, religion, [...] way of life [which] is crucial for the maintenance of ethnic identity through periods of change.” (2002:68). This ethnic identity of the Chamorros is also an important factor regarding the meaning and function of Pãgat. The Chamorro ancestors and their artifacts are the only touchable link for contemporary Chamorros to identify themselves outside of the American and Guamanian identity discourse. Here again one can understand why there was such a commotion about the use of ‘Guamanian’ by the governor. The Chamorro’s language, their way of life and ‘animistic’ religion is contested. The ancient religion of the Chamorros seen as the *taotaomo’na* is for people like Joe directly connected to Pãgat. For those who do or do not believe in the spiritual presence of their ancestors Pãgat is also important in another way. As Eriksen states “If one can claim to ‘have a culture’, it proves that one is faithful to ones ancestors and to the past.” (2002:68). So one needs to have ancestors and a past, and Pãgat is part of that chain.

One can put this whole identification process in the framework of globalization. The American presence on Guam is part of globalization. The present plays the main role regarding the use of cultural heritage. The present can also make certain uses of cultural heritage disappear or replace them (Hobsbawm 2010:4-5). This is possible through the process of imperialistic glocalization and creolization. This is the danger regarding Pãgat. Globalization in general also has big influences on identification processes. In a time where transnational movement is easy and fast, traditions are in danger. Eriksen (2007:103) sees the necessity of traditions to be defended because they are contested. He also states that "globalization at the level of social identity is tantamount to a re-negotiation of social identities, their boundaries and symbolic content." (Eriksen 2007:103). So concluding, Pãgat and its representation of the past is of value for the social, cultural and ethnic identification processes of the Chamorros. Identification processes which distinguish them from the Americans and their American nationality. One can look at this as a resistance against the U.S. by giving form to a kind of new nationalism. Nationalism can be seen as an ethnic ideology (Eriksen 2002:98) which is clearly present among the Chamorros. The ethnic ideology of the Chamorros is based upon cultural heritage and identification processes. This ethnic ideology is counteracting American nationalism, just like the Irish did towards the English by using certain cultural heritage aspects (Graham et al. 2000:40). But for nationalism a group also has to long for the domination of a state, in this case the island of Guam. This aspect is still missing as the next paragraph will show.

III.II Colonization of the mind

Most of the Chamorros I spoke to are not really against the military buildup in general just like the government of Guam. Although the consequences of the buildup are major, there will be an increase in population of about forty-five percent in the coming five years (Guam Preservation Trust n.d.). Besides that the U.S. military (Federal Government) still controls approximately thirty percent of the land of Guam (United States Department of Interior n.d.). These are clearly signs of an imperialistic approach of the U.S. towards Guam, especially if you take into account the political situation of Guam which shows an impaired self-governance. One could ask why the focus of the government of Guam does not seem to be on the consequences of the military buildup regarding the Chamorro intellectual inheritances, cultural, social and

ethnic identity. But the right question would be, where is their main focus on? This was made clear to me by Joe. One day I joined Vince and Tony at a performance of a Chamorro dance group at the Sheraton hotel, at Agana Bay near the touristic Tumon Bay. The performance included Spanish and Ancient dances and music. Afterwards I talked with some of the participants and my phone rang. Joe called me and the first thing he said was that it was (Catholic) Lent, so everybody eats fish instead of meat, he told me because he knew I did not like fish. But the second thing he said, while he sounded really down, was that the Programmatic Agreement⁴ was signed. I was a little shocked for I did not expect it and I knew what it meant to Joe. Then he said "they [the government] care more about a billion dollars than about their own culture." (Joe, interview by author, March 9, 2011). He told me he felt abandoned by his government. So the focus is on money and the prosperity it could bring to Guam. Joe explained weeks before the signing of the Programmatic Agreement how these aspects of capitalism work in his life. He used a figure of speech and told me: "on my way to work I put on an American hat but afterwards I take it off." (interview by author, February 17, 2011). So capitalism is the way Guam and the contemporary world works. But why accept being a modern colony, id est., why not see the consequences of imperialistic glocalization and creolization regarding the Chamorro cultural heritage?

In 1945 Van Peenen wrote about the Chamorro that, "he walks the precipitous ledge of Past and Present, with the abyss of 'Americanization' waiting below to engulf him." (Diaz 2000:141). The context of this statement was a Guam which was devastated by the war and where the "Chamorros were lured by the security of American benevolence and the hold of its material benefits." (Diaz 2000:141). According to Van Peenen the American militarization and cultural assimilation made an end to the Chamorro dreams of social independence. Van Peenen wrote this more than sixty-five years ago but the Chamorros have not yet fallen into the abyss of 'Americanization' and are still balancing between the past and present. Question is, are they on a point where they can lose their equilibrium? Every Chamorro I talked to, during my fieldwork on Guam, sees the U.S. influences which, according to them,

⁴ This Programmatic Agreement spells out the terms of a formal, legally binding agreement, regarding the military relocation to Guam and the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands (CNMI). The involved parties are the United States Department of Defense, Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, Guam State Historic Preservation Officer and the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands state Historic Preservation Officer (Guam News, 2011).

has a negative side regarding their cultural heritage. But at the same time, as mentioned before, most of the Chamorros support, or at least do not fight against, the military buildup. Anthropologist Michael Perez (2005:577-578) did research to the general awareness among Chamorros on Guam regarding self-determination and indigenous rights issues. The results were that seventy-six percent of his interviewees revealed an awareness. So most of the Chamorros are aware of their situation but they do not act to change it because one can see a process of colonization of the mind being present. This is confirmed by the speech of the governor, who surprisingly does not speak Chamorro. The governor ended the 'State of the Island' speech with the following words;

"There is something to be said about the greatness of Guamanians. Sometimes it feels as though we've been taught to believe that we need federal support or someone else's hand. That our way is primitive and the federal way is perfect. Quite to the contrary, the world, through all its upheavals, could take a lesson from Guamanians—from our resolve and our faith, from our ability to see past the troubles and care for one another without hesitation. The late Governor Ricardo J. Bordallo, on April 11, 1983, said 'We can remain as some might prefer that we remain—simple island people with simple needs who can be placated with simple gratuities....Or we can fulfill the destiny of the Ancient Chamorros and build a community that will set an example for the rest of the world.'" (Calvo 2011).

The governor's speech implies that they are aware of the unthought regarding a colonization of the mind. He and the Chamorros are thinking the unthought but by doing this they are allowing the colonization to be finalized. When there is reflection on the unthought hegemony changes into ideology and counter-ideology (Argyrou 2005:24). The governor admits that they are not helpless or primitive and should build a community that will set an example for the rest of the world. But on what will this community be based? It will be based upon the community that colonized them and what that community brought them. This brings up the question if this will fulfill the colonization or withstand it, this is exactly the ledge which Van Peenen described.

Will the governor copy the U.S. ideology for development? The governor mentioned in his speech, based upon his citation of the former Governor Bordallo, that he wants to build a community that will set an example for the rest of the world.

This is the counter-ideology, but only when they change their priorities. Because by becoming this example for the rest of the world they need the intellectual inheritances of the Chamorros, the ones the government is slowly neglecting.

I noticed an example of an intellectual inheritance which was contested during a presentation I joined which concerned the revitalization of Inarajan. The presentation was organized by the American Institute of Architects and took place in Gef Pa'go where I was a volunteer. As always there was food and drinks present. After the meal, when everybody was sat down and listened to the presentation, the catering company started to clear the table with the food and drinks out of the blue. I noticed that some people, including myself, were bothered by this action and they looked surprised and a little resentful. Afterwards my colleagues clearly showed their resentfulness. They were bothered by it because if somebody wanted to eat or drink more, it was not possible. It was not according to their values and not reflecting the southern hospitality. They felt offended because they will be identified with it for the presentation was at Gef Pa'go. This example clearly shows the American influence on Guam and how it reduces Chamorro intellectual inheritance, the values of respect and hospitality. Values on which, in my opinion, the governor wants to base the Guam community which should set an example for the rest of the world.

The governor also said that they (Guam) do not need federal support and the federal way is not perfect while at the same time this is exactly what he, the government of Guam and most Chamorros embrace. A military buildup for economic prosperity, which is in a way necessary with almost one third of the population without a job, will not set an example for the world according to me. To fulfill the destiny of the ancient Chamorros, their intellectual inheritances which are quickly transforming by the imperialistic glocalization is needed. What the British and the introduction of the railway meant for the Indians, the end of their caste system (Argyrou 2005:19), is the U.S. and capitalism for the Chamorros. The way of life changed through the presence of the U.S. and their introduction to neo-liberalism and capitalism which influenced the social environment, the reality of Guam. So if there is not going to be a change in attitude regarding the importance of cultural heritage from the government and the Chamorro people, the colonization of the mind will be fulfilled. Although the colonization is in its last and final appearance it does not mean that it makes the preservation of the cultural heritage in a traditional form, seen from an emic perspective, inevitable. Colonization of the mind can turn into decolonization.

The future is not yet decided for the ever-changing present uses the shapeable past to create the future. The next chapter will show how the past plays a role in altering the present life of the Chamorros. Options to decolonize through agency and the use of cultural heritage will be shown as a resource for this matter.

Chapter IV

Chamorro month: Celebration of the self

Susanne Langer, an American philosopher, said once that “memory is the great organizer of consciousness.” (Lowenthal 1985:206). However, memories seem to be useless if one looks at it pragmatically. Memories are altered every time they are remembered. Recitation also alters them because it is a narrative shaped by interaction and it is crystallized in arbitrary language. Maturing, ageing and generational displacement also alters them. So how can one rely on memories? Memories can be compared with cultural heritage which is also selectively picked out of the past, for a contemporary purpose (Lowenthal 1985:206-209). A treatment of the past alters it at the same time, no matter if it is a memory or the meaning of cultural heritage (Lowenthal 1985:264). Remembering a memory of a tradition and using it equals the definition of invention of tradition, which Hobsbawm (2010:1-14) explains.

Chamorro month is about raising consciousness regarding the Chamorro cultural heritage. Cultural heritage is based on memories either told, written or transformed into rituals and traditions. But these memories, rituals and traditions are altered and different from their once original meaning. The previous chapter showed that contemporary use of Pãgat makes it an object of identification. It was about the link between the Chamorros and their ancient ancestors, about memories of earlier times. So even though one cannot rely on memories they are not useless, because they have an important function. Lowenthal namely states, “the prime function of memory, then, is not to preserve the past but to adapt it so as to enrich and manipulate the present.” (1985:210). Just as it is the case with Pãgat. Lowenthal also mentions that memories are “[...] eclectic, selective reconstructions based on subsequent actions and perceptions and on ever-changing codes we use to delineate, symbolize and classify the world around us.” (1985:210). Chamorro month clearly shows this process as I will show in this chapter. Reinvention of tradition and memories can be followed up by decolonization of the mind. Chamorro month is an example of this.

IV.1 Decolonization of the mind

Chamorro month is a month of collective celebration regarding the Chamorro culture, people and language (Pacific News Center 2011b). It is a contemporary celebration of the Chamorros cultural heritage so it clearly has a connection with 'memory'. There is on Guam an annual ritual regarding the signing of the proclamation to declare March as Chamorro month. This year acting Governor Ray Tenorio signed the proclamation and that meant the beginning of a month full of cultural activities. The signing took place at the Latte of Freedom and Hall of Governors. I witnessed this ritual with Joe. The people who joined the signing existed mostly out of 'elites' and 'cultural interested' people. After the signing and different speeches the ceremony unfolded with cultural dances, chanting and musical performances. The cultural heritage that was presented through dance during the ceremony was for the largest part focused upon the ancient Chamorros. There was a good atmosphere among the people present. It seemed that almost everybody knew each other by the informal way of greeting and their body language during their conversations.

In the weeks after the signing a lot of organizations organized cultural activities. At Gef Pa'go, where I volunteered, I assisted Tony, the youth program director of Gef Pa'go. We went to a youth correction facility and I supported him in teaching weaving palm leaves to the youth. After we taught there a few times we were invited for a closing *fiesta* where Tony, Vince and Mark performed a Chamorro blessing through song for the food and all the people present which were the guards, teachers and the youth. Fiestas on Guam are religious parties which are connected to the village patron saints.

I also joined Tony at a primary school where we were teaching the kids how to weave with palm leaves. The University of Guam, Division of Humanistic Studies and College of Liberal Arts and Social Sciences organized an annual Chamorro language competition. I went there with Tony and Vince and we met up with friends and band members of them. This competition was set up for elementary through high school students. The activity took place at the University of Guam and it was open for the public and without admission. The different subjects of the competition were, among other things, essay writing, storytelling, spelling, poetry and singing. The Chamorro language is the kernel of this activity and that is also why students from the nearby islands Tinian, Rota and Saipan joined. A large part of the population of those islands are Chamorros, although they differ from those of Guam. The activity was visited by

all kinds of people, old and young, parents, family and also generally interested people, like the musicians I joined. These are only a few examples of the activities during Chamorro month. They show clearly that Chamorro month is not only a celebration but also a method for remembering and preserving the cultural heritage of the Chamorros. The cultural heritage that is used and selected from the past is based upon practices and traditions.

The point I want to make here is that there are activities on Guam to promote the Chamorro cultural heritage. These activities can be placed in a framework of Giddens theory of structuration (1984). Reflecting back on traditions and cultural heritage, as I explained through Timothy and Boyd (Macleod 2010) and Hobsbawm and Ranger (2010), they can be employed as a resource for agency. Because the Chamorros use their cultural heritage as a resource to empower their agency especially against the structure which is the U.S and their imperialistic glocalization. One can clearly see the sociocultural capacity of the Chamorros to act against the imperialistic glocalization and by doing so they use their cultural heritage. They strengthen what is perceived as endangered by using it. As Ahearn (2001:114-117) warns us, agency is not to be treated as free will. Social structures shape human actions and influences ones agency. The social structure of imperialistic glocalization endangers the Chamorro identification process in different ways as described before. But no globalization process is inevitable (Ho 2005:70).

Cultural heritage is, as I described in chapter two, of importance for ones identification process on social, cultural and ethnic levels. The cultural identification process of the Chamorros is according to my observations and informants endangered. As chapter three showed, the colonization of the mind seems to be fulfilled or at least almost. Imperialistic creolization is the main reason for this for it is influencing the Chamorro cultural heritage. So to oppose this imperialistic glocalization the Chamorros have to increase the significance and interest of their cultural heritage.

Just like with Pãgat, there is the presence of the process of colonization of the mind which contradicts the whole meaning of Chamorro month and what it should accomplish. Chamorro month is introduced to celebrate the importance of the Chamorro culture, language and people. One would not spend a whole month to celebrate ones culture if there is no threat to it. All my informants see a threat towards their culture and the political status of Guam shows the same. The present

and the future has to be enriched and manipulated so that the Chamorro culture will stand strong again and Chamorro month is part of this process. During the signing of the proclamation regarding Chamorro month the governor said the same as Mark, the musician, did. "Let us not be limited to the month of March to celebrate [...] It should be celebrated all year long." (Pacific News Center 2011b). But why does this not happen? The people know they have to fight to preserve their cultural heritage in the way they want. They do fight it with Chamorro month and Pãgat. The economic, social, cultural and political influences from the U.S. prohibit the way the most Chamorros want to live. But, again, they let the military buildup happen and although the cultural heritage is represented through Chamorro month it is at the same time put into an imaginary museum. A museum where it is an annual exposition for one month. There is a focus missing on the contemporary situation of Guam regarding the preservation of the Chamorro cultural heritage. Of course they can save historical practices, material aspects of their cultural heritage and the intellectual stories which go with them, but most social practices and traditions which also define their culture, are not saved in this way. A reason for this is, in my opinion, the love which the nation inspires which is supported by symbolism (cf. Anderson 2006; Eriksen 2002; Eriksen and Jenkins 2007). Chamorros like parts of the American lifestyle. As I was told by Vince and other Chamorros, there are also positive sides to the American presence: technological progress, raised employment, imported products et cetera. This connection with the American lifestyle is a reason for not fighting it. They are used to it, used to the contemporary way of life and they like it.

During Chamorro month I teamed up with Tony and, as I mentioned before, we went a few times to a youth correctional facility. The youth there were about thirteen till twenty-one years old. Tony and I were there to teach these kids to weave with palm leaves. The facility's center is a large courtyard where a white stone path leads from building to building. This path was surrounded with green grass which contrasted the white stones. In this courtyard there were coconut palms of which we used the leaves for weaving. Once we started one could see the enthusiasm in some of those kids from miles away. Most of them really enjoyed the weaving. These lessons are a way of preserving weaving techniques, connected to cultural heritage. Activities like these are based upon historical cultural heritage. This is an important aspect of course but I missed the focus on values and traditions which are a part of, and formed, the everyday life.

Another activity that had this focus was National History Day⁵, an activity which was not connected with Chamorro month but takes place in the same month. I participated as a judge and had to rate eleven websites made by high school students. The theme of this year was 'Debate & Diplomacy: Successes, Failures, Consequences'. All the topics of all the different works of the students were focused upon Guam. The students all seemed enthusiastic concerning the cultural heritage and history which was reflected in their work and presentation. They really seemed to care about their chosen subjects. National History Day is a good example of the preservation of the Chamorro cultural heritage which is connected to the contemporary situation of Guam, namely because the students also reflect on subjects as immigration, land issues, the military buildup, et cetera. The topic for upcoming year is 'Revolution, Reaction, Reform in History'. This theme in connection with the presence of the U.S. on Guam and the political status of Guam is a perfect opportunity to inform people about certain injustices and consequences which I will point out in this thesis.

The governor, as I mentioned in the previous chapter, wanted to live the Chamorro 'culture' every day, but I see this as not completely possible under the contemporary circumstances on Guam. As shown in chapter two, there was never a complete cultural compromise on Guam and this eventually evolved into a creolized political structure. Chamorro month is a good activity for preserving the Chamorro cultural heritage but it is only the beginning. If colonization of the mind is fulfilled when a cultural group uses the reflected unthought to structure their lives then I see reviving cultural heritage as a part of decolonization of the mind (Argyrou 2005:16-26). To really 'save' their cultural heritage the Chamorros must regain interest in their contemporary cultural heritage and fight for political autonomy so that they get the control, as far as possible, of the glocalization processes. Then a decolonization of the mind can take place and the Chamorros and Guam, can choose their own future. A future where cultural aspects are chosen upon functionality and value.

So in short Chamorro month is a celebration of the Chamorro culture which is based upon interpretation of an already altered past. The past makes the future in

⁵ "National History day is a highly regarded academic program for elementary and secondary school students. Students choose historical topics related to a theme and conduct extensive primary and secondary research. Students present their work in original papers, websites, exhibits, performances and documentaries". (National History Day n.d.).

terms of the existence of traditions and memories, but also as a resource to manipulate it. The right use of the past, in combination with a political autonomy, will give the Chamorros the opportunity to decolonize the mind and live the lifestyle they really want. But therefore the cultural heritage needs to be of importance. Right now most Chamorros do not really act on the contemporary situation of Guam which is influencing their cultural heritage. A reason why this is not possible is the political status of Guam. But there is another reason why Chamorros do not act on this situation as I will describe in the following paragraph.

IV.II Culture coming in as last

As I have shown, the absence of the contemporary focus on the Chamorro cultural heritage is a consequence of an impaired 'agency' due to a forceful 'structure' in a world of 'chaos'. The case of Pãgat shows that the military buildup is barely contested by the Chamorros. But why do the Chamorros celebrate their culture and are aware of a negative American influence in their daily lives and do not combine these? The preservation of the historic cultural heritage seems to go well. There are a lot of organizations like Guam Preservation Trust, Taotao tano and We Are Guahan, who make sure that it stays that way. So the 'structure' formed by the U.S. also shapes the 'agency' for individuals and organizations in Guam. It shapes the sociocultural capacity to act. But the sociocultural capacity to save the contemporary cultural heritage seems to be absent with the majority. Reflecting on my own life, the life of the people around me and my informants on Guam I realized that this absence of interest could lie in the colonization of the mind by ones social environment. Eventually, we all are a product of our historical and social conditions.

A brainstorm session with Tony made this clear to me. I noticed that some informants told me that they just did not have the time to care for cultural heritage. Everybody has to work, sometimes even two jobs, and after working there is little spare time left. The time that is left is filled with social obligations. In other words, people are busy living in a capitalist world and taking care of themselves. On an island with roughly 180,000 people there are nearly 50,000 Guamanians without a job and 11,500 people who earn the minimum wage (Calvo 2011; Kelman 2011). In other words, people are busy trying to survive.

Appadurai (1996:44) sees the world in images of flows and uncertainty, because of globalization, and connects this to the term 'chaos'. The brainstorm with

Tony about the lack of awareness of cultural heritage on Guam showed me the practical side of this. Tony came to the conclusion that because Guam was colonized by the Spanish, the Americans, a short period of Japanese authority and then the Americans again the focus of the Chamorros was not on cultural heritage. Lawrence Cunningham and Janice Beaty (2001:278-302) clearly show that after World War II the focus was on rebuilding Guam. People had to build houses and rebuild them after typhoon Allyn in 1949. Soon after the typhoon a radio station was set up, the Guam Post Office reopened and the Pacific cable lines were repaired so through telephone, radio and mail Guam was (re)connected with the rest of the world. The following years were in the light of the Organic act of Guam which gave Guam some self-governance. After that there was the introduction of the television which brought a new dimension of entertainment as 'distraction'. In 1962 typhoon Karen hit Guam and again they had to rebuild damaged houses, schools, hospitals and government buildings (Cunningham and Beaty 2001:278-302). During the 1960's and 1970's electricity was still inadequate. Finally in 1975 the Navy accepted a Power Pool Agreement to share electricity with the civilian sector after years of holding on to it themselves (Rogers 1995:233-246). A process of modernization was set into motion which was held up by several typhoons that hit Guam. Modernization is a process which is difficult to define. For the purpose of this thesis I will narrow down the definition knowing that it will not completely do justice to the process but it will do for the context of this thesis. The political theorist Hans Blokland (2006:2) identifies rationalization as one of the core processes of modernization. Rationalization is described by Doorn (Blokland 2006:2) as a process where cultural, moral, political and ideological values and goals are somewhat replaced by organizational, bureaucratic, technocratic and formalistic orientations. This is clearly evident in areas of technological development, like Guam in the 1950's throughout the 1970's. Combining this with the theory of psychologist Abraham Maslow (1943) on the hierarchy of needs this process of modernization and building most likely took all the attention of the people. Cultural preservation was not important at those moments in time.

From the 1970's the interest for cultural heritage like dance and music started growing thanks to the efforts of Frank Rabon a choreographer and 'Master of Chamorro Dance' (Flores 1999:166). He made cultural music and dance more popular. During the last decades a lot of cultural organizations were set up and

focused themselves on music, dance, language, et cetera. So this short history shows the process of the growing awareness and interest among the Chamorros and Guamanians regarding the Chamorro cultural heritage. If one looks before the 1970's there was always something more important to deal with but what about this day and age? Holding in mind the poverty in Guam due to unemployment and low wages, one could state that in this modernized and capitalist world the Guamanians and Chamorros have other worries than the fact that their kids want to celebrate their birthday at a fast-food restaurant instead of a traditional family gathering. But in activities like Chamorro month and the protest around Pãgat shows there is interest and worries. Appadurai mentions that "for polities of smaller scale, there is always a fear of cultural absorption by polities of larger scale, especially those that are nearby." (1996:31). In case of Guam, this nearby polity of larger scale is the U.S.

Eriksen (2007) mentions attributes of globalization of which the abstraction of the world, the acceleration, the interconnectedness, the movement, the mixing, et cetera. They all are processes which make the world seem 'chaotic'. We live in a time of Postmodernity where chaos and disorder are central themes (Harvey 1990:98). Postmodernity reflects the attributes of globalization where the five dimensions of global cultural flows overlap each other at one time and change at another time or space (Appadurai 1996).

A lot of aspects of the cultural heritage of the Chamorros, which slowly disappear or transform according to the Chamorros, seem to be subordinate to the perceived dominant system of globalization which brought capitalism. The colonization of the mind is present; the American lifestyle is copied and seems to be 'natural' in a certain way. However, among many Chamorros there is no more unthought, they are fully aware of the American influences regarding their cultural heritage and lifestyle. If the attitude of the Chamorros stays this way the colonization of the mind will be fulfilled and they will not see an opportunity to change the way of life because they are 'stuck' in the American lifestyle. Activities as Chamorro month and happenings as the case of Pãgat can change things. If the feeling of value regarding Chamorro cultural heritage increases and the government of Guam will fight for a new political status, an ocean of opportunities will open, there will be order in the chaos. Governor Calvo will then be able to build the community which late Governor Bordallo mentioned. Appadurai (1996:44) mentions that if a nation-state is to open for global flows there can be a revolt. Even though a revolt could be a bit

excessive, in time the Chamorros can reach a point where enough is enough. This could lead to decolonization of the mind, but one can only guess at this. It is probably better to avoid a 'revolt' and decolonize the mind through understanding.

The American lifestyle and the capitalistic system do not have to reign forever. Ho (2005:69-70) makes a clear argument why this does not have to be the case. Capitalism is not a hegemonic monolithic agent who has supreme agency, but combined with a colonization of the mind it seems to come real close. The idea of 'the global economy' is a worldview that the capitalists want to create but the reality is different. According to anthropologist Anna Tsing (2005:271) The world does not exist of one big globalization process, which includes capitalism, global connections are made in fragments. There is a dichotomy between global force and local response which should be approached more critically (Tsing 2005:271). There is a friction between capitalism and the preservation of the Chamorro cultural heritage, the 'traditional' way of life, due to the imperialistic glocalization. It is a friction between two knowledge systems regarding a way of life. According to Tsing (2005:172) there will be a gap between those two knowledge systems which makes room for the construction of a new 'universal' knowledge system. This new knowledge system can be possible because of the agency of the Chamorros. The agency they can strengthen by using their cultural heritage, by using the past to manipulate the present. The question that remains is how the Chamorros give form to their agency in a dominant structure. The framework of capitalism is working against the preservation of the Chamorro cultural heritage, but not because it could not be otherwise. It can be otherwise by creating a new 'universal' knowledge system in the gap between capitalism and cultural heritage. By decolonizing the mind of the Chamorros by knowing that there can be change and no lifestyle is a monolithic agent. There only has to be enough agency and will on the side of the Chamorros. Besides capitalism the creolized political structure of Guam also plays a large part in the cause of glocalization. This political situation is a consequence of the deterritorialization of power. So how is the creolized political structure of Guam and the process of capitalism withholding a Chamorro way of life and making it hard to fight it? According to Appadurai (1996:31) the complexity of the global economy is connected to fundamental disjunctures between economy, culture and politics. Which, according to his 'imagined worlds' theory, simply means that capitalism and culture are not necessarily connected in one and the same global flow. It seems that

capitalism is directly connected to the glocalization of the Chamorro cultural heritage, but it is a complex situation. A situation which will be explained in detail in the next chapter

Chapter V

Bud Lite as cultural heritage

"[...] we might say that the voice of globalization is powerful but that that voice does not 'move' across the globe. Rather, it is dialogically reconstructed; it is in a constant state of 'dubbing.'" (Boellstorff 2003:226)

As I mentioned before capitalism and cultural heritage are not necessarily connected to one and another in the same global flow, they are not necessarily overlaying spaces. Like anthropologist Tom Boellstorff mentions in the citation above, global flows are dialogically reconstructed. Agency is a rather important aspect in reference to the dialogical reconstruction process. During three months of research the people of Guam opened up their lives for me, let me in and showed me around, very hospitably. They showed me how they perceive the American influences regarding their cultural heritage and opened my eyes regarding this process of 'dubbing' through dialogical reconstruction. To be certain there will be no confusion I will use the term 'glocalization' instead of 'dubbing'. Glocalization is in many cases the consequence of capitalism and the creolized political structure of Guam which makes the Chamorro way of life difficult to sustain. Glocalization uses politics as a host to introduce itself.

V.I Glocalization and law

During an interview at a restaurant in Hagåtña Anthony told me that the food stamp program introduced by the Americans undermines one of the qualities of the Chamorros, their independence. The food stamp program is a federal government program which helps low-income people to buy food. Anthony told me the applicable metaphor, "If you fall you get up, you don't ask for help." (Anthony, interview by author, April 6, 2011). According to Anthony, but also to other informants, the consequence of the food stamp program is that people become dependent. According to my informants there are also, certainly more than a few, Chamorros who misuse the food stamp program and therefore become even more dependent on it. Two of my informants told me they had a family member that misuses this program through loopholes which are there because of bad supervision. Those people do not

work or look for a job. Unfortunately it is a difficult aspect to research because it is very personal and people will not easily tell about it. But the fact that different informants told me this, makes it clear that it most certainly happens. Only the scale on which the misuse is there is unsure. But there is clearly a change in the intellectual cultural heritage of the Chamorro among the people who depend on the food stamp program. Just like Eriksen mentions, "although indigenous groups may occasionally profit economically from global integration, their identity depends on a certain degree of political autonomy." (2007:147). The profit is clearly there, the food stamps are a socioeconomic accessory to help people in need. But it is forced upon them and the example shows that because of the lack of political autonomy there is a scar in the identification process. Anthony sees the quality of independence, which is part of a cultural identity, being lost among some Chamorros. An identity which can be perceived as something that can be lost and needs preserving (Tomlinson 2003:269).

Another aspect of this governmental influence is the Corporal Punishment Law. This law which was introduced by the Americans makes it, to put simply, forbidden to physically punish a child. A lot of my informants did not agree with this law because from their point of view it is too strict and makes it impossible for parents to discipline their children. They all agreed that abusing children by hitting them is not correct, but spanking should be allowed. The consequence my informants saw is that their children are not disciplined and by that they lose their respect to elders and others. Some also connect it to the use of drugs and alcohol abuse and even teenage pregnancies. Two of my informants, of which one is a parent, told me that when they were young they were spanked and it helped them to get disciplined, nowadays it is different. A few other informants told me that the youth would call the police if they got 'hit' by one of their parents. A teacher, Robert, told me the story of a young girl of fourteen years old who wanted to go out with her boyfriend but her parents had forbidden her to go. She did not agree and called the police saying she was punished physically by her parents. Although the parents were right and did not get prosecuted it shows what this law does regarding discipline and the private life, it reduces the authority and rights of the parents. It also influence the authority of teachers. Robert also told me that a colleague of his, a women of twenty-five, was abused and she filed a complaint but the consequence was that the police started

researching her instead of the child. He concluded that disciplining kids in school became more difficult because of this law.

Sociologist Russell Smandych (2005:267-283) describes from a theoretical approach how the imperializing effects of law should be researched. He concludes that it is crucial to be more aware of how law has been used historically, as imperialistic agent, and how it continues to be used as such today. If we look back to the beginning of the 20th century one sees the start of an assimilation process by the U.S. Naval administrators on Guam. They opened separate private schools which were specialized in teaching English which eventually evolved to secondary and high schools (Barusch and Spaulding 1989:64-65). According to Colletta (1976:113) the U.S. increased in 1962 its efforts to enforce American-style education in Micronesia. It was a part of a systematic program which had development and acculturation as goal. The Micronesians were indoctrinated with American ideas, values, traditions and lifestyle. This use of power to enforce an assimilation through law continues until this day on Guam. The Corporal Punishment Law and the case with the food stamps are enforcing social aspects of an American lifestyle onto the Guamanians. The complete picture of the political status of Guam is the biggest imperialistic move of the U.S. by law. The American ideoscapes in the form of laws are partially overlapping the ideoscapes of the Chamorros. By doing so it at the same time influences the ethnoscaples around Guam regarding immigrants from the other islands. Because the Compact of Free Association Act of 1985 between the Federal States of Micronesia (FSM) and the U.S. states that the inhabitants from FSM can now travel freely, work and live in a United States territory (U.S. Department of the Interior 2006). The government of Guam does not have a voice in this migration process which meant a lot of migration from the nearby islands to Guam, an economical 'paradise' for the other islanders. The American ideoscapes which partially overlap the Chamorro ones sets the process of glocalization into existence. Which shows a clear proof of the existence of a process of cultural heterogenization instead of cultural homogenization, which the next paragraph will show.

V.II Glocalization, capitalism and the military

Sociologist Devanathan Parthasarathy (2005:192) mentions the commodification of law and ethics with which he means that law and ethics are being used as objects of exchange and trade. Their ability to generate profits becomes important. So

capitalism is introduced to Guam but the most important reason for the U.S. to imperialize Guam by law is not a capitalistic reason but a military reason. For the U.S. Guam is a strategic military point in the Pacific (Barusch and Spaulding 1989:62; Shigematsu and Camacho 2010:33). The presence of the U.S. military on Guam is in itself a sign of the creolization of a lifestyle. There are several military bases on Guam and they control a large part of the island. The land which is in the hands of the U.S. military is fenced and if one drives around Guam one can see those fences everywhere. Keith Camacho and Laurel Monnig (2010:159) cite Robert Underwood, former U.S. Congressional Representative for Guam, regarding the naturalization of the military fences in Guam. Underwood says that the people on Guam see the military fences on the island as a part of their reality and it does not bother them. Although the fences have the function to keep civilians away from U.S. military property, land which was once taken from the Chamorros. But the Chamorros want to join the military and get inside those fences. Underwood argues that if people see it this way it means that for them the fences do not look like an intrusion but look like a natural order. In short, most of the Chamorros unconsciously accept the creolized lifestyle as they not really mind the military buildup. During my own research I met more than enough young people, a part of who are Chamorros, who wanted to join the U.S. military. Their main reasons were always the same, the job pays well. There is capitalism again, which reformed the needs of the Chamorros and doing so it is supporting the U.S. military presence.

One can get a good view of the ongoing glocalization on Guam by looking at the differences between north and south Guam. South Guam is, according to all my informants, known by its 'traditional' way of life whereas north Guam is known for its more capitalistic way of life. First of all it is necessary to know that the northern part of Guam is comprised of a diverse population if one looks at ethnicity. Most migrants live in north Guam and the population of south Guam exists mostly out of Chamorros. Secondly, Anthony made the example that "south Guam, in contrast to north Guam, still has its agricultural identity and still has the know-how" (interview by author, April 6, 2011). Although I noticed that even in the south this is declining. According to Anthony there is less financial wealth in south Guam. This I noticed myself by looking at the villages. One can perceive a certain financial 'shortage' by looking at houses, personal belongings and cars. Of course one cannot generalize. Informants told me that because of their jobs and getting by financially they do not have much spare

time. One can notice this at all the different parties in the south, where the food used to be fresh because it was hunted and caught. Now it is bought at the supermarket. Robert told me that the fiestas in his younger years were different from those now and that for him the real fiesta was actually the preparation. This could take up to two weeks. All family and friends were there to help. Nowadays they only come by with drinks and food. According to him this is the result of economical changes, people do not have the time, they have to work. In the north, as Joe told me, people do not really have parties like in the south. In the south family and friends gather and have all day barbeques, cool boxes with beer and sodas and a lot of food. If people have parties up north they go to restaurants and fast food places. But even the parties in south Guam changed and are creolized and glocalized. A party I attended with Tony took place in a backyard and was comparable with the many other parties I attended. It was Tony's niece her birthday party. The fish at the party was caught by themselves but the meat was bought. This surprised me because they had cages with two deer, pigs and a lot of chickens, so once in a while they probably had fresh meat. There were a lot of family members preparing the food. There were at least twenty people cooking, cleaning fish, et cetera. So there was a certain level of social bonding of the family. At every party I went to people were drinking beer. The most popular beer which you could find anywhere was Bud Lite. They almost never ran out of beer and when they did, they went directly to the store and bought some more. The presence of Bud Lite was probably the consequence of a very short dialogical reconstruction of a global flow. One can clearly see American influences at the parties by looking at the food and drinks but the glocalization aspect is the fact that the parties with family and friends are still there, even though not every aspect is 'traditional'. Ritzer and Atalay (2010:319) argue that the glocalization theory sees individuals and local groups as important and that they have creative agency. Glocalization is relational and contingent. Glocalization, called 'dubbing' by Boellstorff (2003:226), is according to him inextricably connected to agency, just like Ritzer's definition. The people choose to have the parties in, mostly, the same way they had them when they were young. They choose to keep the tradition alive.

Looking at the example of the party I sketched one can clearly see the glocalization on different levels. The first level is a macro level where north Guam can be seen, from an essentialistic approach for a clear contrast, as 'Americanized' and 'modernized'. Whereas south Guam remains 'traditional'. This shows that Guam as a

whole is glocalized because most individuals and groups in the south retain their way of life whereas north Guam do not. On a micro and meso level the southern part of Guam is glocalized if one looks at the American influences at the parties. Another example was the celebration of 'Discovery Day' in Umatec, a southern village. It was a celebration of the discovery of Guam by the explorer Ferdinand Magellan which landed in their bay. A band played 80s and 90s rock songs from Elvis Presley and other oldies. I was there with Joe and asked him about this because I wondered why they did not play Chamorro songs and he said to me with a smile, "this is what we want, we don't want Chamorro Music." (interview by author, March 12, 2011). You can see the agency of the people here concerning glocalization. The context is Chamorro, but people want to hear American music, it is dialogically reconstructed.

North Guam is also glocalized but the focus there is more on an American way of life than in the south. For example, people in general say that in the north they call the police for every problem they have but in the south they prefer to solve it themselves. This was verified by a policeman, Kevin, whom I met at a party down south, where he lives, but who works in north Guam. He said that people in the south are too proud to call the police and that they can handle it themselves. One day I was up north where I met John who was telling me that once upon a time he shot the dog of his neighbor. Because it attacked his chickens and the neighbor did not do anything about it when he told him. So after a while John shot the dog when it attacked his chickens again. His neighbor called the police but the police eventually agreed with the John. This would not have happened down south. When I reviewed the situation later on with Tony and Vince, Vince said "we would eat the chicken together" (interview by author, May 6, 2011) as a funny remark that a lot of problems are solved mutually. Tony also added that they do not call the police because everybody is family and they could get into more trouble because of drinking et cetera.

The existence of all these glocalization processes show that there is a cultural heterogenization process going on and not a cultural homogenization process. However one could state that there are certain aspects where cultural practices from the U.S. are copied in exactly the same meaning it has there. One could take the drinking of Bud Lite, which replaced the local coconut juice 'tuba', as example. But the social environment where one consumes it has its own uniqueness based upon a Chamorro cultural heritage. As far as I noticed during my research there was always

a larger social environment present which made every aspect that even looked a lot like a part of the process of cultural homogenization a part of the process of heterogenization. The American scapes will always be overlapping the Chamorros ones, but it is also the other way around. Besides that the scapes will never completely overlap.

It is clear that the U.S. makes the imperialism of law possible through the creolized political structure of Guam. Which has glocalization processes as a consequence. Capitalism is also in some ways connected to glocalization. Which eventually has an influence on cultural heritage. Ho (2005) described, as I mentioned before, that globalization processes do not have supreme agency. But the U.S. government and capitalism have influence on the Chamorro cultural heritage in a way which most Chamorros do not appreciate. What kind of power do they have to fight against it? Reflecting back on traditions and cultural heritage, as I explained through Timothy and Boyd (Macleod 2010) and Hobsbawm and Ranger (2010), it can be employed as a resource: as an empowering of the agency. To use it this way it has to be important for the people. As sociologist Manuel Castells clearly states, "our world, and our lives, are being shaped by conflicting trends of globalization and identity." (2004:1). All these processes of globalization influence the identification processes of the Chamorros. This is why the use of cultural heritage as agency should be of importance to them.

The military buildup made Pãgat important for the identification processes of the Chamorros. The military presence and buildup could do the same for fighting the political status of Guam through which imperialism of law is made possible. But because this is about a more holistic process which involves everyday aspects of the Chamorros lives it is going to be more difficult. The awareness of the reality and the possibility to change it has to be known. The unthought has to be thought. The military fences represent not only possibilities but also colonization. If the Chamorros connect the military to the political status of Guam and by that seeing its connection with the imperialistic glocalization of the cultural heritage of the Chamorros, things could be different. People do know that the military influences their cultural heritage but it is sometimes deemed natural, the way it is. Just like the military fences. This unthought regarding the military should first be known consciously among everybody. Then the colonization is finalized and the Chamorros will have an opportunity to go towards decolonization. Their agency, political, social and cultural, can be used to

fight for this decolonization. Because an inevitable globalization, and all of its processes, is a fable.

If one takes into mind capitalism one can see the effects of agency by comparing north and south Guam. The south chooses to stay more 'traditional'. So to say that capitalism is the reason of the glocalization of Chamorro heritage is a position which is hard to defend but also hard to oppose. In a pure theoretical sense there is a dialogical reconstruction possible because of the agency of the Chamorros. So in this sense capitalism is not the reason of glocalization but accepted by the people of Guam. Then again the 'structure' shaped by the U.S. impairs the agency of the people of Guam. The political status and capitalism is why most changes regarding cultural heritage in daily life takes place but this does not mean it is inevitable, but it is difficult. Capitalism does not have a supreme agency but it is much stronger because of the impaired political status of Guam. In the terms of Appadurai's (1996) scapes, the financescape which contains capitalism does not have to completely overlap the ideoscape of the Chamorro heritage. It can be present without major, as negative perceived, influences. Capitalism and its influences on Guam are only possible and accepted because of the U.S. government. The government of Guam only plays a small part because of its impaired self-governance. A stronger agency through less 'structure' of the U.S. makes a dialogical reconstruction more fair and gives more self-governance to Guam which could lead eventually to an everyday life with cultural heritage based upon what the people of Guam want.

Chapter VI

Conclusion

Guam is a small island in the big Pacific Ocean, an island with a long history. After hundreds of years of Spanish colonization the U.S took over Guam and continued the colonization until this day. Guam is also a small entity in the big ocean of globalization. The effects of globalization on Guam are influencing the Chamorro cultural heritage. The consequences are, according to many Chamorros, a negative transformation of their cultural heritage. Globalization includes processes with origins from all over the world. In this thesis I focused only upon processes with an American origin, although there are of course many other influences on Guam besides the American ones. However, my notion is that the U.S. plays a major part in the transformation of the Chamorro cultural heritage. The reason herefore is the magnitude of the intertwined processes which were introduced to Guam by the U.S. I researched these processes from within the framework of my research question: What is the relation between the presence of the U.S. on Guam and the perception of the Chamorros regarding their cultural heritage and identification processes?

The colonization of Guam by the U.S. creolized the political structure of Guam. The government of Guam has no full self-governance. The impaired self-governance is a consequence of the imperialistic creolization of the U.S. For Guam creolization is not a choice, it is forced upon. At the same time it is the impaired self-governance of Guam that is the main reason for the imperialistic glocalization of Guam by the U.S. The colonization of Guam eventually made the Chamorros official American citizens. This made a dual discursive competence, regarding the discourse of 'culture', reality for a lot of Chamorros which is symbolically supported by the presence of two national flags and anthems. So the identification process became contested for the Chamorros. Not only because of a dual discursive identification but also because of the imperialistic glocalization.

Cultural heritage as a source of identification grew in importance, for it distinguished the Chamorros from the Americans. At the same time the American presence transformed the Chamorro cultural heritage which the Chamorros see as a loss of culture.

Diverse activities are reinventing traditions, using the past selectively for contemporary purposes, namely to enrich and manipulate the present. The purpose of these activities is the preservation of the Chamorro cultural heritage. The American presence is contesting the Chamorro identification process through influencing the Chamorro cultural heritage. Although this is opposed by diverse activities, it is more complex. It seems that the interest in the contemporary Chamorro cultural heritage is not in an active way present among many Chamorros. A colonization of the mind is present which needs to be turned around to a decolonization for the sake of the Chamorro cultural heritage. But is this possible, and how? The colonization of the mind makes the Chamorros accustomed to the American lifestyle which directly influences the Chamorro lifestyle in a negative way. A decolonization of the mind can come into existence and therefore the Chamorros need to be aware of how it is endangered by the way they are living. They need to think the unthought and consciously take control of the glocalization processes.

It is always important to look at all these processes from within the theoretical framework of agency and structure. No globalization, glocalization or creolization process has ultimate agency. The Chamorros have agency which makes them able to pursue their goals. Only their agency is strongly decreased by the combination of those processes and the impaired political structure of Guam.

Without the control, especially political, the U.S. can continue influencing the Chamorro cultural heritage like they did through the imperial effects of law. The control of the glocalization processes is the key. For the Chamorros want the best of both worlds. For it seems that the Chamorros want to save their cultural heritage in the context of an American Guam. The U.S. brought, as informants told me, a lot of good things to Guam. So glocalization and creolization seems to be the only option which is always everywhere the only option in this globalized world. Some informants said that becoming part of the Federal States of Micronesia is the solution. Although there are probably a few different solutions which will lead to a political autonomy to reach the goal of the preservation of their cultural heritage without losing the positive aspects of the presence of the U.S. For this to happen there need to be at least two changes. First, Guam's political structure needs to be autonomous so that they have the control, as far as possible, over the glocalization processes. Secondly, the interest in the contemporary Chamorro cultural heritage needs to be increased. In my opinion this cannot fully succeed without a political autonomy. The government of

Guam needs to make decisions independent from the U.S. political power which put them in this situation in the first place. Although the interest in the Chamorro cultural heritage has been increasing since a few decennia, the government of Guam needs their autonomy to preserve certain ways of life regarding the contemporary Chamorro cultural heritage. One could ask why this is necessary. Globalization in this Postmodern 'chaotic' world can make people feel lost. Traditions are reinvented everywhere in the world for identification and to hold nation-states together. So if one loses ones cultural heritage on which those reinventions are based, identification will become more and more difficult. That is exactly why the Chamorros fight for Pãgat and celebrate Chamorro month.

The most important aspect of fieldwork is gaining insight regarding the emic perspective. From the insight gained I can state that the Chamorros show the need of the preservation of their cultural heritage and act on it, but it is not enough yet. They value their cultural heritage and state the importance of it, but they do not yet succeed in preserving it. With this thesis I hope to give them a little insight in this complex situation.

The case of Guam shows that globalization processes do not lead to cultural homogenization but to cultural heterogenization. As long as there is agency, which there always is in a certain amount, no culture can be culturally homogenized. If one goes to Guam one will notice a lot of U.S. influences, but no one can say it looks like the U.S. The Chamorro culture is unique through glocalization. So even though Guam does not have full self-governance, there will be no cultural homogenization even though they carry U.S. passports. At a party they may drink Bud Lite instead of their tuba, they may buy their meat instead of hunting it, they may import most of their fish instead of catching it themselves but the context, the party, is always something typically Chamorro. Globalization is a much debated subject in cultural anthropology and other disciplines. But we live in a time of globalization and we will not see the full consequences of it until our social and cultural environment changes into something one can only guess. Fortunately fieldwork adds a great deal to the understanding of globalization. It shows the perspective of those who experience it and the consequences it has on human lives. It is at one level personal and at another level it concerns a collective. There should be remembered that even though sometimes cultural aspects are being 'forced upon' one, that this does not mean that one does

not want it to be part of his or her life. Fieldwork is the only way to observe the consequences of the processes around globalization on individuals and societies. We have to remember that societies always change and so does culture on every level. How can something that is fluid, plural and ever-changing be culturally homogenized? Indeed, it cannot.

List of references

Ahearn, Laura M.

- 2001 Language and Agency. *Annual Review Anthropology* 30:109-137.
2003 Agency. *In Key Terms in Language and Culture*. Alessandro Duranti, ed. Pp.7-10. Oxford : Blackwell Publishing Ltd.

Anderson, Benedict

- 2006 *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London : Verso (2nd edition).

Appadurai, Arjun, ed.

- 1996 Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy. *In Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. Arjun Appadurai, ed. Pp. 182-222. Minneapolis : University of Minnesota Press.

Argyrou, Vassos

- 2005 *The Logic Of Environmentalism: Anthropology, Ecology and Postcoloniality*. New York : Bergbahn Books.

Barusch, Amanda S. and Marc L. Spaulding

- 1989 The Impact of Americanization on the Intergenerational Relations: An Exploratory Study on the U.S. Territory of Guam. *Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare* 16(3):61-80.

Baumann, Gerd

- 2008[1996] *Contesting Culture: Discourses of identity in multi-ethnic London*. Cambridge : Cambridge University Press.

Bauman, Zygmunt

- 1998 *Globalization: The Human Consequences*. New York : Columbia University Press.

Blokland, Hans T.

- 2006 *Modernization and its Political Consequences: Weber, Mannheim, and Schumpeter*. Yale : Yale University Press.

Boellstorff, Tom

- 2003 Dubbing Culture: Indonesian Gay and Lesbi Subjectivities and Ethnography in an Already Globalized World. *American Ethnologist* 30(2):225-232.

Buhain, Janella

- 2011 JGPO: 'We do Listen'. Electronic document, http://www.mvguam.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=16501:jgpo-we-do-listen&catid=59:frontpagenews, accessed June 12, 2011

Calvo, Eddie B.

2011 The 2011 State of the Island Address. Electronic document, <ftpcontent.worldnow.com/kuam/custom/news/ecalvo-sotia-03132011.pdf>, accessed March 14, 2011.

Camacho, Keith L. and Laurel A. Monnig

2010 Uncomfortable Fatigues: Chamorro Soldiers, Gendered Identities, and the Question of Decolonization in Guam. *In Militarized Currents: Toward a Decolonized Future In Asia and the Pacific*. Setsu Shigematsu and Keith L. Camacho, eds. Pp. 147-180. Minnesota : University of Minnesota Press.

Castells, Manuel

2004 The Power of Identity. Malden : Blackwell Publishing Ltd. (2nd edition).

Central Intelligence Agency

N.d. The World Factbook, Australia-Oceania, Guam, Electronic document, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/gq.html>, accessed on August 6, 2011.

N.d. The World Factbook, Australia-Oceania, Guam. Digital image, https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/maps/gq_largelocator_template.html, accessed August 3, 2011

N.d. The World Factbook, Australia-Oceania, Guam. Digital image, https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/maps/maptemplate_gq.html, accessed August 3, 2011.

N.d. The World Factbook, Australia-Oceania, Guam. Flag. Digital image, https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/flags/flagtemplate_gq.html, accessed August 3, 2011.

Colletta, Nat J.

1976 Cross-cultural transactions in Ponapean elementary classrooms. *Journal of Research and Development in Education* 9:113-123.

Cunningham, Lawrence J. and Janice J. Beaty

2001 A History of Guam. Guam : The Bess Press Inc.

Delamont, Sara

2004 Ethnography and participant observation. *In Qualitative Research Practice*. Clive Seale, Giampietro Gobo, Jaber F. Gubrium and David Silverman, eds. Pp. 217-229. London : Sage.

Dewalt, Kathleen M. and Billie R. Dewalt

2002 Participant Observation: A Guide for Fieldworkers. California : AltaMira Press.

Diaz, Vicente M.

2000 Simply Chamorro: Telling Tales of Demise and Survival in Guam. *In Voyaging Through The Contemporary Pacific*. David L. Hanlon and Geoffrey M. White, eds. Pp. 141-170. Oxford : Rowman and Littlefield.

Eriksen, Thomas H.

2002 Ethnicity and Nationalism. London : Pluto Press (2nd edition).

2007 Globalization: The Key Concepts. New York : Berg.

Eriksen, Thomas H. and Richard Jenkins, eds.

2007 Flag, Nation and Symbolism in Europe and America. New York : Routledge.

Farrell, Don A.

2011 History of the Mariana Islands to Partition. Saipan : Public School System, Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands.

Flores, Judy

1999 Art and Identity in the Mariana Islands: Issues of Reconstructing an Ancient Past. Ph.D. dissertation, Sainsbury Research Unit for the Arts of Africa, Oceania & The Americas University of East Anglia.

Gellner, Ernest

2006 Nations and Nationalism. Oxford : Blackwell Publishing Ltd. (2nd edition).

Giddens, Anthony

1984 The Constitution of Society. California : University of California Press.

Graham, Brain J., Gregory J. Ashworth, John E. Tunbridge

2000 A geography of heritage : power, culture and economy. London [etc.] : Arnold [etc.].

Guampedia™

2009a Governor Carlos Camacho. Electronic document, <http://guampedia.com/governor-carlos>, accessed May 3, 2011.

2009b Guam Hymn / Fanohge Chamorro. Electronic document, <http://guampedia.com/guam-hymn-fanohge-chamorro/>, accessed June 12, 2011.

Guam Preservation Trust

N.d. Hafa Adai from the Guam Preservation Trust. Electronic document, <http://savepagatvillage.com/>, accessed June 12, 2011.

Hall, Stuart

2006 Cultural Identity and Diaspora. *In* The Post-Colonial Studies Reader. Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin, eds. Pp. 435-438. London : Routledge.

Hamm, Bernd and Russel Smandych, eds.

2005 Cultural Imperialism: Essays on the Political Economy Of Cultural Domination. Ontario : Broadview Press.

Harvey, David

1990 The Condition of Postmodernity. Malden : Blackwell Publishing Ltd.

Ho, Karen

2005 Situating Global Capitalisms: A View From Wall Street Investment Banks. *Cultural Anthropology* 20(1):68-96.

Hobsbawm, Eric

2010[1983] Introduction: Inventing Traditions. *In* The invention of Tradition. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds. Pp. 1-14. Cambridge : Cambridge University Press.

Hobsbawm, Eric and Terence Ranger, eds.

2010[1983] The invention of Tradition. Cambridge : Cambridge University Press.

Jenkins, Richard

2008 Social Identity. New York : Routledge (3rd edition).

Kelman, Brett

2011 Chamorro versus Guamanian: Terminology in Calvo speech draws criticism. Electronic document, <http://pqasb.pqarchiver.com/guampdn/access/2293600341.html?FMT=ABS&FMTS=ABS:FT&type=current&date=Mar+16%2C+2011&author=Brett+Kelman&pub=Pacific+Daily+News&edition=&startpage=n%2Fa&desc=Chamorro+versus+Guamanian%3A+Terminology+in+Calvo+speech+draws+criticism>, accessed June 12, 2011.

Khan, Aisha

2007 Good to Think? Glocalization, Optimism, and Agency. *Current Anthropology* 48(5):653-673.

Kottak, Conrad P.

2008 Cultural Anthropology. New York : McGraww-Hill (12th edition).

KUAM News

2011 Programmatic Agreement for Military Relocation to Guam and the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands. Electronic document, <http://ftpcontent.worldnow.com/kuam/custom/news/Guam%20and%20CNMI%20PA%20Signature-Ready.pdf>, accessed April 24, 2011.

Lowenthal, David

1985 The Past is a Foreign Country. Cambridge : Cambridge University Press.

Lutz, Catherine

2002 Making War at Home in the United States: Militarization and the current crisis. *American Anthropologist* 104(3):723-735.

Macleod, Donald V. L.

2010 Power, culture and the production of heritage. *In* Tourism, power and culture: anthropological insights. David V. L. Macleod and James G. Carrier, eds. Pp. 64-89. Bristol [etc.] : Channel View.

Maslow, Abraham H.

1943 A Theory of Human Motivation. *Psychological Review* 50:370-396.

Matanane, Sabrina S.

2011 Programmatic Agreement signed. Electronic document, <http://www.kuam.com/story/14214734/2011/03/09/programmatic-agreement-signed?redirected=true>, accessed March 9, 2011.

National History Day

N.d. What is National History Day? Electronic document, <http://www.nhd.org/About.htm>, accessed March 10, 2011.

National Trust for Historic Preservation

2010 11 Most Endangered Historic Places, Pãgat. <http://www.preservationnation.org/travel-and-sites/sites/western-region/pagat.html>, accessed April 3, 2011,

Pacific News Center

2011a "We Are Guahan" – Fight to Save Pãgat Village Far From Over. Electronic document, http://pacificnewscenter.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=12238%3Aqwe-are-guahanq-fight-to-save-pagat-village-far-from-over&catid=45%3Aguam-news&Itemid=156, accessed May 12, 2011

2011b Acting Governor Signs Proclamation Declaring March Chamorro Month. Electronic document, http://www.pacificnewscenter.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=11870:acting-governor-signs-proclamation-declaring-march-chamorro-month&catid=45:guam-news&Itemid=156, accessed February 26, 2011, from:

Parthasarathy, Devanathan

2005 From White Man's Burden to Good Governance: Economic Liberalization and the Commodification of Law and Ethics. *In Cultural Imperialism: Essays on the Political Economy Of Cultural Domination*. Bernd Hamm and Russell Smandych, eds. Pp. 191-210. Ontario : Broadview Press.

Perez, Michael P.

2002 Pacific Identities beyond US Racial Formations: the Case of Chamorro Ambivalence and Flux. *Social Identities* 8(3):457-479.

2005 Colonialism, Americanization, and Indigenous Identity: A Research Note on Chamorro Identity in Guam. *Sociological Spectrum* 25(5):571-591.

Reynolds, Leslie and Deniz Smith

2009 'Guam Seal and Flag'. Electronic document, <http://guampedia.com/guam-seal-and-flag/>, accessed March 2, 2011.

Ritzer, George

2004 The Globalization of Nothing. London : Sage.

Ritzer, George and Zeynep Atalay, eds.

2010 Creolization, Hybridity, and Glocalization. *In Readings in Globalization: Key Concepts and Major Debates*. George Ritzer and Zeynep Atalay, eds. Pp. 319-321. USA : Blackwell Publishing Ltd.

Rogers, Robert F.

1995 *Destiny's Landfall: A History of Guam*. USA : University of Hawai'i Press.

Shigematsu, Setsu and Keith L. Camacho, eds.

2010 *Militarized Currents: Toward a Decolonized Future In Asia and the Pacific*. Minnesota : University of Minnesota Press.

Smandych, Russell

2005 *Defining Cultural Imperialism*. *In Cultural Imperialism: Essays on the Political Economy Of Cultural Domination*. Bernd Hamm and Russell Smandych, eds. Pp 1-2. Ontario : Broadview Press.

2005 *The Cultural Imperialism of Law*. *In Cultural Imperialism: Essays on the Political Economy Of Cultural Domination*. Bernd Hamm and Russell Smandych, eds. Pp 267-289. Ontario : Broadview Press.

Taylor, Charles

1994 *The Politics of Recognition*. *In Multiculturalism: Examining the Politics of Recognition*. Amy Gutmann, ed. Pp.25-73. Princeton : Princeton University Press.

Tilley, Christopher

2006 *Introduction: Identity, Place, Landscape and Heritage*. *Journal of Material Culture* 11:7-32.

Tomlinson, John

1991 *Cultural Imperialism: A Critical Introduction*. London : Continuum.

2003 *Globalization and Cultural Identity*. *In The Global Transformations Reader*. David Held and Anthony McGrew, eds. Pp. 269-277. Cambridge : Polity Press.

Tsing, Anna L.

2005 *Friction: An Ethnography of Global Connection*. New Jersey : Princeton University Press.

Turner, John C.

2010 *Towards a cognitive redefinition of the social group*. *In Social Identity and Intergroup Relations*. Henri Tajfel, ed. Pp. 15-40. Cambridge : Cambridge University Press.

United Nations

1947 *The Universal Declaration of Human Rights*. Electronic document, <http://www.un.org/en/documents/udhr/index.shtml>, accessed June 12, 2011.

United States Department of the Interior

- 2006 Compact of the Free Association Act of 1985. Electronic document, <http://www.doi.gov/oia/compact/compact.html>, accessed August 10, 2011.
- N.d. Guam Main Page. Electronic document, <http://www.doi.gov/oia/Islandpages/gumain.htm>, accessed June 12, 2011.

United States Department of Justice

- 2004 The Organic Act of Guam and Related Federal Laws Affecting The Governmental Structure of Guam. Electronic document, <http://www.justice.gov.gu/compileroflaws/GCA/OrganicAct/Organic%20Act.PDF>, accessed June 12, 2011.

Wimmer, Andreas

- 2002 Nationalist Exclusion and Ethnic Conflict: Shadows of Modernity. Cambridge : Cambridge University Press.