

Community Report Prepared January 2022

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Acknowledgements

This project would not have been possible without the guidance and trust of the fearless, gracious and wise CHamoru community stakeholders and leaders who worked with us at every stage of this research project—from its conception, to its design, execution and analysis. Un dangkolo na si Yu'os ma'åse' for taking your precious time to deepen our understanding of the local context and guide us through challenging political terrain.

Finally, we are grateful for the support of the MIT BCAP Fund, the MIT Center for International Studies and MIT Priscilla King Gray Public Service Center for funding this project. Thanks are due to Amalia Teglas, Devan Monroe, John Congdon, John Tirman, Judith Morrison, Kristal Peters. Particular gratitude is extended to Alison Hynd at the PKG Center, who believed in this project from the very beginning, and graciously worked to ensure its success.

The co-Principal Investigators take full responsibility for any errors in this report.

The Guåhan Survey Field Research Team (listed by first name in alphabetical order)



Pictured (left to right): Chauntae, Ngoc, Kevin, Aria, Nolan Not pictured: Josiah, Nikki

Aria Palaganas, Research Assistant

Aria C. Palaganas is a Business Administration major with a minor in Political Science at the University of Guam. She is a Filipina, born and raised on Guam but stands in solidarity as an ally to the Indigenous people of the island. She has had the opportunity to be actively engaged throughout the community and has grown a passion for volunteerism, public policy and government and wishes to carry her gained experiences to her future career in the field of law.

Chauntae Quichocho, Research Assistant

Chauntae Quichocho is a young CHamoru woman who is enrolled at the University of Guam. She is pursuing a Bachelor's degree in CHamoru Studies for Education in hopes to be a CHamoru teacher one day. She is active in helping the community through various organizations and student-led activities. Her dream is to see future generations being able to speak the CHamoru language while also cultivating and preserving CHamoru traditions and culture.

Josiah Gabriel Mesngon, Co-Team Lead

Josiah Mesngon is a CHamoru resident of the village of Yigo, Guam. He is a recent transfer student to the University of Guam, declaring psychology as his major. Josiah is highly passionate about current events and issues involving the island and is always willing to discuss those topics with others. Because of his primary focus may be on the study of mental health care, he understands that the system that funds and supports healthcare as a whole is in desperate need of help, much like many other parts of the island's aging infrastructure. "Self-governance" he would argue is the first step in solving these problems, and he intends to help in the process of finding out exactly how to get to that step.

Kevin Lujan Lee, Co-Principal Investigator

Kevin Lujan Lee (*familian* Capili) is a PhD candidate at the Department of Urban Studies and Planning at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Drawing from tools in planning, sociology and political economy, he studies how low-wage workers organize to transform their workplaces, industries and policy environments. He is particularly interested in how these multiscalar organizing processes relate to the global processes of migration management, racial capitalism, and 21st-century empire. He strives to ground his work in the Chamoru principle of *inafa 'maolek*, by incorporating accountability mechanisms and community engagement as key aspects of research.

Ngoc T. Phan, Co-Principal Investigator

Dr. Ngoc T. Phan is an Assistant Professor of Political Science at Hawai'i Pacific University in the Department of History and International Studies. She earned her Ph.D. from Rice University and specializes in human decision-making and collective action. She is an expert in the areas of American Politics, Political Behavior, Survey Research, Political Psychology, and Race and Ethnicity.

Nikki Aubree San Agustin,Co-Team Lead

Nikki Aubree San Agustin is a Computer Science and Mathematics student at Hawaii Pacific University. She is a CHamoru woman born and raised on the island of Guam and is now living in

Hawai'i. She is very passionate in advocating for indigenous rights and embracing her cultural heritage.

Nolan Flores, Co-Team Lead

Nolan Flores is an indigenous CHamoru from Guam and a 4th year student at the University of Guam, majoring in political science and CHamoru Studies. Nolan is actively engaged in his island community, where is an advocate for self-determination, decolonization, and the revitalization of the CHamoru culture and language. Much of Nolan's passion lies in public policy and government, where he works at the Guam Commission on Decolonization, serves on the Guam Public Library System's Board of Directors, and represents the University of Guam in the 33rd Guam Youth Congress.

Survey Background

This survey was conceived narrowly as a response to a 2019 U.S. Ninth Circuit court decision, which concluded that a CHamoru-only nonbinding plebiscite in Guåhan would violate the Fifteenth Amendment of the U.S. constitution (which prohibits discrimination on the basis of "race, color, or previous condition of servitude"). Given the legal restrictions on formal state mechanisms to capture the voices of CHamorus in Guåhan, and given the lack of up-to-date data on what CHamorus want for their future, this research project was co-designed with CHamoru community leaders and stakeholders (via a six-month process) to address this knowledge gap.

Our goal was to survey over 325 individuals of CHamoru ancestry. The survey was officially conducted between July 16, 2021 and August 15, 2021. The survey used a convenience and snowball sample to recruit individuals living in Guam who self-reported as 18 years or older and of CHamoru ancestry. We recruited subjects via in-person outreach in public spaces (e.g. malls, outside churches, cafes), WhatsApp chats, local newspaper advertisements in the Pacific Daily News and The Guam Daily Post and various media appearances. In-person outreach was paired with and online using survey rack cards, and online outreach was paired with images and relevant website links. that pointed subjects to the survey website, www.guamstudy.org

As of August 31, 2021, we received 1,126 survey responses. 14 responded via paper survey, while 1,112 respondents completed the survey online. Online surveys did not collect respondents' IP addresses in order to ensure that all responses were anonymous and could not be traced back to any individual.

The survey instrument can be found on the survey website. This project received approval from the Institutional Review Boards of Hawai'i Pacific University (Reference No. 56042021031), Massachusetts Institute of Technology (Reference No. E-3336) and University of Guam (Reference No.: 21-98).

Funding

This project is generously supported by the MIT BCAP Fund, the MIT Center for International Studies and MIT Priscilla King Gray Public Service Center. This survey and its findings do not

represent or reflect the values of our funders. 90% of our research budget was spent on stipends for our CHamoru field coordinators, CHamoru graphic designer and CHamoru-majority research assistants.

Our team is not formally affiliated with agents of the federal, state, or local government, think tanks, media outlets, or any special interest groups. No federal funds, state, local, or government funds are used to implement this research.

Limitations of this Survey Data

This study relies on convenience and snowball samples and does not approximate a representative sample of the CHamoru population in Guam. While the results are not statistically generalizable, they nonetheless offer a partial portrait of what everyday CHamorus in Guam think and want for their futures, and serve to provide a baseline dataset to facilitate community dialogue around the question of CHamoru self-determination.

Results

Q1. Do you consent to participating in this survey and confirm that you self-identify as Chamorro, are at least 18 years or older, and currently residing in Guam?

| | Frequency |
|-----|-----------|
| Yes | 1,013 |

Note: 27 respondents answered "No" to this question. This reported figure excludes "Yes" responses from respondents who responded "No" to Q2 or "Yes" to Q24.

Q2. Are you of Chamorro ancestry?

| | Frequency |
|-----|-----------|
| Yes | 968 |

Note: 53 respondents answered "No" to this question, and 51 respondents left this blank. This reported figure excludes "Yes" responses from respondents who responded "No" to Q2 or "Yes" to Q24.

Q3a-Q3h. Do you self-identify with one or more of these groups? Please check all that apply.

| | Frequency |
|---------------------------|-----------|
| American | 184 |
| Chamorro | 642 |
| CHamoru | 483 |
| Chamoru | 324 |
| Guamanian | 174 |
| Guamanian American | 74 |
| Chamorro-American | 144 |
| Native Inhabitant of Guam | 273 |
| Other | 34 |

Q4. What village do you live in?

| | Frequency | Percent* |
|---------------------------------------|-----------|----------|
| Assan-Ma'ina (Asan-Maina) | 16 | 1.62 |
| Barigåda (Barrigada) | 79 | 8.25 |
| Chålan Pågu-Otdot (Chalan Pago-Ordot) | 55 | 5.74 |
| Dedidu (Dededo) | 103 | 10.75 |
| Hågat (Agat) | 43 | 4.49 |
| Hagåtña | 13 | 1.36 |
| Humåtak (Umatac) | 6 | 0.63 |
| Inalåhan (Inarajan) | 33 | 3.44 |
| Mangilao | 110 | 11.48 |
| Malesso (Merizo) | 18 | 1.88 |
| Mongmong-Toto-Maite | 57 | 5.95 |
| Piti | 25 | 2.61 |
| Santa Rita/Sumay | 37 | 3.86 |
| Sinahånña (Sinajana) | 43 | 4.49 |
| Talo'fo'fo (Talofofo) | 39 | 4.07 |
| Tamuning/Tumon/Harmon | 61 | 6.37 |
| Tutuhan (Agana Heights) | 63 | 6.58 |
| Yigo | 84 | 8.77 |
| Yo'ña | 73 | 7.62 |
| Total | 958 | 100.00 |

Q5. In your opinion, what does being Chamorro mean to you?

[OPEN-ENDED]

*All open-ended responses can be found at guamstudy.org.

Q6. How do you express your Chamorro identity?

[OPEN-ENDED]

Q7. In your opinion, what are the three most important issues facing the Chamorro community today?

[OPEN-ENDED]

Q8a-Q8f. The next questions are about your Chamorro identity.

For each statement, please tell us if you strongly agree, agree, neither agree or disagree, disagree, or strongly disagree.

Q8a. I have spent time trying to find out more about Chamorro history, traditions, and culture.

| | Frequency | Percent |
|---------------------------|-----------|---------|
| Strongly Agree | 293 | 42.34 |
| Agree | 248 | 36.74 |
| Neither Agree or Disagree | 102 | 15.11 |
| Disagree | 25 | 3.70 |
| Strongly Disagree | 7 | 1.04 |
| Don't Know | 0 | 0 |
| Total | 676 | 100.00 |

Q8b. I am active in Chamorro organizations, social events or cultural activities.

| | Frequency | Percent |
|---------------------------|-----------|---------|
| Strongly Agree | 124 | 18.48 |
| Agree | 206 | 30.70 |
| Neither Agree or Disagree | 187 | 27.87 |
| Disagree | 118 | 17.59 |
| Strongly Disagree | 34 | 5.07 |
| Don't Know | 2 | .30 |
| Total | 672 | 100.00 |

Q8c. I feel good about my Chamorro identity.

| | Frequency | Percent |
|---------------------------|-----------|---------|
| Strongly Agree | 424 | 63.19 |
| Agree | 185 | 27.57 |
| Neither Agree or Disagree | 41 | 6.11 |
| Disagree | 15 | 2.24 |
| Strongly Disagree | 4 | .60 |
| Don't Know | 2 | .30 |
| Total | 672 | 100.00 |

Q8d. I have a deep sense of belonging to my Chamorro community.

| | Frequency | Percent |
|---------------------------|-----------|---------|
| Strongly Agree | 354 | 52.68 |
| Agree | 225 | 33.48 |
| Neither Agree or Disagree | 65 | 9.67 |
| Disagree | 19 | 2.83 |
| Strongly Disagree | 9 | 1.34 |
| Total | 673 | 100.00 |

Q8e. I have a deep sense of belonging to America.

| | Frequency | Percent |
|---------------------------|-----------|---------|
| Strongly Agree | 118 | 17.59 |
| Agree | 179 | 26.68 |
| Neither Agree or Disagree | 175 | 26.08 |
| Disagree | 103 | 15.35 |
| Strongly Disagree | 91 | 13.56 |
| Don't Know | 5 | .75 |
| Total | 672 | 100.00 |

Q8f. I struggle with balancing my Chamorro identity w/other identities (e.g. American, Servicemember).

| | Frequency | Percent |
|---------------------------|-----------|---------|
| Strongly Agree | 58 | 8.66 |
| Agree | 102 | 15.22 |
| Neither Agree or Disagree | 152 | 22.69 |
| Disagree | 161 | 24.03 |
| Strongly Disagree | 184 | 27.46 |
| Don't Know | 13 | 1.94 |
| Total | 671 | 100.00 |

Q9. Thinking back to elementary, middle, or high school, were you offered Chamorro language courses? *

| | Frequency | Percent |
|------------|-----------|---------|
| Yes | 439 | 65.72 |
| No | 227 | 33.98 |
| Don't Know | 2 | .30 |
| Total | 668 | 100.00 |

Q10. Thinking back to elementary, middle, or high school, were you taught Chamorro culture and history?

| | Frequency | Percent |
|------------|-----------|---------|
| Yes | 456 | 68.26 |
| No | 202 | 30.34 |
| Don't Know | 10 | 1.5 |
| Total | 669 | 100.00 |

Q11. Do you consider Guåhan to be occupied by the United States?

| | Frequency | Percent |
|------------|-----------|---------|
| Yes | 483 | 72.41 |
| No | 148 | 22.19 |
| Don't Know | 36 | 5.4 |
| Total | 668 | 100.00 |

Q12. Do you support the construction of the US military firing range at Camp Blaz/above Litekyan (Ritidian)?

| | Frequency | Percent |
|------------|-----------|---------|
| Yes | 141 | 21.14 |
| No | 446 | 66.87 |
| Don't Know | 80 | 11.99 |
| Total | 668 | 100.00 |

Q13. How important is it to you that sacred places are protected and accessible?

| | Frequency | Percent |
|----------------------|-----------|---------|
| Extremely Important | 463 | 69.42 |
| Very Important | 134 | 20.09 |
| Somewhat Important | 46 | 6.9 |
| Not so Important | 15 | 2.25 |
| Not at all Important | 9 | 1.35 |
| Total | 668 | 100.00 |

Q14a-14h. In the past year, what kinds of political activities have you engaged in? Check all that apply.

| | Frequency | Percent |
|---|-----------|---------|
| Internet Petition | 348 | 25.0 |
| Social Media Message | 336 | 24.2 |
| Political rally, protest, demonstration | 151 | 10.9 |
| Civil Disobedience | 12 | 0.9 |
| Policy Advocacy | 128 | 9.2 |
| Public Education and Outreach | 229 | 16.5 |
| Community organizing or people power | 131 | 9.4 |
| Mutual Aid Funds | 56 | 4.0 |

Q15a-15d. The next questions are about how you feel about government. For each statement, please tell us if you strongly agree, agree, neither agree or disagree, disagree, or strongly disagree.

Q15a. I feel that public officials in the Government of Guam care about what I have to say.

| | Frequency | Percent |
|---------------------------|-----------|---------|
| Strongly Agree | 30 | 4.62 |
| Agree | 114 | 17.51 |
| Neither Agree or Disagree | 199 | 30.62 |
| Disagree | 170 | 26.15 |
| Strongly Disagree | 126 | 19.38 |
| Don't Know | 11 | 1.69 |
| Total | 650 | 100.00 |

Q15b. I can affect what the Government of Guam does.

| | Frequency | Percent |
|---------------------------|-----------|---------|
| Strongly Agree | 53 | 8.15 |
| Agree | 168 | 25.85 |
| Neither Agree or Disagree | 178 | 27.38 |
| Disagree | 135 | 20.77 |
| Strongly Disagree | 99 | 15.23 |
| Don't Know | 17 | 2.62 |
| Total | 651 | 100.00 |

Q15c. I feel that public officials in the US federal government care about what I have to say.

| | Frequency | Percent |
|---------------------------|-----------|---------|
| Strongly Agree | 21 | 3.23 |
| Agree | 50 | 7.68 |
| Neither Agree or Disagree | 150 | 23.04 |
| Disagree | 174 | 26.73 |
| Strongly Disagree | 242 | 37.17 |
| Don't Know | 14 | 2.15 |
| Total | 652 | 100.00 |

Q15d. I can affect what the US federal government does in Guam.

| | Frequency | Percent |
|---------------------------|-----------|---------|
| Strongly Agree | 27 | 4.15 |
| Agree | 80 | 12.31 |
| Neither Agree or Disagree | 164 | 25.23 |
| Disagree | 157 | 24.15 |
| Strongly Disagree | 207 | 31.85 |
| Don't Know | 15 | 2.31 |
| Total | 650 | 100.00 |

Q16. If you were asked to vote on the political future of Guåhan, what options might you choose? [Check all that apply]

| | Frequency | Percent |
|------------------|-----------|---------|
| Statehood | 265 | 34.96 |
| Free Association | 241 | 31.79 |
| Independence | 252 | 33.25 |
| Total | 758 | 100.00 |

Q17. If you had to vote today on Guåhan's political future, how would you vote, choose only one?

| | Frequency | Percent |
|------------------|-----------|---------|
| Statehood | 196 | 31.41 |
| Free Association | 140 | 22.44 |
| Independence | 153 | 24.52 |
| No Preference | 33 | 5.29 |
| Don't Know | 102 | 16.35 |
| Total | 624 | 100.00 |

Q18. When you think about self-determination, what are the first three things that come to mind?

[OPEN-ENDED]

Q19. When you think about self-determination, what comes to mind as things that you are hopeful and excited about?

[OPEN-ENDED]

Q20. Do you support, oppose, or neither support or oppose the US military paying rent to Guåhan to lease the land for US military bases?

| | Frequency | Percent |
|---------------------------|-----------|---------|
| Support | 372 | 63.27 |
| Oppose | 72 | 12.24 |
| Neither support or oppose | 143 | 24.32 |
| Total | 587 | 100.00 |

Q21. As a US citizen in Guåhan, do you feel that you have the same rights as US Citizens who are residents of one of the fifty states?

| | Frequency | Percent |
|--------|-----------|---------|
| Yes | 114 | 19.39 |
| No | 446 | 75.85 |
| Unsure | 28 | 4.76 |
| Total | 588 | 100.00 |

Q22. Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: ONLY the "Native inhabitants of Guam" (per the 1950 Organic Act of Guam) have the fundamental human right to vote for the future status of Guåhan?

| | Frequency | Percent |
|---------------------------|-----------|---------|
| Strongly Agree | 243 | 41.33 |
| Agree | 122 | 20.75 |
| Neither Agree or Disagree | 71 | 12.07 |
| Disagree | 84 | 14.29 |
| Strongly Disagree | 43 | 7.31 |
| Don't Know | 25 | 4.25 |
| Total | 588 | 100.00 |

Q23a. If Guåhan became a freely associated state, the national security of Guåhan would increase.

| | Frequency | Percent |
|---------------------------|-----------|---------|
| Strongly Agree | 36 | 6.14 |
| Agree | 79 | 13.48 |
| Neither Agree or Disagree | 161 | 27.47 |
| Disagree | 122 | 20.82 |
| Strongly Disagree | 85 | 14.51 |
| Don't Know | 103 | 17.58 |
| Total | 587 | 100.00 |

Q23b. If Guåhan became a freely associated state, high quality jobs on Guåhan would increase.

| | Frequency | Percent |
|---------------------------|-----------|---------|
| Strongly Agree | 40 | 6.83 |
| Agree | 79 | 13.48 |
| Neither Agree or Disagree | 171 | 29.18 |
| Disagree | 107 | 18.26 |
| Strongly Disagree | 89 | 15.19 |
| Don't Know | 100 | 17.06 |
| Total | 587 | 100.00 |

Q23c. If Guåhan became an independent nation, the national security of Guåhan would increase.

| | Frequency | Percent |
|---------------------------|-----------|---------|
| Strongly Agree | 52 | 8.9 |
| Agree | 60 | 10.27 |
| Neither Agree or Disagree | 134 | 22.95 |
| Disagree | 127 | 21.75 |
| Strongly Disagree | 131 | 22.43 |
| Don't Know | 80 | 13.70 |
| Total | 585 | 100.00 |

Q23d. If Guåhan became an independent nation, high quality jobs on Guåhan would increase.

| | Frequency | Percent |
|---------------------------|-----------|---------|
| Strongly Agree | 55 | 9.43 |
| Agree | 69 | 11.84 |
| Neither Agree or Disagree | 149 | 25.56 |
| Disagree | 118 | 20.24 |
| Strongly Disagree | 113 | 19.38 |
| Don't Know | 79 | 13.55 |
| Total | 584 | 100.00 |

Q23e. If Guåhan became a US state, the national security of Guåhan would increase.

| | Frequency | Percent |
|---------------------------|-----------|---------|
| Strongly Agree | 157 | 26.88 |
| Agree | 156 | 26.71 |
| Neither Agree or Disagree | 126 | 21.58 |
| Disagree | 57 | 9.76 |
| Strongly Disagree | 30 | 5.14 |
| Don't Know | 58 | 9.93 |
| Total | 585 | 100.00 |

Q23f. If Guåhan became a US state, high quality jobs on Guåhan would increase.

| | Frequency | Percent |
|---------------------------|-----------|---------|
| Strongly Agree | 96 | 16.44 |
| Agree | 150 | 25.68 |
| Neither Agree or Disagree | 173 | 29.62 |
| Disagree | 57 | 9.76 |
| Strongly Disagree | 33 | 5.65 |
| Don't Know | 75 | 12.84 |
| Total | 585 | 100.00 |

Q24.Do you spend more than half of the year living outside of Guåhan?

| | Frequency |
|----|-----------|
| No | 579 |

Note: 48 respondents total answered "Yes" to this question; 1 respondent indicated "Yes" AND that they are a "full-time resident of Guam," hence this respondent was added to the "No" count above. This reported figure excludes "No" responses from respondents who responded "No" to Q1 or "No" to Q2.

25. If you said YES to Q24. Please provide the country and state. Otherwise skip to Question 26.

26. What is your age?

| Age Groups | Frequency | Percent |
|------------|-----------|---------|
| 18-24 | 87 | 15.29 |
| 25-34 | 118 | 20.74 |
| 35-44 | 101 | 17.75 |
| 45-54 | 105 | 18.45 |
| 55-64 | 96 | 16.87 |
| 65-74 | 55 | 9.67 |
| 75+ | 6 | 1.05 |
| Total | 568 | 100.00 |

Q27. What is the highest level of education you have completed or the highest degree you have received?

| | Frequency | Percent |
|----------------------------|-----------|---------|
| Less than high school | 5 | 0.86 |
| High School degree or GED | 94 | 16.23 |
| Some college but no degree | 150 | 25.91 |
| Associate Degree | 42 | 7.25 |
| Bachelor's Degree | 144 | 24.87 |
| Graduate Degree | 144 | 24.87 |
| Total | 579 | 100.00 |

Q28. Are you currently employed? *

| | Frequency | Percent |
|---------------------|-----------|---------|
| Yes, part-time | 356 | 61.59 |
| Yes, full time | 56 | 9.69 |
| No | 80 | 13.84 |
| Retired or Disabled | 86 | 14.88 |
| Total | 578 | 100.00 |

Q29. Do you have any children?

| | Frequency | Percent |
|---------------------------|-----------|---------|
| Yes, all over 18 | 163 | 28.45 |
| Yes, one or more under 18 | 183 | 31.94 |
| No | 227 | 39.62 |
| Total | 573 | 100.00 |

Q30. If you are multiracial, please list any other racial or ethnic groups that you belong to.

[OPEN-ENDED]

Q31. How do you describe your gender identity?

| | Frequency | Percent |
|--------|-----------|---------|
| Female | 323 | 55.7 |
| Male | 248 | 42.8 |
| Other | 9 | 1.6 |
| Total | 580 | 100.00 |

Note: Responses for "Transgender," "Gender Queer/Non-Binary" and "Other" were aggregated for purposes of confidentiality.

32. All things considered, how satisfied are you with your life as whole these days?

| | Frequency | Percent |
|-----------------------------------|-----------|---------|
| Very Satisfied | 133 | 23.01 |
| Satisfied | 295 | 51.04 |
| Neither Satisfied or Dissatisfied | 105 | 18.17 |
| Dissatisfied | 38 | 6.57 |
| Very Dissatisfied | 7 | 1.21 |
| Total | 578 | 100.00 |

Q33. Thank you again for your help and time. Is there anything else you'd like to share with us about how you think about being Chamorro or this survey?

[OPEN-ENDED]