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GUÅHAN'S COMMUNITY REPRESENTATION CONVERSATION

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Indigenous and multi-ethnic/multi-cultural community representation in Guåhan's history text and textbooks has its own narrative. History text serves as a place for community members to converse with one another and vie for consideration. This paper discusses who has been writing Guåhan history, whom that history includes or excludes, and potential ways to further highlight, balance and present the people of our island.

It's 2005 and Guåhan is both complex and multi-faceted. Elders and youth are reinvigorating indigenous chanting, dance and navigation. Chamorro rights advocates are collaborating and strengthening their political voice and presence. Chamorros and other Micronesians are partnering, working together to share and showcase Guåhan and Micronesian culture to locals and visitors. These same people dance in nightclubs, hang out at malls, watch megaplex movies and follow national and international events on CNN and FOX News. We mix and match, adapt and adopt, reinvent and reinvigorate and look back while moving forward.

Guåhan is a long colonized island—indigenous Chamorros arrived here some 4,000 years ago while Spanish, US and Japanese governments have made claims to the island and its people over the last 400 years. It is the most developed island in Micronesia and the westernmost US soil, thus it proffers an assortment of amenities and benefits. As such, it has long been a hub of translocation. Guåhan attracts migrants from Asia, other parts of Micronesia and the Pacific, Mainland-

ers/Stateriders¹ as well as people from other parts of the globe. The US mainland likewise attracts many of us from Guåhan who perceive the mainland as offering an even wider array of amenities and benefits. Combined, these realities mean that some 150,000 Chamorros and multi-ethnic/multi-cultural residents grapple with a range of cultural, social, economic and political issues on Guåhan (and off Guåhan too for those Chamorros located elsewhere).² Community members thus press and push for societal consideration in written work such as local history text and textbooks (which on Guåhan are often the same material).

METHODOLOGY

Much of this paper is based on research work conducted in 2001-2002 for my Micronesian Studies Master's thesis (2002a) and for a paper presented at the European Society of Oceanists conference (2002b). Research consisted of surveying and interviewing university and high school level Guam History instructors. I learned what books served as secondary and post-secondary level Guam History classroom

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textbooks. This paper explores those identified, comprehensive narratives of Guåhan's history and peoples. Discussion of supplemental material or other levels of Guåhan History text, though important, are not fully explored here.

The instructors and I both evaluated and analyzed Guåhan History textbooks' strengths and weaknesses in presenting Guam's indigenous and multi-ethnic/multi-cultural community members and issues. This strategy was important as it provided a voice for Guåhan community members (instructors) who work with that material and observe how it interacted with readers (students). Textbooks are important sites to examine as this may be some Guåhan community members only opportunity to formally study and discuss our island and peoples histories. The way that these texts impart information, or fail to, creates impacts on those community members' perceptions of each other that last generations. This exploration was also important in that it began a more formal examination of the development of Guam History text. It is a topic that has been discussed in certain circles, but has not been developed as a field of study yet (see Marsh-Kautz 2002a, pp. 47-89 for discussion of the history of Guam history text/textbook development).

In this paper, I tackle three topics: Diversity of the voices presenting Guåhan's history. Ways that we discuss each other in that text. And, possible directions for the future of Guam History textbook format and content.

DIVERSITY OF VOICES

Guåhan's recording of history began when the first settlers sighted the island. For some four thousand years, Islanders, who eventually became known as Chamorros or Taotao Guåhan³, formulated and imparted Guåhan's history through song, chant, dance, storytelling, lessons, recitals, pictographs, artwork and more. The formal recording of history in written form loosely began in 1521, when Magellan and his chronicler Pigafetta happened upon Guåhan during their search for the East Indies. Since that time, European sojourners, scientists, priests, new Guåhan community members alongside formally and informally educated

Taotao Guåhan continued passing along oral history and furthering the practice of written history. The latter, however, was long dominated by European males, as has commonly occurred in the Pacific (Kushima 2001; Linnekin 1997, p. 10; Souder 1992, p. 5).

Many Pacific firsts happened here. The Mariana Islands were the first Pacific islands that Europeans stumbled upon. Chamorros were thus the first Pacific people documented in European accounts. It was the locale of the first Catholic *colegio* (religious school) established on a Pacific Island. And, Chamorros lived with Spain's colonial presence for more than a hundred years before many of its neighbors did.

Cultural clashes. Battles. Disease. Decimation. Religious conversion. Subjugation. Resistance. Survival. These are experiences that Taotao Guåhan and their Pacific sisters and brothers have undergone as foreign nations cast their colonial gazes toward their islands. However, Taotao Guåhan's experiences differed in many ways as well. Owing to an early and lengthy colonization, Europeans out to document "pristine" cultures before they "vanished" or were "tainted" as well as contemporary academics have considered Taotao Guåhan too culturally and ethnically "impure" to be studied and documented (discussed in Kushima 2001, p. 1 & p. 111n). On one hand this provides the people of Guam with less historical writing to utilize in reconstructing their ancient and early historical past. On the other hand, there is less material for us to have to deconstruct.⁴

Spanish-era (1668-1898) Taotao Guåhan written work concerning their history has not yet been uncovered and made known, although I believe it likely occurred in some form. However, it still is true to note that the known Taotao Guåhan work demonstrates a relatively early participation in writing their island and people's history. Chamorro authors wrote various short historical pieces through the early 1900s (if not earlier); Remedios L.G. Perez, *un palao'an na Chamoru*⁵ (a Chamorro female) authored one of Guåhan's earliest history textbooks (1948, revised in 1951); and in 1964 Pedro C. Sanchez, *un lâbi Chamoru* (a Chamorro male)

working with another historian published “the first attempt to write a modern, comprehensive, chronological narrative for the history of Guam” (Díaz, V. 1994, p. 33). Guåhan historian Vicente Díaz has noted however, that it is “remarkably unreflective and Eurocentric” (*ibid.*). This critique introduces other factors to consider beyond identifying and locating the author (insider, outsider, indigenous, local resident, or visitor and so forth). One must also distinguish the point of view and the historiographical framework being used (see Linnekin 1997, pp. 20 & 21 for discussion of indigenous and non-indigenous authors who write in a “colonial history” perspective and style of historiography).

Although some may discuss the value of a history text/textbook as based on simple insider versus outsider dichotomies, the reality is much more complex. How a book is written—the viewpoints it presents, whom it privileges and doesn't—as well as how that book is received—whether it is read, appreciated and used or not—are dependent on a myriad of more refined factors associated with the author, such as whether the author is: A fellow Micronesian or Pacific Islander. Indigenous, though of a different ethnic group. Of Western or colonial ethnicity. A conservative insider. A liberal or activist insider. Non-indigenous, but “get it.”⁶ Indigenous, but don't “get it.” From a local family or group whose version is the official version. From a family whose experiences challenge the dominant version. From an elite family. From a common family. Formally educated. Traditionally educated. Traditional. Posing as traditional. Territorial (protecting perceptions and other “turf”). On island a long time. On island a short time. Indigenous, raised on Guåhan. Indigenous, raised off-island. Able to relate to (or related to) the “right” people on island. Or, not in the “in” island crowd.

Island community members' controlling and managing history is not new, rather, it has a lengthy tradition (see works by authors such as Nero 1992). Also, within a community there are various perceptions and versions of historical people and events rather than a singular perception or version (Nero 1992, p. 38; see also Poyer 1993). History text and textbooks

continue these traditional Island community dynamics.

One way to discuss and categorize Guåhan's current historiography is to note that island community members, indigenous and long-term residents are currently an active integral part of producing island history text. Since 1964, two comprehensive history textbooks have been written. Sanchez wrote *Guåhan, Guam: The history of our island* (1988) while long-term resident Rogers authored *Destiny's landfall: A history of Guam* (1995). The former served Guåhan's university students for many years and remains a main textbook at the high school level. The latter has largely serviced the university community. Following these, many indigenous scholars compiled seven history texts, the *Hale-ta'* series (published between 1993 and 1996). These texts have served students from elementary through university levels. Coordinators intentionally promoted indigenous involvement and authorship and ensured the Taotao Guåhan voice in their history books.

This community conversation is not over, vying for space and consideration within our local history text continues. Some call the above works too conservative and structured within colonial confines. Others think the indigenous works are too radical and exclude Guåhan's other ethnicities. Many use them for both their strengths and their weaknesses, to open up discussion concerning the construction and deconstruction of history. Another interesting book has entered the fray, not a history book per se, but one worth mentioning, *Chamorro Heritage, A Sense of Place: Guidelines, Procedures and Recommendations for Authenticating Chamorro Heritage* (2003). This publication has caught the attention of indigenous and non-indigenous alike as it states standards for what is or is not authentically Chamorro or supportive of the Chamorro position, including a section entitled “Strategies for ensuring truthful and meaningful representations of Chamorros and their heritage in publications, materials and product” (Dept. of Chamorro Affairs 2003, p. 47).⁷

Although the pace of compiling and publishing Guåhan history text has increased, large gaps of time between publications remain.

Overall, relatively few Guåhan history books have been written (see Tables 1 & 2 for a listing of secondary and post-secondary Guåhan history text/textbooks). The word on island is that the Sanchez (1988) and Rogers (1995) books are being updated. The former is outdated information regarding the Sanchez publication.⁸ A few other community members have expressed the desire to write their own Guåhan history book, though their progress is uncertain. Despite the criticisms that each of the Guåhan history text have received, each has certain strengths, each has contributed meaningfully to the field of Guåhan historiography and each will serve us well when others build on the foundation that they have laid.

DIVERSITY WITHIN THE TEXT

Since Guåhan history text and textbooks are where community members vie for consideration and promote certain points of view, it is no surprise that the attention given to, the labeling of and the categorizing of individuals and groups within the text varies from author to author. One consistency however, is that all Guåhan history textbooks identify a person's or a group's ethnicity, and to lesser degrees other identifying markers. This seems to occur with inordinate regularity. It is perhaps partly indicative of long-standing Guåhan community practices, practices that might trace back to ancient times when indigenous status or other distinctions were demonstrated in address, behavior and physical stance. More recently there have been and continues to be some degree usage of terms to differentiate Taotao Guåhan's *manakbilo'* (high ranking) and *manak-papa'* (lower ranking) families. Throughout colonial history as well, there has been a history of distinction, separation and segregation—some of which endures today.

On one hand, this practice can highlight and validate a Guåhan community group's presence. On the other hand, it can cause us to view each other as belonging to disparate community factions instead of viewing each other as interconnected collective community members.

Also noted was that different authors used varying terminology for Guåhan community members, bidding for the non-indigenous to be considered as insiders or outsiders (and thereby, all the rights and privileges that would imply). For example, Rogers promotes the label "Guamanian" for all Guåhan residents. Some do use the term in this way but, ten years after publication, it has not gained much acceptance. Older publications, such as Sanchez's book also used the label Guamanian, but in reference to Chamorros as was common at the time or with an added qualifier such as, Guamanian of Chamorro descent or Guamanian-Statesider (see Marsh-Kautz 2002a, pp. 28-30; Perez, C.T. 1996, p. 70; Iyechad 2001, p. 1; Ada & Bettis 1996, 159; Underwood 1983, p. 4 & p. 58n; 1985, p. 161 for discussion of the evolution of the term Guamanian).⁹ Other authors strongly differentiated Chamorros and non-Chamorros, referring to non-Chamorros as "migrants," "in-migrants," "immigrants," "residents," "foreigners" and "outsiders," including in this terminology US citizens who have relocated from a US state or other US territory to Guåhan. This differentiation has surprised many as it runs counter to the US's public-stated policy of including the people of Guåhan within the US family. However, inclusion within the US is a concept that its federal government inconsistently applies; Guåhan is an indigenous homeland; and, any non-Chamorro presence potentially dilutes their vote for self-determination if others, even other US citizens, are included.

Within the Chamorro community, a current dividing marker is whether one spells the indigenous people and language of Guåhan as "Chamorro" or *Chamoru*¹⁰ or, less divisive, whether one uses the term *Taotao tano'* (people of the land) and *Taotao Guåhan* rather than Chamorro/Chamoru. These terms and their spellings are already showing up in various publications and will likely make their way into future Guåhan history text.

Table 1. High School Guam History Textbooks (Source: Marsh-Kautz 2002a).

Published	Type	Title
1964		<i>A Complete History of Guam</i>
1982	NGT	<i>Pacific Nations and Territories, The Islands of Micronesia, Melanesia, and Polynesia</i> (revised in 1988 & 1995)
1988		<i>Guåhan, Guam: The History of Our Island</i>
1989	NGT	<i>Islas: A Social Studies Workbook</i>
1992	NGT	<i>Ancient Chamorro Society</i>
1993	NGT	<i>Hinasso' Tinige' Put Chamorro, Insights: The Chamorro Identity, Volume I</i>
1994	NGT	<i>I Ma Gobetna-ña Guam: Governing Guam Before and After the Wars</i>
1996	ELT	<i>Pacific Neighbors, The Islands of Micronesia, Melanesia, and Polynesia</i>
1995		<i>Destiny's Landfall</i>
1995	NGT	<i>I Manfåyi: Who's Who in Chamorro History, Volume I</i>
1995	NGT	<i>I Manfåyi: Who's Who in Chamorro History, Volume II</i>
1995	NGT	<i>Pacific Island Battlegrounds of World War II: Then and Now</i>
1996	NGT	<i>Kinalamten Pulitikaät Siñenten I Chamorro, Issues in Guam's Political Development: The Chamorro Perspective</i>
1997	NGT	<i>Guam History Perspectives, Volume One</i>
2001	ELT	<i>Guam: A Natural History</i>
2001	ELT	<i>A History of Guam</i>

Codes: ELT—Elementary level textbook used as a Language Other than English (LOTE) high school textbook; NGT—Non-comprehensive Guam history textbooks or supplemental books to complement comprehensive Guam history textbooks.

Table 2. College and University Guam History Textbooks (Source: Marsh-Kautz 2002a).

Published	Type	Title
1964		<i>A Complete History of Guam</i>
1964		<i>Guam: Past and Present</i>
1982	CHT	<i>Pacific Nations and Territories, The Island of Micronesia, Melanesia, and Polynesia</i> (revised in 1988 & 1995)
1986	NGT	<i>Mariquita: A Tragedy of Guam</i>
1988		<i>Guåhan, Guam: The History of Our Island</i>
1992	CHT, NGT	<i>Ancient Chamorro Society</i>
1993	NGT	<i>Hinasso' Tinige' Put Chamorro, Insights: The Chamorro Identity, Volume I</i>
1995		<i>Destiny's Landfall</i>
1996	NGT	<i>Kinalamten Pulitikaät Siñenten I Chamorro, Issues in Guam's Political Development: The Chamorro Perspective</i>
1997	NGT	<i>A Tidy Universe of Islands</i>

Codes: CHT—Used in Guam history-related college courses; NGT—Non-comprehensive Guam history textbooks or supplemental books to complement comprehensive Guam history textbooks.

The amount of consideration ethnic and cultural groups currently receive in Guåhan history text relates to their connections to the island—how long their community has been part of the island, how much of Guåhan's community they comprise, their perceived and real impact, accumulated documentation and to traditional modes of imparting Guåhan's history. Taotao Guåhan; Spanish-era military, government and religious figures; Statesiders/Mainlanders (usually equated with Caucasian, but a bit less so in contemporary times);

and to a lesser degree, Filipinos, receive the most representation in Guåhan history text. Some of this may change in future work as there has been much community discussion in the last decade concerning the increasing number and impact of islanders from the Federated States of Micronesia and other independent island Micronesian nations within our larger community; the growing visibility of other communities on island such as the Thai and Chinese communities; and the like.

The latest books published, the *Hale-ta'* series as noted earlier, intended to provide Taotao Guåhan a voice in their history text. This series has many strengths and has much to offer Guåhan history classes. However, the existence of these publications without similar publications to promote Guåhan's other community members is worrisome. It leaves a currently unresolved gap in the text that is available to the general public and to the island's students. This is at a time where many harmful ethnic stereotypes and identity issues are running rampant throughout Guåhan at all age levels (see Celes 1995; Crisostomo, M. 1995; Diaz, T. 1995a & 1995b).

Table 3. *Instructor Determinations of Indigenous Community Issues That They 'Need More [of] in Text', Varied response rate (n) (Marsh-Kautz 2002a)*

Need More in Text	Agree	
	%	n
Chamorros as Islanders	53	15
Stereotypes of Chamorros	60	15
Chamorros as [US] Americans	63	16
Chamorros as an Indigenous People	63	16
Cultural Issues	64	14
Homeland Considerations	69	16
Chamorros as Pacific Islanders	69	16
'Braindrain'	71	14
Chamorros as Micronesians	72	18
Self-determination	76	17
Migration from Guam	82	17
Identity Issues	82	17
Definitions for being Chamorro	88	16
Re/Unification Efforts with NMI Chamorros	88	14

Further, 58% of Guåhan's population is comprised of non-Chamorros (Guam Department of Commerce 2002), many of whom consider the island their home and know no other community or land. Just as Islanders and historians have argued that Islanders (and island historiography) suffered in numerous ways from the practice of being marginalized in text meant to impart an island's history (Underwood 1992), that same argument can be applied to those who make up islands' new communities. Guåhan historian Vicente Diaz, a Filipino-Pohnpeian raised on Guåhan, has relayed a cautionary tale—when he was growing

up events, such as "Chamorro Week," meant to promote Chamorro culture and pride also became an "open season" to beat up non-Chamorros (1995, p. 155). Others have commented on feeling mocked, misperceived based on inaccurate and hurtful stereotypes and being treated rudely due to their race or ethnicity (Ignacio 2002, p. 25). There is still much work to be done in deconstructing historiography harmful to Taotao Guåhan and in highlighting their perspectives and voices, but within the new text that is written, nested within the concept of Guåhan being a homeland to an indigenous people, historians need to strive to ensure that no members of an island society get marginalized.

Table 4. *Instructor Determinations of Non-indigenous Community Issues That They 'Need More [of] in Text' Varied response rate (n) (Marsh-Kautz 2002a)*

Need More in Text	Agree	
	%	n
Non-integration/Assimilation	69	16
Demographic Trends	71	17
Political Issues	71	17
Religious Issues	71	17
Social Issues	71	17
Stereotypes	71	17
Benefits of Immigration	73	15
Costs of Immigration	76	17
Immigration Law	76	17
Integration/Assimilation	76	17
Immigration Issues	76	18
Identity Issues	81	16
Cultural Issues	82	17
Economic Issues	82	17
Compact Impact	83	18

FUTURE CONSIDERATIONS

Surveyed and interviewed history instructors have stated that what they would like to see most in Guåhan history textbooks is further development of ways to understand and explore our various community issues—indigenous and multi-ethnic/multi-cultural alike. Instructors stated that Guåhan history text needed more in-depth discussion of every one of the 29 indigenous and collective community issues they were asked to evaluate (see Tables 3 & 4; also see Tables 5 & 6 for a listing of

community distinctions they would most like presented more fully as well).

Table 5. Instructor Determinations of Indigenous Community Distinctions That They Need More [of] in Text' (n=21) (Marsh-Kautz 2002a)

Indigenous Community Distinction	Agree	
	%	n
Taotao Tano' ¹¹	53	17
From the Jungle, Inside-land	53	17
From the North	53	17
Guam-Chamorro	53	17
From the South	53	17
Identity by Parents	53	17
Chamoru Nation Chamorro	53	17
Indigenous Last Name	53	17
Identity by Village	53	17
Activist Chamorro	63	19
Northern Mariana Island- Chamorro	63	16
Identity by Clan	65	17

Table 6. Instructor Determinations of Non-indigenous Community Distinctions That They Need More [of] in Text' (Marsh-Kautz 2002a)

	Agree	
	%	n
Pacific Islander	53	15
Japanese	57	14
Fed, States of Micronesia Citizens	60	15
Micronesian	65	17

The challenge then is to create a Guåhan history text/textbook that provides deeper probing of such types of issues. Continuing to present our historical material in a chronological format was also noted as important. A further concern is the common history instructor problem of running out of time before finishing the history textbook. Thus, modern history and its issues often receive little to no attention. A possible solution to these concerns is a method I have tentatively labeled a "Nested Identity Approach."¹²

Rather than divide Guåhan history into eras based on the method of government and the sovereign nation in control,¹³ this approach would guide readers and students into historical themes presented in a largely chronological manner. My vision thus far is to divide Guåhan history into identity-based categories that follow the island and its people as they have traveled through geographical space, time and

ideological movements (see Table 7). Issues can then be examined from their roots to their contemporary status from the first chapter and throughout the book. This approach also creates structure that can broaden Guåhan history textbooks' tendency to focus on political history while largely disregarding and thus discounting much of the critical fields of our cultural, social and other history. Guåhan's community—their issues, their accomplishments, their dilemmas, their points of view, their interaction with island politics—are meant to be the central focus in this approach (see Burt 1998 for some discussion of the importance of a Pacific people-based history approach).

Table 7. Nested Identity History Textbook Themes (Marsh-Kautz, 2000b)

- i. South East Asian: ancient cultural roots, emigration from
- ii. Oceanic/Pacific: geology, geography, movement into Pacific, Pacific Islander identity and issues
- iii. *I Mañamoru Siha*: connection to the Mariana Islands, development as a people, Chamorro identity and issues, early Spanish contact and colonization
- iv. Micronesian: Guam as a part of what has been labeled as a cultural region—differences, similarities—including Spanish colonization, Micronesian identity and issues
- v. *I Mañamoron Guåhan Siha*: development of a distinct Guam-Chamorro identity, budding development of multi-ethnic/multi-cultural population, colonization—Spanish and US—Japanese occupation, resultant adaptation, assimilation, resistance and other issues
- vi. US American/modern indigenous movements: Guamanian identity, unincorporated status with United States, US citizenship, increasing multi-ethnic/multi-cultural population, movements for the strengthening of Chamorro identity, growing off-island Chamorro presence (another level of Chamorro identity), self-determination movement and other issues

For this approach to best meet the needs of Guåhan's community, to allow community members to be stakeholders in their history

and to gain community acceptance, it needs to be introduced into the community's conversation regarding how to develop Guåhan history text/textbooks. Certain features of current Guåhan history textbooks do not serve their audience well because the community's input or needs were not adequately considered. While more mature and adept university students are doing well with the textbooks available, high school instructors and students have been suffering from inadequate textbooks for years (Marsh-Kautz 2002a, pp. 90-112).

History text development is a never ending process. Times change: what historians know, how historians interpret times gone by, the goals of the history and the community it serves, all change over time. Historians must explore formats that can address these changes.

Some local authors have successfully experimented with format. The *Hale-ta'* series *Inafa'maolek, Chamorro Traditions and Values* (1996) presents historical information via Chamorro grandchildren spending time and conversing with their grandparents (while also highlighting, validating and maintaining this important cultural behavior). Another book in that series, *Kinalamten Pulitikåt: Siñenten Chamorro, Issues in Guam's Political Development: The Chamorro Perspective* (1996) provides themed essays written by indigenous and other experts and leaders. A master's thesis (Crisostomo, M.H. 1986) created a high school anthology of Guåhan-based writings, thematically integrating the fields of literature and Guåhan history, while other writings have had other successes (see Marsh-Kautz 2002a, pp. 70-77).

Efforts such as those presented in this paper also need to occur alongside attempts to discuss and present our island's indigenous and multi-ethnic/multi-cultural community members in more balanced and meaningful ways than currently exists. The reality is that Guåhan is a homeland. It is also a place that has many voices, experiences and types of connection to it. Each of these deserves to be heard. Each needs to be heard, for the wealth of what we have to say and for the health of our community.

ENDNOTES

- 1 Those from the US mainland, also referred to as Americans by Chamorros at times though Chamorros are Americans too.
- 2 Chamorros have a lengthy tradition of traveling and moving off-island (see Rogers 1995, 10 & 11; Carano & Sanchez 1964, 31; Olive Garcia in Bettis, n.d., 5; & Underwood 1983, 6). The US 2000 census enumerated nearly as many Chamorros living in US states (and a handful present in US territories such as Puerto Rico) as reside on Guåhan. It is difficult at this point however, to understand which are Chamorros from Guåhan and which are from the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands (CNMI)—some Chamorro families have been off-island for so many generations, they no longer understand where their family originates. People speculate that altogether and with recent movement trends, there are more Chamorros off-island than left on-island.
- 3 Taotao Guåhan specifically refers to Chamorros of Guam. Chamorros exist throughout the Mariana Islands. Chamorros from those islands would likewise be referred to as Taotao Sa'ipan, Taotao Luta, Taotao Tinian and so forth.
- 4 This is not to imply, however, that there is a paucity of information, interpretation, concepts and other regarding Taotao Guåhan to deconstruct.
- 5 This spelling of "Chamorro" follows the teaching of my Chamorro language instructors Señot Peter Onedera and Señora Rosa Palomo. This spelling is preferred by some when writing in the Chamorro language."
- 6 "Getting" the indigenous/Islander point of view versus the colonial, Western or other perception.
- 7 Among other announcements, this section notes that the Department of Chamorro Affairs Authentication and Standardization Committee will "formulate procedures and assessment guidelines" to determine a work's accuracy; develop a code of ethics for conducting research and recording and documenting Chamorros; "develop a "style-book"; insist on adherence to the Chamorro Orthography of 1983 to merit local government usage; be "reviewed for accuracy and appropriateness in terms of the Chamorro perspective;" create a "seal of approval" and a "certificate of authentication" (or of endorsement); and encourage indigenous

authors to create work in the Chamorro language (47-52).

- ⁸ Sanchez passed away before finishing his last book. His son, Tony Sanchez, worked to get the book to a publishable state for its 1988 debut. The book has since been reprinted in that same form.
- ⁹ Some politicians have used the phrase "People of Guam" in addressing the community as a whole. The phrase has some acceptance, though no single label has risen to the status of wide usage or acceptance as some terms and phrases have in other communities.
- ¹⁰ See endnote number six. The Department of Chamorro Affairs Authentication and Standardization Committee will not endorse written materials that use the spelling "Chamoru."
- ¹¹ Taotao Tano' means 'People of the Land,' it is another common term that the indigenous people of Guam use to refer to themselves

- ¹² The term "nested identity" is meant to convey the idea that each of Guåhan and its people's identities (see Table 7) exist within older, deeper or broader identities as opposed to being entirely new or somehow disconnected identities. There is a tendency I think to think in dichotomies. For example, instead of asking whether someone Taotao Guåhan is more Chamorro or more US citizens, one could place that inquiry into the framework of understanding Taotao Guåhan as indigenous people who are also contemporarily US citizens.
- ¹³ Typically, the eras would be: Ancient Chamorro, Spanish, Early US, Japanese Occupation, and US Post-WWII. The latter era might be further divided to include our contemporary period of Self-Determination.

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