

2021
**GUÅHAN
SURVEY**



Community Report
Prepared January 2022

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*Note this data excludes respondents who did not affirm consent (“No” to Q1), who explicitly denied having Chamorro ancestry (“No” to Q2), and who explicitly denied spending more than half the year in Guam (“Yes” to Q24). Respondents who skipped Q2 and Q24 were included in this analysis.

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
Barigáda (Barrigada)	79	8.25
Chálan Págu-Otdot (Chalan Pago-Ordot)	55	5.74
Dedidu (Dededo)	103	10.75
Hâgat (Agat)	43	4.49
Hagåtña	13	1.36
Humâtak (Umatac)	6	0.63
Inaláhan (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
Sinahãña (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]