

Volume 12, 2021

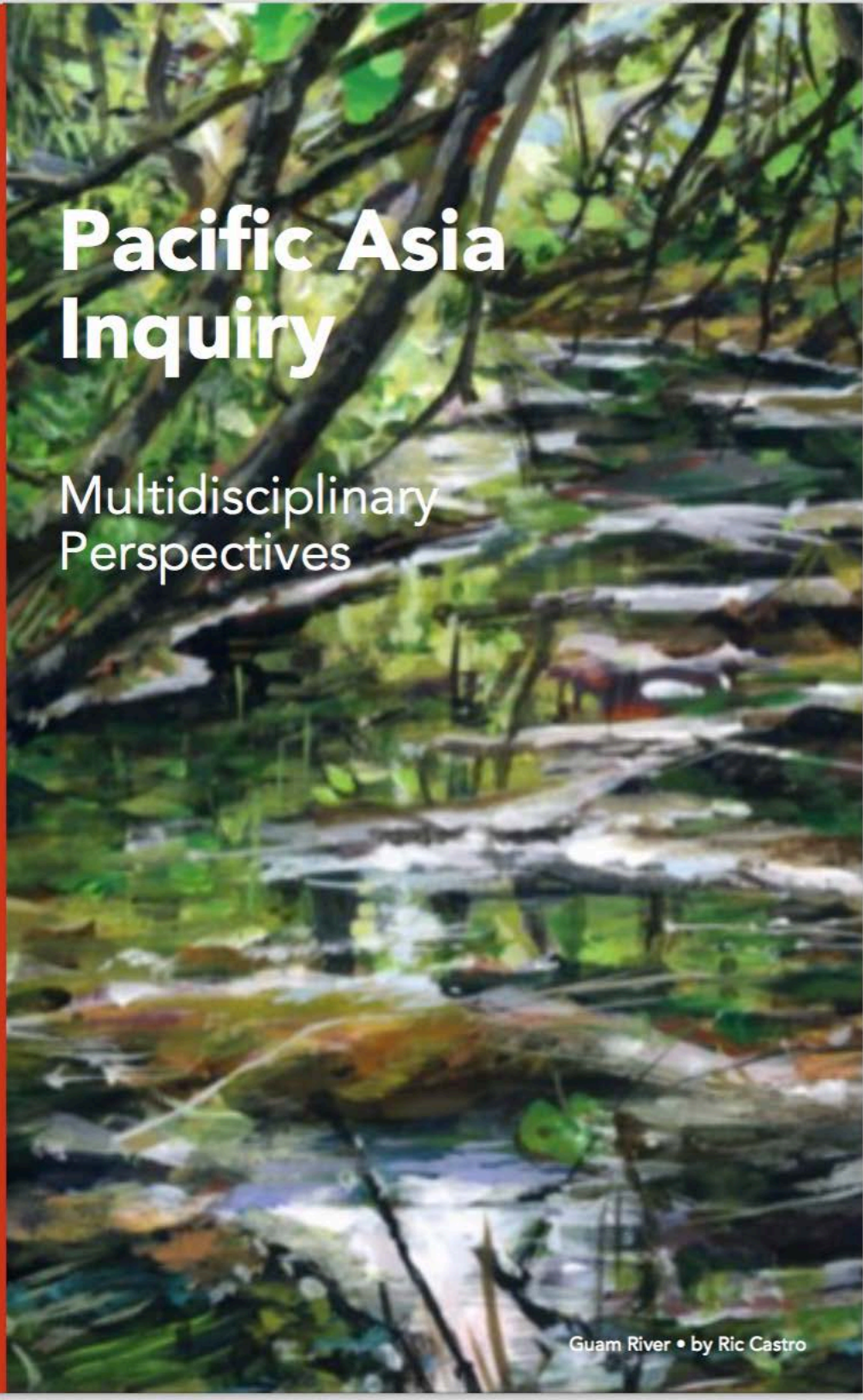
College of Liberal Arts & Social Sciences
University of Guam • Unibetsedåt Guåhan

Mangilao, Guam

Pacific Asia Inquiry

Multidisciplinary
Perspectives

Guam River • by Ric Castro



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Pacific Asia Inquiry

Multidisciplinary Perspectives

Volume 12, 2021

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Guam River by Ric R. Castro

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Pacific Asia Inquiry

Multidisciplinary Perspectives

Volume 12, Number 1, Fall 2021

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Editor's Note

Mary L. Spencer

We hope you noticed. ***Pacific Asia Inquiry (PAI)*** has a new cover. Dankulo na si Yu'us Ma'asi to Ric R. Castro, Professor of Art, for permitting ***PAI*** to use his painting, *Guam River*, on both the cover and as a full image in this introduction. More of his work can be viewed at: www.fineartamerica.com.ric-castro. Many thanks also to Laura Warner for designing and contributing the cover design (www.cityworks.biz).

In the 12 years since the inauguration of ***PAI*** in 2010, the Editorial Board has published 12 volumes in which a total of 117 peer reviewed scholarly articles and 50 book review essays were made universally available via the World Wide Web. During this entire time, Dean James Sellmann has continually stewarded, shepherded, and navigated both opportunities and pitfalls facing the journal's board and authors. The nature and purpose of the journal has been constant: To advance knowledge and understanding of the Pacific Asia region in its continuing intense cultural, political, and economic interaction with other world regions. Multiple disciplines in the liberal arts and social sciences - including history, psychology, language and literature, philosophy, geography, sociology, anthropology, visual arts, music, drama, economics, communication, and political science - contribute to the development of the scholarly content in ***PAI***. Ten scholars have previously served in the role of Editor: Amy Owen, Angelina Ames, Nicholas Goetzfridt, Isa Kelley Bowman, James Perez Viernes, Avizia Y. Long, David Gugin, Michael R. Clement, Sharon Mahealani Rowe, and James D. Sellmann.

Following a recent overview of ***PAI's*** 12 annual issues, I felt certain that a deep study of them could well equip readers with a strong fundamental introduction to the Micronesian region and the surrounding Pacific context. Vice Provost, Dr. Troy McVey, Associate Editor of this issue of ***PAI***, has contributed significantly to the work and decision making that have gone into ***PAI***, V12, as is also true of the indispensable work of 27 peer reviewers. Again this year, Dr. Chris Schreiner solicited

book reviews and supported the work of the review authors of that section.

We realize that there is still work to be done to deepen the contribution that *PAI* can make. The extent of *PAI* article coverage across the geographic Micronesian region continues to be uneven, suggesting the need to develop an aspirational agenda for the Micronesian region and also for our Asian interests. This may entail efforts to find new ways to assist more regional authors. Looking only at the geographic distribution of *PAI* articles, we see that more research regarding Palau, the Marshall Islands, and all of the FSM states - Kosrae, Pohnpei, Chuuk, and Yap - would be welcome. In Volume 12, we are fortunate to have articles regarding both Guam and CNMI, and some other Pacific coverage. We hope that continues. In this volume, we have *PAI* articles and book reviews focusing on Japan, and would welcome more of these as well as others on Korea, the multiple Chinese countries, and other Asian and Pacific entities. Their interrelationships with entities in the Micronesian region are of particular interest to *PAI* readers.

Beyond mere geographic coverage, the question of defining social science and humanities research agendas looms large. Which topics and populations should the research agendas address across and within the individual and collective entities of the region? To what extent are these gaps filled by research conducted by other research centers and individual researchers? Are we fully exercising our collaborative opportunities? *PAI* is only one of multiple research publication hubs that produce social science, humanities, and other types of research coverage in the region. But the simplistic breakdown provided here asks the question, "What are the regional research agendas? Is *PAI* doing all it can to stimulate reporting production on these agendas? What else should we be doing? What existing analyses of research should be brought together for discussion, planning, and priority consideration? Is further support or attention needed for the scholars who undertake research on the social, behavioral, humanities, and science priorities about which *PAI* and similar outlets publish? On this final topic, I am pleased to point out

the diversity across the authorship and the topics of the articles in this issue, and across the history of *PAI*'s 11 previous issues.

In the current volume, No. 12, readers will find 11 scholarly articles and 6 book reviews. Three of the articles are research studies centered on the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands (CNMI): 1) An archaeological study on Tinian (Boyd Dixon, Robert Jones, Danny Welch, & Isla Nelson); 2) a cartographic analysis of Agrigan (Thomas Stolz and Nataliya Levkovych); and 3) a study of the colonization of the Music of the Chamorro culture on Rota (Lynne Jessup Michael).

Guam was the setting for four studies: 1) An analysis of Guam islander and media perceptions and attitudes toward the Japanese in the periods preceding, during, and following WWII, and the events and pressures influencing these (Maria Cynthia Barriga); 2) the fluctuating circumstances that stimulated the arrivals of Russian citizens on Guam between 2012 and 2021, their plights, and how Guam residents have responded to them (Christopher Rasmussen); 3) an analysis of how the Chuukese migrant community of Guam engages in adaptive strategies to cope with the food insecurity they face (Hanna Jugo); 4) and a study of factors across generations regarding private managerial commitments on Guam (James Ji, Jr.).

Four other papers had more distant regional focal points: 1) The first of these involves research with FSM students residing at the University of Guam, regarding their perspectives and knowledge of China's soft power diplomacy as it is being exercised in their respective FSM states and islands (Grace Donaldson). 2) A second paper with regional import that includes all of Oceania, examines the circumstances surrounding the teaching of women's histories in Oceania (Line-Noue Memea Kruse). The author provides examples and explains some of the challenges of this work. 3) The third paper in this group addresses language and linguistics issues arising from instructional approaches in cooperative English classrooms on Yap Main Islands, Yap State, FSM (Akika Chocho). 4) The final paper in this group examines the history of wave riding – surfing – in the cultural contexts of Oceania; with an

analysis of changes and variations across time and in the context of film, literary analysis, and contemporary public event influences (Hunter Fine).

Two of the six in-depth book review essays in this issue are set on Guam: Paulette Coulter reviews, *The Properties of Perpetual Light*, by Julian Aguon; and *Dry Nights*, by Pep Borja. Both were published by the University of Guam Press. The remaining four books are all set in Japan. C. S. Schreiner reviews *Convenience Store Woman*, by Sayaka Murata, published by Grove Press; and *The Hole*, by Hiroko Oyamada, published by New Directions. David Gugin reviews, *Fukushima Fiction: The Literary Landscape of Japan's Triple Disaster*, by Rachel DiNitto and published by the University of Hawai'i Press. Christopher M. Cabrera reviews, *What is Japanese Cinema? A History*, by Inuhiko Yomoto, translated by Philip Kaffen, and published by Columbia University Press.

Now, a few words about where **PAI** has been and where it is going. The practice of providing editor's notes for the **PAI** issues began with Volume 3 in 2012, focusing mainly on acknowledgements of scholarly contributions. Then, the editorial comments in Volume 4 expressed more commentary on the journal's purpose and literary stance; e.g., the role of modernism and activism. Volume 5 authors and editors did a deep dive into divergent yet related analyses of regional historical events; e.g., the early Christian campaign with Chamorro communities; the trajectory of the Chamorro language and the powerful historical impact in the region of literacy: "The book;" and the suffering and changes experienced by Palauans during the World War II siege by the Japanese military. America's past and future roles with the Pacific are considered. In Volume 6, the editorial commentary asked readers to consider social justice and ethical consciousness in order to, "...undergird the stronger architecture of our studies in Pacific futurity," and to consider these in the long view of, "...our lived and inherited experience of deep time and deep place." The Volume 7 Editor emphasized the importance of increasing awareness on Guam, "...about the potential for cultivating greater connections with neighboring islands and societies," and to facilitate regard, understanding, and "...to provoke ongoing critical

inquiry and examination of the research, fascinating and complex worlds that are Pacific and Asia regions.” Volume 8 reflected efforts to address the needs for a broader regional focus, and Volume 9 crystalized in my mind the value of PAI chapters becoming important assigned readings in student syllabi. In Volume 10, we find consideration of Guam’s role and position across history in regional and geopolitical concerns, with one author examining how Guam and other entities in Micronesia are interconnected with world politics and influence via monetary stimuli and strategy. Other authors extend the notion by looking at the contextual educational, social, and psychological challenges for the regional youth emerging into these times of growth and change in the region; i.e., with considerations of migration, social revisions, and economic change. Against this background, Volume 11 marks the break of normal regional life due to the Covid 19 assault on the region and the world...a story still unraveling...and also contributes articles of cultural and historical interest: Climate change in the Marshall Islands; early Micronesian castaways in Japan; the epistemology of Hawaiian hula; and an exploration into island reasoning and correlative thinking.

The current issue, Volume 12, will be the last issue – we hope – before the decline of the Covid epidemic. We look forward to future issues when authors will be able to document some of the realities of the epidemic across the Micronesian region, and explore the implications for the future. But beyond that mission, we expect that authors will also address the broad and continuing research agendas of the region.

All submissions and editorial inquiries should be addressed to the editor of the next volume, Dr. Paul Fleming, College of Liberal Arts and Social Sciences, University of Guam, UOG Station, Mangilao, Guam 96923, email: flemingp@triton.uog.edu.

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CALL FOR PAPERS

Pacific Asia Inquiry: Multidisciplinary Perspectives Volume 13, Fall 2021

DEADLINE FOR SUBMISSIONS: AUGUST 1, 2022

The Editorial Board of *Pacific Asia Inquiry* invites the submission of articles, critical essays, and case studies, as well as book, film, and other reviews for possible publication in Volume 13. Submissions from across the liberal arts and social sciences are welcome. *Pacific Asia Inquiry* is a peer-reviewed, multidisciplinary journal published online by the University of Guam, College of Liberal Arts and Social Sciences. It features scholarly research relating to the Mariana Islands, Micronesia, and the wider Pacific; as well as Asia-oriented studies that make connections with Pacific Islands.

Submission Procedures

Submissions may employ any theoretical or methodological approach so long as they are written in a readable style accessible to specialists and non-specialists alike. When you submit a manuscript, please include the following as three separate files:

1. A cover page, including authors' names, titles, affiliations, and addresses, including street and e-mail addresses;
2. A title page, which includes the title of the article, the name of the author(s) and an abstract of the paper (the abstract should be no more than 150 words).
3. The main text, including photos, tables, figures, media, and references.

Our blind peer review process requires that authors' names and addresses appear only on the cover page. No identifying information may appear in the abstract or text itself. Relevant publications, including those written by the

author(s), may appear in the reference section, but nothing should be said to connect the reference with the author(s) of the submitted manuscript.

General Submission Guidelines

Submissions should not exceed 10,000 words, including tables and references. Please follow the conventions of the Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association (7th Ed., 2020) or the MLA Handbook (8th Ed., 2016). Other discipline-appropriate documentation styles are acceptable but should be discussed with the Editor(s). Indent the first word of a paragraph by half an inch or five spaces (one “tab”), and number all pages consecutively, putting numbers in the lower right-hand corner. Figures, tables, and photos should be inserted into the manuscript at the time of initial submittal, and they need to be appropriately titled, sourced, and numbered consecutively. Endnotes and/or footnotes may be used and references should appear at the end of the paper. Do not insert automatic formatting anywhere in the manuscript. Additional guidelines apply. Please visit <http://www.uog.edu/pai> for full guidelines and for access to previous volumes of *Pacific Asia Inquiry*, which may be used as a general reference. Please be advised that this is a venue for scholarly articles. Fiction and poetry submissions will not be entertained. Fiction, poetry, art drawings and art photographs may be submitted to the Storyboard journal.

Please forward inquiries and submissions electronically to:

Paul F. J. Fleming, Ph.D., Editor
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Archaeological Survey of WWII Remains at Laderan Kastiyu, Tinian, Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands

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This study explores the archaeological remains of architecture and artifacts of the pre-war and WWII period at Laderan Kastiyu (an escarpment named in Chamorro after a castle-like formation) on Tinian in the Commonwealth of Northern Mariana Islands. These remains recorded during survey in 2017 provide a material record of a forgotten people interpreted with the aid of early twentieth century Japanese ethnohistoric documents, archival photographs, maps, and oral histories of the era. Immigration from Okinawa and rural Japan enabled thousands of individuals and families to improve their standard of living and peace-time expectations by laboring under contract to a large sugarcane plantation in Tinian, as documented during archaeological survey of their farmsteads and gardens. The desperate efforts of these Okinawan and rural Japanese families to escape shifting American combat lines in the last days of the WWII battle for Tinian, however, are not well documented and the survivors of this era no longer live there.

This archaeological study of Laderan Kastiyu on Tinian focuses on a profoundly transformative period of the island's past, scarcely visible to the present-day casual visitor. At the end of the Spanish-American war in 1898, the Spanish returned to the Philippines with purchase of the CNMI by Germany until 1914 (Fritz, 1989; Russell, 1999). At the end of WWI with Germany, Japan sided with the British allies and quickly occupied the CNMI where few Chamorro families remained on Tinian. All

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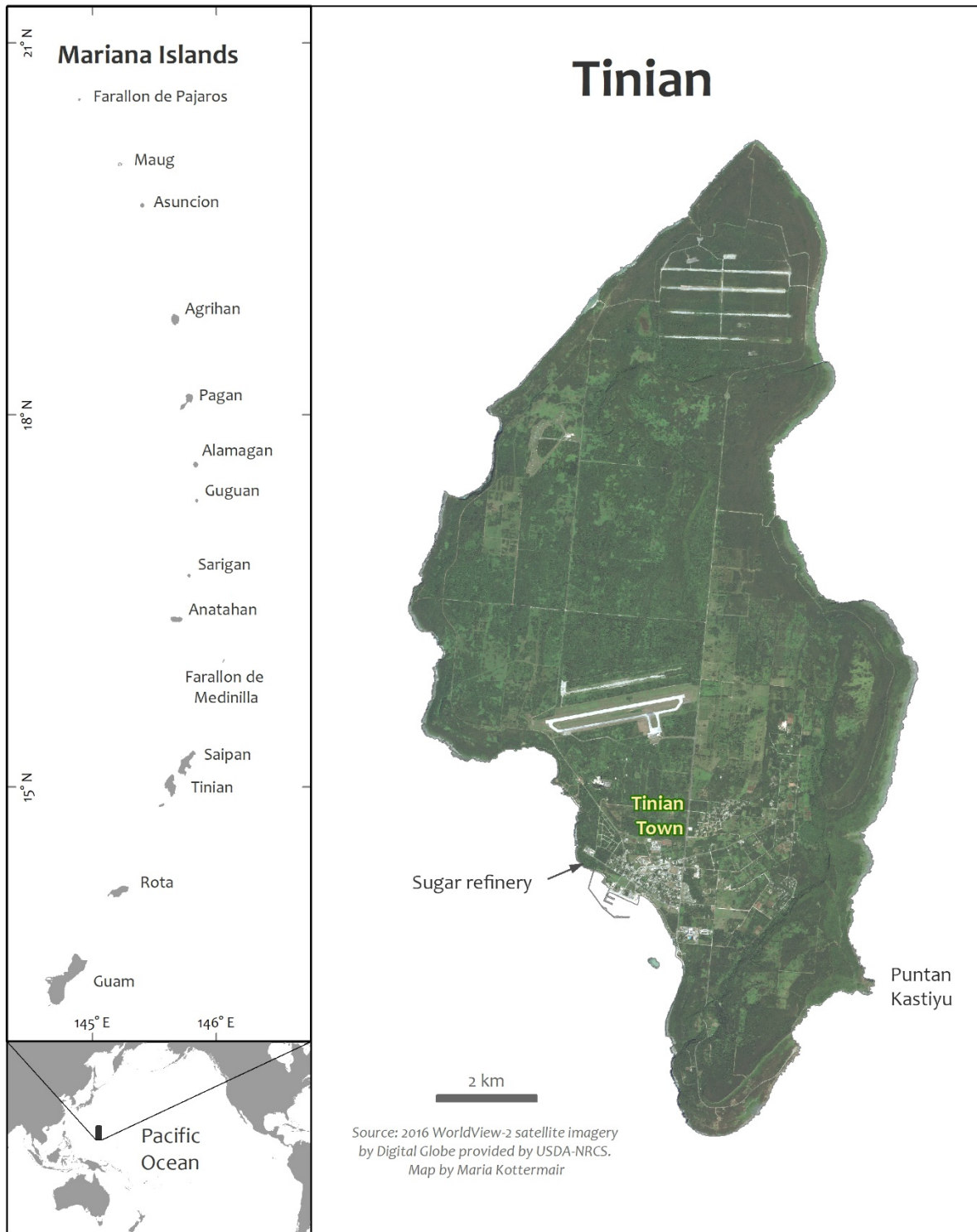


Figure 1. Location of Tinian within the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands (Source: Maria Kottermair).

this would change in the 1920's when it became a busy Japanese sugarcane plantation with a modern town and sugar refinery employing over 10,000 Okinawan, Korean, and Japanese immigrants (Dixon, 2015, 2020; Dixon, et al., 2020) - until WWII and the American invasion of the island in 1944. The island then became a massive US airbase of well over 100,000 military personnel, who were there to conduct the bombing campaign over Japan in advance of the planned invasion. This was before the use of two atomic bombs, delivered by the US from Tinian in 1945, changing the world – but that is another story (Farrell, 2018). In fact, one of many stories, extending back some 3,500 years ago (Carson, 2018; Farrell, 2011).

Tinian Environment and Early Twentieth Century History

Tinian is the second largest of the Northern Mariana Islands and the third largest island in the Marianas archipelago (Figure 1). It has a land area of 101 square kilometers (sq km) or 39 square miles (mi) and a maximum elevation of 187 meters (m) or 613 feet (ft) above mean sea level (amsl). The general physiography of Tinian is a series of five limestone plateaus (Young, 1989), separated by steeply eroding escarpments. The five major plateaus are generally level to undulating with only a few sources of pyroclastic rocks from former volcanic activity predating the limestone formations. In the relatively flat northern part of Tinian, the ground surface slopes gently, increasing in elevation slightly from west to east where the largest Japanese and American WWII airfields were situated. The central plateau is an upland zone containing one of the highest elevations on Tinian, Mount Lasso, the first Japanese high command during the 1944 American invasion. The only point higher on Tinian is on the southeastern elevated ridge of Kastiyu above which the 2017 archaeological survey occurred (Dixon et al., 2019).

During World War I, Tinian and the CNMI were placed under military jurisdiction by Japan and the few German nationals were expelled. After a few unsuccessful experiments in export farming, the Nanyo Kohatsu Kaisha (NKK), or South Seas Company, obtained a lease for the entire island of Tinian in 1926 (Russell, 1995). The company

テニアン島

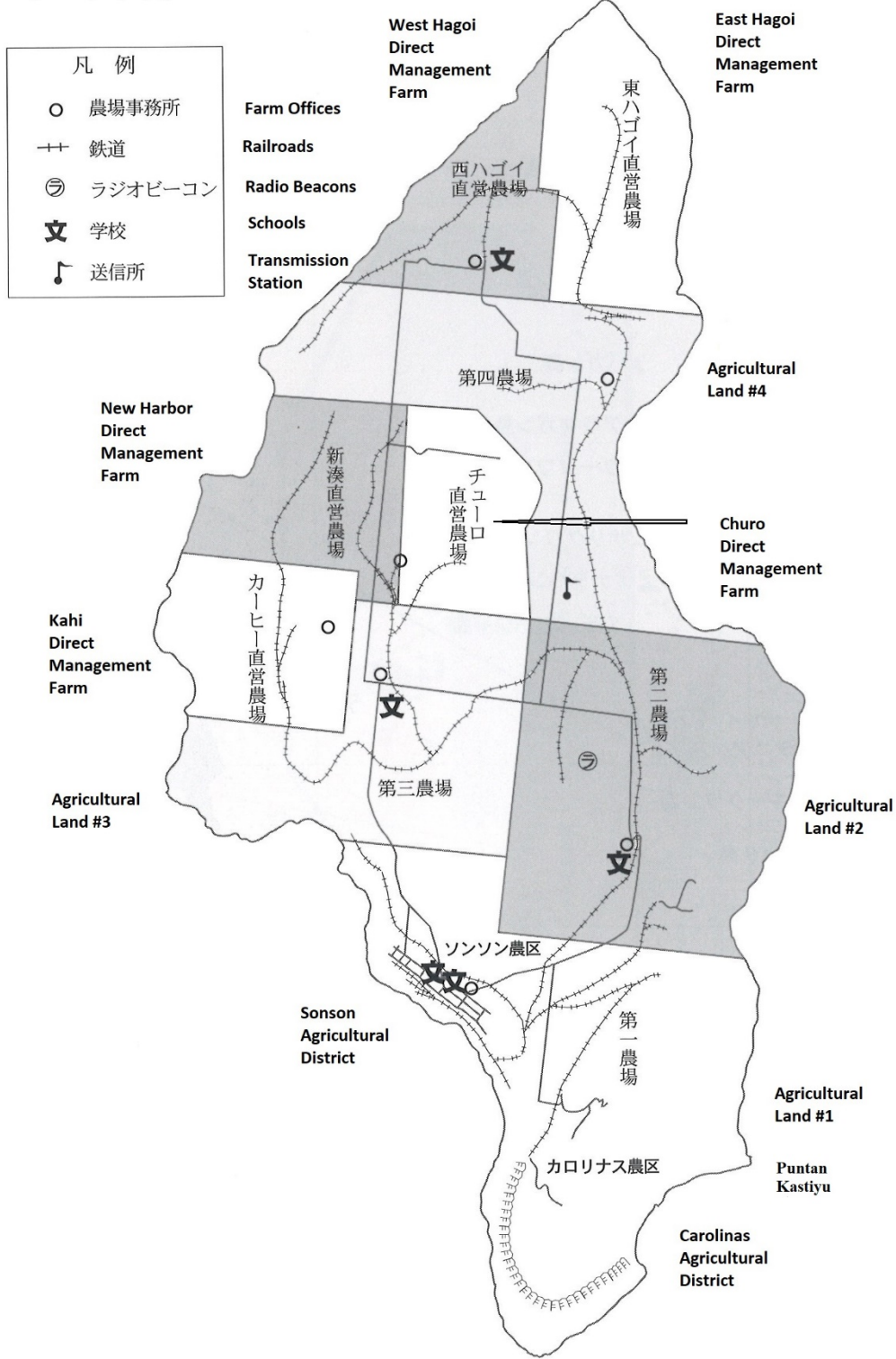


Figure 2. NKK Direct Management Farms and Agricultural Land #1 at Puntan Kastiyu (Source: Okinawa Culture Development Association 2002:4)

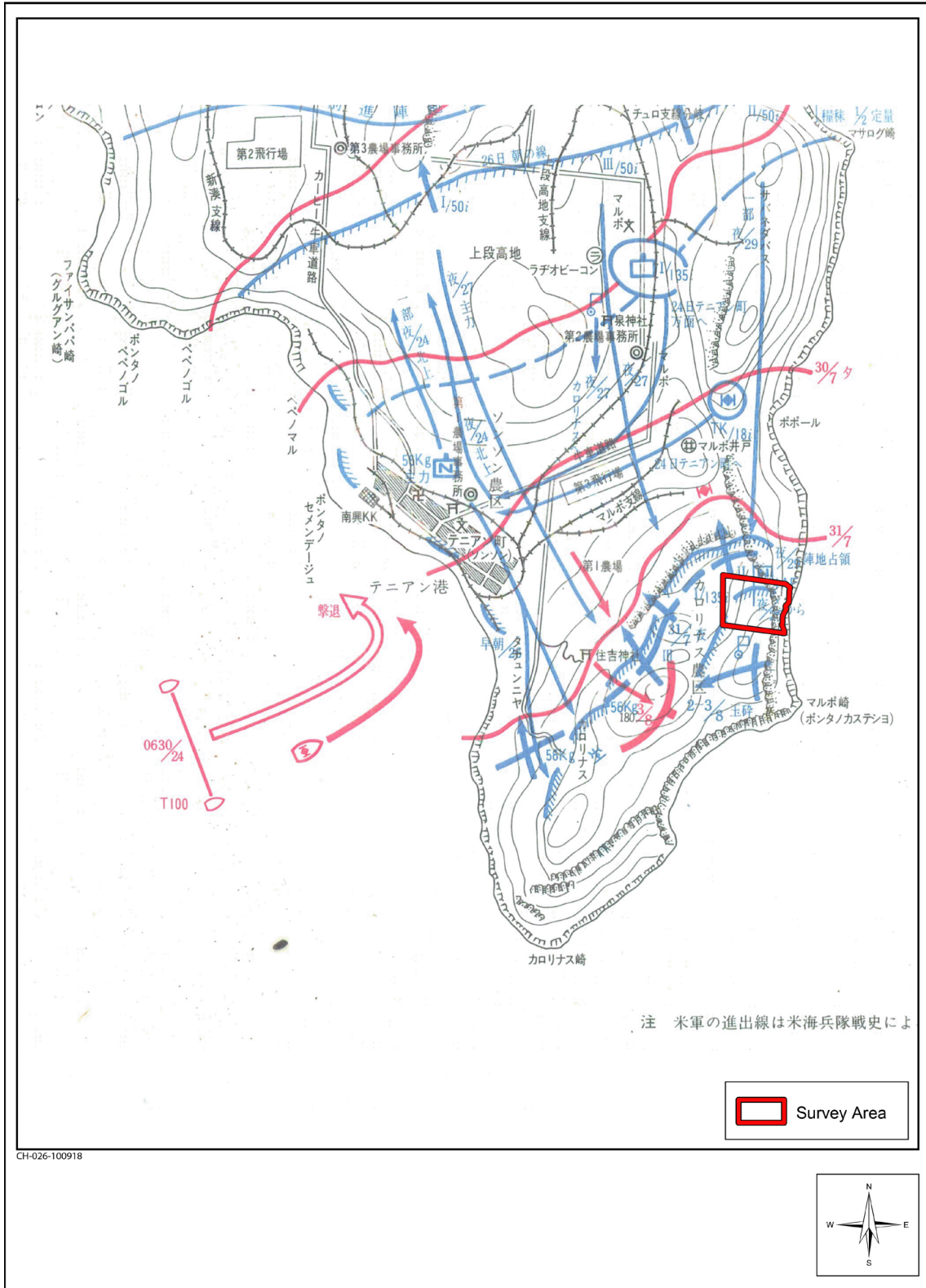


Figure 3. American (Red) and Japanese (Blue) WWII positions on Laderan Kastiyu 1944. (Source: Courtesy of John Scott.)

imported laborers, cleared land for sugarcane plantations, organized factories, built Shinto shrines, and laid railroads to the first sugar mill by 1930 (Bodner, 1997; Higuchi, 1998; Welch and Bodner, 2014). Songsong, the former San Halon, became Tinian Town in 1933 (Ono and Ando, 2007; Ono et al., 2002) and quickly grew into a major town with a sugar refinery, a warehouse, railway sheds, administrative offices, a fish market and ice storage building, a clubhouse, a dispensary, a canteen, and about 70 company houses (Peattie, 1988). The Laderan Kastiyu archaeological survey area was situated in the First Farm Agricultural District (Figure 2), where most tenants lived in individual farmsteads. This farm was worked by tenants, roughly 39 percent of Okinawan descent and 61 percent of Japanese prefectures, mostly Fukushima and Kagoshima (Tuggle 2014; Tuggle and Higuchi 2012).

On July 24, 1944 (Invasion Day or D-Day), fire was concentrated on Tinian Town as US Navy ships and landing craft feinted an offshore landing in an attempt to convince the Japanese that the invasion would take place there. The invasion instead took place at two lightly defended, narrow beaches on the northwest side of the island, designated White One (Unai Babui) and White Two (Unai Chulu). On D-Plus 5, the Marines passed through the central plateau and the next day entered Tinian Town. By July 31, the 2nd and 4th Marine Divisions had compressed the remaining Japanese forces at the southern end of the Carolinas Heights plateau (Figure 3), and by the end of the day the last desirable defense locality had been penetrated (Russell 1995). After bitter fighting throughout the night and the next day, Tinian was declared secured by the Americans at 6:55 p.m. on August 1. Tinian Town and much of the rural infrastructure were almost completely devastated. Napalm was used to clear many sugarcane fields (Dixon and Welch 2002). Japanese soldiers hiding in caves in the southern end of the island staged banzai attacks over the next several days, and some 500 stragglers continued to raid American camps for food around the island until the end of the war.

Civilian Memories of Laderan Kastiyu

Some aging survivors of this era still retain their stories and modern ethnohistorians have interviewed several former NKK tenant-

farmers in Okinawa (Higuchi, 2015; Mori, 2019), American veterans in retirement (Astroth, 2018; Farrell, 2018), and Chamorros in the CNMI (Mushynsky, 2021; Tenorio in Dixon, et al., 2019). Each individual who lived through this man-made typhoon has a story they rarely share, even with their own families in some cases. More recently, a few survivors have been involved with the painful experience of collecting Japanese military and civilian human remains in former WWII combat settings on Tinian (NHK, 2020), before Shinto cremation rites and repatriation to their homeland.

During the compilation of oral ethnohistories for a Traditional Cultural Properties report for the US Navy on the island of Tinian, Asato Uto of Okinawan heritage, who had lived and farmed in Carolinas Heights First Farm during the Japanese Administration Period, was interviewed by Dr. Wakako Higuchi (in Griffin, et al., 2010; Griffin, et al., 2015). Portions of his memories are transcribed here to provide historic context to both pre-war land use and wartime tragedy at Suicide Cliffs and on the Carolinas Heights plateau and Laderan Kastiyu above, with information and sentiments inaccessible to archaeological inquiry alone.

At the age of 19, I came to Tinian from Okinawa on January 16, 1937 to marry Asato Shison (Tarū), a laborer of the Nishi Hagoi (West Hagoi) Farm District directly operated by Nan'yō Kōhatsu. Life in the islands was so easy that we did not need much cash. The farmers could buy groceries at Nan'yō Kōhatsu's *shuho* (canteen) on credit. The payment was deducted from the proceeds of sugarcane paid by the Nan'yō Kōhatsu. Our residence in Nishi Hagoi was a tin-roofed duplex.

After one year and a half, we decided to move to the Tinian-machi (the town in Songsong). We rode on Nan'yō Kōhatsu's freight car free. My husband looked for a job but could not find a good one. Mr. Ishikawa was hiring farm laborers in Carolinas and my husband became a sugarcane farmer again.

With the seventh group of Carolinas, a shack at a corner of a tenant farmer's residence was given to us: My husband, a son, and I. After a while, Mr. Ōshiro, a tenant farmer of the same seventh group, employed my husband. He built a tin-roofed house on a concrete foundation for us. With his recommendation, my husband was honored with his work by the Nan'yō Kōhatsu and received three yen.

We leased two-*chō* (4.9 acres) of Mr. Iba's farm in the same group and moved in his house. On Tinian, we could not dig a well and there was no spring. Each

family hired a contractor to build a concrete water tank (4 x 4 meters). Some of the materials came from limestone which was common.

Although we hired laborers when we harvested the sugarcane, my husband and I did all the other work. After the cane was sold to the Nan'yō Kōhatsu, we received payment the next year. But we did not receive any payment from the company for the years 1943 and 1944.

Besides sugarcane farming, we cleared the dense jungle, planted, and cultivated vegetables. My husband prepared firewood, too. I went to the town pulling a carator (bull cart) with firewood and vegetables. Restaurants bought firewood, and Okinawan grocery shops bought vegetables.

In February 1944, the first air raid on Tinian took place. Because the U.S. troops landed in Shinminato beach, at the northwestern section of the island, all the Japanese military and civilians ran down to the Carolians Hill, where we lived. We escaped to a cave under a cliff but decided to return home because we knew we could be killed, and, in the meantime, all our supplies were at home. We hid in a cleavage in the rocks near our house in the daytime and returned home to prepare food at night.

The U.S. troops expanded to the Carolinas area. A man jumped off the cliff with his son who had already been suffocated by the father. I lost two daughters and son among three who were born on Tinian. My leg was wounded by a bullet. When American soldiers came and pointed a gun at our group of five, we became prisoners.

We lived in the Chulu Camp between August 3, 1944 and April, 1946. I heard Mr. Kikumoto was giving food to military stragglers who entered the camp. We produced food outside the camp. Former fishermen caught fish. Others participated in road construction and macadam works. My third son was born on December 1945 at the camp after one year and a half of capture.

In the last days of the battle in and around the Laderan Kastiyu and Laderan Carolinas escarpments, a number of Japanese troops prevented civilians from surrendering (Astroth, 2019a:3). The Tinian Northern Troops and Landing Force G-2 (Intelligence) Periodic Report no. 49, 3 August 1944, written by American officers, stated, "...several hundred civilians with white flags had been turned back by Jap soldiers as they sought to give themselves up" (Department of the Navy, 1944:1). Some Japanese troops before taking their own lives or dying in combat near Suicide Cliffs (Astroth, 2019b), forced civilians to commit suicide. One Japanese survivor who was a child on Tinian remembers his father

taking six coins from his pocket to give to his wife and children for “boat fare across the River Styx [Sanzu River]” (NHK, 2020). The cave was identified and excavated during recovery where coins and the bones of children were recorded, but not considered suitable for DNA analysis in the absence of human dentition, so the mixed remains were cremated for return to Tokyo against their wishes and inclusion in a wartime Shinto shrine.

For Okinawan, Japanese, and Korean civilian survivors even before the end of the battle during July 1944, a rudimentary stockade at the destroyed village of Churo was established in part to protect the survivors from daily bombing, shelling, combat. The captured or surrendered Japanese soldiers and Korean combatants were housed on the Ushi Field tarmac and then sent to Saipan to be interned with the survivors of that battle. In Camp Churu, Marine Combat Correspondent Irving Schlossenberg wrote “most of the women [on Tinian] had babies strapped on their backs” (Astroth, 2019b, 156). Diarrhea, dysentery, and malnutrition took the lives of many occupants young and old in the first months of interment before triage units and field hospitals could be set up in the camps and necessities like soap, medicines, and fresh water could be distributed daily. By the eventual repatriation to their homelands in July 1946, children were being schooled and many parents had low paid employment doing camp duties and selling hand-made arts and crafts to the American soldiers before returning stateside. For these civilian survivors, memories of the stockades even as children never left them (Tenorio, in Dixon, et al., 2019).

Archaeological Sites of Laderan Kastiyu

The archaeological project area on which this study is based consisted of public land on the Carolinas Heights plateau, just north of the Puntan Kastiyu promontory (Figure 1). This general area was reported to contain several types of sites, including prehistoric habitations and caves, pre-war farmsteads and water cisterns, and fortifications from the WWII period in 1944, some of which might contain human remains.

The survey area is adjacent to a tract including Puntan Kastiyu that was surveyed in 2010 (O'Day and Vernon, 2011) and found to contain several significant sites. The 2017 project included intensive pedestrian survey of previously unsurveyed land and judgmental survey of additional areas when they could be accessed safely. Judgmental survey was used to investigate the previously mapped Liyang Mohlang Cave, as well as the steep slopes and cliffs overlooking the coast. The southern portion of the project area had been previously surveyed by O'Day and Vernon (2014). This survey and the previous one nearby were scheduled to provide information for future Chamorro homestead management and land use planning by CNMI agencies.

A total of 15 archaeological sites were recorded in 2017 in the survey area, situated at the northern edge of the Carolinas and Kastiyu plateau. Eleven of the recorded sites were determined to be WWII-era civilian and military refuge features within steep karst limestone formations, some fortified by Japanese military for prolonged defense and others perhaps just visited by civilians briefly for fortuitous use of natural shelters, as ethnohistoric information cited above indicates. Many showed signs of combat and are assumed to have been used briefly during the battle for Tinian in July of 1944. Two sites were determined to be likely pre-WWII Okinawan and rural Japanese farmsteads, one with a complex of cisterns and concrete pads, and the other with stone-lined garden plots. One other pre-war site consisting of an isolated concrete cistern had sustained considerable damage during WWII. A large cave on top of the plateau was also visited and the mixed remains of civilian and military wartime refuge and tragedy recorded. Of these sites, one pre-war cistern impacted by combat, three civilian refuges and military defenses, and the large refuge cave are revisited here.

Site T-CHT-11 Okinawan Civilian Cistern

Site T-CHT-11 consists of a partially intact water catchment cistern with a single collapsed side, showing obvious damage from WWII-era fighting (Figure 4). The cistern walls are poured concrete slabs, which are now heavily cracked, and extend above ground surface. The southern

wall is entirely intact and is met by a raised concrete pad that may have served as a step to access the cistern. The eastern wall is partially collapsed and is clogged with rubble and vegetation but appears to contain some water.

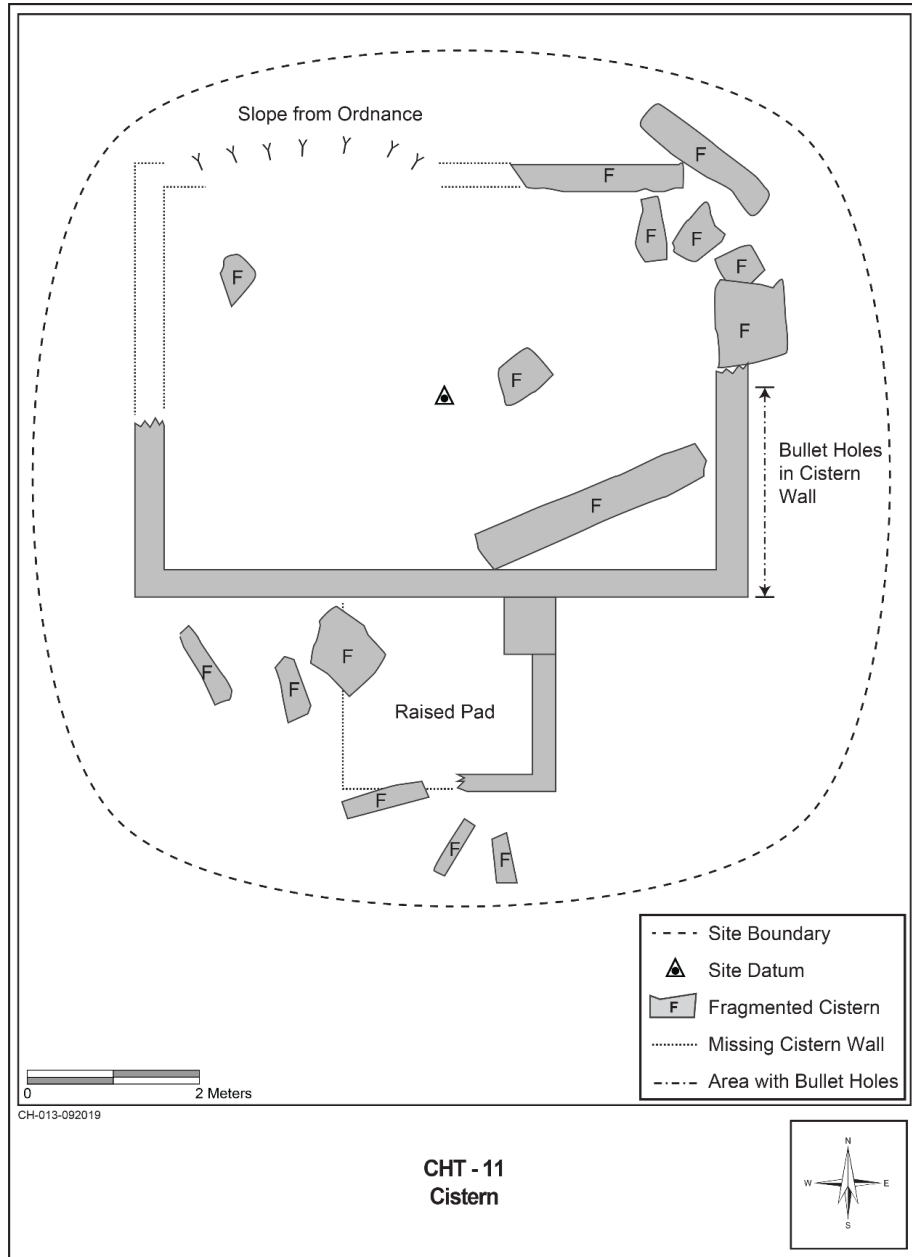


Figure 4. Okinawan cistern map. Site CHT-11. (Source: Dixon et al. 2019.)



Figure 5: Okinawan cistern with bullet holes and concussion spalls. Site CHT-11. (Source: Dixon et al. 2019.)

Much of the northern and western walls have collapsed into the cistern, and a sloping of the ground surface in the northwest corner of the cistern may indicate a hit by a large artillery round. The area nearby has several large concrete fragments, probably distributed by explosive impact. The exterior of the cistern, especially along the intact portion of the eastern wall, shows extensive bullet impacts and concussion spalls consistent with small arms fire (Figure 5). Nearby depressions in the ground surface may indicate WWII-era impact craters.

Site T-CHT-3 Japanese Military Fortified Refuge

Site T-CHT-3 consists of several small fortifications in a network of interconnected limestone fissures and small caves. However, it is possible that these fissures connect with other adjacent defensive positions. The site is located in an area of thick vegetation typical of secondary limestone forests and the ground surface adjacent to the fissures is dominated by pandanus.

The site consists of three small and fortified niches, two open areas, and at least three narrow caves (Figure 6). The site is located where the plateau is heavily faulted, forming a series of natural interconnected limestone fissures. The defensive positions and artifact scatters occupy one such deep crevasse, where narrow passages have been fortified by makeshift walls that would have allowed them to be defended by Japanese troops from USMC and Army infantry while sheltered from aerial bombardment.

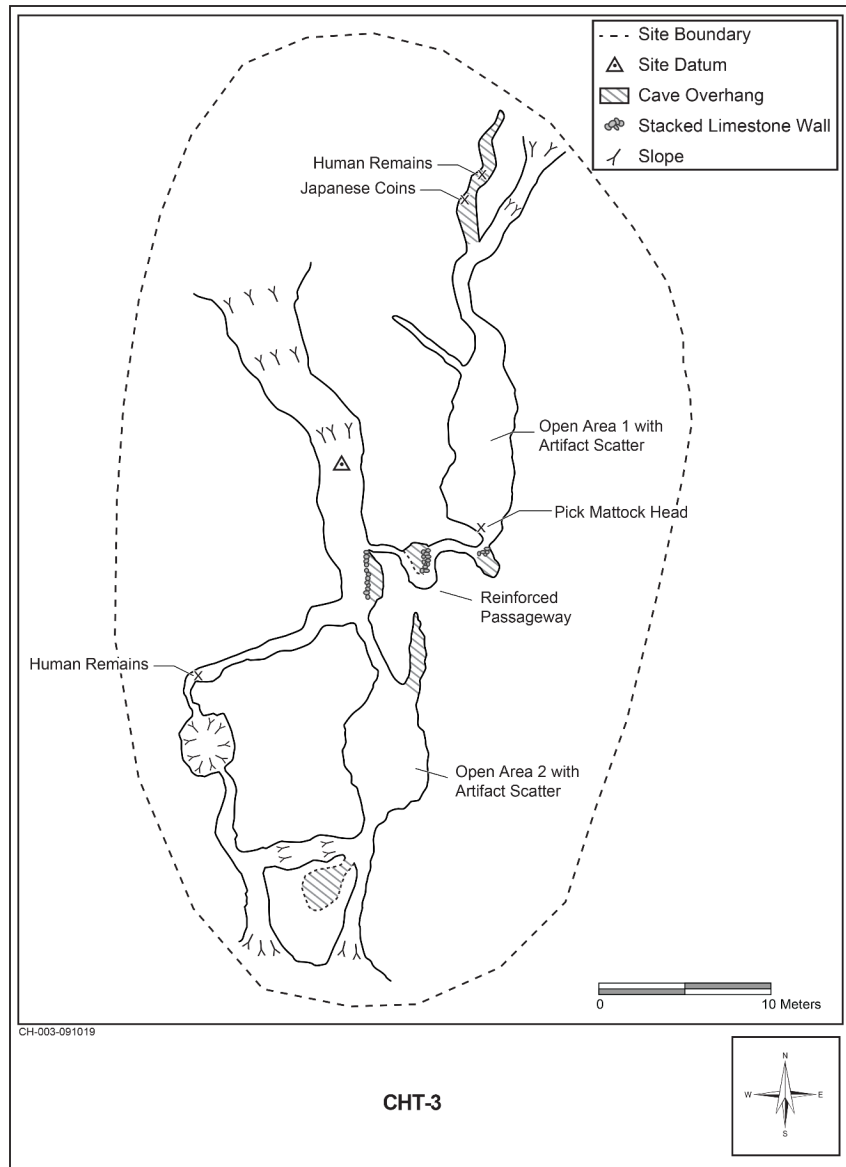


Figure 6. Japanese military fortified refuge. Site CHT-3. (Source: Dixon et al., 2019.)



Figure 7. Japanese military artifacts, bottles, rice cooker, ceramic lid, metal tray. Site CHT-3. (Source: Dixon et al., 2019.)

The primary cluster of defensive positions is located at a juncture between three narrow fissures in the bedrock, each of which connects to an open area. The site is accessible from the north via a gently sloping and narrowing fissure. The fortifications consist of low walls built of dry-stacked limestone cobbles and boulders, located at the mouths of shallow niches. All three would have served to provide cover for a one- or two-man fire-team. The open areas adjacent to these fortifications contain scatters of brown glass beer bottles, blue sake bottles, damaged enamelware and metal cooking pots, and miscellaneous metal fragments (Figure 7). A single human long bone was encountered on the surface in one of these narrow fissures, and another human bone fragment was encountered in a narrow cave at the north end of the site.

The cave also contained unfired rifle rounds, probably Arisaka rifle or carbine rounds, some still in their stripper clip, and several small Japanese coins. These coins had been rested on ledges in the narrow cave; they are badly weathered but may be Japanese 10-sen coins (Figure 8). A single pick mattock head was found resting on a ledge near one of the defensive positions, but the site seems to have been located to take advantage of natural features and manual modification of the area was minimal.



Figure 8. Japanese 10-Sen coins Site CHT-3. (Source: Dixon et al., 2019.)

Site T-CHT-6 Japanese Military Defense and Okinawan Civilian Refuge

Site T-CHT-6 is a WWII defensive position with a possible civilian component, that consists of several stacked stone defensive features situated in a natural limestone fissure (Figure 9). The site is located in an area of relatively dense pandanus, though the fissure itself is fairly clear

of vegetation. The site is situated west of the cliff line where the plateau begins to form large north to south oriented fissures, probably due to block faulting. The site occupies one such fissure, which is only accessible from the south end.

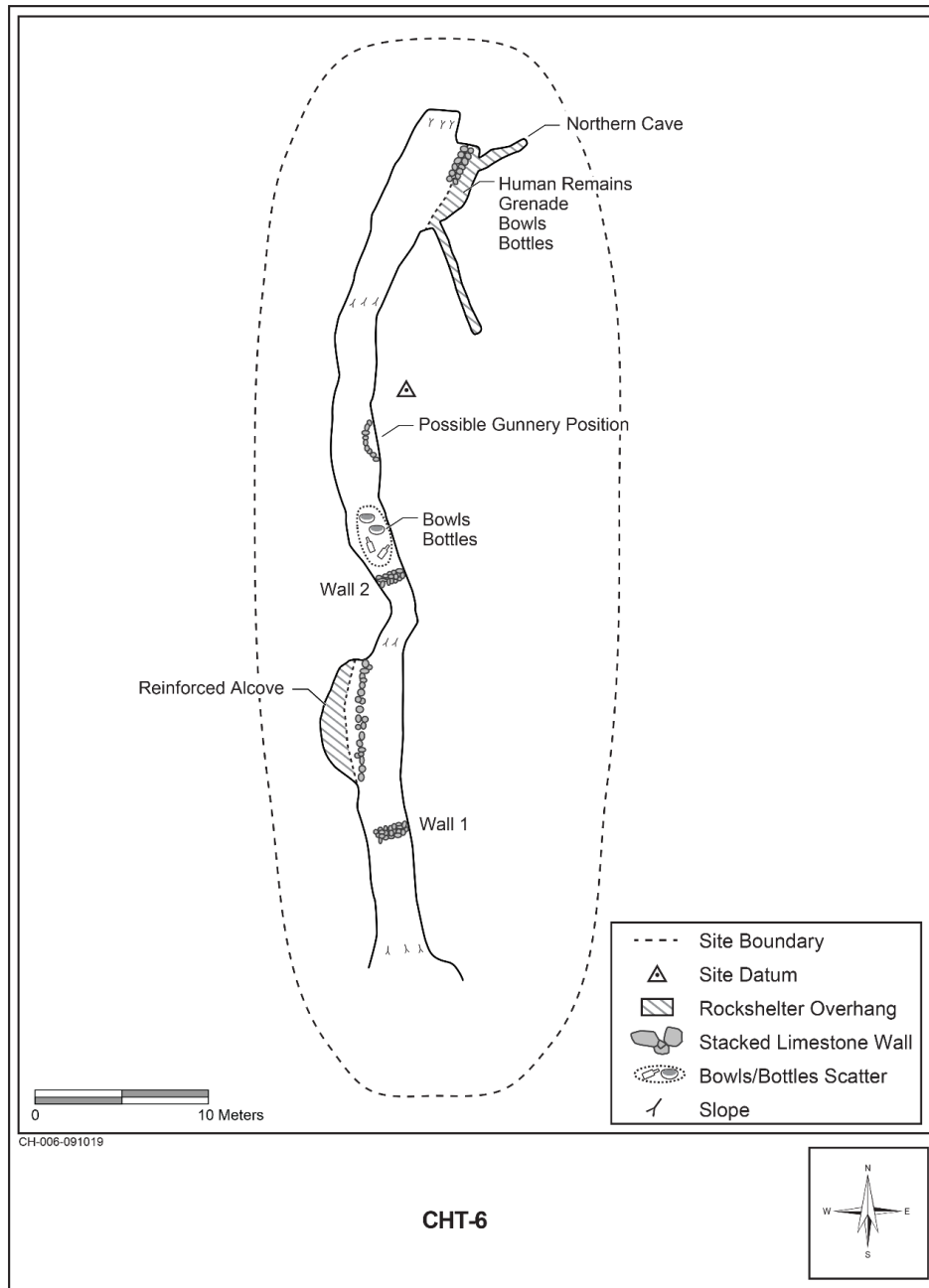


Figure 9. Japanese military and Okinawan civilian refuge map. Site CHT-6. (Source: Dixon et al., 2019.)

The site consists of three stacked rock walls built across the narrow fissure, as well as two partially walled off rock shelters or caves and a diffuse scatter of WWII-era bottles, domestic cookware and military hardware. The southernmost wall is built across the fissure, leaving a narrow opening on the western side that would have allowed passage of a single individual. This wall is collapsed and badly damaged. Just north of Wall 1, on the western face of the fissure, is a deep natural alcove that has been enforced with a limestone wall. North of Wall 1 is a second low wall which is also collapsed. This wall appears to have been built entirely across the fissure and lacks an opening for foot traffic. Farther north along the fissure, a small semicircular wall is located against the eastern face of the fissure that forms a gunnery position or shelter.

Artifacts at the site include brown, clear, and green glass bottles; metal and enamelware cooking pots (Figure 10); porcelain and stoneware bowl fragments; fragments of artillery shells; and grenades (Figure 11). In the northernmost cave, a single human vertebra was recorded. The majority of the artifacts are found in a central scatter, though the cave at the northern end of the site also contains a collection of artifacts including the grenade, and a single eroded possible 10-sen Japanese coin.

Site T-CHT-7 Japanese Military Defense and Okinawan Civilian Refuge

Site T-CHT-7 is a WWII defensive redoubt located in a series of limestone caves. The site consists of multiple narrow chambers spread along a deep fissure in the local bedrock. The caves open to the uneven base of the fissure, which is accessible only via a few points along the edge, or by climbing down the steep sides of the fissure. There are four chambers, each with an associated artifacts scatter (Figure 12); however, it is possible that these fissures connect with other adjacent defensive positions.



Figure 10. Okinawan civilian artifacts. Enamel bowls, rice cooker, bottles. Site CHT-6. (Source: Dixon et al., 2019.)



Figure 11. Japanese military and Okinawan civilian artifacts. Type 97 hand grenade, Arisaka rounds, rice cooker, ceramic and enamel bowls. Site CHT-6. (Source: Dixon et al., 2019.)

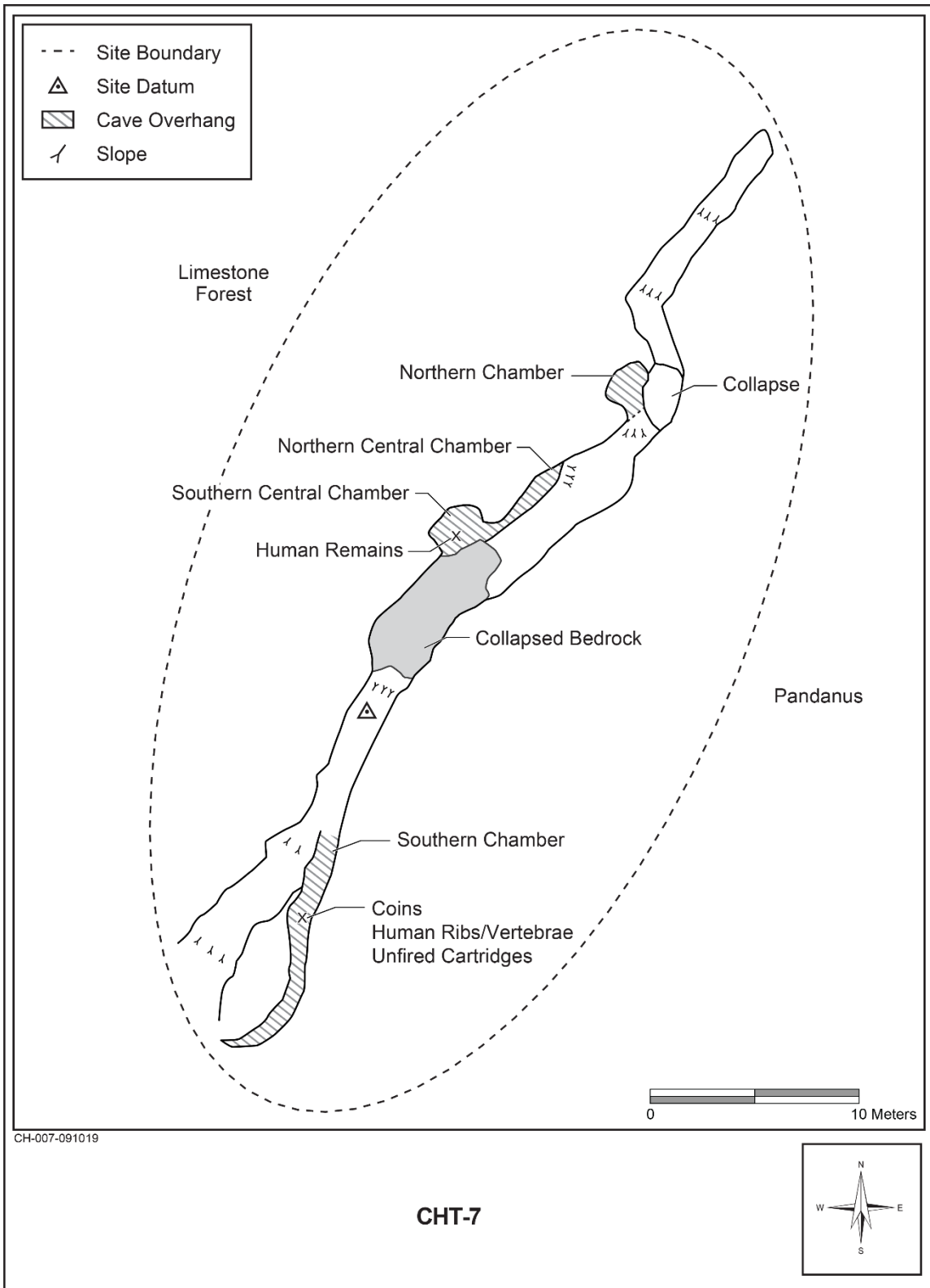


Figure 12. Japanese military and Okinawan civilian refuge map. Site CHT-7. (Source: Dixon et al. 2019.)

The site consists of four unfortified caves, all of them narrow and difficult to access. The site is located where the plateau is heavily faulted forming a series of natural crevasses and caves. The caves are only accessible via a steep sloped fissure, and none are reinforced. However, the depth and narrowness of the caves would have allowed them to serve as effective shelters from aerial bombardment. The northernmost cave is accessible from a pile of collapsed limestone that partially blocks the entrance or from a central portion of the fissure, which can be accessed via a steep climb. It is relatively narrow and contains an artifact scatter including a leather boot and porcelain bowl fragments.

The north-central cave is accessible via the central portion of the fissure after a steep climb. It contains a scatter of pig bones that appears to have been butchered, as well as Dainippon beer bottles, porcelain plate and bowl fragments, and miscellaneous metal fragments, including a belt buckle. Like the northern cave, it is narrow and deep, with difficult access and minimal field of fire, making it more appropriate as a shelter or hiding place than a defensive position. The south-central cave is accessible from the central portion of the fissure or the north-central cave. It contains an artifact scatter including a tea pot, sake bottle, and cooking vessels. It also contains a likely human long bone and several other possible human bones, including a rib.



Figure 13. Japanese military and Okinawan civilian artifacts. Arisaka rounds, leather boot, crockery, porcelain teacup, sledge hammer head. Site CHT-7. (Source: Dixon et al., 2019.)

The southernmost cave can be accessed via a steep slope from the south or via the central collapsed bedrock section. It contains a scatter including leather boot soles, a sledgehammer head, porcelain fragments (Figure 13), an unspent Japanese hand grenade, and heavily weathered unfired Arisaka rounds. Two fired American .50 caliber bullets were noted in the cave, likely from aerial strafing or personal combat -- these bullets contained deformations consistent with ricocheting. Possible human remains, including a rib, were noted in deep crevasses within the cave.

Liyang Mohlang Cave

Liyang Mohlang (a placename of Chamorro origin) is a cave that was used as a civilian and military refuge during the war. The site consists of a large, multi-chamber flank-margin cave in the limestone. The cave was mapped by Stafford and Taborosi in 2002 (Stafford, et al., 2004) with a number of smaller sub-chambers (Figure 14).

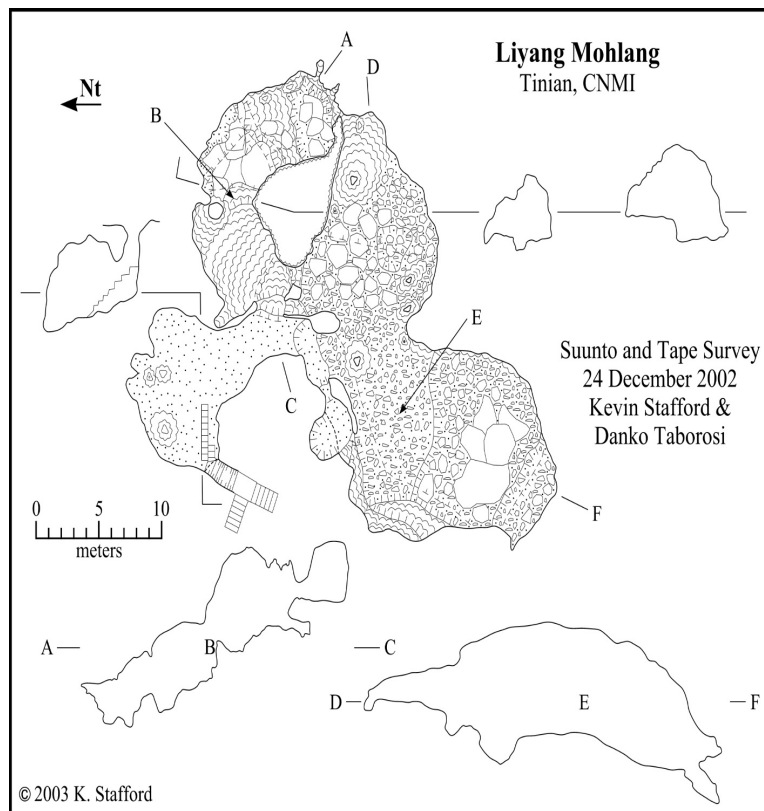


Figure 14. Liyang Mohang Survey Map. (Source: Stafford, et al., 2004.)

The site includes a small shrine and improved vehicle access points, occupies a clearing covered in tall grasses. Access to the cave is limited and steep, but the cave itself could shelter dozens of people and would have served as a primary refuge for people in the area.

The cave is accessed via two separate surface entrances which lead down at steep angles into the cave. The primary entrance has been improved by the construction of a set of cinderblock stairs that lead from the surface down to the primary chamber. A rope has been installed to run along the stairs to aid access, and the area outside the entrance has a set of stairs and railings leading to the cave. The cave contains an extensive collection of artifacts, all of which are heavily weathered. Metal buckles and swivels, bolts, nails, gas mask components and miscellaneous metal fragments were common throughout the cave. A single deformed and punctured metal canteen was observed as well. A damaged carabao cart and hitch (Figure 15) occupy the central chamber, and several wheel rims were observed. Knife-opened food tins, rusted mess kits, pipe fragments and some fragmented metal pots were also recorded.



Figure 15. Okinawan civilian artifacts. Partial carabao cart and hitch. Liyang Mohlang. (Source: Dixon et al. 2019.)

Glass objects include Dainippon brown glass beer bottles and blue glass sake bottles, some of which are heat-deformed. A glass bottle stopper was noted, along with extensive glass fragments. Shoe soles, both civilian and military, were common in the cave. Other domestic objects included toothbrushes, belt buckles, and porcelain bowl fragments. Some of the cave walls show signs of drawings, probably in charcoal, which are difficult to discern but may pre-date the use of the cave during WWII. These drawings are indistinct and may also represent post-war graffiti. There are signs (including modern beer and other beverage bottles) that the cave is still visited and used periodically.

The area directly around the cave on the surface contains several fragmented porcelain bowls, some metal cookware fragments, and other miscellaneous metal. A small shrine with giant clam shells and beer bottles has been constructed with concrete just northeast of the cave entrance and is mostly overgrown with vegetation. Several likely human skeletal elements were observed in the cave, though these are generally smaller elements found in cracks. At least one dozen human teeth were observed, some of which have been shattered. Evidence of incendiary weapons, including heat deformation and sooting, was observed in the assemblage, along with concussion deformation of metal objects.

Description of the Laderan Kastiyu Battlefront

The design and construction of WWII battlefronts of the northern Marianas Islands appear to have involved a considerable amount of effort and forethought by the military. Months of consideration and preparation for the most opportune fields-of-fire overlooking expected American beach landings were obvious on invasion day, as were well-built concrete headquarters and fortified strongholds inland. This pattern appears to have been conceived in terms of engagement evolving from a “defense-at-the-waters-edge” tactic used unsuccessfully in Tarawa and Peleliu toward a “defense-in-depth” posture eventually used more effectively in Iwo Jima and Okinawa (Dixon, et al. 2018).

Comparatively little consideration and preparation of ample refuges and fortified defenses for the large civilian population is evident, although prevailing Japanese military thought in early 1944 was that the

American invasion would not occur until November (Farrell 2018). Such “karst defenses,” as defined archaeologically and by local knowledge on Saipan (Mushynsky 2021:70), included formal man-made tunnel complexes and caves modified for long-term occupancy. In addition, larger natural caves that could accommodate relatively organized groups of people were put into service. On the other end of the scale was the more expedient construction and minimal modification of limestone bedrock outcrops. These were used by smaller groups for shorter periods of time, such as recorded at Laderan Kastiyu and the Carolinas escarpment on Tinian.

During the last days of the Battle for Tinian in July of 1944, elements of the 2nd Marines pursued Japanese defenders along the east coast of the island and up onto the Carolinas Plateau, eventually positioning themselves above Suicide Cliffs and its caves where fighting was intense and military surrenders were few. Sites recorded by O’Day and Vernon (2014) to the south of the current project area included both American foxholes on the plateau for nightly advances, and fortified Japanese rock shelters and caves on the steep and rocky slopes below. Wartime photographs show American Howitzers tethered on the cliffs above to fire down upon defenders in their caves.

The defensive positions encountered during the 2017 survey could have been created by Japanese infantrymen without heavy machinery or engineers; walls were generally dry-stacked and made from locally available irregular cobbles. No evidence of blasting, shaping, or enlarging of existing cave systems was noted at the defensive sites; a single pick mattock head at site T-CHT-03 provides evidence of hand-tool use, but otherwise the defensive positions all made expedient use of local landforms and raw materials consistent with unplanned or quickly created defensive positions. Many of these, especially on the top of the plateau, may have been created on July 30th or 31st, 1944, when Admiral Kakuta and Colonel Ogata both fell back to the southern redoubt near Marpo Point and the Carolinas Plateau. The area was described in an account of the battle:

The terrain occupied by the Japanese main force was rugged, difficult to reach or traverse and well-suited for defense. Outside of Tinian Town the gentle landscape ended, with the ground rising to a high plateau 5,000 yards

long and 2,000 yards wide, with altitudes higher than 500 feet. The plateau was rocky and covered with thick brush. There were many caves. Along the east coast, the cliff walls rose steeply and appeared impossible to scale. The approaches to the plateau were blocked by many cliffs of this sort as well as by jungle growth. A road in the center of the plateau, leading to its top, was reported by a prisoner to be mined. The plateau was the enemy's last redoubt (Harwood, 2015).

The following day, Marine forces reached the top of the plateau and began the final push towards the cliffs (Figure 3). Resistance was intermittent on the plateau itself, but the large number of cliff line caves and ravines continued to shelter Japanese soldiers well after the island was declared secure on August 1st, 1944. Groups of civilians fleeing the caves were encountered by U.S. soldiers and taken to safety. Groups of Japanese soldiers continued to stage small group assaults for several days, and “mop up” operations in the area of the cliff lines were particularly dangerous. Many Japanese soldiers remained hidden in caves, waiting to attack when U.S. Marines came to investigate. There were also reports of Japanese soldiers forcing civilians into groups before killing them with explosives, and both civilians and soldiers took their own lives at Suicide Cliffs. Before the end of 1944, 542 Japanese soldiers were killed and 400 captured in the area; 38 Marines were killed during the mop up efforts (Rottman, 2004).

Archaeological Remains of the Laderan Kastiyu Battlefield

WWII battlefronts of the northern Marianas Islands appear to reflect far less forethought and preparation for the impending typhoon of the American invasion in June of 1944 than might be expected. Little evidence has been recorded archaeologically for the stockpiling of military or civilian foods and medical supplies, or of construction tools and materials for sustained use. What is found in the archaeological record of the Laderan Kastiyu survey area are the remains of the last desperate days of hand-to-mouth survival for both Japanese military and civilians, often clustered uncomfortably together with rapidly dwindling resources. These objects included well-worn footwear, personal effects such as toothbrushes and coins, the occasional butchered pig, rice cookers and enamel bowls, a few ceramic bowls or cups, and beer or

sake bottles. Also present were military hand grenades, canteens or mess kits, and - at most - a few clips of Arisaka rounds for machine guns or rifles.

Japanese defenses recorded there included fortified gunnery positions, fortified fissures, and caves and rock shelters. The three refuge sites and one cave chosen for this study contain a mixture of military and civilian material culture. This pattern likely reflects the firsthand accounts of Okinawan survivors of the battle, in which they discuss families taking refuge in the caves along the eastern edge of the plateau, only to have their hiding places co-opted by Japanese soldiers during the final defense of the island. Sites such as T-CHT-03 and T-CHT-06 contain clearly defensive structures, but also contain domestic cookware and other artifacts (such as coins and civilian shoes) that may indicate civilian use of the position.

Some amount of domestic cookware can be attributed to items taken by soldiers during the retreat or left by civilians and later used by soldiers. Sake and beer bottles, which were ubiquitous in the project area, may have been repurposed by soldiers to carry water, given the scarcity of fresh water. U.S. soldiers reportedly engaged in water-denying tactics in the area, and access to water would have been an important factor during the final days. Evidence of such tactics, in the form of canteens with bullet and bayonet holes as well as destroyed water drums, was noted during the survey. Use of civilian containers may have been a response to the water situation during the battle, resulting in civilian glassware on military sites.

Items of clothing, shoes, and collections of diverse cookware are less easy to attribute to military scavenging and were likely brought to the sites by civilians fleeing the bombing campaign. In particular, the assemblages at Liyang Mohlang show strong indicators of civilian use and were likely the location of civilian refuges prior to use by the Japanese military. Discriminating mixed-use sites from purely military or purely civilian sites is important to reconstructing the military landscape and to understanding the experience of civilians fleeing the battle. It may also have implications for the post-war reburial or more recent removal

of human remains found at such sites (Mike Dega and Richard Schaefer personal communication, 2021).

The nature of the defensive sites recorded during this survey reflect the accounts of U.S. Marines who were charged with clearing the area during the last days of the battle. Small, concealed defenses holding only a few men were reported throughout the cliff line area. Many of the sites recorded here showed signs of having been subject to both heavy ordnance and small arms fire; collapsed walls and concussion deformations on metal artifacts were common at defensive sites. Likewise, the nature of close clearing operations is attested to by fire-blackened caves and melted glass at several other sites; flamethrowers were often employed to clear tight defenses with devastating effect.

Civilian accounts are relatively rare, but the large quantities of civilian domestic wares encountered at some refuge sites reflect the historic record, which describes thousands of civilians taking refuge in the caves as seen in rare color footage of their surrender at the end of the battle (Astroth, 2020). More than 75 years later, the material culture of the battle, and those that were swept up in it, is still readily visible in the network of caves and redoubts that cover the eastern cliff lines of the Carolinas Plateau.

Interpretations

Access to Japanese and American first-hand accounts of actual events, has helped clarify some of the relationships between the participants and their built surroundings. Initially, military defenders may have used concrete water cisterns such as site T-CHT-11 to delay the first American probing of the Japanese battle line after the civilian occupants had fled (Figure 3). The next line of defense was hastily built by the soldiers upon their exhausted arrival and appeared to have been constructed for only one or two defenders, lightly armed with a rifle or hand grenades. These insubstantial redoubts such as site T-CHT 3 consisted of a low wall to kneel behind, situated where unsuspecting invaders might be funneling one-by-one through a narrow gap between razor-sharp karst outcrops to their demise. Or if they got that far, invaders might then crawl through a darkened crevasse into a constructed field-of-fire between two walls, with nothing but the sound

and smell of the occupants inside to guide them into a dead-end, such as site T-CHT-6. This defensive posture may have been effective as a stalling tactic but would hardly have halted the advance of an enemy who could counter with evasive tactics and call in a flame thrower, bazooka, or satchel charge to seal the entrances.

A focus on artifacts recovered at Laderan Kastiyu quickly reveals a difference in quantity and variety of potential food preparation and serving items relative to non-military times; perhaps reflecting the group size and length of time to prepare before combatants arrived. Mushynsky (2021, 113) reflects that in the large Liyang Mohlang cave, in the flickering light, the defenders and invaders might have encountered, “surprisingly, (that) civilians brought practical ceramic vessels to the caves, such as teacups and rice bowls that could be used for both food and drink as well as various sizes of plates and pickle dishes. Considering that a traditional Japanese meal was centered around a personal bowl of miso soup and/or rice with other items served on communal plates, it appears that these civilians tried to hold on to some semblance of home life.”

To contrast, in the minimally prepared crevasses such as sites T-CHT-3, 6, and 7, few Japanese military canteens and mess kits were encountered that would suggest that the infantry arrived equipped for anything but self-survival. Perhaps some had cooking gear and bottles of beer or sake taken from the farmsteads above or from terrified civilians who had called this cramped shelter home for their last few hours or days. The presence of combat boot heels, Arisaka rounds, and hand grenades suggests that the civilians had little choice but to give up what they had brought with them to the soldiers. And of course, the terror and desperation in the eyes of the young soldiers would have elicited a humane response from many rural countrymen. The presence of scorched walls in other crevasses implies that many took their last breaths together when the Americans arrived with flame-throwers.

The obvious lack of Japanese military preparation of troops and civilians for the horrors of WWII combat, self-defense, and surrender after a prolonged defense, should not be surprising. The effective use of American submarines and Naval air patrols had all but brought Japanese

supplies for the islands to a standstill by early 1944 (Lotz, 2018). Japanese and immigrant labor from Korea and Okinawa were forced to work on military construction projects day and night. The influx of Japanese troops also brought housing pressures to the island as soldiers were billeted in civilian homes. Schools were closed and used to house new troops, while students were put to work (Russell, 1995). The situation may have varied in Laderan Kastiyu and the Carolinas plateau more distant from preparations for the American invasion in the northern beaches, but the distance from Tinian Town likely meant less access to remaining food and supplies. The use of napalm in sugarcane fields and rural farmsteads would have only heightened the terror of having endured the prolonged intensive bombing delivered by sea, air, and land from Saipan.

We do not remember days, we remember moments.

-Cesare Pavese, 1935-1950

Acknowledgements

The senior author owes a debt of gratitude to many people. In the Northern Mariana Islands, I have been able to ask for knowledge from Scott Russell of the NMI Humanities Council, Rita Chong and Jim Pruitt of the CNMI Historic Preservation Division, and for wisdom on all things Tinian from Don Farrell and the late Carmen Sanchez. On Guam, archaeologist Lon Bulgrin of NAVFACMAR and the staff of the Micronesian Area Research Center at the University of Guam, including Mike Carson, Carlos Madrid, and emeritus director Hiro Kurashina, all tolerated my questions. Alexander Astroth generously provided books, videos, and personal documents from his extensive research into the last days of the battle for Tinian. Mike Dega and Rick Schaefer similarly shared both documentation and harrowing stories of their work in the Carolinas plateau, as did Julie Mushynsky from Saipan. Pat O'Day and Cacilie Craft spent the better part of a day showing me around their portion of Laderan Kastiyu. Alexandra Garrigue and Akiko Mori shared their knowledge of Okinawan oral histories and Japanese literature on the historical period in the islands. Maria Kottermair produced the excellent map of Tinian and John Scott shared military maps from his archives. Brenda Tenorio provided interviews with five manamko on Saipan who had undergone similar trauma as children. And of course, Dave Tuggle and Wakako Higuchi have shared my passion for Tinian for over two decades. Robert Jones and Danny Welch conducted two weeks of arduous survey while Isla Nelson transformed the results into an exceptional report with the help of Travis Gahm, Edie Mertz, and the faith of Terry Rudolph in this project. The senior author would also like to thank Mary Spencer with her professional staff and reviewers at Pacific Asia Inquiry who were most helpful and supportive during a difficult time on Guam.

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Cartographic Anonymity: Towards an Evaluation of Agrigan's Mute Map

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The history of the cartographic representation of Agrigan is the topic of this analysis. The maps of Agrigan from the mid-19th to the last quarter of the 20th century are shown to be strikingly parsimonious as to place naming. The almost total absence of place names is representative of the majority of the Gåni-Islands in the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands. The Agrigan situation is compared to that of the unsettled Peri-Antarctic Bouvet-Island. The rich toponomasticon of this Norwegian possession strongly suggests that Agrigan's map does not have to be devoid of place names. The possibilities for place-naming on Agrigan are described. Place names which were recorded in the 1950's are discussed. The role that place names play in the creation and preservation of a community's identity is emphasized.

Keywords: Agrigan, Bouvet-Øya, cartography, colonialism, place-naming

This paper is the sequel to our recent pilot study on the attested place names in the islands of the Northern Arc of the Northern Mariana Islands, except Pagan (Stolz & Levkovich, 2020).¹ To provide the necessary background information for the envisaged project of providing the Gåni -Islands with a culturally, historically, and linguistically informed atlas of their own, we recapitulate the gist of our prior investigation first. For a start, we address the particularly vexed question of how to classify the little that is there in terms of word material on the relevant maps.

¹ The talk we delivered jointly with Ingo H. Warnke on the occasion of the 6th Marianas History Conference (20 February, 2021) was entitled *Places without names and names without places? On the blank maps of the Gåni Islands*. It summarized the ideas we expressed in written form already in Stolz & Levkovich (2020). Thanks to the many positive reactions of our audience, we are confident now that the project we have set our sights on makes sense not only to academia but also to the people of the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands. This is a strong incentive for us to continue with our research to pave the grounds for a future joint project in which we outsiders co-operate with culturally knowledgeable insiders. What is said in this paper marks the next step towards our (hopefully not too distant) goal.

Introducing the Problem

The official contemporary maps of Anatahan, Sarigan, Guguan, Alamagan, Agrigan, Asuncion, Maug, and Uracas (dating back to the 1960's – 1980's) are devoid of identifiers of geographical objects (GEOBJ) other than, (a) the word *lava* on Agrigan's map; and (b) the triple attestation of *village* reported for Anatahan (handwritten addition to the map), Alamagan, and Agrigan. In stark contrast, except Aguigan, the islands to the south of Farallon de Medinilla (Saipan, Tinian, and Rota) are privileged insofar as they are represented by maps which are densely lettered. We provisionally introduce the term, *identifier*, for those expressions found on maps for which it is not immediately possible to decide whether we are dealing with a common noun or a proper name.² This is precisely the case with English *village* which could either be a common noun referring to any kind of small permanent settlement belonging to the ontological class of VILLAGES³ or it could be the English translation of Chamorro *Songsong*, 'Village.'⁴ In the latter case, there are again two possible interpretations; namely, either *songsong* functions as a common noun in analogy to English *village*, or it can be considered to be a genuine place name. Since the second largest settlement on Rota is also called *Songsong* without being the only village on the island, the proper-name status of the same expression on the maps of the above islands becomes ever more likely. What is more, its absence from the map of Sarigan notwithstanding, the field trip records of Johnson⁵ (1957) provide evidence of the existence of a main settlement *Songsong* on Sarigan, too. According to internet sources, only *Songsong* on Rota is a genuine place name, whereas the other four cases

² The class of identifiers covers both genuine place names as well as (toponymically employed) common nouns. Moreover, identifiers belong to the category of epikhartica 'lit; i.e., *What is on paper*, which embraces all kinds of lettering on maps including expressions which do not properly fulfill toponymic functions (Stolz & Warnke, submitted).

³ Small caps are used for conceptual categories and ontological classes.

⁴ The English translations we provide for proper names are exclusively intended to make the internal structure of the proper name in the original language more transparent. No established parallel English place names are given.

⁵ This publication is a very rare item, the only surviving issue of which we have located in the Australian National Library at Canberra. We ordered a scan of the book, which, at the time of finishing this paper, had not left Australia because of the suspension of the library service on account of the measures of the Australian government against COVID-19. Therefore, wherever we refer to this book, we rely on Scott Russell's detailed but unpublished excerpts from Johnson (1957). It cannot be ruled out that some of the ideas we express in Section 3 (A Fresh Look) need to be revised in a follow-up study in which we plan to cover all of those islands for which Johnson (1957) provided place names, namely Alamagan, Anatahan, Arigan, and Sarigan.

are presented as hybrid combinations of the island name and English *village*, namely *Agrihan*⁶ *Village*, *Alamagan Village*, *Anatahan Village*, and *Sarigan Village* (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_populated_places_in_the_Northern_Mariana_Islands). According to Johnson (1957), there were two settlements on Sarigan with *Partido*⁷ being registered as secondary settlement. Interestingly, this place name is mentioned in the same source also for Alamagan so that it can be hypothesized that, in the Alamagan case, *Partido* also served to name a secondary settlement. For Agrigan, the existence of four settlements is assumed (Johnson, 1957). These cases and those of names of ontologically different GEOBJS on Agrigan will be addressed in Section 3.

The problems of determining the nature and coordinates of the GEOBJS for which a given place name was used notwithstanding, we learn from the close reading of Johnson (1957) that, in the 1950's, there were at least 19 place numbers on the islands of Anatahan, Sarigan, Alamagan, and Agrigan which never made it onto the official maps produced under the auspices of the US authorities. Note that wherever these maps host the English identifier *village*, Johnson (1957) still employed the Chamorro equivalent *songsong. Village* thus seems to have ousted *songsong* during the posterior years to Johnson's journey northwards. Since Johnson's activities in the Northern Arc were not primarily meant to involve the compilation of a place-name inventory, we daresay that many more place names were around when Johnson visited the Gani -Islands but he had no occasion to note them down. On account of these facts, we wonder whether the cartographers never came

⁶ *Agrihan* is an alternative place name to *Agrigan*. Except in direct quotes, we exclusively use the term *Agrigan* in this study.

⁷ The Spanish origin of this place name is uncontroversial. Spanish *Partido* is the regular past participle of the transitive verb, *partir*, 'divide, separate, cut in pieces, split.' As a noun, *partido* is commonly used in Spanish with the meaning of (political) party; sports match.' In Rodriguez-Ponga's (1995, p. 521) dictionary of Chamorro words of Spanish origin, *partido* is registered only with the political reference. The word is not included in Topping, et al. (1973, p. 165) where *pattida* 'party (political), share, dividend, portion, part, ration' are given instead. The situation is similar in the case of Aguon et al. (2009, p. 315). None of the earlier dictionaries are helpful when it comes to identifying the motivation for the choice of place name. We cannot rule out the possibility that the use of *partido* reflects its administrative meaning in Spanish. According to the *Diccionario de la lengua espanola of the Real Academia Espanola*, one of the many meanings of this term corresponds to English 'municipality' (<https://dle.rae.es/partido?m-form>). To our minds, however, *Partido* indicated that a group of people moved (i.e., split/separated) from the primary settlement (*Songsong*) to found a secondary settlement.

to know that place names other than those referring to the island itself existed at all, or that the place names were omitted purposefully for whatever reason.

The official overview of the place names in the then U.N. Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (Bryan, 1971⁸) contains a plethora of historical alternative names for the islands under scrutiny, including French, German, Japanese, and Spanish versions. However, apart from the richly documented place names of Pagan, there is only a single place name which serves to identify a GEOBJ on one of the Gåni-Islands, namely *Agrihan Anchorage* [Japanese *Arigan*, (sic!) *Boyti* (cf. below), German *Agrigan Ankerplatz*] on Agrigan's southwestern coastline. What other place names there were never came to Bryan's notice and thus found no place in his survey. However, Lehne & Cabler (1972, 35) mention Mount Fritz as the name of the highest mountain of the Marianas (with a height of about 965 meters), situated on Agrigan. Other sources ([https:// volcano.si.edu/voleano.cfm?vn=284160](https://volcano.si.edu/voleano.cfm?vn=284160)) refer to the same GEOBJ (with different measurements as to its height) simply as *Agrihan*, i.e., island and volcanic mountain are namesakes. *Mount Fritz* is a good specimen of an ephemeral place name which never caught on, if it ever was anything more than fiction. It clearly commemorates the German colonial administrator ("Bezirksamtmann"), George Fritz, who was in charge of the Northern Marianas from 1899 to 1907. It is doubtful, however, that naming the mountain after him was his own initiative since the place-name construction does not follow the structural prerequisites of a normal German coining,⁹ and the use of English *Mount* in lieu of its German equivalents¹⁰ is incompatible with the nationalistic spirit of the colonial period in the German Empire of the early 20th century. Accordingly, Mount Fritz must be the invention of a probably English-speaking creative mind after the expulsion of the

⁸ *Agrihan* is an alternative place name to *Agrigan*. Except in direct quotes, we exclusively use the form *Agrigan* in this study.

⁹ The German word order rules and those determining the order of head and modifier in compounds would require that the order of the two constituents of Mount Fritz is inverted to something like **Fritz-Mountain*.

¹⁰ The usual patterns to which the German authorities resorted to create place names in the German colonies involve elements like *Berg* 'mountain,' *Hohe* 'height,' *Spitze* 'peak,' etc. A place name like **Fritz-Berg* would thus be perfectly in line with the colonial practice of place-naming in the German context (Stolz & Warnke, 2015).

Germans and probably also of the Japanese from Micronesia. Thus, the end of World War II marks the *terminus ante quem non* for proposing *Mount Fritz* as a place name for a GEOBJ on Agrigan.

What all these details suggest is that there are so many uncertainties as to the toponomasticon¹¹ of the bulk of the Gåni-islands that we know hardly anything for sure. In this sense and in this sense alone, the unlettered maps of these islands iconically reflect our present ignorance. In cartography, unlettered maps (aka mute maps, blank maps) are employed mainly for pedagogical purposes (Großer, 2001). The way Anatahan, Sarigan, Guguan, Alamagan, Agrigan, Asuncion, Maug, and Uracas are presented cartographically gives the impression of an unfinished task. As we know from Monmonier's (1996) work, it is possible to manipulate the map users minds with maps:

Naming can be a powerful weapon of the cartographic propagandist. Place-names, or toponyms [original italics], not only make anonymous locations significant elements of the cultural landscape but also offer strong suggestions about a region's character and ethnic allegiance. [S]killful propagandists have often altered map viewers' impressions of multi-ethnic cultural landscapes by suppressing the toponymic influence of one group and inflating that of another. (pp. 110-111).

Place names can be erased officially from maps for political reasons (Monmonier, 1996, p. 122). Alternatively, one may tacitly pass over unwelcome place names by way of never admitting them on the maps, in the first place. The maps of the above eight islands present them as instances of pristine islands in the sense of Nash (2013, p. 6-8), which are not invested with a history of their own, belong to no-one, and thus are there for the taking. Moreover, the almost complete absence of identifiers can also give rise to the idea that there simply is nothing worth naming in the first place; i.e.,

¹¹ The *toponomasticon* is the complete set and system of place names employed for GEOBJs in a given territory.

islands like Agrigan are indirectly depicted as economically worthless.

From the point of view of *Critical Toponymies* – the approach which evaluates place names critically by way of applying ideas of decolonization and postcolonial theory in a linguistically informed way (Vuolteenaho & Berg, 2009, 7–9) – the absence of identifiers from the maps of the Gåni-Islands, be they proper names or common nouns, is not only a case of unconscious neglect but also a more or less deliberate attempt on the part of an external power to silence the voices of the local communities which could otherwise manifest themselves in the shape of place names ideally connecting GEOBJs to a given culture – a connection which potentially entails issues in the domain of property rights (Johnson, 1969). It is not necessary to fully subscribe to this interpretation to understand that the time is ripe to finish the above cartographic task as long as it is still possible to retrieve the necessary information from those who possess it, namely the former inhabitants of the islands under inspection.

In what follows, we will put flesh on these ideas by way of focusing on Agrigan and its toponomasticon. We showcase Agrigan and its settlement history (Section 2) because we consider it to be representative of all Gåni-Islands whose maps have hitherto remained unlettered. To prove that the situation in the Northern Arc of the Mariana Islands is exceptional in global perspective, the Agrigan facts are compared to those which result from the toponomastic analysis of Bouvet-Island (henceforth Norwegian: Bouvet-Øya) in the South Atlantic (Section 3). In Section 4, we discuss the implications of our findings in relation to the discipline of place-name studies (aka toponomastics) and what the results might mean for the community of Northern Mariana Islanders. The conclusions are drawn in Section 5 where we also outline a possible follow-up to this study designed to answer the questions which arise from the discussion in Section 2–4. The theory and methodology on which we rely form part of the research program *Comparative Colonial Toponomastics (CoCoTOP)*, as outlined in Stolz & Warnke (2018). The principles will be disclosed, when necessary, in the

course of the subsequent discussion. For all cartographic matters, our reference is Imhof (1972). As to the science of names – onomastics – we will have ample occasion to refer inter alia to contributions to Hough’s (2016) handbook. Further references are given at the appropriate places. Many pieces of evidence that we need to support our line of argumentation do not stem from conventionally printed sources but have been extracted from a variety of internet resources, the reliability of which cannot always be determined exactly.¹² There is thus a certain margin for error.

Agrigan’s Historical Cartography and Demography

The Gāni-Island of our choice is Agrigan for two reasons.¹³ On the one hand, with some 47 km² it is the second largest landmass in the Northern Arc after Pagan; which, however, is not eligible for this study because of its relatively well-documented toponomasticon. Agrigan’s size is big enough to provide sufficient space for place-naming. On the other hand, we not only know from the introduction that at least in the 1950’s there were several villages on the islands; but we also have a dozen place names for which the GEOBJS and coordinates on Agrigan still need to be identified.

Like probably all of the islands in the Northern Arc, Agrigan was inhabited prior to the arrival of the Spaniards (Rogers, 1995, 47). In the aftermath of the Spanish conquest and the enforced resettlement of the inhabitants of the northerly islands on Guam, Agrigan – like its sister islands – remained uninhabited until the mid-19th century. We assume that whatever pre-conquest place names had existed (like *Sumarrago* on Agrigan) did not survive in the collective memory of the subjugated Chamorros until people were allowed again to set foot on the depopulated islands. Similarly, early Spanish place names (like *San León*

¹² We have not consulted maps of the Spanish era which lie dormant in the archives. Their evaluation is a task that needs to be tackled in the next phase of our project. The same holds for other archival documents to which we had no access at the time of writing this paper. It cannot be ruled out that similar unpublished sources exist for the German and Japanese periods. To determine the quantity and quality of these potential sources, a separate in-depth study is called for.

¹³ We lack any personal experience with Agrigan. What we argue in this paper in relation to the island is exclusively based on the extant literature and other second-hand sources.

on Agrigan) fell into oblivion when the population was deported for good at the turn of the 18th century (Stolz and Levkovyeh, 2020, p. 127). In the beginning of the resettlement process, the new inhabitants were Carolinian from central Micronesia; i.e., immigrants who had no knowledge about the prior Chamorro toponomasticon of the islands they went to. In other words, the toponomastic history of the majority of the Gni-islands was discontinued and had to start anew and from scratch when the days of the Spanish rule over the islands were counted already.

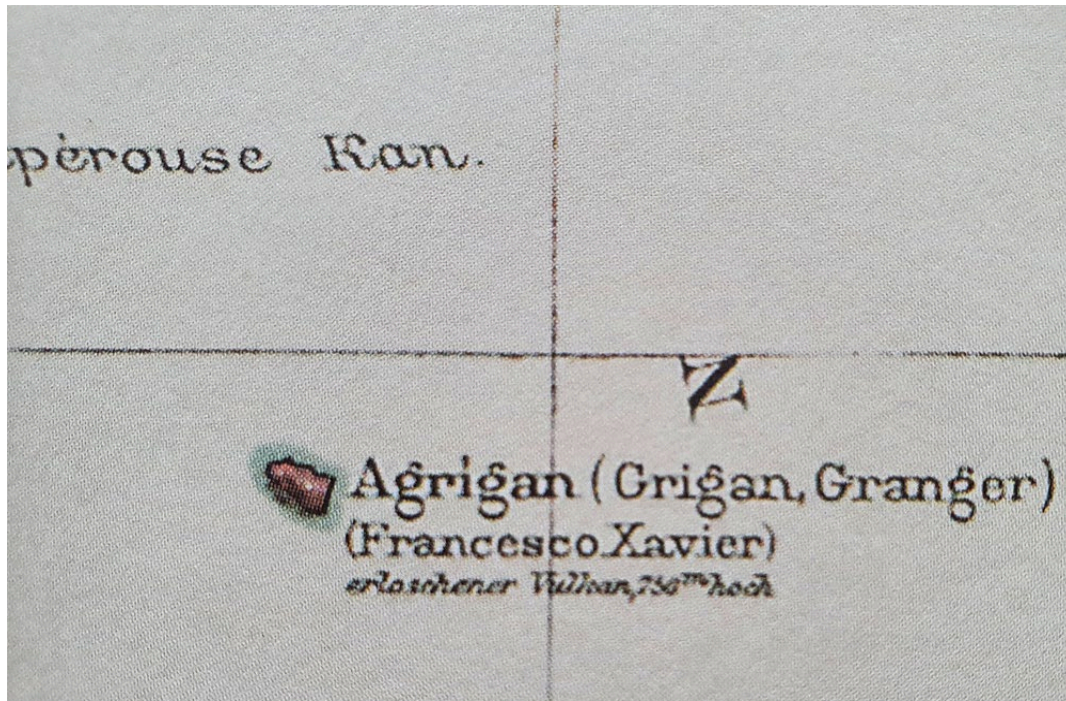
As late as the 1870's plantations were established also on Agrigan so that the workforce had to be housed there at least temporarily. For 1856, Hardach (1990, pp. 23-24) calculates 21 mostly Carolinian seasonal workers on Agrigan who would return to Saipan or Guam at the end of the season. In the report on his journey to the islands north of Saipan, Fritz (1902, p. 110) mentions the existence of a workers' settlement of fifteen huts near the Southwestern shore. The author does not provide a name for the settlement but summarizes the contents of a conversation with the local village elder ("Dorfschulze") and thus indirectly shows that the island boasted an internal administrative organization. Lehne & Gäbler (1972, p. 36) assume a population of 32-37 for Agrigan from 1900 to 1902, which at that time was the second largest population in the Northern Arc according to Fitzner (1903, p. 153). For 1900, Fitzner (1901, p. 86) assumes that 20 Chamorros and 17 Carolinians lived on the island. Another piece of evidence of human presence on Agrigan at the end of the German colonial regime is the following quote from Stern (1978) who, on the basis of a contemporary Japanese source, describes the volcanic eruption which caused the evacuation of a village in the Southeast of Agrigan:

The eruption began early in the morning of April 9, 1917, with a strong detonation followed by a column of black smoke. The eruption continued for 2 days, covering the village with deposits of ash and lapilli up to 3 meters thick. Blocks as large as a cubic meter were thrown from the caldera to the villages on the southern coast, 5 km away (p. 51).

The quote tells us two things: To begin, the author's wording suggests that there were several villages in the southern part of Agrigan at that time. This can be taken as indirect support for Johnson (1957) who postulated the existence of four villages forty years later. Secondly, for none of these villages are any place names given. However, if there were several settlements which were located at a distance of several kilometers from each other, it is sensible to assume that people distinguished the villages by name to prevent misunderstanding. Along this line of reasoning, *songsong* as a place name would be possible only once in the toponomasticon. The other villages must have borne distinct names of their own.

The fifteen years of German rule over the Marianas (1899-1914) have not left tangible traces in the local toponomasticon. At the end of the German period, in contrast to the abundance of German colonial place names (e.g., in Deutsch-Neuguinea – the northwest of today's Papua New Guinea; Muhlhausler, 2001, pp. 256-258) the map of Micronesia bore practically no evidence of the prior German presence. For the island under inspection, the already mentioned *Agrihan Ankerplatz* (with German *Ankerplatz* 'anchorage') is unique for two reasons: (a) it is the sole example of an identifier which involves a German component and (b) there is no other identifier for GEOBJS on Agrigan as of 1914. Map 1 shows how little was known by the Germans about the topography of Agrigan. There is only the island name *Agrihan* with three alternative names – *Grigan*, *Granger*, and *Francesco Xavier* – in brackets. In smaller script the information is added that there is a dormant and anonymous volcano with a height of 750 meters.

Given the small number of Germans who lived in the Marianas, which never exceeded sixteen residents (Hardach, 1990, pp. 101-102) - none of whom settled permanently outside of Saipan - the shortage of German colonial place names is hardly surprising. However, Agrigan was the home of groups of Chamorros and Carolinians. Hardach (1990, p. 106) reports that an unspecified number of Japanese counted among the inhabitants of the northerly islands, including Agrigan. Our sources keep



Map 1. German map of Agrigan (Sprigade & Moisel, 1909).

silent about the place names the members of these different ethnic groups might have used to refer to GEOBJS on Agrigan. However, this silence must not be taken as evidence of the non-existence of Chamorro and/or Carolinian and/or Japanese place names at the beginning of the Japanese League of Nations Mandate over Micronesia in 1919/20.

During the Japanese period, massive migration from Japan (not the least from Okinawa) affected the Marianas where the autochthonous population was outnumbered by the immigrants on some of the larger islands (Peattie, 1988, pp. 160-161). The former Japanese presence was still visible a quarter of a century after the end of World War II when Bryan (1971) offered a plethora of Japanese place names for GEOBJS, not only on Saipan, Tinian, and Rota, but also for Pagan – the four islands with the highest concentration of Japanese immigrants and military personnel. In 1935, when the demography of these islands clearly showed the rapid growth of the Japanese group, there were only two Japanese in a population of 88 on Agrigan. During the German period, the foreign colonizers exerted no effective control over the northerly islands whereas during the thirty years of Japanese rule, the grip of the ruling

power on the islands must have been much firmer so that it is likely that also Agrigan was charted for legal, fiscal, administrative, and military purposes. Otsuka (2018, p. 334) argues that place names were not an important factor in the assimilatory politics of imperial Japan. Otsuka's study focuses on island names but takes no account of the naming of GEObJS on Japanese controlled Micronesian islands. Otsuka (2018, p. 501) provides the Japanese place name Agurigan-shima, 'Agrigan Island', for Agrigan (cf. below). According to Peattie (1988, p. 173), the introduction of properly Japanese place names in Micronesia depended on the presence of larger groups of Japanese settlers. Since Agrigan attracted only a small number of Japanese individuals, this condition is not met.

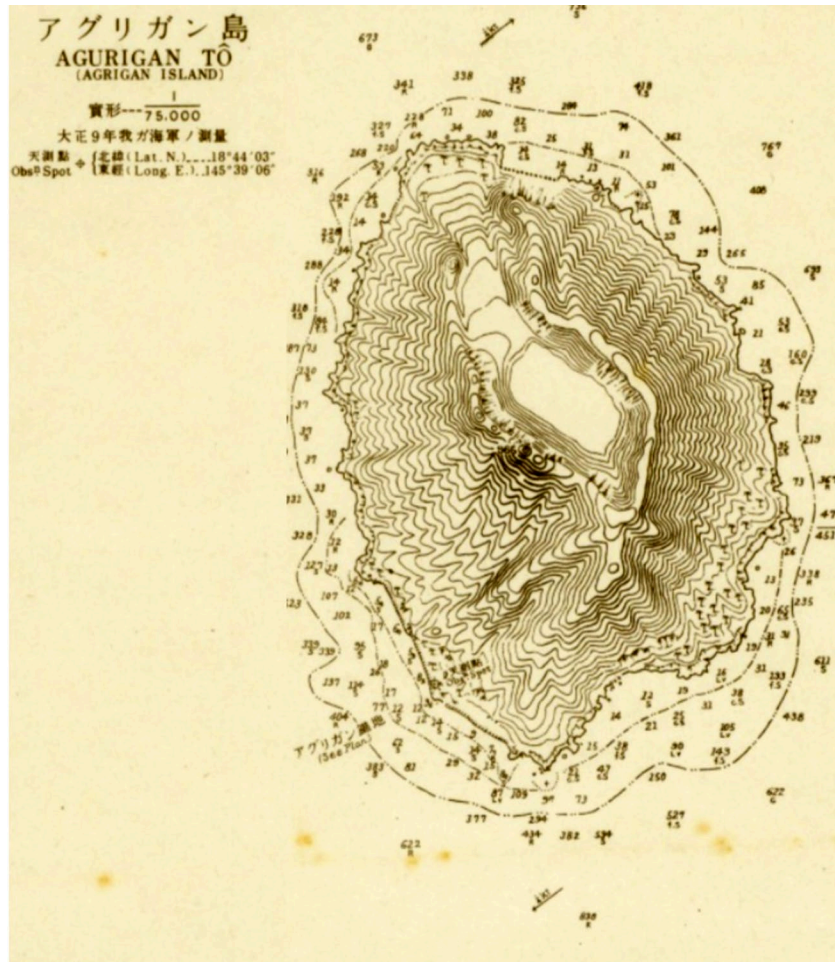
Yoo & Steckel (2016) report that:

[i]n Micronesia, the Japanese colonial government first identified the boundaries between public lands and private lands from 1923 to 1937. Then Japan identified owners and boundaries of private lands and made land registers in the Northern Mariana Islands from 1937 to 1939 and in Palau from 1939 to 1941 (p. 628).

The existence of a land registry suggests that the islands were charted meticulously, including their toponomasticon. According to Miller (2016)¹⁴, the bulk of the Japanese maps of the mandated territories in Micronesia were secret military maps (*Gaihōzu* maps), most of which were systematically destroyed in 1945 on orders of the Japanese High Command (Kobayashi, 2012, p. 25).¹⁵ Those maps which have escaped destruction are archived at the University of Tohoku. The archive also hosts a map of Agrigan (Tohoku University Library, 2005), which is our Map 2.

¹⁴ The edited volume dedicated to the history of Japanese cartography (Wigen et al., 2016) hosts several articles which focus on the colonial empire of Japan without, however, scrutinizing the situation on the mandated territories of Micronesia. It seems to us that there still is a chapter to write before Japan's cartography can be claimed to be described sufficiently in historical perspective.

¹⁵ According to Kobayashi (2012, p. 3), the category of *gaihozu* originally referred to maps of foreign (i.e., non-Japanese) countries and was not intended as secret.

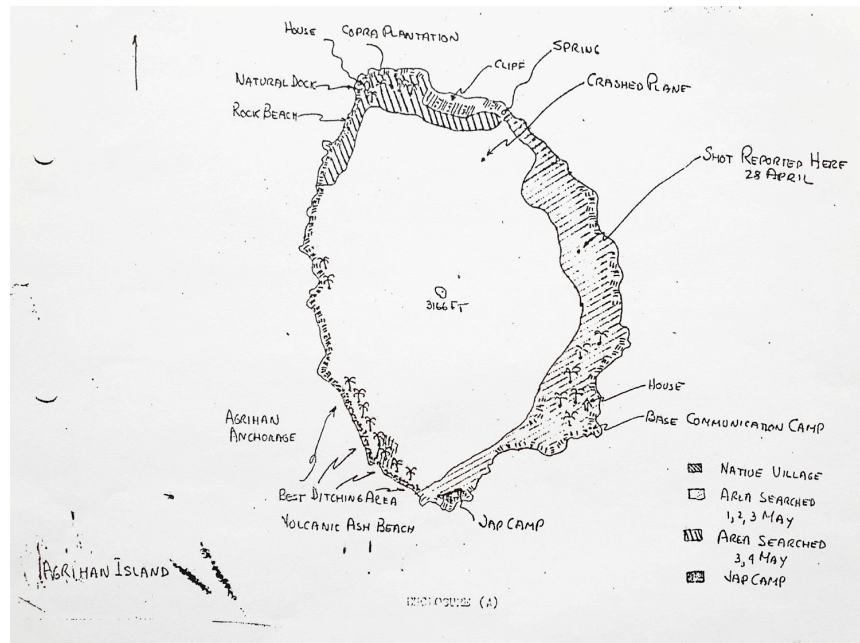


Map 2. Japanese map of Agrigan (Tohoku University Library, 2005).

Map 2 was produced in 1944 (Showa 19), but reflects the results of two cartographic explorations dating back to 1923 (Taisho 12), and 1932 (Shōwa 7). On this map, Agrigan is named *Agurigan-tô*, ‘Agrigan Island’, with *tô* (‘island’) in lieu of the synonymous *shima* (cf. above). Map 2 has bilingual lettering because the two cases of text in Japanese script (*agurigan buōchi*, ‘Agrigan Anchorage’, and *ten soku ten* ‘astronomical observation spot’), are accompanied by English expressions, namely the identifier, *Obs. Spot = Observation Spot*, and the bracketed instructions: *See Plan*. English is also used in the map names, for the sea depth and further meteorological information. Whether these

English elements and the reference to an unidentified plan are evidence of the existence of an earlier unknown American or British map which was simply adopted by the Japanese, as was practiced with European maps in other parts of the Japanese Empire, cannot be determined in this study (Kobayashi, 2012, p. 24-25). No place names are given on Map 2.

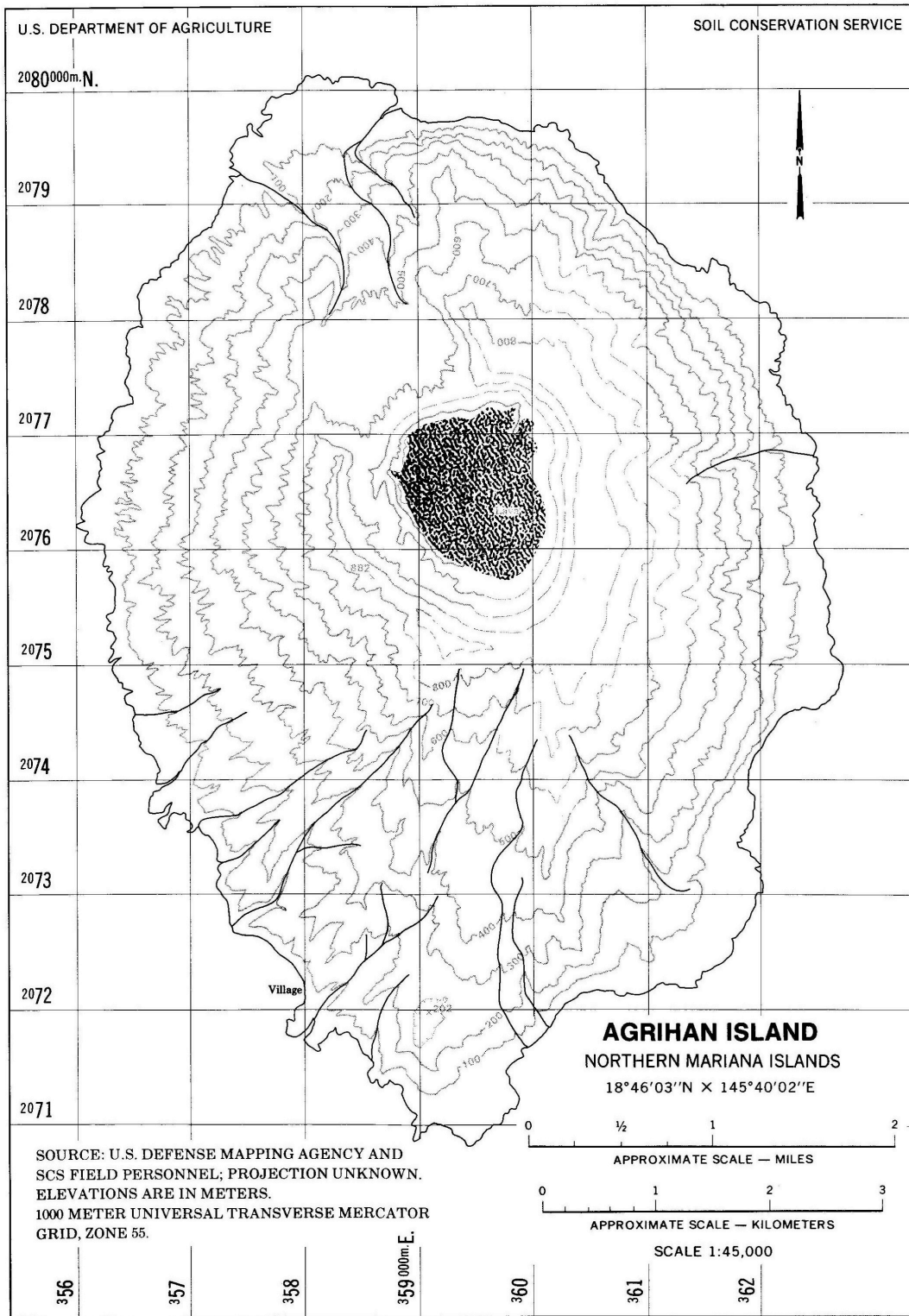
In the absence of further Japanese maps featuring Agrigan during the Mandate period, we have to make do with the U.S. Navy secret report on the *Agrihan Island Search and Rescue Expedition* of 7 May, 1945 (McAfee, 1945). This report is interesting for various reasons. In several paragraphs, the author mentions the native village and its inhabitants. Since the definite article is used, it can be assumed that there was only one village at that time. This village was located at 300 yards from *Agrihan Anchorage*. In contrast to the anchorage, the village is never identified by name – the usual reference being to the native village. Furthermore, a map of Agrigan accompanies the report which we reproduce as Map 3.



Map 3. Agrigan in 1945. (McAfee, 1945, p. 7).

Map 3 is hand-drawn and involves a number of identifiers. Besides the island names, Agrihan Island and Agrihan Anchorage, all other identifiers are common nouns or noun phrases. The site of the native village is marked graphically but the village remains anonymous since no place name is given. The map was meant as orientation for a military action on an unfamiliar island. This practical purpose explains why proper names do not show up on Map 3. At the same time, the presence of identifiers like volcanic ash beach, spring, cliff, copra plantation, natural dock, and rock beach is indicative of the presence of topographically salient GEOBJS which are potential targets for place-naming, meaning: The island's surface and coast display a differentiated structure whose components could be distinguished by way of individualizing them toponymically. The different GEOBJS thus were accessible to human perception as individual topographic entities.

The demographic statistics in Bryan (1971) suggest that in 1945 all inhabitants left Agrigan so that the population was down to zero. With 94 inhabitants, the demographic development peaked in 1967 only to diminish in subsequent years to 64 in 1969 and 56 in 1970. What happened after the evacuation of the islanders in 1990 is not entirely clear to the authors. Attempts at resettling Agrigan were undertaken in 2000 (with six inhabitants) and, after an interval of depopulation in 2010 following the evacuation of four remaining inhabitants on Agrigan, reported in the Pacific Islands Report of 22 September, 2009 (<https://www.pireport.org/articles/2009/09/22/evacuation-slows-northern-marianas>), and again in 2015 when nine individuals were reported to live in one of the original four villages (<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Agrihan>). No matter how changeful Agrigan's settlement history has been, especially during the last three decades, we conclude that human presence on the island was never suspended for long or for good. Guampedia (consulted last on 7 August, 2021) claims that, "the principal islands, together with Anatahan, Alamagan, and Agrihan, are



Map 4. Agrigan in 1986 (U.S. Department of Agriculture, 1986).

inhabited.”(https://www.guampedia.com/micronesia-portal/#Commonwealth_of_the_Northern_Marianas_CNMI)

The official U.S. Map of Agrigan (Map 4) appeared in print in 1986; i.e., exactly in the period of relatively strong human presence on the island before the evacuation in 1990. The 40-year interval between Maps 3 and 4 does not coincide with progress in the cartographic representation of Agrigan in terms of the number of identifiers on the maps. Where there still were about a dozen identifiers on Map 3, Map 4 lacks any evidence of identifiers except the singular occurrence of *village* (without accompanying a circle) in the Southeast corner of the island. In a way, we witness a step backwards because the more recent Map 4 conveys much less information than the older Map 3. Apart from the differences in the amount of lettering on the two maps, what we additionally observe is that the purely topographic representation of Agrigan on Map 4 is superior to that on Map 3 (but not better than that of Map 2). We take the higher degree of topographic precision of Map 4 to mean that it pictures more GEOBJS and thus more candidates for place-naming. In Section 3, we use comparative evidence from an island situated in a distant sector on the globe to show that Agrigan’s map does not have to remain as uninformative as it looks presently.

Two Islands Compared

Superficially, the absence of identifiers in general, and place names in particular, from Agrigan’s official map seems easy to explain. For the last 140 years, the population was never particularly numerous and the demography was characterized by a considerable degree of fluctuation. In addition to the small size of the population, human presence on the island was interrupted repeatedly, either because seasonal workers stayed only for limited periods of time or because the inhabitants were evacuated on account of war or natural catastrophes. After each

evacuation, the island lacked inhabitants for a number of years. We do not know whether the attempts at resettling the island always and exclusively involved former inhabitants of Agrigan. Moreover, we are ignorant as to the handing down of toponomastic knowledge from one generation of Agrigan islanders to the other. The picture is further diversified by two factors. At least at the turn of the 20th century, Chamorros and Carolinians formed almost equally numerous groups of inhabitants. Did they share a common toponomasticon for Agrigan? The (rapid) succession of Spanish, German, Japanese, and US American administrations might partly be responsible too for hampering the establishment of a stable toponomasticon. Accordingly, chances are that several short-lived sets of place names supplanted each other with every resettlement.

We doubt that this supposedly logical reasoning closes the case for us. We emphasize that even under the conditions sketched in the foregoing paragraph, Agrigan's map need not be unlettered. None of the above criteria precludes the possibility of place-naming. To prove our point, we first take a closer look at a different island – Bouvet-Øya – which boasts a relatively rich toponomasticon, although the conditions for place-naming are much worse than those in the case of Agrigan. The insights we gain from this short case study are used for a re-reading of Agrigan's map in the section following our Bouvet-Øya discussion.

Bouvet-Øya. To make the most of the different historical and environmental differences that distinguish Agrigan from its partner in comparison, we have chosen Bouvet-Øya – a geographically very isolated island in the South Atlantic. The island was discovered by the Frenchman Jean-Baptiste Bouvet de Lozier in 1739. During the 19th and early 20th century, British, American, and more regularly - Norwegian whalers - used to stop by. Since 1930, the island has been a Norwegian possession – annexed already in 1928 by royal decree to counter imminent British and German claims to the island (Headland, 2009, p. 285). With 49 km², it is approximately the same size as Agrigan. Except for the hibernation

of an expedition in the 1970's, the island has never experienced an extended period of human presence because the climatic conditions are unfavorable for permanent settlement. Nine-tenths of the landmass is covered by glaciers. The vegetation is limited. The steep coastline renders access extremely difficult (Sømme 2007).

Map 5 is a cartographic representation of Bouvet-Øya as of 1985.¹⁶ What strikes the eye immediately is the amount of lettering on this map. According to the official count of the *Norsk Polar Institut* (<https://placenames.npolar.no/?sort=beginLifespanVersion&area=Bouvetøya>), there are 59 official place names to which another 92 historical place names can be added. It is important to note that all of the 151 items belong to the class of *place names* since no other type of identifier is represented on Map V. The bulk of the place names (made official in the 1980's) involve elements taken from Nynorsk, the second official language of Norway beside the dominant Bokmål (Faarlund et al., 2012, pp. 1–3). Since the island is uninhabitable, settlement names do not form part of Bouvet-Øya's toponomasticon. In contrast, members of other classes of GEOBJs, as a rule, are named. This applies for instance to the numerous small islands and rocks which surround Bouvet-Øya, such as *Skarven* 'Cormorant'¹⁷ – a rock off the north-western shore of the island. In the remainder of this section, we exclusively discuss toponomastic data related to the main island of Bouvet-Øya because Agrigan boasts no satellite islands.

To our minds, investigating the toponomasticon of Bouvet-Øya can be instructive for the toponomastic development of Agrigan in the future.

¹⁶ The maps of the island under scrutiny have experienced changes over time, as a comparison of Map 5 with that of Baker (1967, p. 75) reveals. This means that the success of the cartography of Bouvet-Øya depends on the progress that the exploration of the less accessible parts of the island is making.

¹⁷ The vast majority of the Norwegian place names on Bouvet-Øya bear the suffixed definite article: Singular *-en* (common gender), *-a* (feminine), *-et* (neuter) and plural *-ne* (common gender), *-a* (neuter) (Faarlund et al., 2012, p. 173). Thus, used as a common noun, *skarven* would be definite and require to be translated as 'the cormorant' into English. For the Norwegian place names to be discussed in this paper, we provide English translations without definite article.

of these uncertain cases, we suggest possible interpretations in the endnotes. Boldface highlights those constituents of place names which are identical with a personal name.

1. Place names on Map V (Bouvet-Øya, main island)

- a. BAY (vik: 'bay'): *Bollevika* 'Dumpling Bay';
- b. BEACHES (kyst 'coast', *strand* 'beach', *terrasse* 'terrace'):
Esmarchkysten 'Esmarch Coast', ***Morgenstiernekysten***
'Morgenstierne Coast'¹⁸, ***Mowinckelkysten*** 'Mowinckel Coast',
Selstranda 'Seal Beach', *Sjæelefantstranda* 'Sea Elephant Beach',
Smalstranda 'Narrow Beach', *Svartstranda* 'Black Beach', ***Victoria***
Terrasse 'Victoria Terrace', ***Vogtkysten*** 'Vogt Coast',
Westwindstranda 'Westwind Beach';
- c. CAPES (*kapp* 'cape', *odde* 'point', *støtte* 'pillar'): ***Catoodden***¹⁹ 'Cato Point', *Kapp Circoncision* 'Cape Circoncision', ***Gjest Baardenstøtta*** 'Gjest Baarden Statue', *Kapp Fie* 'Cape Sophie', ***Kapp Lollo*** 'Cape Lollo', *Kapp Meteor* 'Cape Meteor', *Kapp Valdivia* 'Cape Valdivia', *Norvegiaodden* 'Norvegia Point', ***Ole Høllandstøtta*** 'Ole Hølland Statue', *Selodden* 'Seal Point';
- d. CLIFFS (*kolle* 'hill', *stup* 'jump'): *Eimstupet* 'Vapour Fjell', *Mokollen* 'Heather Hill';
- e. GLACIERS (*bre* 'glacier', *is* 'ice'): ***Aargaardbreen*** 'Aargaard Glacier', ***Christensenbreen*** 'Christensen Glacier', ***Engelbrechtbreen***²⁰ 'Engelbrecht Glacier', ***Horntvedtbreen*** 'Horntvedt Glacier',

²⁴ We assume that this section of the coastline was named in honour of Wilhelm Thorleif Munthe Morgenstierne (1887–1963), a famous Norwegian diplomat.

¹⁹ This place name was probably meant to commemorate the Norwegian mathematician, chemist, and physician Cato Maximilian Guldberg (1836–1902).

²⁰ We assume that the name of the glacier *Engelbrechtsbreen* contains the second name of Roald Engelbrecht Gravning Amundsen (1872–1928), the Norwegian explorer who reached the South Pole in 1911.

Kraterisen ‘Crater Ice’, *Posadowskybreen* ‘Posadowsky Glacier’,
Randbreen ‘Brink Glacier’;

- f. LAKE (*bad* ,bath’): *Selbadet* ‘Seal’s Bath’;
- g. MOUNTAINS (*hall* ‘slope’, *hamar* ‘hammer’, *knaus* ‘rock’, *nut* ‘peak’,
rygg ‘back, ridge’, *topp* ‘peak’): *Keisarryggen* ‘Kaiser’s Ridge’,
Lykketoppen ‘Good Fortune Peak’, *Mosbytoppane* ‘Mosby Peaks’,
Moseryggen ‘Moss Ridge’, *Nyknausen* ‘New Rock’, *Olavtoppen*²¹
‘Olav Peak’, *Randtoppen* ‘Brink Peak’, *Rustadkollen* ‘Rustad Hill’,
Skoddenuten ‘Fog Peak’, *Slakhallet* ‘Gentle Slope’, *Svarthamaren*
‘Black Hammer’, *Wilhelmplatået* ‘Wilhelm Plateau’;
- h. PASSES (*port* ‘gate,’ *sund* ‘sound’): *Djevleporten* ‘Devil’s Gate’,
*Mottesundet*²² ‘Motte Sound’;
- i. SCREE (*ras* [plural *røs*] ‘scree’): *Nyrøsa* ‘New Scree’.

There are altogether 46 place names which distribute over nine classes of GEOBJs. With 23 place names, the GEOBJ-classes (a), (b), (c), and (h) cover 50% of the inventory in the place name list for Map V. What these classes have in common is their connection to maritime GEOBJs. The biggest turnout for a single ontological class is that of (g) MOUNTAINS with a dozen place names. The ontological class (e) GLACIERS contains seven cases. There is nothing comparable to glaciers on Agrigan but the bulk of the ontological classes found on Bouvet-Øya are also represented by GEOBJs on Agrigan. If it is possible to name members of these ontological classes on one island, nothing prevents people from also naming similar GEOBJs on the other island. We take up this issue again below when we take a “fresh look at Agrigan’s map.”

²¹ It is most likely that the highest mountain on Bouvet-Øya was baptized after King Olav V of Norway who ruled from 1957-1991.

²² The constituent *Motte* can probably be connected to Norwegian *motte* ‘hill’ (an alternative form of *møtte* ‘hill’) which is also attested as place name *Motten* about 120 km to the west of Oslo in Norway.

In the remainder of this section, however, we address the patterns which come to the fore when we analyze the place names as to their formal properties and the connotations they invoke. This is necessary to unmask the basically colonial character of the toponomasticon of Bouvet-Øya – a property which bars the replication and adaptation of the Norwegian patterns in the case of Agrigan. In purely structural terms, the place names in (1.) display a binary structure, i.e. they have the shape of compounds which consist of two meaningful constituents. There are three different patterns. The internal structure of Pattern I involves adjectival attribution of a head noun as in *Nyrøsa* ‘New Scree’, *Slakhallet* ‘Gentle Slope’, *Smalstranda* ‘Narrow Beach’, *Svarthamaren* ‘Black Hammer’, *Svartstranda* ‘Black Beach’, with the adjectives *ny* ‘new’, *slak* ‘gentle’, *smal* ‘narrow’, and *svart* ‘black.’ The place names are descriptive in the sense that they highlight a particular (not always physical) feature of the GEOBJ. Patterns II–III are more interesting for the topic at hand. In these patterns, two nouns combine in a modifier-head construction. Two orders of modifier and head are realized, namely (a) HEAD > MODIFIER as in *Kapp Meteor* ‘Cape Meteor’ (i.e., Pattern II with five place names) and (b) MODIFIER > HEAD as in *Djevleporten* ‘Devil’s Gate’ (i.e., Pattern III with 36 cases). In what follows we focus on Patterns II–III.

Structurally, there is nothing remarkable about Pattern III because it conforms nicely to the morphological requirements of compounding in Norwegian (Faarlund et al., 2012, pp. 61–62). Pattern II falls outside the domain of word-formation. It is best described in terms of apposition (Faarlund et al., 2012, pp. 270–274). What makes them special is that the toponomasticon of Bouvet-Øya is dominated by these patterns whereas in Norway there is more competition between different toponymic patterns including numerous simplexes like the names of cities; e.g. *Hamar*, *Moss*, *Drammen*, *Horten*, *Halden*, etc. in the vicinity of the Norwegian capital Oslo. This pronounced preference for the binary place-name patterns is so widely common in colonial place-naming, as shown in Stolz & Warnke (2018, p. 28), that the authors postulate the *Canonical Colonial Toponym (CCT)*. What makes the CCT is by no means

its binary structure alone, but the mapping of the two constituents (stems or words) onto different meaning-related categories and discourse functions. The strong colonial tinge of the toponomasticon of Bouvet-Øya is striking because the nature of the island is such that there is nothing (and also nobody) to colonize in the first place.

The oldest place name on Bouvet-Øya is *Kapp Circumcision* (originally French *Cap de la Circumcision*) which commemorates the day of the first sighting of Bouvet-Øya by Jean-Baptiste Bouvet de Lozier on 1st January, 1739 (Delépine, 2007, p. 175). This place name is in line with the practice especially of the Catholic colonizer nations to name newly discovered places according to the religious calendar of their faith. However, the colonial character of many of the place names shown in list 1. *Place names on Map V*, can best be demonstrated on the basis of an analysis of those cases which involve a modifier which is itself a name. European colonizers have often used the names of ships to coin colonial toponyms as observed by Levkovych (2018, p. 202) for the Russian case. There are several examples of this practice in this list of place names. *Kapp Meteor* is named after the ship *Meteor* which visited Bouvet-Øya on occasion of the German Atlantic Expedition in 1926. *Kapp Valdivia* is named after the ship *Valdivia* which participated in the German expedition in 1898 (Sømme, 2007, p. 177). *Norvegiaodden* 'Norvegia Point' relates to the ship *Norvegia* which visited Bouvet-Øya repeatedly from 1927 onwards.

More important are place names which – like the above case of *Mount Fritz* – involve a personal name as constituent which honors a representative of the colonizer's culture, history, ruling dynasty, etc. (Stolz & Warnke, 2019). This practice can be found abundantly in the toponomasticons of all European colonizers (Stolz et al., 2016) although there are differences as to which GEOBJs are allowed to bear a name of this kind (Stolz et al., 2019). To keep the presentation within reasonable bounds, we only mention the uncontroversial cases for Bouvet-Øya in

the following paragraphs. Unclear cases are addressed in the notes to the list of place names on Map V.

The political class of Norwegians is represented by the following four cases:

1. ***Aargaardbreen*** 'Aargaard Glacier': Bjarne Aagaard (1873–1956) was a renowned Norwegian historian of the Arctic.
2. ***Esmarchkysten*** 'Esmarch Coast': August Esmarch worked in the Norwegian ministry of foreign affairs from 1922–1935.
3. ***Mowinckelkysten*** 'Mowinckel Coast': The shipowner Johan Ludwig Mowinckel (1870–1943) served three times as Prime Minister of Norway.
4. ***Vogtkysten*** 'Vogt Coast': Benjamin Vogt (1863–1947) was a Norwegian diplomat and politician.

There is a heavy dose of autoreferential place-naming in the sense that participants of the first expedition of the *Norvegia* and their family relations are commemorated:

1. ***Christensenbreen*** 'Christensen Glacier': The *Norvegia*-expedition was financed by the whaler Lars Christensen (Norman, 2007).
2. ***Horntvedtbreen*** 'Horntvedt Glacier': The captain of the *Norvegia* was Harald Horntvedt.
3. ***Kapp Fie*** 'Cape Sophie': *Kapp Fie* was named to honour Sophie Christensen called Fie, the daughter of Lars Christensen.

4. ***Mosbytoppane*** ‘Mosby Peaks’: The meteorologist Håkon Mosby participated in the 1927 expedition on the *Norvegia*.
5. ***Rustadkollen*** ‘Rustad Hill’: The biologist Ditlef Rustad participated in the 1927 expedition on the *Norvegia*.

Furthermore, two national heroes of Norway are also inscribed into the toponomasticon of the island: ***Gjest Baardenstøtta***, ‘Gjest Baarden Statue’, and ***Ole Høllandstøtta***, ‘Ole Hølland Statue’. Gjest Baarden and Ole Hølland were famous and popular criminals in 19th century Norway. They were held in high esteem also in Norwegian folklore (Ranie, 1937). The existence of a statue of Gjest Baarden in Sogndal (Norway) called *Gjest Baardenstøtta* (‘Gjest Baarden Statue’) needs to be mentioned. As far as we know there is no *Ole Høllandstøtta* ‘Ole Hølland Statue’ in Norway. We assume that one of the rock formations observed by the explorers reminded them of the statue dedicated to Gjest Baarden in their native Norway. The second rock formation resembled a statue and thus was baptized in analogy to the first GEOBJ after a similarly famous Robin-Hood-like character of the Norwegian national narrative.

In the case of ***Victoria Terrasse***, ‘Victoria Terrace’, the human reference is also indirect. The building complex, *Victoria Terrasse*, was built in Oslo, the Norwegian capital in the 1880’s. It seems that the place name on Bouvet-Øya owes its origin to the building complex which housed political offices and the police. The building complex was probably named after Victoria von Baden, princess of Sweden and Norway in the late 19th century.

Beside these many associations with Norway, there are also place names that have a German connection. In addition to *Kapp Meteor* and *Kapp Valdivia* mentioned above, there is also ***Wilhelmplatået***, ‘Wilhelm Plateau’, which is named after the last German Emperor, Wilhelm II. As to ***Posadowskybreen*** ‘Posadowsky Glacier’, the honored personality is

Arthur von Posadowsky-Wehner, the minister of the interior of the German Empire and a political supporter of the German 1902 expedition. Both place names were introduced by participants of German expeditions to the (Peri-)Antarctic zone. The survival of these non-Norwegian place names into the present is remarkable insofar as they link the island to a potential rival colonizer who later on became a foe when German troops occupied Norway for four years during World War II. This experience has not affected the acceptability of the place names of German origin as integral parts of Bouvet-Øya's toponomasticon. In light of the wholesale erasure of German (-sounding) place names over a long period of time, the equally deserted²³ French insular possession Kerguelen (southern Indian Ocean) in 1915 (Delépin, 1973, p. 9), it is worth noting the Norwegian tolerance. The different reactions of Norway and France to the hostility on the part of Germany is indicative of the essentially political nature of colonial place-naming.

The use of personal names as constituents of place names is not completely unknown in the toponomasticon of Norway. However, it is strikingly infrequent. Of the 32 names of Norwegian urban centers only three (approximately 9%) conform to the pattern which otherwise is so common on Bouvet-Øya (approximately 39%). These are *Frederikstad*, *Kristiansund*, and *Kristiansand*, which commemorate the Danish-Norwegian kings, Frederik II, Christian IV, and Christian VI, respectively. The pattern is unattested for the naming of mountains. Amongst the many names of fjords, the pattern is attested more than once. It is telling, however, that it occurs only on Svalbard, the major Arctic island possession of Norway. There we find, for example, *Magdalenefjorden* (Biblical reference), *Dicksonfjorden* (named after Swedish Baron Oscar Dickson), and *Ekmanfjorden* (named after Johan Oscar Ekman, a Swedish business-man). The situation is similar in the case of the Norwegian island Jan Mayen in the North Atlantic (Stolz & Levkovych, 2020, pp. 128–129). This geographic restriction supports our hypothesis of the

²³ Headland (2009, p. 20) argues that since 1951 Kerguelen has been occupied permanently when a scientific station was established at Port-aux-Français.

strong connection of the pattern to colonialism no matter that the Norwegian dependencies do not constitute typical cases of colonization. Qualitatively, the pattern is an option in the entire Norwegian sphere but quantitatively, the pattern is typical only of the dependent territories which do not form part of the Norwegian mainland.

The above practice of place-naming was mostly applied in (previously) uninhabited external territories of the Norwegian kingdom. The Norwegians did not have to deal with an already established toponomasticon or a local population with its own traditions of place-naming. Bouvet-Øya – like all other Norwegian possessions in the polar zones – is a case of a pristine open space which could freely be segmented into parts by way of place-naming. The Agrigan case is different – and this difference calls for a different approach to place-naming.

A Fresh Look at Agrigan's map

The foregoing section has taught us two lessons. First, Bouvet-Øya's toponomasticon clearly shows that GEOBJS can have names even in the absence of a permanent population. Secondly, the same toponomasticon reveals that a territory for which no prior place names existed may easily fall victim to colonial place-naming practices. In this section, we address both issues, starting with the potential that Agrigan's topography holds in store for future activities in the domain of place naming (i.e., the section: **Salient GEOBJS**). Subsequently, we discuss possible ways to avoid colonizing the island by way of applying inadequate methods of naming.

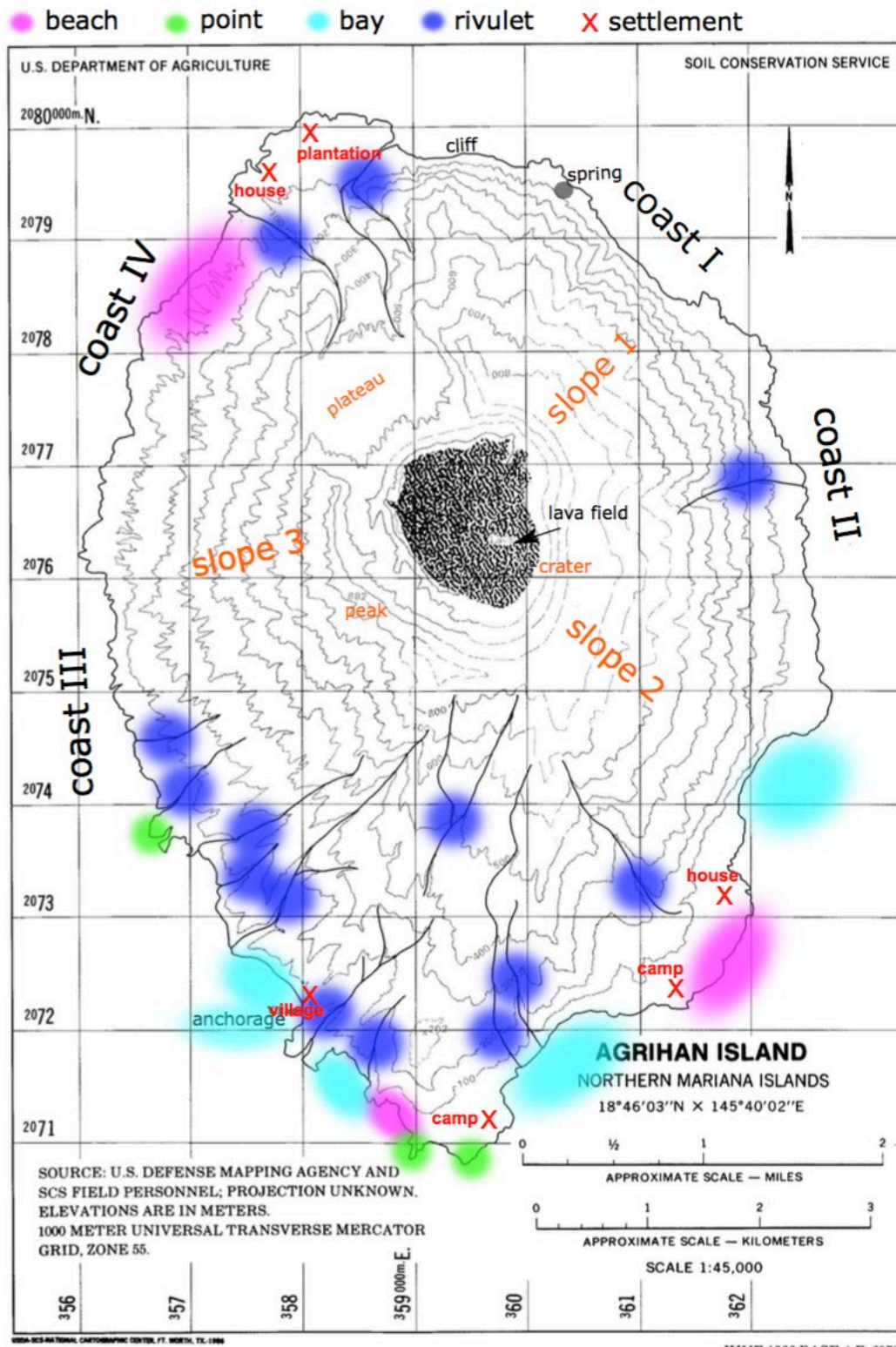
Salient GEOBJS. On the basis of Map 3 it is possible to identify a number of GEOBJS which might deserve to bear names. We take account of these cases on Map 6 which is a modified version of Map 4.

On Map 6 we mark out those GEOBJs which can be made out on Map 4. Our provisional count yields 44 salient GEOBJs including those represented by identifiers on Map 3. It is possible that we misjudge the topography of the island because of the quality of the cartographic representation. Even if we are mistaken in some of the cases, it is nevertheless evident that Agrigan can compete with Bouvet-Øya as to the richness of the topography.

These Agrigan GEOBJs (presumably) belong to several ontological classes. Five of these are shared with Bouvet-Øya. The shared categories are as follows:

1. BAYS for which we identify five different sites including the anchorage,
2. BEACHES (including sections of the coast-line) with seven GEOBJs,
3. CAPES with three points or promontories,
4. CLIFFS with a single GEOBJ,
5. MOUNTAINS with three slopes, a peak, a crater, and a plateau.

Furthermore, there are several controversial cases. On the one hand, problems arise with the interpretation of the thin curvy lines on Agrigan's map which start on the higher levels to reach the sea (in two cases the lines end abruptly at a distance from the shore). We face either the representation of crevices or rivulets. In the latter case, there would be 14 instances of stretches of running water (to which two tributaries have to be added). For the sake of the argument, we opt for this interpretation. These rivulets can be lumped together with the single case of standing water, viz. the spring identified on Map III. Since Bouvet-Øya also hosts a GEOBJ of this kind (i.e. the lake *Selbadet*, 'Seal's Bath'), both islands can be said to share a sixth ontological class, namely that of RUNNING/STANDING (SURFACE) WATER – in toponomastic parlance the place names used for GEOBJs of this class are called hydronyms (Strandberg, 2016, p. 105).



Map VI. GEOBJS on Agrigan.

Analogously, it is possible to unite Bouvet-Øya's category SCREE with Agrigan's category LAVA FIELD because in both cases the GEOBJ is the result of volcanic eruptions. Note, however, that except for *Nyrøsa*, none of the lava and scree fields on Bouvet-Øya bears a name (Baker, 1967, pp. 74–78). Given that the unification of SCREE and LAVA FIELD under a common umbrella category makes sense, the number of shared ontological classes rises to seven.

This leaves only three ontological classes which are unique to only one of two islands. As mentioned above, there is no equivalent of Bouvet-Øya's many glaciers on Agrigan so that the Norwegian island has the monopoly of GLACIERS. It also holds the monopoly for the ontological class of PASSES since Agrigan lacks offshore islands and thus no straits exist. In contrast, Agrigan differs from Bouvet-Øya in the sense that the island in the Northern Marianas alone gives evidence of the ontological class SETTLEMENTS. Map 3 features a village (also mentioned on Map 4), two houses, two camps, and a plantation.

Even if some of the GEOBJs for which Maps 3–4 provide identifiers have disappeared in the meantime, the general picture does not change much. Agrigan's topography is favorable to place-naming on a par with that of Bouvet-Øya. Since the latter island has induced people to coin numerous place names, there is no reason why Agrigan should not have the same effect - not the least because, in stark contrast to its Norwegian counter-part, not all of Agrigan's toponymy would have to be created out of nothing.

Place-name candidatures. The *Canonical Colonial Toponym* (CCT) is only infrequently attested in the Northern Marianas. There is the island name *Farallon de Medinilla*, 'Medinilla's Rock,' which is entirely Spanish. It involves the head *farallón* 'rock' and the prepositional phrase *de Medinilla* 'of Medinilla' as genitival attribute. The complement of the preposition *de* 'of' is a proper name, namely that of Don Jose de Medinilla y Pifeda who was the Spanish governor of the Marianas from 1812 to

1822. A more recent example is *Koblerville* on Saipan which arose on the former *Kobler Airfield* named in commemoration of US bomber pilot Lt. Wayne F. Kobler, who was killed in an air-raid in 1944 on Tinian. The pattern is thus known in the Northern Marianas but by no means the first option in place-naming. In both cases, the place names honor representatives of an external dominator. What is more, the internal structure of the two place names obeys the rules of Spanish and English, respectively. Thus, both *Farallon de Medinilla* and *Koblerville* are modelled on foreign patterns.²⁴

A look at the Agrigan place names reported in Johnson (1957) suggests, however, that it is unnecessary to replicate these or other foreign patterns in order to redraw the map. In the section below, we list Johnson's finds in alphabetical order. We comment on each of the twelve place names subsequently.

Place names on Agrigan according to Johnson (1957): *As Biha, As Mahalang, As Peligro, Chapanis, Goneg, Lancho Talo, Nonag, Pahong, Quiroga, Santa Cruz, Songsong, Talak Katan.* From the earlier discussion of the comparative data in, we know that Bouvet-Øya's place names generally reflect the binary structure of the CCT. This is different in the Agrigan case. Only half of the place names for Agrigan consist of two words, namely *As Biha, As Mahalang, As Peligro, Lancho Talo, Santa Cruz,* and *Talak Katan.* Their binary structure can be taken for granted. However, the remaining six place names consist of only one word, namely *Chapanis, Goneg, Nonag, Pahong, Quiroga,* and *Songsong.* Moreover, none of these one-word place names is a compound. Each

²⁴ The pattern [*Farallón de X*] is attested frequently in the Spanish-speaking world as, e.g. *Farallón de San Ignacio* 'San Ignacio's Rock', for a small island in the Gulf of California (Mexico). City names which involve the head, *-ville* (originally French *ville* 'town'), can be found for instance, in many states of the USA, as e.g. *Jacksonville* (Florida).

place name of this kind involves only one stem. Since a second stem is absent, the binary structure fails to apply. This means that the Agrigan toponomasticon as of 1957 was more diversified formally than its structurally rather monotonous Norwegian counter-part.

The two toponomasticons differ also with regards to the languages which contribute to them. In the case of Bouvet-Øya, all of the place names have a European background since they exclusively comprise elements which stem from Norwegian (Bokmål or Nynorsk) with the occasional addition of French or German material. Agrigan, however, gives evidence of a majority of elements which can be traced back to Austronesian languages. Only two of the place names in (2) look definitely Spanish and call for closer inspection.

Quiroga. This place name is a simplex, i.e. it does not conform to the CCT. It is especially intriguing because it (most probably) refers to Don José de Quiroga y Lozada who was responsible for the Spanish military conquest of the Mariana Islands where he served from 1679 to 1720 and left “an indelible negative imprint” in the history of the islands (Driver, 1992, p. 98). It is worth noting that the name of the person who was instrumental in the blood-stained subjugation of the Chamorro population is granted a place on Agrigan’s map, the island which held out particularly long in the struggle against the Spaniards.

Santa Cruz. Superficially, this place name can be mistaken for that of a Catholic parish like *San Roque* on Saipan, for instance. This was our interpretation of *Santa Cruz* (‘Holy Cross’) in Stolz & Levkovych (2020, p. 130). The place name *Santa Cruz* is attested in many parts of the former Spanish Colonial Empire such as *Santa Cruz* in California. However, in the light of the above case of *Quiroga*, it is more likely that we are facing again a historical reference to a military exponent of the Spanish forces of conquest, namely Philippine-born Captain Juan de Santa Cruz, a Pampango soldier

from Indang, Cavite (de Viana, 2005, p. 1). The Barrio Santa Cruz (Hagåtña, Guam) was the home of many Pampango soldiers and their descendants in the 18th century (Goetzfridt, 2011, p. 319).

Their formal properties notwithstanding, the two place names are in line with the CCT insofar as representatives of a former colonizer are commemorated. As to the connotations they invoke, *Quiroga* and *Santa Cruz* fit in with other place names of Spanish origin on Saipan which refer to the conquest. According to Cloud et al. (1956, p. 4), in 1694 Quiroga had subjugated the natives of Saipan in a series of bloody skirmishes from which, it is said by local elders, several of the present geographic names on Saipan are derived (*Matansa*, for massacre, and *Kalabera* for skeleton).

Two questions remain in connection to *Quiroga* and *Santa Cruz*. Given that the island remained deserted for most of the Spanish period, it is doubtful that the names were actually imposed by the Spanish colonial authorities to survive into the 20th century. Since Maps 1-4 mention neither Quiroga nor Santa Cruz (nor any other place name for that matter), do we have to assume that they were introduced only after World War II? Who introduced the names, and when? In the light of the cases of colonial place names which survived decolonization in Africa (Stolz & Warnke, 2016), the belated commemoration of two colonial conquerors about half a century after Spain sold out its Micronesian possessions is especially remarkable, not the least with regards to the issue of community identity to be raised in Section 4. Owing to the temporary inaccessibility of Johnson (1957), the identification of the GEOBJs which are named after the Spanish conquerors poses the second problem. We assume that the names constitute a pair in the sense that they were used to name GEOBJs of the same ontological class. We assume

that the names were given to the crater and the nearby peak as the two most salient GEOBJs on the island.²⁵

For the majority of the Agrigan place names noted above, it is possible to establish a direct or indirect Chamorro etymology albeit not always a straightforward one. In the introduction, we have already addressed the case of *Songsong* ‘Village’. On the basis of what we know about the location of a/the native village in the vicinity of the anchorage in the island’s southwestern sector, it can be safely assumed that *Songsong* is the name of Agrigan’s principal settlement. *Chapanis* ‘Japanese’ corresponds to Chamorro *Chapanes* and *Hapones* (Topping et al., 1975, p. 39), the former reflecting an English origin (*Japanese*) of the adjectival ethnonym because of the initial affricate and the latter pointing to Spanish (*japonés* ‘Japanese’) because of the initial fricative. This place name probably referred to the site of the Japanese camp identified on Map 3.

Chung (2020, p. 96) describes a typical morphosyntactic construction of Chamorro as follows:

[A]s combines with names of people to produce locative noun phrases that mean ‘at (the person’s) home’ or ‘at (the person’s) place’. Some of these locative noun phrases have been conventionalized as place names.

In these constructions, *as*, the definite oblique case marker of personal names, has become an integrated part of the place name. Whatever follows immediately after *as* must be the name of a person – be it a Christian name, a family name, a nickname, or a name-like form of address for family relations. Accordingly, *Biha*, *Mahalang*, and *Peligro* in *As Biha*, *As Mahalang*, and *As Peligro* must be personal names. As a

²⁵ Interestingly, the cases of the (potential) mountain names Quiroga and Santa Cruz form a parallel to that of the probably only fictitious mountain name Mount Fritz mentioned above.

common noun, Spanish *peligro* means danger (= Chamorro *piligru*). As a proper name, *Peligro* is overwhelmingly attested in the Philippines (<https://forebears.io/surnames/peligro>) whereas we have not been able to find any evidence of it in the CNMI and Guam. We conclude that *As Peligro* ‘At Peligro’s Place’ refers to a location that was owned by, lived in by, or associated with an individual or groups of people of Philippine ancestry with the family name *Peligro*. The Philippine connection induces us to revise our own interpretation of *As Mahalang* in Stolz & Levkovych (2020, p. 130) where we assumed Chamorro *mahalang* ‘homesick’ to be involved in the formation of the place name. It is more plausible, however, to seek the origin of the proper name in the Philippines. In the province Negros Occidental (Visayas), there is a subdistrict going by the name of *Mahalang*. Personal names frequently “appear as inhabitant names or ethnonyms” (Lawson 2016, p. 173) in many personal naming systems worldwide. Therefore, it is very likely that *As Mahalang* ‘At Mahalang’s Place’ identifies the location which was associated with the presence of people with genealogical ties to the said subdistrict in the Philippines. As in the case of *Peligro*, our search for the proper name *Mahalang* in the Marianas was in vain. As to *As Biha*, the equation proper name *Biha* = Chamorro common noun *biha* ‘old lady’ (in Spanish *vieja* is the feminine form of ‘old’), is appealing to us although there is no Christian name or family name of this kind. *Biha* must therefore be a byname (Brylla, 2016). The place name can thus be interpreted as *As Biha* ‘At the place of a person called the Old Lady’.

In Johnson (1957), we find two further examples of Agrigan place names which involve two words, namely *Lanchon Talo* and *Talak Katan*. The analysis of the former poses no difficulties because its component parts can be directly identified as Chamorro lexemes. The place name *Lanchon Talo* has the shape of a binary noun phrase with the head noun *lancho* ‘farm’ and the attributive noun *talo* (= *talo*) ‘center, middle’. The two constituents of the construction are linked to each other by the enclitic linker *-n*. The reading of this place name is straightforward, namely *Lanchon Talo* ‘Middle Farm’. The farm’s name is suggestive of the

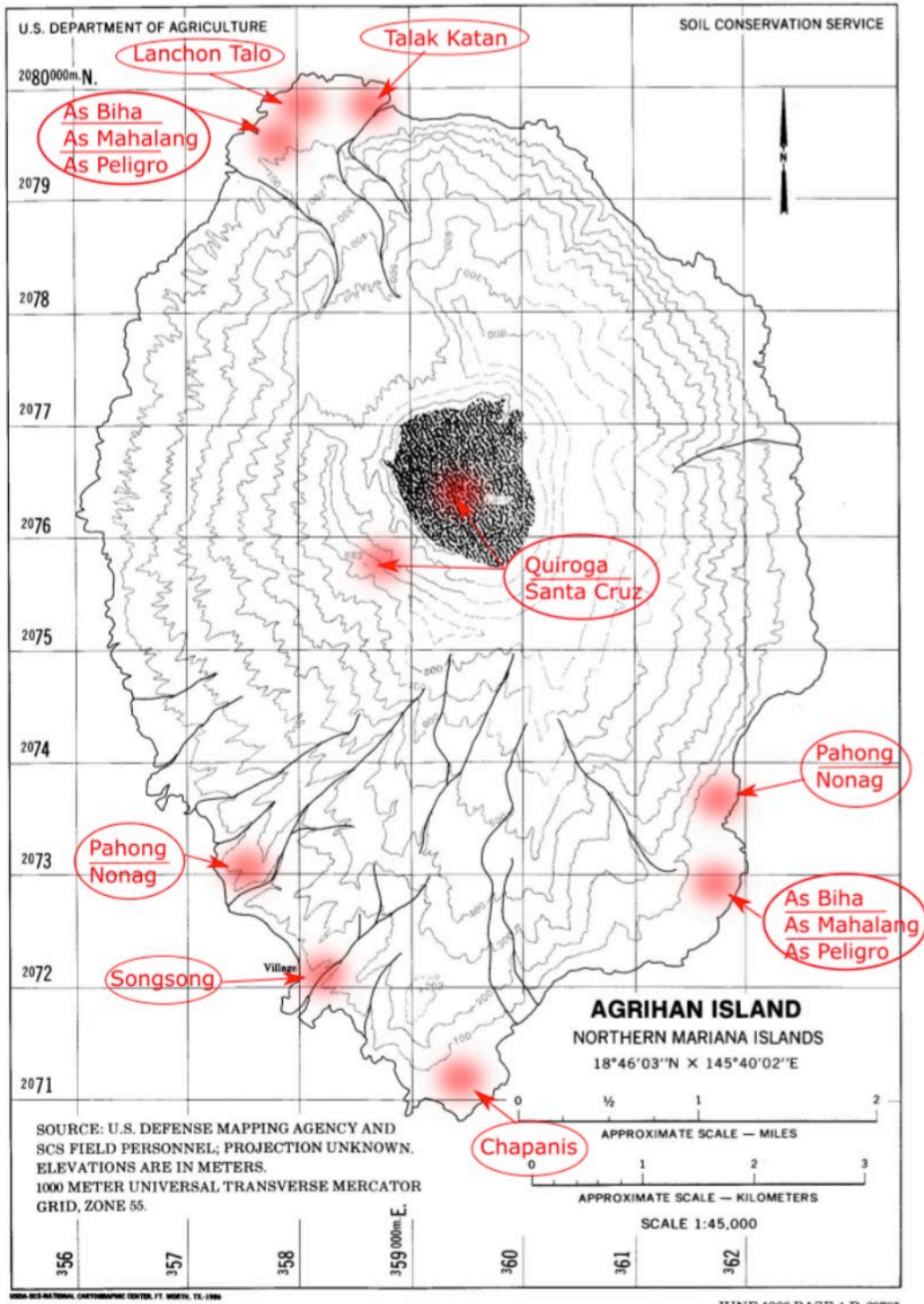
existence of at least two others farms between which *Lanchon Talo* was located. In contrast, *Talak Katan* is less transparent semantically. *Kåtтан* (= *katan*) is a directional noun in Chamorro the meaning of which differs across the islands (Chung, 2020, pp. 105–106). It means ‘east’ on Guam and Rota, but ‘north’ on Saipan. For the purpose of this paper, we stipulate that the directional meaning given to *kåtтан* on Agrigan corresponded to that of Saipan. More interpretative problems arise in connection with *Talak*. If orthographic <k> represents the glottal stop /ʔ/ one might think of Chamorro *tåla* ‘to dry, expose, make dry, spread out, hang up’ (Aguon et al., 2009, p. 361). In this case, *Talak Katan* could refer to a northerly location where people used to spread out things to make them dry. However, in earlier dictionaries of Chamorro, we find the entry (*a*)*talag* ‘look towards’ (Lopinot, 1910, p. 164; Von Preissig, 1918, p. 137; De Vera, 1932, p. 266) which is registered as *atalak* ‘having wide-open eyes’ in Aguon et al. (2009, p. 34). On account of the dictionaries of the first half of the 20th century, we analyse *Talak Katan* as referring to a location from where it is possible to look out northwards.

The last three place names recorded by Johnson (1957) are one-word expressions. According to Aguon et al. (2009, p. 301), *nonnak* (i.e., *nonag*) is a ‘tree that grows along the seashore,’ about which De Vera (1932, p. 201) said that its wood was used for building boats. *Nonag* thus indicates the site where this kind of tree grew (perhaps abundantly). In Stolz & Levkovich (2020, p. 130), we still ignored this etymology. In the same publication, we also had a hard time finding a plausible explanation for the place name *Pahong*. On closer inspection, it turns out that *Pahong* is another reference to the local flora. It appears as *pahon*, ‘type of pandanus used to build fences’ in Lopinot (1910, p. 148); *pajon* or *pajoñg*, ‘local name for the knob-fruited screw-pine’ used for weaving mats (Von Preissig, 1918, p. 209); and *pahoñg*, ‘pandanus dubius’ in De Vera (1932, p. 214). *Pahong* thus indicates the site where this type of pandanus could be harvested. For the interpretation of *Goneg*, we originally assumed a very far-fetched Carolinian origin in Stolz & Levkovich (2020, p. 130). If we accept, however, that today’s word-final

glottal stop has developed from or was confused with an erstwhile velar stop /k/; which, in the early documents, was often represented orthographically as <g>, then it is possible to connect *Goneg* to *konne* 'catch, take, capture' (Aguon, et al., 2009, p. 230). *Goneg* probably identifies a location where something can be caught or is kept after capture.

The provisional outline of Agrigan's toponomasticon presented in our previous paper (Stolz & Levkovych, 2020) must be modified. The new insights we have gained render it unlikely that there was a substantial Carolinian component in the inventory of place names of the island in the 1950's. At the same time, it has come to the fore that beside the uncontroversial Chamorro place names there are also several cases that suggest a Philippine impact on the shaping of Agrigan's toponomasticon of the period in which Johnson visited the northerly islands. On the basis of the excerpts from Johnson's report, we reconstruct the location of the GEOBJS to which the place names in Johnson, 1957 (above) refer on Map 7.

For most of the GEOBJS, neither the coordinates nor their ontological class can be determined on this basis. We cannot place *Goneg* on Map 7. For *Pahong* and *Nonag*, two locations - either on the western or the eastern shore of the island - seem plausible since on Map 3 these sectors are marked with symbols for trees. For *As Biha*, *As Mahalang*, and *As Peligro*, we assume that they are the missing names of the three villages, besides *Songsong*. We take the identifier *house*, which occurs twice on Map 3 to mark possible sites of these villages; the location of the third village remains a riddle to us. Even in the case of *Quiroga* and *Santa Cruz* we lack the information to decide which of the names is associated with the crater or the peak. This means that Map 7 will certainly undergo substantial changes once the full text of Johnson (1957) is in our hands. The number of place names on Map 7 covers only a small part of the GEOBJS we have identified on Map 2. We cannot be sure that the anonymous GEOBJS had distinct names in the 1950's. This does not



preclude the possibility of naming them now. Map 5 has been shown to be inadequate because it withholds important information and thus distorts Agrigan's image. On the basis of the above findings, it is possible to extrapolate from the Agrigan case. We assume that what holds for the inadequacy of Agrigan's map is true at least also for the maps of Anatahan, Sarigan, and Alamagan.

Potential Interpretations

What do we learn from Agrigan's historical cartography and demography, and the comparison of Agrigan with Bouvet-Øya, the Norwegian possession located in the South Atlantic? The absence of place names for GEOBJs of certain ontological classes from the early maps of Agrigan might not always be explicable with reference to the colonialist attitude of the foreign map-makers. For instance, Drummond (2016, pp. 115–116) argues that mountain names are generally late-comers in the history of toponomastics. Hydronyms, on the other hand, are considered to constitute the oldest layer of the toponomastics; e.g., in Europe (Strandberg, 2016, p. 106). As we have seen in Section 2 (regarding Agrigan's historical cartography and demography), and in section 3 (regarding a "fresh look at the Agrigan map), names for standing/running (surface) water fail to show up on the extant maps of Agrigan. Moreover, there is a striking difference between the behavior of cartographers in the case of Bouvet-Øya and that of Agrigan. The Norwegian island illustrates the phenomenon of *horror vacui*, 'fear of the void;' i.e., the explorers' or cartographers' unwillingness to allow for blank spots on the maps they draw.²⁶ Going by Map V, however, the opposite seems to apply; namely *horror nominum*, 'fear of names.' On Bouvet-Øya, there is no one around who could feel offended by the choice of place names. Even if Agrigan is currently uninhabited, there nevertheless are people who used to live there or who

²⁶ It is worth noting that the principles laid down by the French Commission de Toponymie Territoriale explicitly instructed the toponomastician in charge of the Antarctic place names to respect blanks on the maps and to avoid filling the gaps systematically (Delépine, 1973, p. 3).

are the descendants of former inhabitants of the island. The members of these groups of people might take offense with the erasure of erstwhile place names from the map of the island to which they feel emotionally attached because, “[p]lace attachment theories posit that people form bonds with places” (Kostanski, 2016, p. 426). Kostanski’s hypothesis ties in with Alderman (2008), who assumes that:

...the construction of place identities is carried out through the pronunciation of geographical names as well as their *inscription into signs, documents, and maps*. [P]lace naming represents a means of claiming the landscape, materially and symbolically, and using its power to privilege one world view over another. [added italics] (p. 199)

What is skipped in this quote is the opposite of inscription; i.e., the banning of place names from maps and its effect on place identity. Kostanski (2016, p. 417) discusses the notion of place identity, which assumes a special person-place relationship which is symbolic and emotional at the same time. She claims that “toponymic identity, “...connects a population with their history” (Kostanski, 2016, p. 418). Place names are said to function as reference points for community identity:

This place identity is almost the glue which holds community groups together through a shared understanding of their collective past. [C]ommunities utilize toponyms as mnemonic devices for their collective identity (Kostanski, 2016, p. 421).

For as long as Agrigan’s map remains unlettered, the community of Agrigans and their associates are practically denied the possibility of developing a collective identity. In contrast to the formerly dominant idea that proper names generally lack meaning and are even non-connotational (Anderson, 2007, pp. 15–16), recent approaches to names agree that names bear a heavy load of connotations in terms of

associative and emotional meaning (Nyström, 2016, pp. 48–51). For Bouvet-Øya, the connotations are relatively clear since, simplifying the place names (which involve personal names) serves the purpose of national or even individual self-aggrandizement, even at the risk of becoming ridiculous.²⁷ In the case of Agrigan, there are no charted place names to invoke connotations in the first place. What triggers connotations, albeit of a different quality, is the absence of place names. No names, no history, no rights – this is a possible chain of associations.

Given the cultural and socio-psychological importance of place names, it is only logical that toponomasticians should pay attention also to the phenomenon of space escaping place-naming. Is it possible to systematize and evaluate cases like that of Agrigan to develop a theory of cartographic anonymity? It is up to the people of the Northern Marianas to decide whether it is worth the effort to try and remedy the present state of affairs. As cultural outsiders, we cannot be entirely sure that when we take issue with the mute map of Agrigan, we are imposing a Eurocentric point of view on the Marianas. It seems to be absolutely natural and a matter of course to us that maps should disclose as many names as possible for the GEOBJs of a given region. However, we are not in a position to sweepingly exclude the possibility that different cultural traditions might attribute much less importance to the full coverage and cartographic representation of a region which is familiar to the community. Topographic knowledge can be passed down from one generation to the next by word of mouth provided the members of the community have similar experience with the space in their cultural sphere.

Conclusions

In the previous sections, we have presented facts from the history of Agrigan's representation on maps, all of which were produced by

²⁷ Headland (2009, p. 283) mentions the frustrated Norwegian attempt to establish a permanent meteorological station on Bouvet-Øya in the course of which a depot hut was built and named *Villa Haapløs* 'Villa Hopeless' apparently in an attempt at toponomastic self-irony.

foreigners; and, at least in the beginning, to the exclusive benefit of foreigners. How the inhabitants of Agrigan practiced place-naming and orientation on the island was of no concern to the cartographers. The earliest evidence of (locally coined) place names stems from the 1950's, but had no consequences for later map-making. We have shown that uninhabitable islands elsewhere on the globe do not fare as badly as Agrigan. It is therefore no law of nature that a small island with a demographic history like Agrigan must make do with an unlettered map. If place names are indeed as important for a community's identity as claimed in the pertinent literature, then there are three options.

The first option is the retrospective stance, in the sense that an attempt could be made at reconstructing the toponomasticon of Agrigan as of a certain period. This can be achieved by way of asking former inhabitants of Agrigan, or their relatives, to share their knowledge about the place names with the project crew. If the goal is to go back in time as far as possible to exclude foreign influence on the toponomasticon to the exclusion of Spanish, English, Japanese, and other contributions from the outside, the task requires an academic approach according to the methodology of historical toponomastics (Coates, 2016). The reconstructive method may leave blanks on the map if neither the memory of the former inhabitants nor the philological tools yield results. The second option does not put that much emphasis on the past. As we have shown in Section 3.2, there are many GEOBJs on Agrigan which call for being named, probably even for the first time. This is a chance for interested groups to be creative, and actively shape the toponomasticon of the future. The example of Bouvet-Øya is indicative of how not to enrich the toponomasticon. There are local patterns of place-naming on the southerly islands which can serve as orientation for the creation of Agrigan's new place names. Both options should be independent of the above *horror vacui*. If certain GEOBJs are traditionally anonymous, there is no reason to violate this tradition. There is, of course, a third option; namely, that of consciously refraining from producing a lettered map, since this concept is alien to the local culture. The downside of this

decision would be that the crucial knowledge might get lost when memories fade away.

To forestall this loss of culturally sensitive knowledge, we advocate the creation of an atlas of the Gãni-Islands. This would not only contain an assemblage of maps of the islands as of now, but also accounts comprehensively for all place names associated with GEOBJS on the islands. It would add extensive historical and cultural information; and last but not least, it would include (in trilingual Chamorro-Carolinian-English, if possible) autobiographic sketches of people who have personal experience with the islands. Our own contribution to the atlas-to-be is limited to the purely linguistic and toponomastic domain. This still utopian project would cater to the needs of the community of Mariana islanders as well as to those of place-name studies and colonial linguistics. The logical next step toward the atlas would involve updating the *Fresh look at Agrigan's map* section in this article, and the inclusion of Agrigan's sister islands Alamagan, Anatahan, and Sarigan in a more detailed follow-up study.

Acknowledgments

Many thoughts expressed in this paper have sprung from our frequent and inspiring discussions with Ingo H. Warnke, to whom we wish to show our heartfelt gratitude for his invaluable input. We are also grateful to Scott Russell for giving us access to and permission to use the list of place names he had extracted from James B. Johnson's documents in 1997. Leo Pangelinan kindly functioned as networker for us. Mary Spencer and two anonymous reviewers deserve our gratefulness for commenting on the draft version of this paper. Sonja Kettler supported us in technical matters. We are also indebted to Aina Urdze for sharing her expertise in Katakana and Kanji with us. These many helping hands notwithstanding, we alone are responsible for the form and contents of this study.

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Effects of Colonization on the Music of the Chamorro Culture: *Transformation and Adaptation*

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As with other aspects of culture, music of the Chamorro people has been transformed by colonial influences. Vestiges of influences can still be found in the vocal music of Chamorros, although even the traditional vocal music is disappearing. Using old written documents and recordings, evidence of specific musical elements is still apparent. Scale structure, vocal ornamentation, song forms, and even lyrics all provide evidence of connections to the main colonial occupations. Children's games dating back to the Spanish era, the pentatonic scale structure used in Japanese music, the American pop melodies and lyrics of the 50's, all have left their imprint on the vocal music of the Chamorro culture.

Acculturation and adaptation began for the Chamorro culture with the presence of the Spanish. The first Europeans who sailed to the Mariana Islands made no mention of the music. Dr. Melissa Taitano, Assistant Professor at the University of Guam, presented a paper entitled: *I Hineggen Chamoru – People of the Mariana Islands and Their Colonial Record*, at the 5th Marianas History Conference. In that paper she stated that the historical narratives of that period constitute “archival silence,” meaning that the lack of documentation of this important aspect of culture is evidence that it has been erased or silenced.

The first mention of Chamorro music was made by Father Peter Coomans (see Levasque, 1997), who described feasts where the Chamorros danced and sang, with accompanying gestures and a type of castanets. Coomans also mentioned poetic songs that told of fables or myths, and funeral songs sung during a seven-day period of mourning. When the Catholic missionaries arrived, they discouraged what they

thought of as pagan music. Father Diego de Luis de Sanvitores in his account, *Mission in the Marianas*, also documented the music (Barret, 1975). He described, "...twelve or thirteen women forming a circle and singing in verses their histories and antiquities, with point and harmony of three voices, sopranos, contraltos, and falsettos, with the tenor taken by one of the men." He was critical of their singing of *Puntan* (who may have been the first man), describing those songs as "bad verses" and said that there were "antique fables and deeds of ancestors sung at celebrations." At funerals he noted that they sang "melancholy songs" and "dirges that were ingenious and deeply felt." However, his attitude was that the indigenous music was pagan and should be supplanted with religious music. Children were taught songs to honor the Holy Virgin Mary, our Mother, at divine services in the Royal Chapel of Mary.

Charles Le Gobien, a French Jesuit priest, in 1700 wrote:

At first the natives shyly held back upon the arrival of the ships and did not want to come aboard. Sanvitores, however, encouraged them to sing the litany of the Virgin and soon they approached, mixed with the Spaniards and sang with them. Upon entrance into the villages, "Christ's Message" was sung, which had been translated by Sanvitores into Chamorro verses. All came and listened because they loved the singing. During their festivities, twelve or thirteen richly decorated women form a circle. Without moving from their place, they sing the songs of their poets with grace and schooling which would please even in Europe. In the hands, they have small shells resembling castanets. All onlookers, however, are charmed by the expressive bearing and movements which accompany the singing. The men also entertained themselves with dancing and competitions. In jumping, running and wrestling they proved their strength. They recounted the adventures of their forefathers and recited the songs of their poets. With their subjugation, these pagan customs

disappeared and spiritual songs resounded in place of the impure secular singing.”¹

Le Gobien also stated that the missionaries taught the seminary students to play European musical instruments. Father Garcia Salgado, the rector of the Agana church hired someone to teach the students to sing the mass on Saturdays and on some feast days.² Thus, much of the Chamorro vocal music was lost due to the emphasis on the music of the Catholic church.

Not all music, however was related to the church. One type of music that endures through time consists of children’s songs and games which are passed along by word of mouth from generation to generation. An example is the coconut passing game, *Ambas Clap*, which the author recorded on Rota in 1987. Many of the words no longer have any meaning and are probably a mixture of languages. When the author played this song for a group of music educators in San Diego, one woman identified it as a Mexican song. It is most likely that it was taught to Chamorro children during the Spanish colonial era and still survives today.

Example 1: “Ambas Clap” sung by Maria Taitano and Consolacion Calvo, and recorded in 1987:

Ambas clap un fafang
Gabai yanpareti
Ababang
Ayi wa i labandera
Ampa tripi tripi trap.

¹ Quoted by Fritz, Georg in *The Chamorro, A History and Ethnography of the Marianas*. 1904. P. 22. Reprinted by the Division of Historic Preservation, Saipan 1986. P. 46

² Hezel, Francis X. *Micronesia, Winds of Change* 1979 Omnibus Program for Social Studies and Cultural Heritage. Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, Education Department Saipan. p. 48



Jacques Arago visited the Mariana Islands in 1819. He wrote extensively and published his observations in, *Narrative of a Voyage Around the World* (1823).³ He stated that:

Music is one of the most agreeable amusements of the inhabitants of the Mariannes; they sing the moment they awake, they sing during the hours of rest, and they fall asleep singing. Their airs are languishing, harmonious, and for three voices. There are also two or three boleros and some seguidillas, but in general they prefer that which lulls and composes to that which animates and enlivens; and their singing may be considered in some measure an emblem of their life.⁴

The most well-known vocal music of the Chamorro people is the Chamorrta. It too has changed over time. What remains of this long-standing vocal tradition are the words, the poetic form, and a basic melodic pattern. Traditionally, it was a song used as a flirtation between young men and women, often while they were working in the fields, weaving palm fronds, net fishing, husking corn, grinding coconuts, or other communal work. Two singers, often a young man and a young woman, would toss verses back and forth, improvising new words upon the previous verse sung by the other person as a way to show wit and

³ Arago, Jacques. 1823). *Narrative of a Voyage Around the World*. London Treuttel and Wurtz.

⁴ Ibid, Part II The Marianne Islands Guam Agagna Letters LXXXVIII – CIII. Letter CI, page 49.

humor and the singer's ability. It incorporated layers of meanings or double meanings, figurative expressions and slang expressions that only the younger generation understood.⁵ It was also a way to transmit hidden messages, not only among the young people, but later during the Japanese era to send messages the Japanese would not understand. Usually, the man began the song and the woman responded. Sometimes others joined in at the end of a line. The last person on Rota who was able to improvise in this manner was Bartola Ogo.

Repetition is a method singers incorporate when improvising lyrics, to give them time to think up new lines. Some Chamorritas use repetition this way, repeating the last line of one verse in the first line of the next verse. In his Chamorrita, *Dingu I kompanirå-mu*, Isidro Manglonå repeats line 1 of verse 1 in verse 2, line 2, and line 3 of verse 1 as line 3 of verse 2:

Dingu i kumpanirå-mu!
Basta i kumbetsasion!
Sa' yangin hahagu ha'na maisa,
Ti un iningak tentasion.

Esta i kumbetsasion
Dingu i kumpanirå-mu,
Sa' yangin hahagu ha' na maisa
Tunas hao ha' gi karerå-mu.

Another trait Chamorritas have in common with other improvised vocal forms is that successive verses within one song often do not relate to each other. For example, the song, *Yangin Hågu na Manguaiya*, as sung by Rudolfo Atalig Mundo, begins with the first four verses, all independent of each other:

⁵ Flores, Judy, n.d. *Chamorrita Songs and Related Poetic Chants* University of Guam MI 502: ProSeminar, Micronesian History Term Paper.

Yangin hãgu na manguaiya
Togi ya ta alapat.
Sa' ti piniti yu' na bai mâtai
Guini pãpa' na lugat.

Si Mapongo' maila' hattalum Mapongo'
Ya un li'i' kao pine'lo-mu
Sa' intereru ha' chinili'
Inapaka'-mu yan inatilong-mu.

Si Solaki pula' lindo magagu-mu
Ya bai hãnao ya bai fa'gãsi
Sa' ti bai hu atbidon nai gapgap
Lao bai atbidon nai fã'i.

Hãgu fumañãgu i patgun
Guãhu bai hu nã'i sustansion-ña
Ya tatayut si Yu'us
Ya hu tali'i' dinankulo-ña.

1. If you're in love,
Stand and let us be side by side.
Cause I will not be sad to die
Down here at this place.
2. Mapongo' come further inside, Mapongo'
So you can see if it is your putting.
Because it took all
Your whiteness and your blackness.
3. Solaki, take off, Lindo, your shirt
And I will go and I will wash it.
Cause I won't starch it with arrowroot

- But I'll starch it with rice water.
4. You bore the child,
I will provide the nourishment.
And we pray to God.
And we'll see him grow big.

Chamorrta is definitely not a narrative form. Sometimes stories or events are alluded to, but more in terms of a personal allusion, rather than a method of telling a story. The subject matter is personal, most often dealing with love, courtship, marriage or abandonment and the loss of love.

The poetic form is a quatrain, or four-line verse. In her research, Kim Bailey compared the verses to the romance form of Spain and Mexico. She described the form as quatrains of two octosyllabic couplets. There are two eight syllable couplets per quatrain; however, many examples sound more like two longer phrases that are rhyming couplets. Isidro Manglona of Rota, took only one breath and held only two notes in each verse. Other singers, possibly due to their age, breathed three times in one verse. Examining the lyrics, rhyme scheme and melodic contour help determine the general form.

The rhyme schemes are not always consistent. Occasionally lines one and three rhyme, but in almost every case, lines two and four rhyme. Other rhyme schemes include all four lines rhyming (AAAA), alternating rhymes (ABAB) or AABA form. These are not common patterns however, and the lines could be construed as not four, but two lines that rhyme – rhyming couplets. Musically, this could be true, as the melodic line would indicate two musical statements rather than four.

Examining the melodic structure reveals a strong Spanish influence. Much of Spanish folk music is in the Phrygian scale or mode, rather than the major minor scales which are the standard scale structures of Western European art music.

The Spanish Phrygian scale employs half steps between the tonic note and the second, between the fifth and sixth degrees of the scale and the sixth and seventh degrees. This is an incorporation of the Arabic modal system introduced to Spain by the Moors.⁶ Some listeners, unfamiliar with Spanish folk music have mistakenly thought that the Chamorro singer was singing, “out of tune.” It is well to remember that music of other cultures do not have the same musical structure as Western European art music. Another Moorish influence in Spanish music is the use of vocal ornamentation, embellishment, melisma, slides and other performance practices. These techniques were also audible in the singing style of some of the older recorded Chamorro singers.

Example 2. Vocal ornamentation and the flattened sixth degree of the scale can be heard at the end of the phrase in the Chamorrita, “Dingu I Kumpanirã-mu” sung by Isidro Manglona.

This version is as recorded. No attempt has been made to notate the variations that Mr. Mangloña incorporated into his singing. Rather, the following transcription is a general outline of the melody. Mr. Mangloña varied the melody of the Chamorrita from verse to verse, therefore the version notated is a compilation of the variations. In addition, no attempt was made to place bar lines, as Mr. Mangloña’s style is closer to declamatory singing. There is not a set meter apparent. In some cases, two different pitches were used in different verses. These are indicated in the notation as two different pitches on the same stem.

Referring back to Arago’s account, he stated that the Chamorros sang boleros and some seguidillas. These two musical forms are from the fandango family of music from Spain. As a dance, the fandango was a courtship dance which may have Moorish origins. As a vocal form, (cante)

⁶ Manuel, Peter 1986. *Evolution and Structure in Flamenco Harmony* Columbia University current.musicology.42.manuel.46-57.pdf <https://academiccommons.columbia.edu/doi/10.7916/D88051HJ> Accessed 2 February 2021.



Referring back to Arago's account, he stated that the Chamorros sang boleros and some seguidillas. These two musical forms are from the fandango family of music from Spain. As a dance, the fandango was a courtship dance which may have Moorish origins. As a vocal form, (cante) fandangos were serious (soleareas), intermediate (fandango), or light (alegrias and bulerias). The fandango was sung in coplas, or couplets, and were in the Phrygian mode. The subject matter was improvised and was satirical, religious, or romantic.⁷ Bulerias were also improvised in three or four eight syllable verses in the Phrygian mode.⁸ In the Chamorro culture, the term fandango is the name for the party the night before a wedding. The use of the term is a strong linguistic clue that the Chamorrita is closely tied to Spanish folk music. All of these musical similarities point to the close ties between the Spanish flamenco style and Chamorritas.

⁷ Britannica, The Editors of Encyclopedia. "Fandango". *Encyclopedia Britannica*, Invalid Date, <https://www.britannica.com/art/fandango>. Accessed 11 February 2021.

⁸ Flamenco One <https://flamenco.one/en/glossary/buleria/>

The German occupation of Rota was quite brief. Their musical influence is much more evident in the marching dances found in other areas of Micronesia, especially the Marshall Islands where the dance is called leep, and in Palau where it is called matumatong. However, Georg Fritz, the District Captain in Saipan, was very interested in Chamorro culture. In a letter to his parents in 1902, Georg Fritz recounted dancing and singing at a wedding on Rota. The dancing included a Scottish polka and the waltz was accompanied by a concertina and violin. He also mentioned German songs that were sung at every mass. In his work, *The Chamorro: A History and Ethnography of the Mariana Islands*,⁹ he discussed the Chamorro love of music and observed that at every feast there was music, singing, and dancing. He noted that at fandangos, while the people were eating, an orchestra performed which included a violin, accordion, guitar, triangle, and perhaps an organ. After eating, the dancing started. He noted that the dances were all European, including polkas, mazurkas, contre dances, and the Spanish fandango which was danced by the wedding couple.

In reference to vocal music, he wrote down the lyrics to a song which he thought was the only remaining Chamorro song. The words are very similar to the existing Chamorritas of the 20th Century. He thought he had heard the same song in South America. This is again evidence of the Spanish influence on Chamorro music.

Referring back to children's music, the Chamorro game, *Esta Bala Para*, has exactly the same game instructions as a German children's game, *Die Goldene Bruck*, which is still played in Germany. There is a similar game in Colombia called, *El puente esta quebrado*. The English version is *London Bridge*.

⁹ Fritz p. 47.

Example 3. *Esta Bala Para*, sung by Ana Songao Inos

First singer:

Esta bala para pinta

Pinta disat dilamot

Pikala pickala

O a en la

Pika la fot

Ai mia mot.

Second singer:

Ai no kino di balin

Don pitmin dominos.

Two children stand facing each other, holding hands with arms raised, forming an arch.

They decide in advance on two items they will represent such as fruits, pets, etc. (e.g. mangos and papayas)

The other players form a single circle that moves either clockwise or counterclockwise, passing under the arch.

As the children pass under the arch, they sing the song. On the last word, whoever is under the arch is caught.

The caught player is asked which item he/she chooses. Then they stand behind the player on the side of the arch that represents the item chosen. When all the players have been caught, the players pull, in a type of tug of war, trying to pull the opposing side across to their side.

Strong musical influence is evident from the Japanese era. *Hotaru No Hikari* was very popular in Japan in the 1930's during the Sino-Japanese war that preceded World War II. It is an interesting example of cross cultural musical transmission because it was introduced to Japan from Scotland in 1881. Due to the use of the pentatonic scale in both traditional Scottish music and Japanese music, it was easily assimilated

and new lyrics added. It is the melody of *Auld Lang Syne*, a song by Robert Burns.

It is still sung today at graduation and alludes to studying hard (by the light of the firefly on snow). There are more verses to the song than the one verse sung by Rainaldo Mangloña. For more information see Wikipedia.

Example 4. *Hotaru No Hikari*, sung by Rainaldo Manglona

*Hotaru no hikari, mado no yuki,
Fumi yomu tsukihi, kasane tsutsu
Itsushika toshi mo, sugi no to wo,
Aketezo kesa wa, wakare yuku.*

Light of fireflies, snow by the window,
Many suns and moons spent reading
Years have gone by without notice
Day has dawned; this morning, we part.

Some songs maintained the Japanese melody, but new Chamorro lyrics were given to them. An example is “Floris Rosa”.

Example 5. *Floris Rosa*, sung by Isidro Manglona.

1. *Mafañågu un sen gatbu na floris
Floris nai hu guåiya
Anaku' na tiempu na hunananga ha' hao
Sa' hågu solu i guinaiya-ku
Gi halum linayan.*

Refrain:

*Sa' suabe yan kariñosa
Kulan hao i floris rosa
Piot yan chumalamlam.*

2. *Megai siha mansengatbu na floris
Mangaigi gi kantun chalan
Mañechechet yan mañecheffa siha
Lao nisikera hu atendi
Sa' hãgu ha' solu i guinaiya-ku
Gi halum linayan.*

Refrain:

*Sa' suabe yan kariñosa
Kulan hao i floris rosa
Mamis yan guãiyayun.*

3. *Hu ufresi hao i tataotaohu
Yan kuntodu i anti-hu
Sa' hãgu solu i guinaiya-ku
Gi todú i lina'la'-hu.*

Refrain:

*Sa' suabe yan kariñosa
Kulan hao i floris rosa
Mamis yan guãiyayun.*

*

Rose Flower (English translation)

1. *Born was a very beautiful flower,
A flower that I love.
A long time I'd been waiting for you,
Because you only are my love
From the crowd.*

Refrain:

*Because courteous and affectionate
You're like a rose flower
Especially when you blink.*

2. *There are many beautiful flowers*

*They are there close to the road.
They're hissing and whistling,
But I did not pay attention
Because you only are my love
From the crowd.*

Refrain:
Because courteous and affectionate
You're like a rose flower
Sweet and loving.

3. *I offer you my body
And also my soul.
Because you only are my love
In all my life.*

Refrain:
*Because courteous and affectionate
You're like a rose flower
Sweet and loving.*

Many other Japanese folk songs were taught to Rotanese school children including hiking songs, humorous songs, war songs, and traditional story songs. Mr. Albert Toves sang several of these.

Example 6. *Moshi Moshi Kameyo*, sung by Albert Toves.

*Moshi Moshi Kameyo
Rabbit and the Turtle: The race*

*Moshi moshi kameyo kamesanyo
Sekaino uchede omaehodo
Ayumino noroi monohanai
Doshite sonnani naroinoka
Nanto osharu Usagisan
Sonnara omaeto karekurabe
Mukono oyamano fumoto made
Dochiraga sakini kakitsukuka*

*Donnani kame ga isoidemo
Dose banmade kakaru daro
Kokorade chotto hitonemuri
Gu – gu – gu – gu – gu – gu – gu – g- u
Koreha nesugita shikujitta
Pyon – pyon pyon pyon pyon pyon pyon
Anmari osoi usagisan sakkino jiman ha
Doshitano*

*Hello hello turtle, Mr. Turtle
You are the slowest walker in the world
Nobody can walk as slowly as you
How can you walk so slowly like that?
Wait a minute Rabbit, Mr. Rabbit
If you say so, why not race with me?
Can you see the bottom of the hill over there?
Let us find out which one wins the race.
No matter how fast Mr. Turtle goes,
I know it will take him until midnight.
I think I'll take a short nap right here
Snore snore snore snore snore snore snore.
Oh my gosh I slept too much, it's no good
Hop hoppity hop hop, hoppity hop hop.
Mr. Rabbit you are way too slow
Where has your bragging gone to now?*

Mr. Toves also recalled other songs that alluded to being homesick for Japan.

When World War II ended, Americans brought their influence to the Mariana Islands, sharing their folk and popular music with the local population. An example of an American folk song with new Chamorro lyrics is, “Palasyon Riku,” which is sung to the tune of, “The Old Folks at Home.”

Example 7. *Palasyon Riku*, sung by Rainaldo Mangloña

1. *Ni ti un palasyon riku
Nai gaigi gi gima'-hu.*

*Sino un popblin guma'
Yu' nai mafaña'gu.*

Chorus:

*Ya ti siña hu tulaika,
Sa' tatmas gef saga.
Gi åyu siha na isla,
I islas Marianas.*

2. *O mamis tano'-hu
Yan gaigi hao gi otru tånu'
Magufyan gef saga
O hahagu' tano'-hu
Ti siña u malefa.*

3. *Ya tåya' gi hilu' tånu'
Siña parehu-mu,
Gi åyu siha na isla
I islas Marianas.*

O mamis tano'-hu.

Example 8. Rich Palace

1. *Not in one of the rich palaces
That my house is there.
Otherwise, one poor house
That I was born*

Chorus:

*And I can't change
Cause not much good living
at those islands
The islands in the Marianas.*

2. *Oh my sweet land
If you're on another land*

*Happy and good living
O, my reach out land
I can't forget.
And there's nothing in the world
Can be similar to you
At those islands
The islands in the Marianas.*

O my sweet land.

Since that time, many popular melodies have been given lyrics in Chamorro, either as translations of the original lyrics, or with new words. “*Si Nana Gi Familia*,” sung by Johnny Sablan, used the tune of “*How Much Is that Doggie In the Window?*” a popular 1950’s song. With new words, it was a dedication to mothers. You can still hear it sung on You Tube!¹⁰

As with other aspects of tradition, music changes with the influences of other cultures, borrowing melody, harmony, instruments, lyrics, and form; adapting to the current music of the culture.

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Adaptive Strategies to Food Insecurity within the Chuukese Community of Guam

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The nutritional impact of food insecurity (i.e., the reduced quality and accessibility of nutritional foods) is well researched in Guam. However, the adaptive strategies of Guam's food insecure communities, such as the Chuukese community, are not as well explored. This study investigated the adaptive strategies utilized by Guam's Chuukese community, and the strategies traditionally utilized in Chuuk. Such strategies provided insight into the relationship between culture, socioeconomic status, and the bare necessity of food. From a pool of food insecure Chuukese households (identified via the USDA survey module), nine participants were interviewed using basic interpretative qualitative interviews. Results were analyzed using constant comparative methodology, and four main thematic categories were formed. These categories identified adaptive strategies that highlighted the differences between Chuuk's traditional subsistence economy and Guam's cash economy. Participants utilized adaptive strategies that optimized resources outside the household; lowered food costs; used entrepreneurship for supplemental income; and managed food supplies. Due to the emphasis on subsistence culture, and the strain of a western cash economy, findings indicated that food security within the Chuukese community would improve with targeted urban agricultural practices.

Recent studies (Acosta, Barber, Leon Guerrero, 2017, a. b. c. d), utilizing portions of the United States Department of Agriculture's (USDA) standardized food security survey, identified that potentially high numbers of Guam's low-income families experience alarming levels of food insecurity. Food insecurity, as defined by the USDA (2018), is the reduced quality, variety, or desirability, of dietary decisions, with indications of disrupted eating patterns and reduced food intake. In the Pacific Islands, quantifying food insecurity proves difficult, as household sizes are greatly affected by culture, and food security does not always equate to adequate nutrition (Maxwell, 1996; Acosta et al., 2017). Food

¹ This project was funded by USDA/NIFA RIIA Award No. 2018-70004-28687 & USDA/NIFA RIIA Award No. 2019-70004-30392, PI M. Marutani. Author contact: hannajugo@gmail.com

insecurity affects almost every aspect of one's lifestyle, and the impact beyond nutrition alone should be examined.

Although studies of both Guam's individual and family diets have often noted high rates of obesity and cardiovascular disease (e.g., Leon Guerrero et al., 2008; Pobocik et al., 2008), no studies focus on adaptive strategies employed to combat food insecurity. The need and logic behind access to adaptive strategies are clear. Such strategies not only give insight into the level of food insecurity one endures, but also into the experiences and trauma behind hunger (Chilton & Booth, 2007).

Because disadvantaged communities experience the brunt of food insecurity, with little to no available resources (Ahluwalia et al., 1998; Clifton, 2004; Chilton & Booth, 2007; Zenk et al., 2011), documenting and analyzing the adaptive strategies that such communities employ can provide insights into potential policy and outreach strategies to better assist these groups. As the fastest growing migrant population on Guam (Bautista, 2011; Hezel & Levin, 2012), with some of the highest rates of socioeconomic disparities (Hezel & Levin, 2012; Hattori-Uchima, 2017), the Chuukese community in particular provides a noteworthy case for food insecurity studies. Given that the Chuukese migrants retain practices from their native culture following their migration (Rubinstein & Levin, 1992), studying the adaptive strategies of such a community may reveal how culture interplays with food security within a westernized island setting. Research may also reveal unique strategies of food acquisition, cultivation, and gathering and foraging, especially in a cash economy, or in an age of rapid modernization in the regional islands.

Background & Objectives

Adaptive Strategies

Numerous studies on adaptive strategies that are used to cope with food insecurity reveal common obstacles to food acquisition; e.g., lack of transportation, financial trouble, and lack of health and safety knowledge (Ahluwalia et al., 1998; Hamelin et al., 1999; Kempson et al., 2002;

Clifton, 2004; Chilton & Booth, 2007; Beaumier & Ford, 2010; Zenk et al., 2011; Gadhoke et al., 2014). In a study by Zenk, et al. (2011), four common themes in adapting to such obstacles included optimization, settling, advocacy, and proactivity. Moreover, a fifth theme of illegal acquisition emerges when socioeconomic aspects are emphasized (Kempson et al., 2003). Optimization, settling, and illegal acquisition directly involve food itself, while advocacy and proactivity include active changes to one's self or one's environment.

The first theme, *optimization*, is the use of previously acquired food and available resources. It involves shopping at a different retailer for each food item, or frequenting a store outside of one's neighborhood for the lowest prices (Zenk et al., 2011; Fish et al., 2013). It also involves aid from family members or the community, cooking in groups, and even home gardening and fishing (Kempson et al., 2003). Optimizing involves a higher level of planning than other strategies, as food acquisition becomes dependent on time, location, or other people.

The second theme, *settling*, occurs when participants are without resources, and must settle with readily available food or food stores (Zenk et al., 2011). These food environments may be unhealthy or lacking in quality. This theme emerges when transportation, time, and money are exhausted. The implications of this theme often include paying higher prices, settling for low quality foods (Maxwell, 1996; Zenk et al., 2011), salvaging food from the garbage, and purchasing damaged foods at discounted prices (Kempson et al., 2003). This theme precedes severe changes in diet, such as limiting portion size and skipping meals altogether (Maxwell 1996).

The third theme, *advocacy*, involves the active pursuit to bring about change in one's store environments or food products (Zenk, 2011). Communicating concerns about product quality and store upkeep to store owners is a common form of advocacy. Reporting issues with safety to regulatory agencies, such as the police or health inspectors, is also common within this theme.

The fourth theme, *proactivity*, focuses on changes to the consumer during times of food insecurity, rather than the food itself. Proactivity

leads consumers to alter their appearance or demeanor in food stores, or even adjust their shopping time, to better ensure personal safety (Zenk, 2011). Those who utilize proactivity may even shop in certain stores, regardless of the possibility of decreased food quality, to avoid safety and health concerns. This theme also applies to the monetary aspect of food acquisition, like obtaining multiple side jobs, or even selling blood and participating in clinical drug trials, in order to receive more income for food purchases (Kempson et al, 2003).

The fifth and final theme, *illegal acquisition*, involves both social and physical activities that are considered illegal. It is mainly seen in disadvantaged communities where both safety and income are lacking (Kempson et al, 2003; Zenk et al, 2011). Some of the activities within illegal acquisition include selling food stamps, participating in several drug trials simultaneously, writing fraudulent checks, panhandling, shoplifting, and purposely committing crimes to be jailed (Kempson et al, 2003).

Previously Identified Food/Nutritional Issues of Diasporic Micronesian Communities

Increasing consumption of sugary and high caloric foods among Micronesian diasporic communities is a topic of concern. It is perpetuated by both the accessibility of such foods, and the lack of land available for subsistence farming. For example, Hirata (2015) reported that the Marshallese traditionally grew native produce, such as coconut and pandanus, and also consumed fresh fish. The native diet was found to be natural, high in fiber, and low in sugar. The nutrition transition experienced by migrants has led to high blood pressure and cardiovascular disease.

Furthermore, without available land to cultivate, migrants navigated to foreign lands without bringing a crucial part of their culture with them. Not only were migrants deprived of their traditional self-harvested foods, they risked the possibility of losing an integral part of their culture. The nutrition transition from healthy and fresh native

foods to fatty and sugary foreign foods was often an instant switch (Hirata, 2015).

The modern Chuukese diet, rich in rice, flour, sugar, fatty foods, and imported goods, gave rise to various nutrition and health issues (Yamamoto, 2013). A decline in health, noted by the increased incidences of cardiovascular disease, diabetes, and obesity, were driven by low incomes, lack of access to adequate foods, growing dependency on store foods, and poor quality of cheap imports (Connell, 2014).

The Guam Bureau of Statistics and Plans (2005) reported that 45% of Micronesian migrants lived below the poverty level. In 2005, about 16% of Guam's homeless population was reportedly of Chuukese ethnicity (Salvation Army, 2005). A 2017 Homeless Point-In-Time Report conducted by the Guam Homeless Coalition and the Guam Housing and Urban Renewal Authority (GHURA) reported that Chuukese represented the second highest number of homelessness, with Chamorros being the first. The Chuukese also represented the greatest percent of homelessness overall, specifically within FSM ethnicities. *Children in Guam* (Census, 2002) reported higher numbers of children living in poverty in areas comprised mostly of recent migrants. A survey conducted by Hezel and Levin (2012) reported that 58% of all FSM migrant households received food stamp benefits.

Due to the statistics, historical food relationship, and notable lack of recent information regarding food security, the Chuukese community of Guam is an ideal population in which to study adaptive strategies to food insecurity in a unique island setting. Affirming such strategies, as reported by the Chuukese community itself, would reveal new relationships to other Guam based communities, cultures, or even public structures, that could aid in the formation of better food security programs.

Study Objectives

Given that numerous studies indicate high levels of government food support and potential food insecurity in the Pacific Islands, the objectives of this study are to explore the following questions:

1. What are the traditional adaptive strategies utilized in Chuuk?
2. What are the adaptive strategies to food insecurity currently in use within the Chuukese community of Guam?
3. How can these adaptive strategies be better incorporated in government and NGO education and support programs to address current issues with food insecurity in the Chuukese community of Guam?

Methods

This study utilized quantitative surveys and qualitative interviews in two separate phases. In the first phase, a quantitative survey instrument was used to identify the participant sample pool (i.e. food insecure Chuukese community members). In the second phase, qualitative methods were used for data acquisition and analysis. IRB Approval numbers for the first and second phases are #CHRS 19-83 and #CHRS 19-188, respectively.

Quantitative Survey Instrument

Sample. In order to establish a pool of food insecure individuals, the USDA 18-Item U.S. Household Food Security Survey Module was disseminated among adult Chuukese residents of Guam who are identified as the main food purchasers/preparers of their household. Surveys were coded and organized according to the USDA *Guide to Measuring Household Food Security* (2000), which outlines four tiers of food insecurity in ascending order: Food secure, food insecure without hunger, food insecure with hunger (moderate), and food insecure with hunger (severe).

A total of 66 participants were surveyed. Of the 66 participants, a total of 52 participants were classified as food insecure. From the 52

food insecure participants, a total of 45 participants indicated a willingness to be interviewed in the qualitative stage. As the USDA survey served only as a screening tool and did not require further quantitative analysis, this number was determined to be sufficient for the purpose of this study.

Qualitative – Semi-structured Interviews

In order to increase the utility of information gained from the sample of qualitative interviews, a method of purposeful sampling, known as criterion sampling, was used. Criterion sampling utilized filters (i.e., household composition and food security) in the selection of interview candidates from the pool identified by the USDA survey.

In order to achieve maximum variation, the household demographic variables of age, Chuuk island of origin, and socioeconomic status were established (Table 1). It is noted that although all genders were allowed to participate in the study's quantitative stage (i.e., USDA survey), the majority of the participants were women. Qualitative interviews were conducted with a total of 9 participants when information saturation (i.e., a point at which no new relevant information is gained; Fusch & Ness, 2015), was reached. Interview guides were designed with flexibility in order to allow participants to deviate from the topic as they desired.

Interview questions were drafted to elicit stories that reveal the nuances between food insecurity, culture, household composition, socioeconomic status and outside assistance (Table 2). Interviews were transcribed in Microsoft Word and coded in the qualitative data analysis and research software, *Atlas.ti*. The defined units of analysis were sentences and paragraphs that conveyed concepts surrounding food insecurity, including but not limited to, hunger, food acquisition, government assistance, adaptive strategies, cultural norms and food itself. Codes were given succinct names to encompass all possible meanings. Code tables were then formed and discussed among research members for clarity and validity.

Detailed reflection notes were also taken during and immediately following the interview in order to create an audit trail. The audit trail was a collection of preliminary descriptions made of the data collection, code development, and data interpretations as the study progressed (Huberman & Miles, 1994). The audit trail ensured that findings are supported by the data collected and not the researcher's biases.

Qualitative Analysis

As a basic interpretive qualitative interview study, the main method of analysis was a form of constant comparative analysis. Using this method, data was examined to identify common themes of behavior, responses, or perspectives that were relevant to the study. Through an iterative process (interview by interview), identified concepts were constantly compared and refined, with new concepts added as necessary, until information saturation was reached.

Through the first step of qualitative data analysis – coding - data from the interviews were extracted from the original context while still retaining original meaning. Segmented data were categorized and re-sorted by the thematic meaning under a common code. Although *in vivo* coding, which emphasizes the spoken words of the participants as codes (Manning, 2017), was primarily used throughout the coding process, it became evident that Western English phrases held different meanings to the Chuukese community and would thus be potentially misused in the formation of study findings. For example, the initial *in-vivo* code “food budget” was formed to describe the process of budgeting food portions among household members. The code was later changed to appropriately reflect the act of food portioning or rationing, rather than the assumption of monetary budgets for food pricing. In such cases, more appropriate code names were drawn from the literature as necessary.

Transcripts were uploaded into *Atlas.ti* for coding organization and processing. Initial codes were determined during transcription review. Code categories and subcategories were added as analysis of multiple

interviews progressed, and modified to reflect nuances in the data accordingly (Taylor-Powell & Renner, 2003). Code families and code tables were reviewed by research members periodically. In this review

Table 1. Participant Demographics

Pseudonym	Main/Outer Islands	Gender	Age Range	No. of People in Household	Food Insecurity Insecurity Category
Amelia	Main Islands	Female	20-29	5	Food Insecure without Hunger
Epot	Main Islands	Female	30-39	5	Food Insecure with Hunger (Severe)
Kisha	Outer Islands	Female	30-39	3	Food Insecure with hunger (Severe)
Laila	Main Islands	Female	20-29	2	Food Insecure with Hunger (Moderate)
Lorna	Main Islands	Female	20-29	6	Food Insecure without Hunger
Mary Ann	Outer Islands	Female	50-59	3	Food Insecure with Hunger (Moderate)
Robert	Main Islands	Male	50-59	2	Food Insecure with Hunger (Moderate)
Sally	Main Islands	Female	40-49	6	Food Insecure without Hunger
Tritee	Main Islands	Female	50-59	1	Food Insecure with Hunger (Moderate)

Table 2. Purposes and Probes of Interview Question Guide

Question	Purpose
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Can you tell me about yourself and your household?

<u>Probes</u>	Any kids? Do the people staying there change? (visitors, relatives, etc.)	Demographics
	How do meals go? Does everyone eat together? Who prepares and serves the meals?	Establishes the head of household meals dynamics
	Can you tell me about your favorite things to eat?	Demographics; eases participant into interview

	Can you tell me about a period in time (or period in your life when you felt like you had enough food to eat/times of plenty)?	Establishes contrast for times of food insecurity; identifies factors that aid in food security
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<u>Probes</u>	What was going on in your life that made the food plenty?	Establishes context
	What kind of foods? Where did they come from?	Establishes contrast for foods consumed when food insecure
	If story is on Guam, ask about Chuuk or reverse.	Location qualifier

	In your opinion, what do other Chuukese do in these situations?	Identifies knowledge of communal networks and existing strategies
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<u>Probes</u>	Experiences, knowledge of aid/programs? If story is on Guam, ask about Chuuk or reverse.	Establishes details Location qualifier
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	Are there any traditional ways of acquiring food in your culture that you know of/are familiar with/regularly practice/which you would practice if you could?	Identifies traditional adaptive strategies and barriers to practices in Guam
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	Are there any other questions you think I should've asked? Anything I missed?	Ends the interview
--	--	--------------------

process, code definitions, descriptions, and quotes were articulated into a code table. This table, supported by quotes, constituted the key output of the study. Analysis of code groups led to an exploration of how codes and categories related to not only the original data, but to other data and

theoretical ideas as well, as the data was recontextualized back to the whole investigated context.

In order to increase the validity of the data collected, triangulation of the data via member checks were conducted. Investigator triangulation was achieved through research team review. Additional insights and feedback were provided to ensure that codes were appropriately described to fit the experiences expressed by the participants, and that code analysis was supported by appropriate quotations of rich descriptions. As a final measure to increase the study's validity, the code table and quotes are reported in Jugo, 2020 (Appendix IV).

Findings

Four main thematic categories arose from the interview data and are further discussed: Optimizing resources outside the household, cash economy, entrepreneurship, and managing food supply.

Optimizing resources outside the household

The first thematic category, optimizing resources outside the household, is comprised of two main code families: *“Local Food”* – i.e., abundant in Chuuk; and *External Aid* (Figure 1). Within the two code families are the literal codes formed from the extracted interview data.

Strategies that optimize resources outside the household require participants to actively pursue or make use of readily available resource pools. These resource pools were subsistence in nature, or relied on communal networks. For example, the first code family, *“Local Food” Abundant in Chuuk*, illustrates the differences between adaptive strategies utilized in Chuuk and of those utilized in Guam. As such, subsistence-based activities (i.e., farming, gathering/foraging, and fishing) were common codes shared among many of the participants.

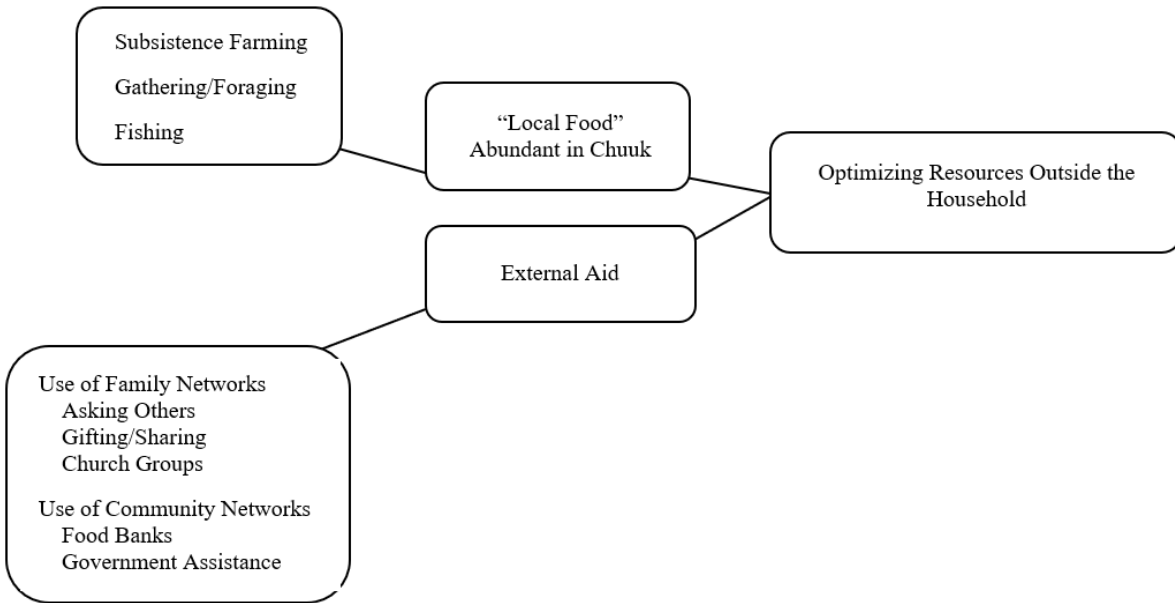


Figure 1. Optimizing Resources Outside the Household code tree dendrogram.

The second code family, *External Aid*, illustrates the use of various familial and communal networks to obtain food. Common codes found within the interviews described the use of familial networks, in which asking for aid or gifting/sharing one’s food was utilized. Chosen networks, such as church groups, as well as public networks, such as food banks and government assistance programs, were also discussed.

Unlike Chuuk, where many participants and their extended families practice subsistence farming, participants had to seek permission from others who owned private plantings to obtain locally grown produce in Guam. Some also noted foraging plantings located on public land. However, given that networks are less extensive in Guam as compared to that of Chuuk, options for access are limited.

One participant, “Robert”, described foraging for breadfruit within the War in the Pacific National Park in the village of Asan.

Oh- uh- sometimes the- (coughs) in Piti? Those like, big- you see the big bomb? Is that a bomb or like, the one in- the one where they go jogging?... You see the- and then there's a lot of breadfruit trees? Some- Sometimes- sometimes we go there and we're just pretending that nobody is (laughs) back there.

Another participant, "Mary Ann", described using opportunities to visit more established friends and family for access to fruits grown on their property.

Oh, even uh, you know the tree? Mangos tree? Oh, if I see my friends, my relative, they have mango beside their house? I will go and ask, can I have some?... Um, when I go there. When I uh, I want to go to my friend. So when I go there wi- uh, in their home? I'm looking. Oh, no more. So if I go there, I see mango tree, apple tree, can I have some.

Participants also emphasized that subsistence farming, gathering and foraging, and fishing were strategies much more commonly practiced in Chuuk that did not burden others significantly. They noted, traditional ("local") food is abundant at no financial cost (often described as "free"), and is easily accessible when one actively seeks it.

"Laila" described the importance of land, as the living conditions of most Chuukese in Guam don't allow for adequate subsistence farming, and the reliance on money to acquire food proves itself a burden.

I would say um... Like, plant- I don't know. Um, 'cuz back home we, like we plant our own food. And we cut the, the taro, the breadfruit, and then we fix it. And here... they have to pay for it. Because um, you don't have land. And it's really hard to get land here. Most Chuukese are just staying in the apartments, you know, and, yeah. I feel like it would be easier if, you know, we have our land here.

Many participants also described asking family members and friends for both food and money as a last resort. The types of food requested were notably cheaper foods, such as canned goods, bulk meats, rice, or packaged ramen. Participants usually asked for only what is needed until the next perceived time of food security, although it is also noted that those whom are asked are sometimes food insecure themselves. Asking for money highlighted a cultural shift in which cash and store bought items displace subsistence food sharing and societal relationships. This level of familial or communal responsibility extended from traditional Chuukese subsistence culture, which relied heavily on collective partnerships. Without the numbers of extended family and community in Guam, strategies that relied on cultural relationships were notably limited.

“Kisha” described asking relatives for food items during times of food insecurity in Guam and noted that requested food items are not excessive but are meant to satisfy the household in the short term.

When they don't have enough food? (clears throat) Um, sometimes calling relatives? And ask for help or, oh no, um... like do you have um, extra rice, can I just get a few cups? Or a pack of chicken... Yeah... 'Cuz even salt, you know? Hey, do you have uh, extra salt?”

Participants described times in which they were gifted food items from family members, friends, and fellow community members. Gifts were usually given or shared with when others take notice of participants' hardships, therefore they were rarely asked for. Gifts were usually food items, though monetary gifts were reported, as well. As such, instances of gifting and sharing primarily occurred during times of plenty. To emphasize the cultural bonds these strategies claim,

participants also described gifting or sharing with others when they themselves were able to.

“Lorna” described a time when her older sister gifted her and her family with food during their time of need. Upon learning about Lorna’s food insecurity due to a lapse of government assistance, her older sister took it upon herself to buy Lorna’s family food, despite Lorna’s protests.

So my older sister, the one- the one she came? She came to my house and she s- she knows that I don’t, we didn’t have rice. We didn’t- she noticed. Why you didn’t call me and ask me? I’m like, it’s okay. We- we got it. We still got it. Tomorrow, I’ll bring up our ta- our- my (SNAP) papers. She said, no, I’ll- I have to go buy. So she get us food- food. She buy us rice, and then um, can- canned meat for my kids? Oh, thanks a lot. (laughs)

However, participants explicitly expressed how different the acts of gifting and sharing were in Guam as opposed to their home islands in Chuuk. It is noted that the practices were not as common in Guam, ultimately straining many Chuukese households in the process. Common reasons suggested that gifting and sharing were not always feasible in Guam, as limited resources and lack of communal and familial networks were more limiting in Guam than in Chuuk. Simply put, gifting and sharing was difficult when one rarely has anything to gift or share.

“Epot” suggested that the difference in sharing in Guam was because of the amount of “problems” that families face. She suggested that one of those problems may be the lack of resources that are able to support more than one household.

No, I think in Chuuk it’s... uh, in Chuuk, they still, but maybe here, like less. Because we have plenty (laughs) uh, things to do, mm... Like, plenty (indiscernible) plenty problem (laughs)... Like, someone died, party... or, wedding... Yeah, plenty to do... Yeah but, back in Chuuk when they make the

kon? The breadfruit? They cook and they share, too. The family. Even the fish, when they come back from catching fish? They like, share. That's why in Chuuk, they still, but here? I think we don't have enough to share (laughs).

Cash Economy

Participants identified their susceptibility to food insecurity as being directly influenced by the cash economy in Guam. Figure 2 provides a code tree diagram of the Cash Economy thematic category. The first theme, *Lowering Food Costs*, consists of codes that described various strategies that participants used to actively lower the cost of food. Such strategies entailed favoring cheaper foods, such as packaged ramen and rice, specifically purchasing canned goods for their shelf life, and comparing food prices between multiple stores.

The second code family, *Access to Traditional Chuukese Food in Guam ("Local")*, consists of codes that compare the access to traditional Chuukese food in Guam to that in Chuuk (Figure 2). Many participants emphasized the high cost of their traditional foods, as well as the lack of traditional tools needed to cook such cuisine, as the primary barriers to accessibility.

In Chuuk, many participants own land in which they practice subsistence farming, and have tools with which they can catch fish or crabs, all within a web of extensive familial networks. Participants even went so far as to describe the differences between Guam and their home islands, where in Guam all transactions specifically involve money. They often reminisced about their home islands where subsistence farming is still widely practiced and where traditional food is abundant ("free").

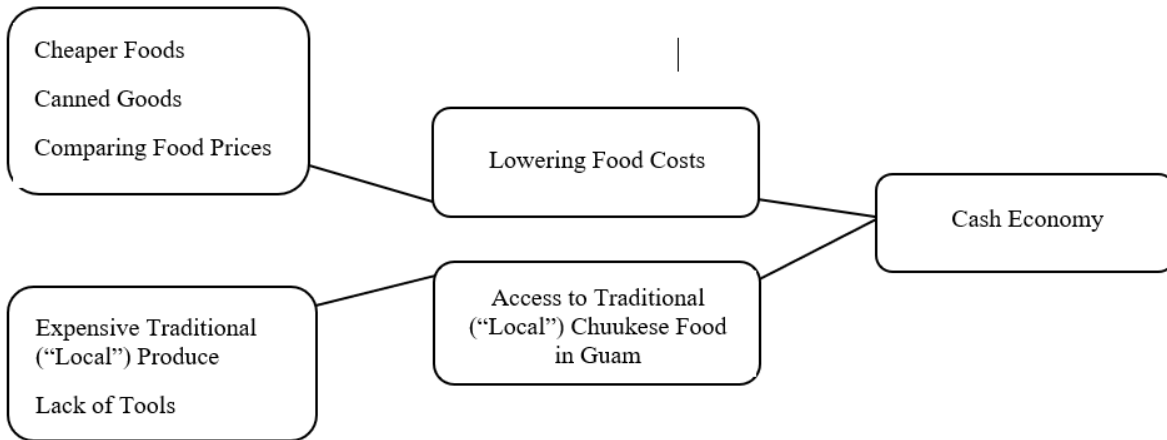


Figure 2. Cash Economy code tree dendrogram.

“Sally” described the contrast in food acquisition between Guam and Chuuk. She described how easily she obtains food in her home island through foraging and family networks. On the other hand, she describes how hard obtaining food in Guam is, given the dependency on a cash economy.

Hard... Yeah, ‘cuz if we- if I work, I have food... ‘Cuz I go buy. But in Chuuk, free. I just stay home and like, think, “Oh, tomorrow, what I’m gonna eat? What I’m gonna give my family?” So I went to the jungle, I pick the stalk. I- like, I- my bro- if I have brother, “Oh, tomorrow I go get the... breadfruit, and you, you go to the water, go catch fish. So tomorrow we’ll barb- barbeque...” Yeah. But over here, hard, because we- we eat with money. We stay with money. We... we go- we go on the road with money... Everything money. But in Chuuk, free.

“Robert” emphasized the cultural impact of a cash economy on Chuukese society, explaining that a loss of culture in almost every aspect occurs when money is relied on too heavily for things like food.

But back home, in Chuuk? Even if you don't work, you still can... go get your own fish, get, you know, make coconut. I mean, the breadfruit... It's not like here that you pay rent, pay... so you- uh, it's- it's- different, you know. But nowadays that you're kind of adopting the... money is everything? So, it's kind of changing now. Kind of lo- loss... the respect... Usually the eld- oldest of the family will be the one that... will be like... be the one that will be respected among all the 'cuz- but now? If the oldest is money-less? (laughs) And the younger has money? And he's the one that will get the respect. Not the older, uh, one. So that's- some families are like that now. In Chuuk.... 'Cuz especially when it comes to like... you're the oldest, right? And my so- my daughter, one guy is asking for marriage, right? And usually, I'm not the one to be say yes. My oldest or my- my oldest sister or my oldest brother will be the one decide yes or no. For my kids... But now? It's changing, now... I think it's just because of the money... Ru- ruining the culture that money... Money is ruining it. Ruining it.

The shift in culture described by Robert shines a light on the difficulties many Chuukese migrants and their families face when adjusting to Guam's cash economy. The reliance on money coupled with the loss of access to land and fishing resources is causing a shift in traditional Chuukese values. When emphasis is placed on money and what it can provide for a food insecure family, a conflict with cultural values that developed under a different resource base arises. A shift from subsistence food to money disrupts familial roles that were traditionally relied upon. Therefore, Chuukese families are pushed to develop strategies to cope with the learning curve necessary to adapt to Guam's cash economy.

Strategies utilized to lower food costs included purchasing cheaper foods and comparing food prices between stores. Participants often

preferred, and most often were forced to, purchase cheaper foods when shopping. Such foods named included canned goods, such as canned mackerel, as well as chicken leg quarters, turkey tails, rice, and packaged ramen. Because of the demands of a cash economy, participants prioritized affordability. Participants also noted that cheaper foods tend to have a longer shelf life, which help extend periods of food security. Such strategies include but are not limited to shopping for low-cost and value foods in the form of bulk foods, inexpensive foods sale items, expired (or possibly soon to be) items and items covered by coupons.

“Robert” described the Chuukese community’s affinity for rice, and compared its price and shelf life to that of pounding *kon*, a traditional Chuukese breadfruit dish, which is much more expensive on Guam and can only feed so many.

Bag of rice is what, twenty five? Twenty six? These- these Chuukese, they don’t really like any other rice than the Diamond G (laughs) I don’t know why (laughs)... And if you get that... three or two *kon*? Sometimes they se- five, dollars, six dollars, so you get four, but you- you only eat those in two days. But the fifty pound rice, for two weeks, one week? And it’s (laughs) everybody share the rice.

Moreover, participants compared food prices at different stores to obtain the best deals at the cheapest price. This, in turn, required participants to travel to multiple stores when food shopping. Participants also described comparing sale prices at numerous stores in order to obtain the best price, and favoring certain stores for specific food items.

“Sally” explained how she checks the prices of certain foods at different stores, then buys from the most affordable location based on sale offerings.

I go like... I go to [Store A]? It's... the just uh, about the chicken. The case of chicken. Or case of spareribs. Payless, twenty seven. And I oh, I go check, I don't have enough for that one. So I went to the... went to the [Store B]. So that one is twenty seven, [Store B], twenty- twenty four ninety. And I, okay, I buy here 'cuz that's the cheaper one. So the cheap,.. Payless, cheaper. 'Cuz every, sometimes they put down sixty-sixty ninety nine, [Store A] it's thirteen ninety nine. So I check. I re- I go to the other store, go, go to the other one and uh, other store too, so if it's same? But the first one I saw it's cheaper? Next day, I go back to the other store.

Entrepreneurship

Participants utilized strategies that applied entrepreneurial efforts to increase money or food items coming into the household. Some strategies were straightforward in that participants sell handcrafted items or offer traditional homeopathic services, such as the code strategies described within the *Extra Money for Household* code family, while other strategies involved a type of barter system that exchanged lower valued food items for higher valued food items, such as the code strategy described in the Barter System code family (Figure 3).

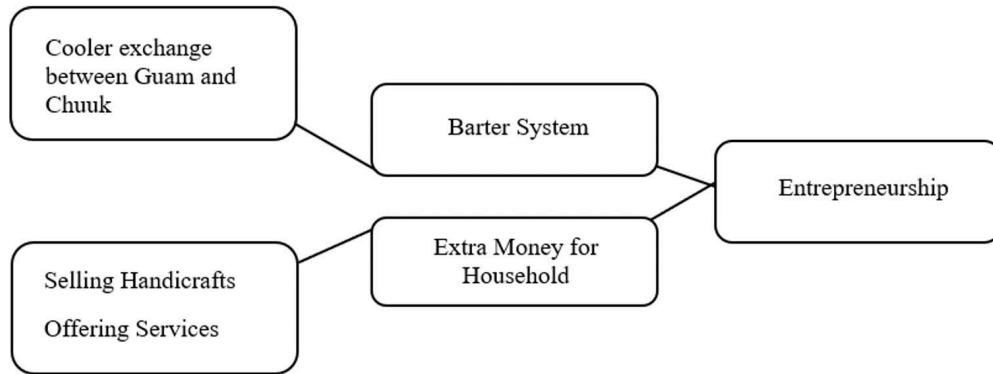


Figure 3. Entrepreneurship code tree dendrogram.

The barter system, in particular, utilized coolers travelling between Guam and Chuuk. Coolers traveling from Guam usually contained Western items, such as potato chips and snack items, while coolers returning from Chuuk usually contained traditional Chuukese cuisine, such as crabs, fish, and local produce. The process was entirely reciprocal, as such exchange items are of high value to each receiver.

This barter system took advantage of the dichotomy between Western cash economy prices and traditional Chuukese subsistence culture prices. The affordability of Western canned goods and the high price of traditional (“local”) Chuukese food in Guam was different in Chuuk, where foods from the grocery store were expensive while local food was easily obtainable. This barter system utilized coolers traveling between Guam and Chuuk.

“Lorna” explained how her family takes advantage of her father’s frequent travels between Guam and Chuuk to request for local Chuukese food. She then described how her sister also sends local food to Guam whenever someone she knows is travelling in exchange for things she needs.

So, we ask our (laughs) we ask our dad to go to Chuuk so he can get us (laughs) local food... Or, ask- 'cuz um, my second sister? She, she went back to Chuuk?... We usually call her and, can you get us food? Local food? It's like, oh I'm gonna give to- just go ask the people, they came out (laughs). They want to travel out to Guam (laughs)... If she found like, if she see somebody to bring? Then, yeah. But if she doesn't know anybody to bring our local food? We ask our dad, can you go Chuuk?... Then we, um, my sisters and my brothers? We have to get the cooler, put stuff, whatever she wants. Like chips (laughs) pancake, the pancake mix... canned meat for her kids... You can bring two cooler. One for fish, one for only the local food... We know that, dad is coming like, today. We all get ready to fix food for dad to eat? The one we cook here? And we're gonna go finish out the (laughs) food in the cooler (laughs)

Other entrepreneurial strategies were more straightforward in that participants sold items or offered services in exchange for money. Items sold were specifically described as cultural adornments, such as traditional Micronesian headpieces called *mwar mwar* or traditional floor mats. Many participants described such sales as helpful in making just enough money to pay for immediate needs, such as bottles of drinking water or household bills.

“Kisha” described creating and selling *mwar mwars* on social media for extra money. She explained that the money obtained from the sales help cover household expenses, such as water.

And then me, for example, I'm making the *mwar mwar*?... The lei? 'Cuz some people, they like to use it to match to their outfit? Go to church and stuff like that?... So I if- so I made it out of the foam sheets? And then I will sell it... I do that like, and it comes in really, um, good on a- on hand because sometimes when I need water, money for water, it helps also.

Managing Food Supply

Strategies that required participants to manage their food supplies took place with readily available food. Within the *Stretching Food* code family, participants described “stretching” their food stores with specific cooking methods and recipes, while limiting the amount of food purchased (Figure 4). Such strategies maximized food servings and utilized leftovers. Within the Portioning Food code family, participants “portioned” food amounts over a planned time period, usually with the use of bulk items (Figure 4). Such portions varied among household members, which sometimes resulted in certain members eating less than others. Ultimately, the goal of strategies that manage food supply was to ensure that the household has enough food supply to last until the next anticipated time of plenty.

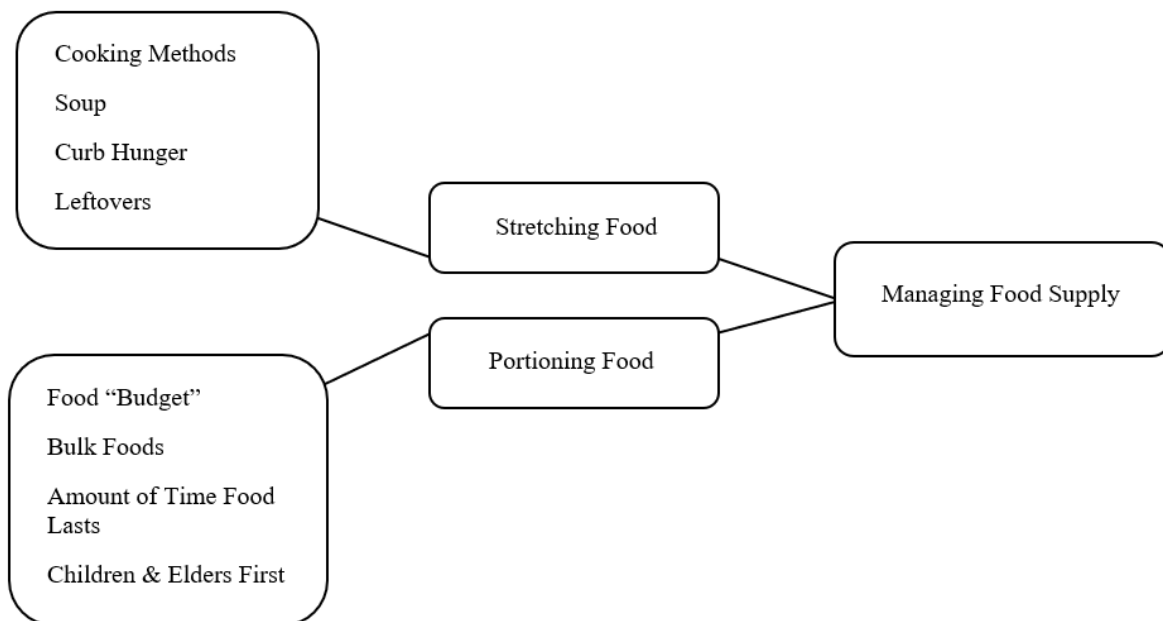


Figure 4. Managing Food Supply code tree dendrogram.

One way participants stretched the amount of food they have in order to last during times of food shortage was by cooking specific meals

or using specific recipes that not only utilized less food, but also stretched what little they have. Participants in this study described a similar process of cooking “soup” with rice and whatever meat is available. As rice was a cheaper food that can be purchased in bulk, it was commonly found in food insecure households. By adding more water to rice, a type of “soup” was created from a relatively small portion that is thus stretched to satisfy the entire household. To improve the taste, participants described adding various condiments, such as soy sauce or sugar.

“Mary Ann” described her cooking process for soup, which involves the rice cooker. She also described the consistency she aims for.

Um, when I cook the rice?... The rice cooker, four cup, four water. Four rice, four water. So me? I will take two cups, four water. It means, soup! The rice is getting bigger... That, I eat... Soup. (laughs) The soup, only the rice? Um, the water? I think it's two cup rice? Two cup rice. The cooker cup? It's too little. So I will use the cup rice? Four water. Two cup rice and four water. Match, then put on the stove. Then the rice, it's getting bigger. Bigger than the rice cooker I put four cups, four water. So, two cup rice, four cup water, join together, it's very big. So it's soup. Not hard. Uh, it's soft. Yeah. So, you know the bread? The flour. The flour? I will cup, one cup rice? And, um, two cup water. Put in the pot. So when it's uh, what's that? Cook! So, I will cup the flour? Only one? And put inside? So, the rice, it's not soft. It's very big, but it's um, little hard. Because the flour. Mix together with the rice. So it's soup but it's not soft. It's not too much water.

Participants intentionally portioned food amounts based on specific time periods, such as the amount of days until the next pay day. The portioning process began with participants estimating, or calculating, how much food they must consume (and save) daily until

they can acquire more food. Participants described this calculation as a food “budget,” which pertained to the food itself rather than a budget of financials. It is noted that participants did not describe budgeting their financials.

The food item’s shelf life dictated its potential to be portioned and saved. That is, if instant ramen can be kept for several months, participants mentally noted that a box of it can last the household until the next time of plenty. From that point of mental calculation and preemptive planning, buying low priced packaged food in bulk and forming a stockpile (when possible) was determined to be the most economic decision.

“Robert” compared the price and shelf life of rice to that of pounding *kon*, a traditional Chuukese breadfruit dish, which is not only more expensive on Guam, but is also limited in portions.

Bag of rice is what, twenty-five? Twenty-six?... And if you get that... three or two *kon*? Sometimes they se- five, dollars, six dollars, so you get four, but you- you only eat those in two days. But the fifty pound rice, for two weeks, one week? And it’s (laughs) everybody share the rice.

Finally, participants also planned ahead by purposely purchasing bulk items of cheaper foods, such as canned mackerel, sausage, and instant ramen, to not only increase the amount of food within the household, but to also capitalize on sale prices often offered for such items. As times of plenty usually corresponded with pay days or government assistance schedules, purchasing in bulk ensured that the household had enough food to last until the next time of economic inflow. It was common that when bulk items were purchased, they too were portioned according to household anticipated needs.

“Laila” described she and her sister’s preference for instant ramen, which tended to last them a couple of weeks. She said, “Mm. Like... we just eat, like, ramen? ‘Cuz usually that’s what we get, because, you know, like box of ramen. So it can last more. More than two weeks (laughs)”

Households with children, elders, or even visitors showed high levels of portioning, as these individuals were given special consideration. As such, many household members who did not fall in those three categories sometimes went without eating or reduced the amounts they ate in order to preserve food portions. A similar strategy is found in the study conducted by Kempson et al. (2003), where participants reported restricting personal food intake by depriving themselves for others, going completely without food, or limiting number of eating occasions. However, other strategies that are described by Kempson et al. (2003) were not echoed in this study, such as overeating, eating expired food, obtaining free samples, or roadkill, or eating on a monthly cycle that limited foods near the end of the month.

“Sally” described purposely portioning food specifically for her dad, regardless of his protests to save more for her own family. This statement may lead to the assumption that food portions may extend beyond the immediate household, given cultural ties to family.

Because I cannot eat without my dad... So if- if like, very small the... food. So I cannot eat... only me and my kids and my boyfriend? And I, oh, nevermind my dad ‘cuz my dad very strong. No. (laughs) I, I share ‘cuz I really uh, love my dad to just whatever me and my kids and my boyfriend eat? We just share with my dad... Sometimes my dad don’t eat and I ask him, oh, you- did you eat? Oh, no, I save for your kids. No, you come, you eat. If we eat, uh, you have to eat with them. No, ‘cuz not enough. No, no, you come, I give you. You eat (laughs).

Conclusions and Recommendations

From the findings of this study, it is apparent that key recommendations for improving food security within the study community should be based on supporting agricultural practices with which migrants are familiar. Subsistence practices, such as farming, foraging, gathering, and fishing, were not only reminisced of by participants as common practices in their home island, but also noted to be the preferred methods of achieving food security in Guam. However, because of a lack of access to land, participants almost always followed their description of subsistence practices with reasons as to why it is difficult to achieve. The following recommendations seek to address such barriers to subsistence practices in Guam.

The desire to practice subsistence farming in Guam was echoed by every participant. In addition to the desire to engage in subsistence production, the participants also possessed the knowledge and experience to do so. A majority of participants described not only utilizing private plantings in Chuuk to support their households, but also relying on such resources when purchased foods were unobtainable. Studies show that investing in subsistence practices and local production improves the food environment in under-resourced communities (Drescher et al., 2006; Zenk et al., 2011).

The primary barrier to subsistence practices identified by the participants was the lack of access to available land. To support the subsistence aspirations of the participants and to address the barriers identified, one recommendation is accessible land plots via community allotment gardens. Originating in Europe, allotment gardens are a component of urban agriculture that allocates parcels of land to households for subsistence use (Drescher et al., 2006). Unlike community gardens, which are managed by several households within a community, allotment gardens are allocated by government or private entities and are each individually tended to by a household (Holmer et al., 2003; Drescher et al., 2006). As transportation and time were not indicated as hindrances by participants, the availability of land may not

be limited by proximities, but by sufficient space and water access. Although, the closer the land is to the household, the better for all parties involved.

Often, due to the advocacy and collaboration between authorities, interest groups, and residents, community empowerment becomes a relevant output of allotment gardens (Drescher et al., 2006). Successful implementation of subsistence practices within low-income and low-resource communities refocuses food production and consumption from corporate, or cash driven, food supply, to local food economies (Allen, 2010; Meenar & Hoover, 2012). Given that many participants expressed difficulties in navigating Guam's cash economy in terms of food acquisition, in contrast to their lived experiences with a subsistence economy, enabling these individuals to engage in subsistence practices would allow these communities to draw on their intrinsic resources to dramatically increase their food security.

A similar recommendation is the implementation of urban agroforestry (food forests) via small-scale edible landscapes in public spaces. Urban agroforestry combines the elements of urban agriculture, urban forestry, and agroforestry with the use of perennial food-producing trees and shrubs (Clark & Nicholas, 2013). As green infrastructure programs, such as urban forestry, are usually large scale endeavors and involve the collaboration of numerous stakeholders (McClain et al., 2012), small-scale edible landscapes in public spaces may be easier to implement and maintain in Guam. Such edible landscapes can fill a number of landscape functions. For example, parking lot perimeters lined with fruit and food producing trees, shrubs, and herbaceous perennials would satisfy urban agroforestry standards.

For shade, fruit trees such as breadfruit, mango, avocado, Malungay (*Moringa oleifera*) and coconuts are excellent locally adapted trees. Shrubs and perennials that produce food (fruit, tubers or leafy greens) can be used as barrier plantings and hedges. Some species suitable for urban hedges include casava, chaya, and edible hibiscus (*Abelmoschus manihot*). For barrier plantings or windbreaks, fruit trees such as

soursop, citrus, and fig thrive in island climates. Sweet potato is also commonly used as a low traffic area ground cover, while bananas and sugar cane are used as barrier plantings. All previously listed plantings can replace current non-native ornamental landscapes that dominate government spaces.

Regulations can also be developed to promote proper cultivation and management of urban agroforestry. Such regulations would focus on a harvest ethos centered on sustainability, and would establish proper precautions to ensure low-resource households have controlled access to fruits and leafy greens. Since many participants described foraging and gathering practices in Guam, institutional plantings would increase access to local produce in a process already practiced by low-resource households. Public landscapes maximized for low maintenance sustainable agro-forests not only integrate multiple ecosystems, but also improve urban resiliency and well-being (Clark & Nicholas, 2013). Elevitch (2015), provides an excellent resource of ideas and species to help a community program establish Agroforestry Landscapes.

Other agriculturally backed recommendations focus on the gardening limitation of Guam's government housing entity, the Guam Housing and Urban Renewal Authority (GHURA). One simple policy recommendation is for GHURA to encourage selective planting by its clients. Although government housing communities may be limited by space, planting shade giving fruit trees in an organized manner would provide both shade and fruit for residents. If managed correctly, fruit trees support community beautification guidelines. GHURA regulations may be put into place to ensure that housing residents are the sole receivers of the fruit produced.

Low-resource households residing in Section 8 housing offer a different set of obstacles in practicing subsistence agriculture. Residents in Section 8 housing are not only limited by GHURA regulations, but also that of their land lords as well. Therefore, a policy recommendation for both Section 8 housing and GHURA communities alike is to allow the use of container gardens beside each residence. Container gardens mitigate

the lack of available land resources. Although container gardens may not be optimal for growing fruit trees, other popular subsistence crops such as taro and sweet potatoes could be easily cultivated by residents. Container gardens may be adjusted to fit the requirements of many housing arrangements, adding to its diversity and ease of application.

The final recommendation focuses on the need for further research on this topic. As the USDA 18-Item Household Food Security Survey Module was used solely as a filtering tool for the qualitative phase of this study, no further statistical analyses were conducted. However, preliminary results of the survey not only placed participants in their respective food insecurity categories, but also indicated the collective presence of food insecurity within the study community overall. The need for expansion on previous efforts would be accomplished by implementing further studies utilizing the USDA Module to quantify levels of food security among multiple populations using appropriate sample sizes. Further investigations of various communities' levels of food insecurity would create a tangible outlook on the relationships between Guam's resident communities and their accessibility to nutritious food. Having a clearer view of such a landscape would lead to the implementation of policies and practices that would best suit each unique community.

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The Benefits of Using Relevant Materials in Cooperative English Classrooms on Yap

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This research study investigates practices of English language teachers on Yap Island, Federated States of Micronesia, specifically on how they bridge gaps between coursebooks and the needs of English Language Learners by using relevant materials and by delivering instructions related to *Postmethod Pedagogy*. Data was collected through a questionnaire survey, interviews, and an observation checklist. The participants of this study consisted of 10 English language teachers who are currently teaching language arts (English) classes at public schools on Yap. Their home island is Yap Island, where they were raised. Results of the study revealed that the teachers on Yap use a coursebook as one of their references. They supplement teaching materials by relating the materials to students' understandings and deliver instructions with familiar and simple examples for their students. Recommendations for future research include in-person class observation, a greater number and variety of participants, and longitudinal surveys.

There are many ways to teach the English language, but most teachers use teaching materials such as coursebooks¹, handouts, and audio or visual aids. As McGrath (2016) noted, although there are arguments for and against the use of coursebooks, teachers can utilize coursebooks to plan each lesson and supplement the coursebooks if there are gaps between the contents in the coursebooks and needs of their learners. Many studies have been conducted to identify more relevant teaching practices for learners (e.g., Bomer, 2017; Eusafzai, 2015; Kusuma, 2016; Lopez, 2011; Yarmakeev, Pimenova &

¹ Coursebooks are books which are used as aids to fulfilling the aims and objectives (McGrath, 2016) of learning in a course, such as textbooks, workbooks, and exercise books. In the FSM National Government Department of Education [NDOE] (2020), a term, *textbooks and learning materials*, is used. In this paper, *materials* indicates both verbal and non-verbal materials. Materials include coursebooks, handouts, flash cards, activities, such as games and projects, oral explanations, picture books, music clips, and video clips. NDOE (2020) shows a list of recommended textbooks and learning materials; however, the Department of Education at each state provides coursebooks for schools, and teachers are in charge of selecting teaching materials.

Zamaletdinova, 2016). The concept of culture-based learning is tightly connected to relevant materials. In an English classroom, learners develop their knowledge and their skills through activities based on materials. Some studies argue for the importance of culture-based learning and agree that materials used in a classroom should be relevant to learners' lives in order to activate learners' prior knowledge for better understanding of the topic or the content (e.g., Kusuma, 2016; Yarmakeev et al., 2016).

The Federated States of Micronesia (FSM) consists of four states, one of which is Yap state.² In the FSM, multiple languages are spoken. Each state has at least one language indigenous to it. In those states with multiple islands, multiple indigenous languages may be present. Moreover, migration to and between islands may increase the number of languages further. English is officially used as the mode of instruction in schools; it is taught as content in schools, as well. Even though the native languages and cultures are valued for students to find their identities, the native languages are not taught sufficiently as reading and writing skills (Henry, 2015; Hezel, 2002). Students in the FSM do not have many opportunities to learn native languages and cultures at schools because the priority there is for them to start learning the English language as their second language (Henry, 2015; Hezel, 2002; FSM National Government Department of Education [NDOE], 1997). Local languages are used as a medium of instruction, but not as the object of instruction. It is possible that cognitive skills are not being developed to the fullest in the first languages due to lack of trained staff and lack of dictionaries, grammars, and reading materials for the local languages (NDOE, 1997). Coursebooks provided for English courses on the Yap Island, the biggest island in the Yap states of the FSM, are adapted from the United States and the contents of the coursebooks are not closely relevant to the students (e.g., FSM National Government Department of Health, Education and Social Affairs [HESA], 2015; NDOE, 1997). In such

² The author worked in a high school on Yap Island as a volunteer from 2007 to 2008, and worked at a college on Pohnpei Island, where the capital of the FSM is located, as a full-time instructor from 2012 to 2018. These experiences brought the author concerns about teaching materials and teachers' practices in English classrooms in the FSM. The author chose schools on Yap Island because the family of her husband is there, and also because Yapese people still have their traditional culture.

teaching contexts in the FSM, relevant materials considering the students' native language and culture promote the students' literacy and higher order thinking skills. Also, English language teachers play an important role in meeting the students' needs. However, few studies have described the teaching practices on Yap, in terms of relevant materials in English classrooms.

The purpose of this research was to explore and describe the Yapese English language teachers' practices on Yap. Describing these practices revealed how the teachers supplement teaching materials and deliver instruction in order to make contents of coursebooks and activities more relevant to their students in an English class. Identifying teachers' practices can help teachers become more aware of the benefits of using relevant materials in English classrooms, as well as to inform practices in this field. The more the teachers are aware, the more opportunities their students will have to learn contents in coursebooks related to their real lives. Overall, this can enhance students' motivation and deepen understanding of the topics that are taught.

The research questions in this study were:

1. What are the attitudes and perceptions of Yapese English language teachers on Yap toward coursebooks provided in English courses at public schools?
2. How do Yapese English language teachers on Yap supplement their teaching materials and deliver instructions in order to make contents of coursebooks and activities more relevant to their students?

Culturally-relevant Materials

In a teaching context, relevant materials play an important role in enhancing learners' motivation and deeper understanding of the topics that are taught. Here, what does the term relevant materials refer to? Looking into current studies, the term *relevant materials* refers to materials which are linked to learners' lives, cultures, native languages,

communities, or local cultural, political, and social knowledge (Bomer, 2017; Eusafzai, 2015; Kusuma, 2016; Lopez, 2011; Yarmakeev et al., 2016). From those studies, the author found that the concept of culture-based learning is tightly connected to relevant materials. In an English classroom, learners develop their knowledge and their skills through activities based on materials. Some studies argue the importance of culture-based learning and agree that materials used in a classroom should be relevant to learners' lives in order to activate learners' prior knowledge for better understanding of the topic or the content (Kusuma, 2016; Yarmakeev et al., 2016). Students have knowledge and competence as members of a community, so teachers should guide them towards realizing the knowledge that they have within their own culture (Bomer, 2017).

In addition, Lopez (2011) studied an example of culturally relevant teaching in a secondary school in Canada. The research examined how a teacher uses culturally relevant pedagogy in diverse English classrooms and encourages students' engagements (Lopez, 2011). According to Lopez (2011), the participants were a teacher at a secondary school and her students in the 12th grade. Data were collected from journals, classroom observations in an English class, and dialogues in meetings with the researcher and the teacher. Lopez (2011) reported, "Student voices and experiences became central in the learning and construction of knowledge" (p. 84). Culturally relevant teaching also creates cooperative learning environments (Lopez, 2011).

In the FSM, the needs of culturally relevant materials have been noted (HESA, 2015; NDOE, 1997). It was discovered that English materials in the FSM were not appropriate for instructional purposes because the settings, role model portrayal, language use, and topical issues convey a different set of values and attitudes from what should be emphasized in the FSM education system (NDOE, 1997). Even 18 years after this discovery, development of instructional materials is still required in each state (HESA, 2015). Not only should instructional strategies and materials be appropriate to the language needs and usage of the FSM students, but also the students should be introduced to

English through materials that convey content information important to the economic and social development of the FSM (HESA, 2015; NDOE, 1997). According to NDOE (1997), there have been teaching practices regarding culturally relevant materials, such as local language materials and instructional methods devised by the U.S Peace Corps; however, there are minimal studies surrounding the use of culturally relevant material on Yap, especially teaching practices by Yapese English language teachers.

English Language Teaching in the FSM

The FSM consists of four states: From east to west, Kosrae, Pohnpei, Chuuk, and Yap. Each state has one or more languages that are indigenous to the islands of that state. For some states, the indigenous language of one or more of the islands beyond the Capitol island will have a different language, and if those islanders move to the Capitol island, they usually develop bilingual clusters. According to HESA (2015), the FSM has over 13 major languages or dialects, and no two states share the same major language. English is the primary means of communication among the citizens of the different states in the FSM and the language of government and business (HESA, 2015). English serves as the second language for the FSM people when they communicate with people from different islands, and it also serves as a foreign language in many of the remote islands (NDOE, 1997). English is the first language of less than two percent of FSM students (HESA, 2015); however, textbooks and methodologies in language arts are shifting toward teaching English as if it was the first language of students (NDOE, 1997).

The education system of the FSM is based on a United States model comprised of four levels: Early Childhood Education (ECE), Elementary, Secondary, and Post-Secondary (NDOE, 2021). The ECE level is for ages 3 to 5 years; the elementary schools have the 1st grade to the 8th grade for students at ages of 6 to 13 years; and the secondary consists of the 9th grade to the 12th grade for ages of 14 to 18 yrsrs (NDOE, 2021). According to Henry (2015), students in public schools in the FSM learn local languages from kindergarten to the 3rd grade, but after the 3rd

grade, local languages are not taught as subject matter in the public schools. For FSM students, there is limited access to materials written in their native languages. These students have very little exposure at school to materials or experiences in their own native languages. Therefore, they acquire their native language speech and understanding from their surroundings (Henry, 2015).

Halsted (2015) reported results from an interview survey on Yap, FSM. The participants were asked about the level of mastery of the Yapese language, as well as their frequency and situational use of the language. The number of the participants was seven, one male and six females. The participants were born in Yap, and the age range of the participants was 15 - 38 years old. Even young, native islanders of this group, who were born into Yapese-speaking households, had very limited local language mastery and few participants responded that they had full literacy in the Yapese language (Halsted, 2015). Halsted reported (p. 7), "Although 71% considered Yapese their first language, only 43% said they could both read and write well in the language."

According to Yunick (2000), during the early days of U.S. Navy occupation from 1945-1947, and Naval administration of Trusteeship from 1947-1951, there were discussions on bilingual education where the Micronesian people would hold and value their own speech for carrying on their local affairs, yet they would also come to know English well. Yunick (2000) reported, during that time, some linguists also recommended, "Literacy initially be taught in indigenous languages and that indigenous languages be used as the medium of instruction, in opposition to the very early cram-in-as-much-English-as-possible strategy" (p. 188).

According to Hezel (2002), Micronesian people argued that identity is grounded in culture and language. They believe that culture is the most important thing to be learned in school, and local languages should be a priority even though it means de-emphasizing English (Hezel, 2002). However, the priority of teaching Micronesian languages is still low for Micronesians (Halsted, 2015; Rehg, 2004; Yunick, 2000). One of

the reasons is that there is a belief that Micronesian languages are adequate for carrying out the social functioning of Micronesian societies (Yunick, 2000), and speech is dominant over writing (Henry, 2015). Also, a lack of trained teachers has been an issue (Halsted, 2015; HESA, 2015; Hezel, 2002; NDOE, 1997; Rehg, 2004). Local languages are more often used as a medium of instruction, but are not consistently the object of instruction. Cognitive skills are not being developed in the first languages due to lack of trained staff and lack of dictionaries, grammars, and reading materials in local languages (NDOE, 1997). Rehg (2004) stated, “It is generally true that vernacular language education is of low priority compared to English” (p. 500).

In these contexts in the FSM, relevant materials considering the native language and culture of the ELLs promote students’ literacy and higher order thinking skills. Hezel (2002) stated that elements of traditional culture such as oral history can be taught along with the other goals of education. Yarmakeev et al. (2016) conducted a study about teaching local knowledge in an English as a Foreign Language (EFL) class in a university in Russia. Yarmakeev et al. (2016) stated, “Local lore serves as a key to understand a foreign culture, for a study of a foreign culture is possible only on the base of the national culture” (p. 1214). Burroughs and Marie (1995) conducted a research study in Micronesia about the context of communicating with others in his or her native language compared to communication in English, a non-native language to the participants. Questionnaires were given to college students who enrolled in the Community College of Micronesia. The questionnaire was written in the participants’ native languages. As Burroughs and Marie (1995) reported, compared to when speaking in English, Micronesian students were less anxious, more willing to initiate communication with others, and perceived themselves as more competent when they speak in their native language. Those factors are essential to language learning and can be utilized as teaching methods in English classes.

Prior studies support that when English is taught at schools in the FSM, it is necessary to consider how instructions should be delivered in order to cultivate ELLs’ prior knowledge based on their native language

and culture. Instructions should be well-balanced in the relationship between the native language and culture of the ELLs with the English language as their target language. Despite this identified need, there is no current literature which focuses on teaching practices with culturally-relevant materials delivered to ELLs in public schools on Yap.

Postmethod Pedagogy

When considering how best to use relevant materials in a teaching context, *Postmethod pedagogy* can be utilized. Postmethod pedagogy emphasizes the localization of pedagogy and celebrates local culture, teachers, and knowledge. The main strength of Postmethod pedagogy is the recognition of the socially and politically situated nature of teaching (Eusafzai, 2015). Postmethod pedagogy consists of the parameters of particularity, practicality, and possibility (Kumaravadivelu, 2003). Particularity means to be sensitive to a particular group of teachers, learners, and the contexts. Practicality refers to what teachers produce as their own personal theory of practice as they become more experienced. Postmethod pedagogy seeks to empower practicing teachers in their attempt to develop an appropriate pedagogy based on their local knowledge and local understanding (Kumaravadivelu, 2003). There exists a possibility for ELLs' experiences to help them appropriate the English language and use it in their own terms, according to their values and visions, and motivated by their sociocultural and historical background (Kumaravadivelu, 2003).

According to Eusafzai (2015), Postmethod pedagogy is an approach, which emphasizes localization of pedagogy and celebrates local culture, teachers, and knowledge. Postmethod pedagogy brings local teachers to the center and equips them to devise context specific pedagogical strategies (Eusafzai, 2015). Therefore, it is responsive to and responsible for local individual, institutional, social and cultural contexts, in which learning and teaching take place (Kumaravadivelu, 2003). As Kumaravadivelu (2003) described, the macrostrategic framework contains 10 principles for a teacher to use in the Postmethod pedagogy in a classroom context (p. 545-546):

1. *Maximize learning opportunities*: This macrostrategy is about teaching as a process of creating and utilizing learning opportunities, a process in which teachers strike a balance between their role as managers of teaching and their role as mediators of learning.
2. *Minimize perceptual mismatches*: This macrostrategy is about recognizing potential mismatches between teacher intention and learner interpretation, and what to do about them.
3. *Facilitate negotiated interaction*: This macrostrategy is about ensuring meaningful learner-learner, learner-teacher classroom interaction in which learners are entitled and encouraged to initiate topic and talk, not just react and respond.
4. *Promote learner autonomy*: This macrostrategy is about helping learners learn to learn, and learn to liberate; and about equipping them with the means necessary to self-direct and self-monitor their own learning.
5. *Foster language awareness*: This macrostrategy is about creating general as well as critical language awareness; and about drawing learners' attention to the formal and functional properties of the language.
6. *Activate intuitive heuristics*: This macrostrategy is about providing rich textual data so that learners can infer and internalize the underlying rules governing grammatical usage and communicative use; and about helping them in the process of their grammar construction.
7. *Contextualize linguistic input*: This macrostrategy is about how language usage and use are shaped by linguistic, social, and cultural contexts.

8. *Integrate language skills*: This macrostrategy is about holistic integration of language skills traditionally separated and sequenced as listening, speaking, reading, and writing; and about understanding the role of language across the curriculum.
9. *Ensure social relevance*: This macrostrategy is about the need for teachers to be sensitive to the societal, political, economic, and educational environment in which learning and teaching take place.
10. *Raise cultural consciousness*: This macrostrategy emphasizes the need to treat learners as cultural informants so that they are encouraged to engage in a process of classroom participation that puts a premium on their power/knowledge, on their subjectivity and identity.

The macrostrategy is a broad guideline. Based on this guideline, teachers generate their own situation-specific, need-based micro-strategies or classroom techniques: “What shape and form each will take will vary from country to country, from context to context, and in fact, teacher to teacher. Teachers can use the macrostrategic framework to begin to construct their own theory of practice” (Kumaravadivelu, 2003, p. 41).

Nugraha and Yulianto (2020) investigated English teachers’ perspectives towards the Postmethod pedagogy through classroom observations and semi-structured interviews. The participants were four Indonesian teachers who taught English at senior high schools in Indonesia. Nugraha and Yulianto (2020) found that the teachers strongly agreed with the principles of the Postmethod pedagogy. The teachers also strongly agreed that methods should be suited to the local needs and every English language teacher has his/her own methodology; however, they do not believe in themselves enough to produce their own teaching method (Nugraha & Yulianto, 2020).

Ahsanu (2019) conducted classroom observations, interviews, and document study on teaching perspectives and practices of English teachers who are teaching at senior secondary schools and universities

in Indonesia. Ahsanu (2019) described their teaching practices under the Postmethod paradigm and concluded that the Postmethod-oriented teaching promoted teachers to be more reflective. Ahsanu (2019) stated that with the Postmethod pedagogy, teachers were thinking about their practice, evaluating their teaching performance, making adjustments in their lessons, and making a change where necessary based on what is particular and practical in their teaching contexts.

In the literature, it has been found that culturally-relevant teaching and learning creates cooperative learning environments and promotes students' engagements. It may be a significant finding, especially on Yap Island, where students have little exposure to reading and writing in their native language. In this situation, the Postmethod pedagogy may help teachers teach the English language according to their own values and visions, and also based on their own sociocultural and historical background in Yap.

Methodology

This research study was conducted through a mixed-methods approach. Originally, it was designed to be conducted face-to-face in public schools on Yap. However, due to the travel restrictions caused by the COVID-19 pandemic, research instruments needed to be modified into online surveys.

The mixed-methods study occurred in February and March of 2021. First, the participants were asked to complete a questionnaire of 12 questions in Google Forms online survey (see Appendix A). Second, the researcher interviewed the participants via Zoom meetings online. The interview was semi-structured and took approximately 15 minutes for each teacher (see Appendix B). The interviews were recorded for accuracy, transcribed, and given back to participants to edit, confirm, or clarify responses. Last, observations were conducted of the teachers who sent a video of their English classes to the researcher. During observations, an observation checklist, devised by the researcher referring to Genesee and Upshur (1996), was used (see Appendix C) and

notes were taken by the researcher. Due to limitations of internet access and time, two participants could not respond to the questionnaire. Table 1 below shows the component of data collected.

Participants

The participants included 10 English language teachers, both female and male, who are currently teaching language arts (English) classes in public schools on Yap Island, Federated States of Micronesia (FSM). Their teaching levels vary from the first grade to the eighth grade. Their home island is Yap Island, where they were raised, and the participants have at least one parent of Yap origin. Participants' first language is the Yapese language.

Table 1

Component of Data Collected

Instruments	Data collected
Questionnaire survey (Appendix A)	Demographic information; Tendency of participants' general attitudes toward coursebooks and supplementation
Interview survey (Appendix B)	Attitudes and perspectives of English language teachers toward coursebooks and supplementation
Class observation (Appendix C)	Actual teaching practices in an English class

The participants were recruited with the assistance of Yap DOE. Due to limited communication with a coordinator at Yap DOE, the researcher could not recruit more teachers to have them participate in the questionnaire survey³.

³. Originally, the questionnaire survey was planned to be distributed at all of the public elementary schools on

Data Analysis

Table 2 below shows survey questions used in this research in order to provide answers to each research question. Data from the questionnaire were analyzed for general tendency of the participants as quantitative data.

Table 2
Survey Questions

Research Questions	Survey Questions
1. What are attitudes and perceptions of Yapese English language teachers on Yap toward coursebooks provided in English courses at public schools?	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Is there a coursebook for the course? (Questionnaire Q1-1)- Is the coursebook relevant to students? (Questionnaire Q1-3)- Do you supplement the coursebook? Or make materials by yourself? (Questionnaire Q2-1)- Why do (do not) you use a coursebook? (Interview Q2)- What usually cause you to supplement a coursebook? (Interview Q3)
2. How do Yapese English language teachers on Yap supplement their teaching materials and deliver instructions in order to make contents of coursebooks and activities more relevant to their ELLs?	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- How do you supplement the coursebook? (Questionnaire Q2-2)- Are your students receptive to the strategies you used in class? Why do you think so? (Questionnaire Q3)- Which materials did you supplement or devise? How did you do? (Questionnaire Section 3 Specific)- What are the benefits of supplementing a coursebook? (Interview Q4)- When supplementing, what do you pay the most attention to? (Interview Q5)- Do you think that your supplementation worked? If so, why do you think so? How do you know the supplementation work? (Interview Q6)

Yap Island when the author visited each school and gets permissions from the principles; however, the author could not travel to Yap due to the pandemic situation limits upon this research survey.

Information collected from the observations was described in this paper to support discussion of how relevant materials were actually used in classes. Recordings from interviews were transcribed and coded. Significant words and/or common patterns in transcripts were marked as codes and listed in a chart (see Appendix D). The codes were compared to find similarities and differences. Similar codes were categorized as a theme. Sequences and relationships between the themes are explained in diagrams in the following chapter.

Findings

Demographics

There were a total of 10 Yapese English language teachers: Nine female and one male; ages ranging from 30 to 60 years. The participants' teaching experiences varied: Two participants had 3-4 years of teaching experience; three had 5-10; and three had 10+. Two participants did not respond to this question. Participants taught different grade levels, ranging from 1st grade to 8th grade. Presented are the results of this inquiry.

Results for Research Question One

Questionnaire

Two participants answered that there is no coursebook for their English classes, while six participants answered that they use a coursebook. Six participants answered that the coursebook they use is relevant to students, one answered undecided, and one participant did not respond to the question. All participants answered that they supplement the coursebook.

Interview

The participants collectively responded that the main reason why they use a coursebook is that teachers can get right ideas and see the

concepts of what they teach to their students. Participant 4 stated, “I familiarize myself before teaching the kids and use those reference to come up with what I need to teach the kids.” Participant 2 shared that a coursebook is used as teachers’ reference book:

“Sometimes we skip some pages just to look for the right option of the topics. And also, for me, I use a textbook as a back-up to be sure of what I’m really teaching the students. Sometimes I forget things, so I use the textbook as my back-up or just to see the part or practice I know where to fix my worksheet.” (Participant 2)

In addition to the usage as a reference book, a coursebook is also used to share the same texts and pictures which are printed and seen by the whole class at one time as another participant expressed:

In reading, we have, like, stories in there we can use. We don’t have, I don’t have access to like printing. I can print stuff online to read and stuff, but it’s a lot of inks and papers to print. So, I just use the textbook. It’s here. We have access to it. It’s enough for everyone. (Participant 7)

Participants shared that coursebooks currently used in public schools on Yap have been used for a long time, but they have not been updated.

“The book we have has been using maybe almost or over 10 years ago. It’s... they are old. We are trying to keep the book neat and clean as much as we can.” (Participant 7)

“We are very limited with textbooks, coursebooks. ... in here for 8 years old, very long time. ... We try and get the concept and we try and create our own resources.” (Participant 9)

This inquiry also revealed that coursebooks provided to the participants for their English courses on Yap do not reflect something local in Yap. As mentioned by Participant 1, “Sometimes what is in the curriculum is not in the coursebook.” Participant 7 added, “Because our

textbook is like...it talks about snow and mountains. We don't have that. And weathers... They're not related to that and it's hard for them to understand." These are the main reasons which the participants cited that Yapese teachers need to supplement a coursebook.

Observation

Two classes were observed by the researcher through videos; one was a class of 1st grade students, and the other was a class of 7th grade students. No coursebook was used in the particular classes where the videos were recorded. Instead, the teachers prepared activities and exercises by themselves according to the objectives of the classes. The objective of the 1st grade class was to identify capitalization of months. Instead of opening a coursebook, the teacher prepared colored cards, each of which showed an upper-case letter or a lower-case letter. Also, the teacher showed examples of sentences on a chalkboard without a coursebook. The objective of the 7th grade class was to identify and make a sentence using relative pronouns. The teacher prepared a handout which gave example sentences of relative pronouns. The teacher also gave oral explanations and instructions to make sentences without a coursebook.

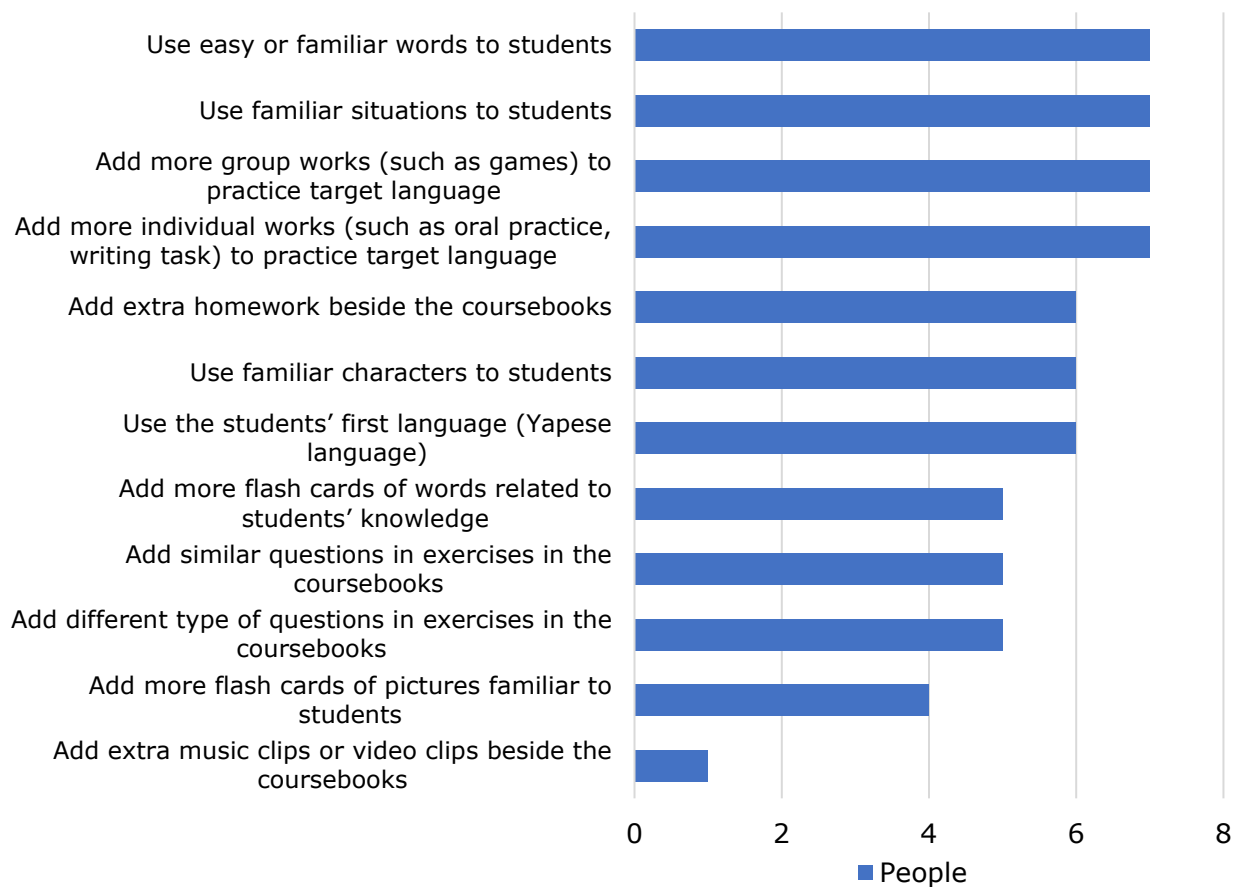
Results for Research Question Two

Questionnaire

Eight participants who responded to the questionnaire survey shared their general means for supplementing materials, as figure 1 shows. The major means of supplementation are to use words and situations that are familiar to students, and to add more group works and individual works to practice the target language. According to comments in the questionnaire survey, participants do not teach from a book, but they use ideas in it. They refer to websites of English teaching materials to devise worksheets and handouts, or they draw pictures. One participant expressed that she asks retired English teachers for ideas for activities in a classroom.

The participants shared they feel students are receptive to the strategies which they use in classes. Participant 10 stated, “My students are always receptive to the strategies. I know because I create it to fit their learning levels and also their environment and experiences. Some of them

Figure 1.



Means of Supplementation (N = 8)

related these strategies to daily living practices at home.” However, several means of supplementation should be used as Participant 9 described, “Because there are different learning abilities of the students,

most of them are receptive, but for the others I need to find another strategy that would work for them.”

Interview

One of the benefits of supplementing a coursebook is that students can understand better by using familiar words and familiar examples of their level of understanding, and by relating contents to their daily lives. Participants 9 shared, “If we don’t, the child will not understand the concept or what we’re trying to explain in order to relate it into their own understanding, all local environment, so that they can get the concept.” Participant 10 added, “We see pictures of other things that we are not familiar with because we don’t have. And me, I use other things that we’ve been seeing, we are aware of, we see every day.” Also, by showing something updated rather than a coursebook, students will be able to see what things outside of Yap look like. Participant 7 stated, “We have to come to a computer for us to show them So, they can see, even sound of animals they need to hear this sound of that. Because it’s not there for them to see.” Participant 3 added, “I like my students to be more motivated, because not all the textbooks are updated. ... They need to know more about what is going on in their environment.”

Participants shared that supplementation encourages students to learn. Participant 1 indicated, “It keeps the students interested in the class.” Participants 5 expressed, “Benefits can be... make students learn with fun, making learning fun.” Moreover, supplementation is not only for students, but it can benefit teachers as mentioned by Participants 3:

You really get to know the content yourself. ... So, I think that’s a really good thing for the teachers to supplement. That way not just students good understand, but also for the teachers. ... You have to really get to know all of the materials in order to teach the students. (Participant 3)

There are mainly three points to which the participants pay the most attention when they supplement. Those are: 1) How much familiar

to students, 2) If it is appropriate in the Yapese culture, and 3) If it is aligned to their curriculum. First, the participants pay attention to make materials more familiar to students. Participant 7 stated, “What I do is I created sentences that related to them and it helped them little by little.” Participant 8 added, “I choose some topics or something that I relate it to what we have on the island. ... I focus on the learning of the kids. What did they learn in comparing to what we have and how?”

Participants also indicated they pay attention to whether or not the materials are appropriate in the Yapese culture. Participant 2 expressed, “I look also for those things that are easy and things that were also reflect back on their background.” Participant 3 shared, “We have different cultures, so that’s something that we have to pay attention to because culturally there is something from Internet or from whatever we made from, that might be taboo to our culture.”

In addition, the participants consider if materials are aligned to their curriculum. Participant 4 indicated, “I usually look at the benchmarks and find or supplementing documents to match the benchmark.” Participant 9 added, “the DOE provides some resources from the curriculum office that is linked to some of the benchmarks and standards. So, we also put abstract from there and we create our own in order to meet the students’ needs.”

Most of the participants expressed they feel that their supplementation worked because they have better responses from their students by supplementing materials. Participant 5 shared, “Because the students are responding more. They are engaging activities we are doing.” Participant 7 added, “Sometimes when you ask a question, ... maybe they say something we did or say something that we did talk about. ... interaction with them.” Also, the scores from quizzes or tests can indicate students’ progress, and if students successfully learned concepts which teachers showed them by supplementing materials. Participant 3 expressed, “Either verbally or written, they have to show it to you in order for you to know whether they’ve learned or not.” Participant 10 shared, “I put them into games, so they won’t feel like

test.” Participant 2 indicated, “Giving a test, they understand better.” The participants feel that by supplementing materials they can give better supports to their students individually. Participant 7 stated, “It doesn’t always work with each student. I believe all of them have different ways of learning. Some just have to get their hands in there and fix it.” Participant 9 added, “I need to go back and get more information and try to adjust it or revise it to meet that other students, not that those students that understood, the one that is not understand.”

Observation

In the class of 1st grade, there were several activities which kept students’ attentions; a game with colored cards, short questions, copying letters, and finding and correcting a mistake in a sentence. The teacher used simple words in English to deliver instructions and sometimes followed-up in the students’ first language. The activities were authentic and relevant to the students’ needs. There were some steps to take from reviewing the differences between upper cases and lower cases to writing the word of the month of their birthdays in a sentence. The activities were also appropriate for the students’ ages and their language level. The students enjoyed picking colorful cards while they were reviewing the alphabets. During a class, there were chances for students to make a circle for a game, to sit at their desk for writing practices, or to come closer to a chalkboard for finding mistakes in teachers’ examples.

In the class of 7th grade, the teacher delivered instructions with a variety of words expressions to make sure all the students understand the concept of relative pronouns. Examples from a handout were used, but the teacher replaced a word, “concert,” which is not so related to the students with a word, “P.E.,” which students use more often. The exercises were authentic and relevant to the students’ needs because the knowledge and writing skills of using relative pronouns can be applied in their lives directly. The exercises were also appropriate in difficulty. Before an exercise of making sentences to use relative pronouns, the students had an opportunity to choose to work either individually or in a pair according to their language level and their preference of learning.

Summary of the findings

As stated above, the findings from the questionnaire survey, the interviews and the observations were presented relative to each research question. The Yapese English language teachers use a coursebook for their English language classes; however, they do not follow each part of the coursebook because the coursebooks are not updated and not aligned to their curriculum. Instead, they refer to the coursebook in order to verify the concepts as a reference book, or they show texts in the coursebook in order to share examples with all students. The teachers supplement the coursebook by using familiar words and examples to the students and by making handouts to show both something which the students do not have in their island and something which is familiar for them regarding topics they are learning. When supplementing, the participants shared that they pay the most attention to whether the supplementation is appropriate to students' understandings, if it is appropriate to their culture, and if it is matched to the curriculum.

Discussion

This study aimed to explore and describe the Yapese English language teachers' practices on Yap. The Yapese English language teachers use a coursebook in order to verify the concepts as a reference book, or in order to share examples with all students. The teachers supplement the coursebook by using familiar words and examples and by making handouts to make it more relevant to the students. When supplementing, the participants indicated that they pay the most attention to if the supplementation is appropriate to students' understandings and culture, and if it is matched to the curriculum. Data were collected from a questionnaire survey, interviews, and observations. Discussion and conclusion of these findings are presented.

Research Question One

“What are attitudes and perceptions of Yapese English language teachers on Yap toward coursebooks provided in English courses at public schools?”

Based on the responses of questionnaire survey and the interviews, it revealed that the core resource which the Yapese English language teachers utilize in teaching is not a coursebook, but the curriculum which the Yap DOE provides. They use a coursebook as one of their references and use its texts, stories, or pictures as samples. During the observations, it was noted that the teachers did not open a coursebook, but they delivered instructions with activities and exercises which they prepared for the students. It differs from the research of Kusuma (2016), which focused on the development of reading material by inserting local culture in it, whereas the teachers in this study inserted something local in their materials. Although the term Postmethod pedagogy was not used during the surveys, what the Yapese English language teachers are doing in classrooms go along with some of the 10 principles in the Postmethod pedagogy of Kumaravadivelu (2003). Their practices with the principles will be discussed in the discussion of research question two.

Research Question Two

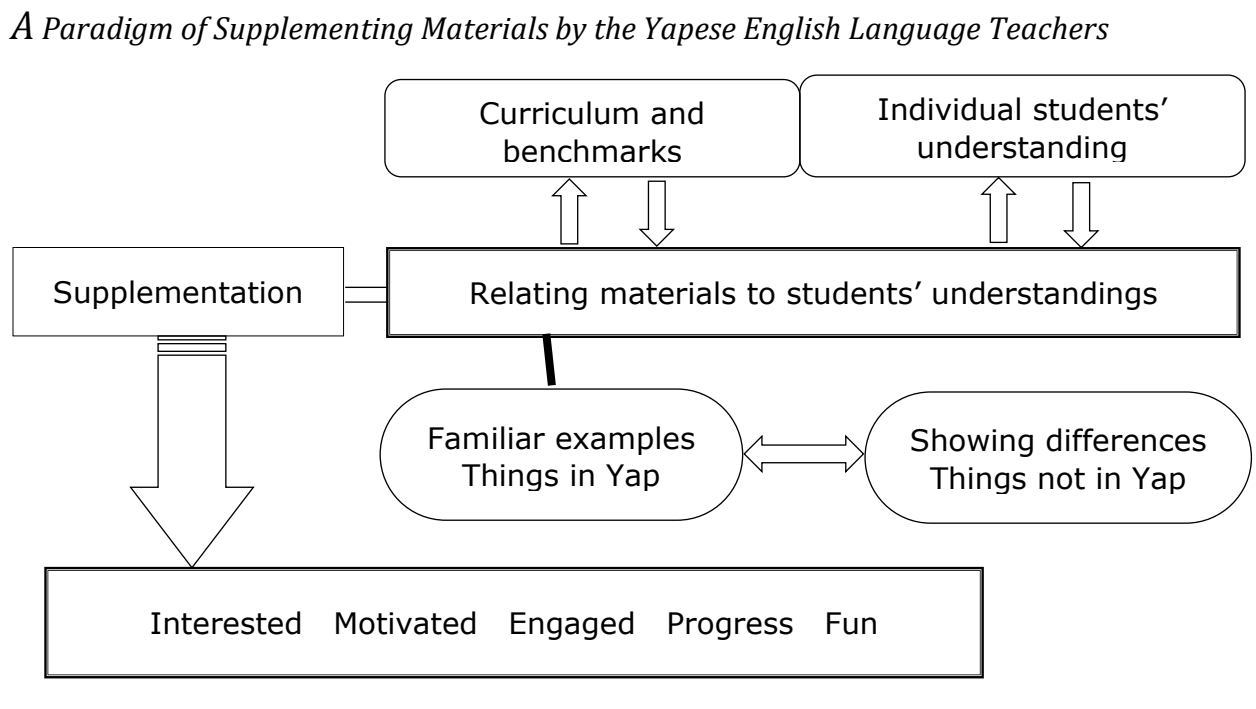
“How do Yapese English language teachers on Yap supplement their teaching materials and deliver instructions in order to make contents of coursebooks and activities more relevant to their ELLs?”

In this study, instead of following each part of a coursebook, the Yapese English language teachers devised their materials in order to adjust contents to the three aspects. First, they are sensitive to their societal, economic, and educational environment, and adjusted materials to the FSM standard, which is the macrostrategy 9, *Ensure social relevance*, in the Postmethod pedagogy of Kumaravadivelu (2003). Secondly, the teachers adjusted materials to the particular class level by drawing students’ attention to target language with well-planned explanation and activities prepared for the class, which is related to the macrostrategy 5, *Foster language awareness*, and the macrostrategy 7, *Contextualize linguistic input*, in the Postmethod pedagogy. Thirdly, the teachers adjusted materials to each student by monitoring each student’s performance in class, which is the macrostrategy 10, *Raise cultural consciousness*, in the Postmethod pedagogy.

Data from the interviews can be implicated into the paradigm, which is shown as figure 2 below. The Yapese English language teachers on Yap supplement their teaching materials by making them relate to students' understandings. In order to do so, they usually use familiar examples such as local things and local people in Yap other than examples in coursebooks. On the other hand, since the coursebooks are not updated often, the teachers also use the internet to show pictures, sounds, or videos to familiarize students with content that is not available on Yap.

When supplementing and delivering instructions, the Yapese English language teachers consider if their devised materials are aligned to the curriculum and benchmarks, and if they are appropriate to understandings of each student. The teachers keep supplementing until each student understands in their own way of learning. By doing so, each student would get interested and engaged in class, which makes learning fun for students, and leading to successful learning.

Figure 2



As Ahsanu (2019) stated that teachers are reflective and creative under Postmethod paradigm, the Yapese English language teachers observed students' reactions to reflect their strategies and make supplementation accordingly. Most of the teachers on Yap are not informed of the Postmethod pedagogy; however, their teaching practices should be highlighted and noted so that the teachers, not only on Yap but also in the similar teaching contexts, would be encouraged, more confident, and more creative in their teaching practices.

Conclusion

This mixed-method study aimed to explore and describe the Yapese English language teachers' practices on Yap. Based on the results of this study, it revealed that the teachers on Yap use a coursebook provided in English courses at public schools as one of their references and use its texts, stories, or pictures as samples or references. What they utilize in teaching as a core resource is the curriculum and the benchmarks provided by the Yap DOE. Since coursebooks are not updated and not matched to the curriculum, the teachers on Yap supplement teaching materials by relating the materials to students' understandings. According to the curriculum and the benchmark, and also, according to understandings of each student, the teachers deliver instructions with familiar and simple examples for their students.

Recommendations for Future Research

After analyzing the findings, there are some recommendations that can be offered. First, a recommendation for future research would be to have class observations in person. In this study, the researcher watched videos of classes instead of observing them in person. More observations of how each student reacts and of how the teachers deal with their reactions are needed to describe a variety of supplementation. A second recommendation would be to include more varied participants. This study was conducted within the confines of the public elementary and middle schools on Yap. Also, the participants were only teachers from Yap Island. Teachers in higher education or teachers from outside of Yap

may have different perceptions and strategies of supplementation. Moreover, a similar study conducted with teachers who teach other subjects rather than English language would be beneficial. English language is used as a medium of instruction in other content areas, where teachers may supplement materials according to students' understandings. It would be beneficial to describe the means of supplementation and share them with teachers in similar teaching contexts. Finally, longitudinal surveys would be effective in future studies to see the effects of the teachers' practices and patterns of supplementations according to students' progress.⁴

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⁴ **Disclaimer:** The activity, which is the subject of this report, has been authorized by the Yap Department of Education. However, the opinions expressed herein as well as the methods utilized, do not necessarily reflect the position of the Department. No official endorsement by the Department or the Government of Yap should be inferred. The author accepts full responsibility for the methodology and for the contents of this document.

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Appendix A

Questionnaire Survey

Research Question

1. What are attitudes and perceptions of Yapese English language teachers on Yap toward coursebooks provided in English courses at public schools?
2. How do Yapese English language teachers on Yap supplement their teaching materials* and deliver instructions in order to make the contents of coursebooks and activities more relevant** to their ELLs?

*materials = coursebooks (textbook and workbook), handouts, flash cards, activities (such as games), oral explanation, picture books, music clips (such as CD and mp3), and video clips (such as DVD and YouTube)

**relevant = related and appropriate to students' knowledge, age, cultural background, language level

Section 1. About you

I am ... <input type="checkbox"/> female <input type="checkbox"/> male <input type="checkbox"/> prefer not to say
Which is the range of your age? <input type="checkbox"/> under 19 years old <input type="checkbox"/> 30 ~ 39 years old <input type="checkbox"/> 50 ~ 59 years old <input type="checkbox"/> 20 ~ 29 years old <input type="checkbox"/> 40 ~ 49 years old <input type="checkbox"/> 60 years old or above
How many years have you taught English as a content? <input type="checkbox"/> less than 1 year <input type="checkbox"/> 1-2 year(s) <input type="checkbox"/> 3-4 years <input type="checkbox"/> 5-10 years <input type="checkbox"/> more than 10 years
Which grade are you currently teaching English? <input type="checkbox"/> 1st grade <input type="checkbox"/> 2nd grade <input type="checkbox"/> 3rd grade <input type="checkbox"/> 4th grade <input type="checkbox"/> 5th grade <input type="checkbox"/> 6th grade <input type="checkbox"/> 7th grade <input type="checkbox"/> 8th grade

Section 2. About a language art (English) class (Please think of the grade you declared above)

Q1-1: Is there a coursebook for the course? No Yes → Please answer the questions below.

Q1-2: If yes, the coursebook title: ()

Q1-3: Is the coursebook relevant to students? Agree Undecided Disagree

Q2-1: Do you supplement the coursebook? Or make materials by yourself?

No Yes → Please answer the two questions below.

Q2-2: If yes, how do you supplement the coursebook? (can be more than one)

activities

- Add more flash cards of pictures familiar to students
- Add more flash cards of words related to students' knowledge
- Add more group works (such as games) to practice target language
- Add more individual works (such as oral practice, writing task) to practice target language
- Add extra music clips or video clips beside the coursebooks

exercises in the coursebooks

- Add similar questions in exercises in the coursebooks
- Add different type of questions in exercises in the coursebooks
- Add extra homework beside the coursebooks

oral explanation

- Use easy or familiar words to students
- Use familiar characters to students
- Use familiar situations to students
- Use the students' first language (Yapese language)

other (If any, please describe how you supplement the textbook)

()

Q3-1: Are your students receptive to the strategies you used in class? No Yes

Q3-2: Why do you think so?

Section 3. Specific (Please provide examples to describe the answers above specifically.)

Q1: Which materials?

Q2: How did you supplement or device materials?

ex1. Writing exercises in All about ABC (prephonics): Used extra handouts to trace small letters.

ex2. Vocabulary in We Can 2 Unit 4: Added two more adjectives (hot and cold) to explain concept of opposite.

Thank you so much for your time!!

Appendix B
Interview Questions

Q1: Do you use a coursebook?

Q2: Why do (do not) you use a coursebook? (What are the benefits of using a coursebook?)

Q3: Do you supplement the coursebook? If so, what usually cause you to supplement a coursebook?

Q4: What are the benefits of supplementing a coursebook?

Q5: When supplementing, what do you pay the most attention to?

Q6: Do you think that your supplementation worked? If so, why do you think so? (How do you know/access the supplementation work?)

Appendix C

Observation Checklist

Date		Grade		Teacher #	
SLOs of this lesson / Objectives of teaching					

Materials/Activities in the coursebook					
1	Do the materials/activities match the instructional objectives?			Yes	No
	No	Why not?			
		How does the teacher deal with it?			
2	Are the materials/activities relevant to the students' needs (good practice for what they need to improve)?			Yes	No
	No	Why not?			
		How does the teacher deal with it?			
3	Are the materials/activities authentic (relevant to the language use in students' lives)?			Yes	No
	No	Why not?			
		How does the teacher deal with it?			
4	Are the materials/activities appropriate of difficulty (language level)?			Yes	No
	No	Why not?			
		How does the teacher deal with it?			
5	Are the materials/activities age -appropriate?			Yes	No
	No	Why not?			
		How does the teacher deal with it?			
6	Did the students find the materials/activities interesting?			Yes	No
	No	Why not?			
		How does the teacher deal with it?			

Supplementation			
Activities			
1	Add more flash cards of pictures familiar to students	Yes	No
2	Add more flash cards of words related to students' knowledge	Yes	No
3	Add more group works (such as games) to practice target language	Yes	No
4	Add more individual works (such as oral practice, writing task) to practice target language	Yes	No
5	Add extra music clips or video clips beside the coursebooks	Yes	No
Exercises in a coursebook			
6	Add similar questions in exercises in the coursebook	Yes	No
7	Add different type of questions in exercises in the coursebook	Yes	No
8	Add extra homework beside the coursebook	Yes	No
Oral explanation			
9	Use easy or familiar words to students	Yes	No
10	Use familiar characters to students	Yes	No
11	Use familiar situations to students	Yes	No
12	Use the students' first language (Yapese language)	Yes	No

Notes

Appendix D

Transcript and Comparison Chart

Q2: Why do (do not) you use a coursebook? (What are the benefits of using a coursebook?)

Participant number	Answers	Codes Key words	Related themes
1			
2			
3			
4			
...			

Q3: Do you supplement the coursebook?

If so, what usually cause you to supplement a coursebook?

Participant number	Answers	Codes Key words	Related themes
1			
2			
3			
4			
...			

From Tourists to Asylum Seekers: Russian Citizens in Guam, 2012-2021

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University of Guam

In 2012 the US Department of Homeland Security (DHS) began admitting Russian visitors to Guam without requiring a visa. The policy seemed to be a happy convergence of US foreign policy goals and the desires of local political and tourist industry leaders. The arrival of free-spending Russian tourists filling the US Pacific Island territory's hotels and shops greased the local economy and represented a minor victory of the Obama administration's "Russia reset" policy. In 2014, however, events in Russia led to a sharp decline in Russian overseas travel and a rise in political repression. Fewer Russian tourists arrived, and Guam's visa waiver program became a lifeline to a small number of Russian asylum seekers. Meanwhile, anti-immigration politics in the US targeted the Russian visa waiver, and DHS ended the program in fall 2019. Between 2014 and 2021, the federal government processed few of the asylum seekers claims. Russian asylum seekers' status in Guam remains uncertain. They cannot leave the island because Guam is outside of the US customs zone, and they cannot return to Russia. This article examines the plight of Russian migrants in Guam, their experience with arbitrary federal immigration policies, the extent to which they and the residents of Guam are subject to the vagaries of US politics, and how local residents have welcomed the asylum seekers and how Russians have adapted.

Between 2012 and 2019 the United States Department of Homeland Security admitted Russian citizens to the Pacific Island territory of Guam without visas. Visa-free travel made Guam unique. While often called (including in this paper) a "visa waiver," the process by which Russians entered Guam and the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands (CNMI) is in fact DHS exercising its "discretionary parole" to allow Guam and CNMI to admit Russian citizens (Department of Homeland Security, 2013). No part of the United States allowed or currently allows Russians to enter without a visa, and for a brief period,

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Guam became a popular tourist destination of Russians from their country's Far East. This paper will focus on a small but significant subset of Russian visitors to Guam: Asylum seekers.

Guam may seem an unlikely destination for Russian asylum seekers. The largest and most populous of the Mariana Islands, Guam is about 3,500 miles south of Russia's Pacific coast. The indigenous Chamorro people first encountered Europeans, the Spanish, in 1521. The Spanish-Chamorro Wars of the 1670s brought the Marianas under Spanish control. Following the 1898 Spanish-American War, the United States annexed Guam, but not the other Marianas, which came under German control, and after WWI, Japanese control. This decision generated a political division between the culturally connected Mariana Islands (i.e., CNMI and Guam) that remains significant. After World War II, the United States administered what became the Commonwealth of the Mariana Islands in the north as part of the larger United Nations Pacific Trust Territory. The US continued, first under the Navy and then the Department of Interior, to govern Guam directly. Currently, Guam is represented in the US House of Representatives by a non-voting delegate. While the different parts of the Trust Territory devolved and decolonized from the 1970s to 1986, the Marianas were never integrated. The federal government classifies both Guam and the CNMI as unincorporated territories and places their oversight within the Department of Interior. Guam and the CNMI, however, have different local governments with differing degrees of autonomy (Rogers, 2011). Unlike the CNMI, The United Nations recognizes Guam as one of 17 non-self-governing territories that should be decolonized.

Since 1898 to 2021, American presidents have viewed Guam as critical to America's power projection in the Pacific. Barring over two years of Japanese occupation, the US Navy governed Guam for the first half of the twentieth century. The rights, legal status, and desires of Chamorros, the indigenous people of Guam, were of little concern to Naval governors or US Congresses. Following World War II and during the Cold War military build-up, local anger over military land seizures combined with decades of authoritarian rule to convince Chamorro

legislators in Guam to challenge naval rule. Coordinating with allies in Washington, the 1949 Guam Legislature Walkout succeeded in pushing Congress to pass the 1950 Organic Act that recognized the island's residents as citizens and transferred authority over the island to the Department of the Interior (Perez-Hattori, 1995). US citizenship on the island came with caveats. While Guam inaugurated its first elected governor in 1971, its lone delegate to Congress cannot vote, nor do residents' votes count in US presidential elections. Congress sets reimbursement for federal benefits at rates lower than the states (Rogers, 2011). Most significantly for the story of Russian asylum seekers, Guam remained outside the US customs zone. Entry into the island is and has historically been more policed than entry into the United States. The commonly used and often maligned phrase, "tip of the spear," ostensibly refers to Guam but is more accurately understood as the military bases that occupy nearly one-third of the island's territory (Park, 2017; Bevacqua & Cruz, 2020). US national security concerns and anti-immigrant politics, not the desires of the people of Guam or their representatives, account for the rise and fall of the Russian visa waiver program, as well as the ongoing stories of stranded Russian asylum seekers in Guam.

Method

This article places the origins and demise of Guam's Russian visa waiver program in the context of Guam's colonial relationship to the United States. Using secondary source literature, local and national media sources along with federal and Government of Guam documents, the paper begins with a selective history of migrants and tourists in Guam, focusing on United States' regulation of entry to Guam during the Cold War. It also shows how the desires of local business and political leaders at times coincided with, and at times diverged from, American national security interests. Using local and national media along with government documents, the paper next describes the origins of the Russian visa waiver program and the rise and fall of Guam's Russian tourist market. The core of the paper seeks to explain why Russian asylum-seekers chose Guam, and how and why many who did so now feel frustrated and

confined. This section relies primarily on a set of interviews with asylum seekers that began in summer 2020 and concluded in spring 2021. All participants were given anonymity so they could express themselves freely without feeling their words might endanger them, their families, or their asylum claims. The interviewees told diverse, revealing, and sometimes tragic stories. Such personal accounts would otherwise be hidden in narratives about tourist markets, immigration policies, and geopolitics. They are of value on their own, but collectively and in context, such stories expose the illiberal nature of American foreign and immigration policies and their effect on migrants and residents of Guam.

America's Cold War and Migration to Guam

The first Russian-speaking visitors to Guam arrived in the Spanish colonial era, but it was as an American Cold War outpost that Guam made a lasting impression on Russians. In the 1950s the United States Air Force Strategic Air Command (SAC) stationed B-52s with nuclear warheads on the island for potential use against Soviet Far East targets. By 1964, a second part of the nuclear triad arrived at Apra Harbor when the Navy deployed twelve submarines carrying Polaris warheads. In response, as Rogers (2011) describes in *Destiny's Landfall*, Soviet "fishing" trawlers appeared off Ritidian Point. Rogers continues, by saying that local reaction, went in a different direction. Chamorro fishermen ventured out to the Soviet vessels hoping to trade American cigarettes for Soviet vodka.

The spirit animating the fishermen's enthusiasm for exchange and the US government's desire to aggressively contain the USSR serve as useful metaphors for Guam's relationships with other nations and with visitors to the island. The Government of Guam has often welcomed visitors for their commercial potential while the federal government has viewed the same visitors as national security threats; and, in some cases, assets. Guam's tourism industry only began after President John Kennedy decided to end the security clearance required to enter the island, a policy that made visiting the island difficult (Rogers, 2011). For Kennedy, the security clearance bore an uncomfortable resemblance to

the Soviet Union's closed cities, which foreigners were prohibited from visiting. The need to obtain a security clearance to enter a US territory also contradicted the open, democratic, and liberal Cold War image the Kennedy administration sought to project globally (Rasmussen, 2016). Over the subsequent decades, tourists - primarily those from Japan - transformed parts of Guam and many aspects of everyday life for its residents. A decade into the twenty-first century, tourism was generating 60 percent of all Guam's business revenue (Guam Economic Development Authority, 2011). In pursuit of new markets, local politicians have since the 1980s petitioned the federal government for visa waivers for wealthy Pacific states, including South Korea and Taiwan. In 2009 Guam business and political leaders targeted China and, to a much lesser degree, Russia, for visa waivers.

The visa waiver the federal government granted to Russian visitors to Guam in 2012 is best understood as a continuation of a US Cold War tradition of using entry to advance American foreign policy goals. During the Cold War, the immigration visa (when made available to Soviets, East Europeans, and Cubans) could advance a narrative in which the United States protected individual rights, in particular the freedom of movement. Favored immigrants came from communist states and arrived through what scholar Aristide Zolberg has called the immigration system's "side door" (2006). Deploying what Gil Loescher and John A. Scanlan dubbed "calculated kindness," the federal government welcomed through this side door politically useful asylees while barring undeserving aliens (1986). The US also held the side door open to foreigners who served American interests, particularly those who fought against communist regimes and movements.

In 1975, Guam served as a port of entry for the largest group of such side-door migrants: refugees from South Vietnam. As Saigon fell to the North Vietnamese armed forces, the United States government brought over 112,000 South Vietnamese, primarily government and military officials and their families, to Guam. "Operation New Life" temporarily housed the migrants in twelve camps on military bases and leased land, where individuals and families awaited relocation to the

mainland where their claims would be processed. Significantly, the federal government identified the Vietnamese not as refugees but as “evacuees.” This legal sleight of hand turned a group with a collective need for protection into over 100,000 individual asylum seekers whose cases would have to be vetted separately. Instead of being refugees with a legally established path toward citizenship, the evacuees as asylum seekers, individually petitioned the federal government for refuge and were required to find sponsors in the mainland. At the moment of America’s defeat, domestic media coverage emphasized how the operation fulfilled an obligation to endangered allies and illustrated fundamental humanity of American foreign policy. Media coverage of the refugees in Guam, on the other hand, highlighted the 1,500 Vietnamese who demanded repatriation. The repatriates told local media they had been confined by the United States. They went on hunger strikes and protested with images of Ho Chi Minh to win their return to Vietnam (Lipman, 2012).

Post-Cold War Migrants to Guam

Similarly, a 1996 post-Cold War effort, “Operation Pacific Haven,” saw the US government fly nearly 7,000 Kurdish refugees who had helped maintain the US “no-fly” zone in Northern Iraq, to Guam (Murphy, 1996). Jana Lipman has noted that as an island colony in which migrant rights are not fully defined, Guam occupies a liminal zone in which asylum seekers have an ambiguous legal status that the US government, and sometimes asylum seekers, deploy to their respective advantage (2012). While the US has used Guam as a transit point to process “deserving” migrants toward legal immigration status, the island has also, though less frequently, been a destination for individual asylum seekers arriving on their own initiative.

The federal response to the arrival of Chinese asylum seekers in Guam in the 1990s prefigured how DHS later treated Russian asylum seekers. The first Chinese to seek asylum in Guam fled oppressive conditions in garment factories in the CNMI; but by 1999, local and federal officials expressed alarm that most migrants were arriving

directly from China (Smith, 1999). Chinese smugglers, “snakeheads,” arranged for young men from rural Fujian province to travel by boat to Guam. Existing detention facilities in Guam proved inadequate, and there was no permanent judge in Guam to process the asylum claims. The Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) at first flew Chinese asylum seekers to Seattle (Smith, 1999). As more asylum seekers arrived and costs increased, INS halted such flights and instead left the responsibility for housing and caring for asylum seekers to the Government of Guam. Guam’s lack of a federal immigration judge meant that detention could be lengthy, costly, and potentially dangerous. Outraged, Guam’s Congressional Delegate Robert Underwood introduced legislation to: Prohibit claims of asylum in Guam; remove all undocumented migrants in 30 days; compensate Guam for all detention costs; and assign a judge to the island (Underwood, 1999). Local anger peaked when spearfishermen detained a suspected snakehead with the tools of the trade until federal officials arrived (Branigan, 1999).



Figure 1. Defensive asylum seekers in Guam are housed at the Hagatña Detention Facility while waiting for their initial hearing.

Underwood’s legislation did not advance, and ultimately the federal government chose to deploy its considerable military assets to intercept

Chinese asylum seekers. The Coast Guard added the largest class cutter and a C-130 Cargo plane to interdict boats before migrants could make landfall. From sea, the military took migrants to a makeshift camp in Tinian, part of the CNMI. US immigration law did not apply at that time to the CNMI, and federal officials were free to ignore asylum pleas and deport all migrants to China (Smith, 1999). Guam's colonial status allowed the United States to evade its immigrations laws. The federal government preferred to let Guam deal with migrants, which legally are not a Government of Guam responsibility, on its own. When pressed, the federal government attempted to evade its legal responsibilities to asylum seekers. Guam's distance from the mainland and the merely advisory capacity of its delegate to Congress made it easy for federal authorities to ignore the desires of Guam residents. The final solution was a military one – intercept and deport.

The Rise and Fall of the Russian Visa Waiver

The arrival of Russians on Guam began with the federal takeover of the CNMI immigration system. Since the 1990s, Russians had been allowed entry to the CNMI. In 2008, however, the United States Congress “federalized” the Commonwealth’s immigration system, replacing its law with the US Immigration and Naturalization Act, and the process was finalized under the Obama administration. Congress’s takeover of the CNMI’s immigration system endangered the free entry of Chinese and Russian tourists and investors, but the new law allowed for some local concessions (Quimby, 2013). The act noted the CNMI’s “unique economic circumstances, history, and geographical location,” and carved out a process through which the Governor of the CNMI could request DHS to add countries to the list of visa waivers. The same law reaffirmed the role of Guam’s governor and non-voting delegate to the US House of Representatives to request visa exemptions (Consolidated Natural Resources Act, 2008). In 2009, Governor of Guam Felix Camacho and Guam Congressional Delegate Madeline Bordallo petitioned Congress for a Guam version of the CNMI Chinese and Russian waiver. They brought evidence showing that fewer Japanese visitors, who then comprised 80 percent of Guam’s tourist arrivals, were choosing Guam. Visa waivers,

they claimed, could in their first year generate \$212 million, adding an additional 16 percent to the island's estimated \$1.2 billion tourism industry revenue (House of Representatives Subcommittee on Insular Affairs, 2009).

The year 2009 seemed an opportune time to make such a pitch. That January, the Guam Legislature welcomed the "first Pacific President," Barack Obama, with an optimistic resolution that requested the Philippines and China, but, significantly, not Russia, be included in the Guam Visa Waiver Program (Guam Legislature, 2009). Ignoring the appeals of Guam's political leaders, DHS Secretary Janet Napolitano decided against granting Russian and Chinese visitors' entry to Guam. DHS continued to allow Customs and Border Patrol in the CNMI to admit visa-less Russian and Chinese citizens and the Guam leaders continued to press for a similar program (Department of Interior, 2009).

Republican Eddie Calvo made visa waiver expansion an important element of his successful 2010 gubernatorial campaign. In office, his administration energetically lobbied the Department of Defense and the Department of State, emphasizing not only the transformational economic potential of the Chinese tourist market, but also how Chinese visitors to Guam could promote mutual understanding (Marianas Business Journal, 2011). In late 2011, the efforts bore partial but disappointing fruit: DHS added Russia but not China to the Guam visa waiver program. The decision went into effect in January to coincide with an Obama directive to boost tourism nationally (Executive Order 13597). Calvo continued to push for a Chinese waiver, marking the topic as the most important item for a 2013 Washington meeting with the Department of the Interior's Insular Affairs office (Perez, 2013). Guam officials had consistently identified a Chinese visa waiver as essential and a Russian one as a bonus, and it seems likely that if a Russian visa waiver had not previously existed for the CNMI, Guam leaders would not have requested one.

The Obama Administration's foreign policy of engaging Russia while confronting China proved decisive in Guam's Russia visa waiver. In

2008, Russians elected Dmitri Medvedev president. The possibility arose of repairing a bilateral relationship that had been fraying since the NATO bombings of Serbia in 1999 and the 2000 ascension of Vladimir Putin to the presidency. The so-called Russia “reset” achieved its greatest triumph in 2011 with the renewal of the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (Baker & Bilefsky, 2011).

Since the 1991 demise of the Soviet Union, Russians’ travel from Russia to the United States has been an expensive and time-consuming process. The Department of Homeland Security requires Russian citizens to obtain a tourist visa. This includes an interview at the US Embassy in Moscow or at one of three consulates spread across Russia’s eleven time zones. Not infrequently, the process ends in a denial. Therefore, the Guam visa waiver marked a significant change in America’s regulation of Russian visitors. While still unable to transit to the mainland without a visa, Russians could visit American territory. The simultaneous denial of a Chinese waiver occurred as the Obama administration announced a “pivot to Asia:” an effort to rally Pacific nations around American leadership to check growing Chinese influence (Liberthal, 2011). Governor Calvo had offered Guam as an American bridge to China, but in 2012 the US President preferred one to Russia.

For two years, the island was a popular destination for residents of the Russian Far East. Over the course of 2014, the Guam Visitors Bureau counted over 20,000 Russian arrivals, and it estimated the average Russian visitor spent \$1,600 each day during an almost two-week – often the full 45 day – stay. By comparison, their Japanese counterparts averaged a weekend, and spent less than half as much per day. Despite Russian visitors’ profligate ways, the Russian Far East’s sparse population meant that the 2014 number was bumping up against a natural ceiling of annual Russian visitors that GVB estimated to be between 30,000-50,000. If the federal government had included a China visa waiver, GVB estimated annual arrivals of as few as 1.5 million to as many as six million, transformative numbers for Guam’s economy (Marianas Business Journal, 2011). Nonetheless, signage near hotels and on roads and beaches soon added Russian translations. Russian families

joined the crowds at the luxury shops in Tumon, loaded up on groceries at discount retailer Cost-U-Less, and rented hotel rooms, homes, and condos across the island. Charter flights brought tourists from the Russian Far East cities Khabarovsk and Vladivostok and the future looked at least stable (Marianas Business Journal, 2014). In 2015, however, the upward trend of Russian visitors reversed. Russia's 2014 annexation of Crimea, the subsequent American and EU sanctions on Russia, and oil and the ruble's price declines, all contributed to fewer Russians traveling overseas (Kottasova, 2014). Bartley Jackson of the Guam Visitor's Bureau, however, remained upbeat on the long-term prospects. "They'll be back," he claimed on January 27, 2017 (Pang, 2017).

That same day new US President, Donald Trump, signed an executive order that initiated a review of asylum screening procedures and parole that directly targeted Guam's and the CNMI's visa waivers (Executive Order 13769). Two years prior to Trump's order, US Senators and immigration hawks Chuck Grassley, Mike Lee, and Jeff Sessions wrote to DHS Secretary Jeh Johnson, attacking the CNMI and Guam visa waivers as an illegal abuse of executive power (Grassley, Lee & Sessions, 2015). When Trump appointed Sessions Attorney General in spring 2017, the end of Guam's and the CNMI's visa waivers was in sight. It arrived two years later, and GVB member Bartley Jackson took to a local Guam radio program to stress that many Russian visitors had turned out to be asylum seekers, who he identified as a "problem." (Partido, 2019). The visa waiver had opened a space for the arrival of Russians. According to Guam political and business leaders, the viability of this space depended on the willingness of Russians to spend money and to return to Russia. The visa-less travel to Guam depended, however, not on Russian behavior but on the vagaries of American politics, both foreign and domestic. Furthermore, those who arrived with the tourists but had no intention of returning to Russia discovered how, just as effectively as authoritarian regimes opposed by the US, the United States could impede migrants' movement and ignore their legally protected claims of asylum.

Participants and Method - Russian Asylees in Guam

For Russians desperate to flee, Guam's visa waiver was a lifeline. "[I]f I had stayed in Russia, that could have ended with the falsification of a criminal charge against me... So, I escaped. I managed to do this" (anonymous interview, 2020).² Russian citizens also applied for asylum in the US mainland in increasing numbers. In 2017 DHS reported 2,600 Russian asylum claims, the highest number since the collapse of the Soviet Union (Office of Immigration Statistics, 2019). Following Vladimir Putin's 2012 return to the presidency, Russia has enacted legislation to criminalize political speech and organizing as well as homosexuality (Dixon, 2021; Kramer, 2013). Though the majority do not seek asylum, millions of Russians have left their homes over the past 30 years; and millions more (over 20 percent of Russians in Russia) want to emigrate (Krawatzek & Sasse, 2019). The United Nations ranks Russia behind only India and Mexico in terms of numbers of citizens living outside national borders (Moscow Times, 2019). The number of Russian asylum seekers in Guam is small but the precise number is not known. At most, two dozen have appeared at public rallies. Though unverified, local media estimates of Russian asylum seekers on Guam have ranged as high as 300 (Schwartz, 2018; Partido, 2019).

The ten individuals who participated in anonymous interviews for this project fled Russia in response to political and sexual repression, and also because of the lack of protection from criminals. They faced physical and financial threats. This small group came from different regions, practiced different religions, was multi-ethnic, and included professionals, scholars, businesspeople, and students. Most arrived as families; some arrived alone. Each was asked the same set of 21 questions about their lives in Guam. The interviewees all claimed affirmative asylum. This means that they filed the necessary paperwork with USCIS after they arrived and therefore avoided detention. Their "asylum clock" for obtaining work authorization began when USCIS acknowledged receipt of their application, and from this date each year

² Unless otherwise noted, all information from asylum seekers came from ten separate interviews by the author.

they renew their work documents for a \$400 filing fee. All are waiting, some for over five years, for the USCIS to rule on their claims. Defensive asylum is claimed after deportation proceedings have begun and typically includes temporary detention. With one exception, the participants in this study arrived with the financial resources that allowed them to avoid homelessness. With two exceptions (one a student), all were employed.

Fleeing Persecution in Russia for Uncertainty in Guam

“We never thought we would go away from our native country that we love so much... we had to do it,” one migrant said of their relocation to Guam. They feared the Russian State Security Service (FSB) was preparing to retaliate against them for political activities. “Nobody planned or tried to go away. It was not like we were fans of America or anything like this,” the asylum seeker explained. Time and options were limited. American officials had denied their previous visa applications, perhaps because the government suspected an asylum claim. Guam, as part of the US but exempt from its visa regime, seemed the best choice. “We would have come to Europe, but we did not have a Schengen visa, and we could not wait to have it made. That’s why we had to come to Guam.” Others recounted similar stories of applying for and being denied visas. Following three failed attempts at American visas, an asylum seeker desperate to find an accessible destination that did not have an extradition treaty with Russia said, “We started looking for other opportunities.”

And that opportunity turned out to be Guam. One asylum seeker said that a human rights organization in Russia had advised Guam specifically as safe and accessible. Most, however, were unfamiliar with the island, its peoples, and its confusing legal status in the United States. “Nobody knew anything about Guam among my friends before I came here,” one asylum seeker said. “I [have since] met some Russians who come here, but they mostly come from the Far East, to rest and shop, but this is the Far East, and where I come from nobody knows anything about Guam.” Migrants instead relied on social media for guidance. “We

found on YouTube the channel of this immigrant who already was here... And he said that it was so nice here, told about no entry visa, and how cool it is here. And so, in two weeks we packed our bags and came here.”

Since 2017, Konstantin Smirnov has been *vlogging* on a YouTube channel about his family’s quest for asylum. The most viewed post recounts how Smirnov got under the table jobs to stave off eviction while awaiting work authorization. Smirnov’s posts are candid about the prospect of poverty, silent USCIS officials, and everyday frustrations and indignities. Other YouTube descriptions of Russian migrants in Guam, however, have painted a rosier and, not coincidentally, self-interested picture. The channel “Immigration to the United States,” includes a highly viewed post on working in Guam that encourages viewers to use its off-island legal services, emphasizing that with its experienced legal counsel, asylum seekers typically wait less than a year for parole to the United States mainland (*Politicheskoe ubezhiscshe v Ameriku cherez Guam*, 2018).

Because Guam is a territory outside the customs zone and has no immigration judge, the federal government has found it possible to ignore Russians seeking asylum in Guam. Unlike Chinese asylum seekers in the 1990s, the federal government has not flown Russian asylum seekers to the mainland or, in most cases, allowed them to do so on their own by granting “advanced” parole. Advanced parole would permit asylum seekers to pursue their claims in the mainland. Most interviewees expressed bitterness at the lack of communication from USCIS on either the prospect of advanced parole or the processing of their claims. With some exceptions, the interviewees are financially able and desire to travel to the mainland. Some have even purchased airline tickets only to be informed by Customs and Border Patrol (CBP) officials at the airport that they cannot board their flights. A common complaint was that since they could receive word from USCIS at any time, they should not buy furniture or otherwise settle in, but be prepared to leave on a moment’s notice. Some reported that they feel imprisoned. For many interviewees the realization that Guam might not be a temporary stop came as a shock.

“No one told us that we would not be able to leave from here. The immigration lawyer said, “my dears, believe me, even after you go through the interview you are going to spend ten, twenty years here and nobody is going to the mainland so easily.”

Adapting (or not) to an Island Home

Guam residents had likewise conceived of Russians as temporary visitors, and there was surprise and concern as it became clear that some Russians’ stay in Guam was indefinite. Asylum seekers in the US and its territories are mostly ineligible for federal benefit programs, such as food stamps and Medicaid. Federal reimbursement rates for these programs are set at lower rates in Guam and other US territories - relative to the states - meaning that the Government of Guam faces unique burdens that US state governments do not. When the Compact of Free Association went into effect in 1986, it gave citizens of the Federated States of Micronesia the right to migrate and settle in Guam. Thousands have done so to find employment, and many have found a different version of poverty awaiting them in Guam. In 1996 Congress passed the Welfare Reform Act and stripped FSM migrants of Medicaid benefits until a temporary reprieve was given in response to the coronavirus pandemic in late 2020 (Hofschneider, 2020). The Government of Guam has been left to fill the gap, which is estimated at \$148 million annually; and it has done so with uneven results. Federal policies push migrants, including Russians, into homelessness and leave territorial governments to care for these individuals and to find and fund solutions (Limtiaco, 2021).

In fall of 2019, the Archdiocese of Guam reported that 10-15 Russians relied on their soup kitchens while others appeared at local shelters (O’Connor, 2019). Asylum seekers face uncertain work prospects and limited access to medical care and insurance. The pressure on local government and private charities is considerable. In an unsigned 2018 editorial, *The Guam Daily Post* urged local politicians to remember the strains that Chinese asylum seekers in the 1990s had put

on the local government, and called for DHS to discontinue the visa waiver. Russians, it said, were being influenced by YouTube videos that made claiming asylum in Guam seem desirable. A wave of migrants was threatening to deplete the island's limited resources. "Hosting 150 asylum seekers won't cause a big ripple stateside, but for our small island with a population of 160,000, which has barely increased in years, a growing number of asylum seekers could become out of hand" (Guam Daily Post, 2018).

Russian asylum seekers expressed ambivalence toward local peoples. Some admired what they described as a welcoming culture while others criticized local ways. "Well, probably because they are brought up this way," was how one asylum seeker explained the personal warmth experienced over three years in Guam. Another, however, claimed Chamorro employers were frustrating Russians' attempts to advance, "because they cannot do anything, and Russians can do everything. They are just envious." Ethnic Russian racism toward Central Asians and other national minorities in Russia can be layered onto Guam's social reality. One asylum seeker said Chuukese migrants from the FSM were responsible for making Guam unsafe. The individual used a term *Chuuki*, to identify Chuukese, a word that resembles a slur often used against Central Asians in Russia: *churka*. In offensive language, this same asylum seeker described Chuukese as the Guam equivalent of the Roma in Russia. "I know that they are all dirty, revolting, and gypsies [tsygancha]. It is horrible. Nothing is safe here. Nothing can be locked."

Asylum seekers who were not ethnic Russians expressed the most positive attitudes toward Guam. One wonders whether expressions of racism reflect that, outside military bases, those considered white are not seen in positions of authority in Guam and a related belief that the racial order in the mainland would be beneficial to ethnic Russians. With notable exceptions, there was a lack of sympathy for migrants from the FSM. Disappointing but not surprising, such attitudes are consistent with immigration to the mainland. Historically, many migrants have sought

distance from, rather than solidarity with, other migrant groups and Black Americans for self-protection and advancement (Roedigger, 2005).

Sometimes the same asylum seekers who expressed racist views also claimed that they preferred to socialize with non-Russians. A common complaint among asylees is that there is no Russian community in Guam because Russians, as a rule, do not seek out their compatriots. “We are Russians,” one joked. “We are afraid.” While such generalizations seem dubious, there are legitimate reasons why Russians fleeing persecution might be cautious in forming relationships with other Russians in Guam. Some expressed fear that government informants and even FSB agents may be among the asylum seekers. Nevertheless, a thriving social media community centered in the secure messaging app, Telegram, is popular, and like many online forums, divisive. Battles over how to petition the federal and local government to advance asylum claims merge with personal feuds and hyperbolic insults (Telegram, 2020-2021).

Interviewees identified the uncertain immigration process as part of a continuing trauma that began in Russia.

So, I feel like an invalid; not physically, but socially. So, I am here, but I am not all here. Just twenty percent of me or ten percent of me are here, and the eighty percent or ninety percent of me are left behind... . I am eaten by this, I am oppressed by this. From time to time, I experience depressive states, but I tend to be optimistic, so I am able to shake these off fairly quickly. ... I experienced a lot of difficulties in my life. I can survive many things, but the most difficult thing here in Guam is being torn away from my family and the wait... I don't understand when this interview is going to take place. I don't know if it is going to take place in a week or in three years. I don't know when I should be expecting this. And this is very difficult for me. I see no pleasure in being by the sea, among the palm trees because of that.

Some Russians made attempts to establish a permanent life in Guam but discovered that restrictions on their movements singled them

out. One asylum seeker recounted how a local friend initially helped him adjust to a new life. The friendship was an anchor. When the friend moved to the mainland, the loss felt devastating.

I was really surprised by her behavior, her openness to me, her love, like she is a real friend. This is how they taught us in the USSR to be friends. But, unfortunately, the circumstances changed. Her husband had to return to the US.... and they left; she left with him. And now I am without a friend.

Another family broke apart when one spouse received advanced parole to the mainland and the other did not. The spouse departed with the couple's child, leaving the migrant in Guam alone.

Frustration and Protest

As years passed and USCIS remained silent, some asylum seekers organized for collective action. In the summer of 2020, a group of Russians published a petition demanding the right to travel to the mainland with the revealing URL, <https://www.change.org/Guam-prison> (July, 2020). Three months later, two dozen Russian citizens seeking asylum in Guam began gathering for irregular weekend rallies outside the Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) office, calling for the resumption of the video hearings necessary to begin processing asylum claims. The USCIS had in spring of 2019 suspended "credible fear" hearings in Guam. At these hearings, the USCIS determines whether the migrant claiming defensive asylum faces legitimate threats in their country of origin. Defensive asylum seekers who had arrived in Guam after the hearings' suspension found themselves unable to start the clock on work authorization. The rallies came as the island was recording some of the highest rates of new COVID-19 cases in the United States. Protesters' willingness to take risks to be heard, reckless or not, demonstrated their determination and frustration.

Organizer Egor Elkin had arrived in Guam before USCIS suspended the video hearings and, unlike many of the protesters, was employed. He

said he was lucky. “Some people live on the beach,” Elkin explained. “Some people had to live in shipping container units – no air conditioning. Some people get arrangements with local people for a room and help out around the house” (author interview, 2020). By spring of 2021, frustration for some had turned to despair. During the first week of March, a handful of asylum-seekers participated in a hunger strike outside the Governor’s Complex at Adelup. The weeklong action was to prod Governor Lourdes Leon Guerrero to advocate USCIS on behalf of asylum seekers. The emergence of a semi-permanent population of politically active Russian asylum seekers caught local attention, generating surprise and sympathy (O’Connor, 2021).

One asylum seeker who sympathized but did not participate in the hunger strike said that at their initial 2019 USCIS interview they had surrendered their passports. Since then, the USCIS had not communicated with them, nor had it returned the document. Even if it had been safe for this asylum seeker to return to Russia, the USCIS had made a return impossible.

The four hunger strikers were all men. At their small encampment they explained to local journalists that they had little hope of a good outcome. “There is a choice between a fast and slow death,” one participant claimed and added that the “fast death” or starvation, was preferable to the indignity of endless waiting (O’Connor, 2021). Meanwhile, on Telegram, asylum seekers carried out a hidden and frequently vitriolic debate over the merits of the hunger strike. Opponents said it was counterproductive to make strident demands that could alienate potential local allies. Others said that the object should not be the Governor of Guam, who had no power over immigration policy, but the federal government and the USCIS. The nearby federal courthouse, they claimed, would make a more effective rally location. Some of the commenters accused the hunger strikers of playing the parts of macho heroes while jeopardizing others’ asylum claims (Telegram, 2021).

Nonetheless, the hunger strike did attract limited local support. Near the end of the week, Lt. Governor Josh Tenorio met with the hunger strikers and a much larger group of sympathizers. During a listening session on the Adelup lawn, asylum seekers explained how they could not travel for urgent medical needs or enter mainland universities to which they had been accepted, and how they feared return to Russia. Egor Elkin, who did not participate in the hunger strike, wondered whether Guam's territorial status allowed United States to mistreat asylees. "Maybe this whole thing that they don't allow people out of Guam is just because they don't treat Guam people as equal to themselves. Why not make everybody on the same level?" Tenorio agreed and said he would try to find out any information on the status of claims or the prospect of granting advanced parole to the mainland. Beginning that same spring, a group of University of Guam Social Work students began connecting asylum seekers to local resources that might be available to them (O'Connor, 2021).

Conclusion

Most asylum seekers avoid any exposure, believing that visibility is dangerous. These individuals often report feeling forgotten by the federal government. Such feelings, however, are inaccurate. From the 2012 Russian visa waiver to the 2017 Executive Order to review asylum procedures, and then to the 2019 ending of the visa waiver program, the United States has shown a keen interest in Guam's Russian visitors. In 2012, Russian tourists to Guam were selected as part of a diplomatic effort to improve relations with a rival Pacific power. Since 2019, the federal government has changed course, off-loading desperate people in physical danger onto the local government and private charities. Guam has been made to help presidential administrations build bridges or throw up walls. The people most affected by Washington's capriciousness are waiting indefinitely for their lives to resume.

Political scientist Elizabeth Cohen has argued that liberal democracies transform time into political goods, "used when states and political subjects transact over power" (2018). Federal agencies refusal

to process the claims of Russian asylum seekers leaves these individuals in unprotected uncertainty and segregates them from the communities in which they live. Cohen explains, “racialized incarceration practices, delayed naturalization, and obstructionist abortion waiting periods are all instances in which select people’s time is appropriated as a means of denying them rights that others enjoy” (2018). In 2011 Republican Presidential nominee Mitt Romney said that making life intolerable for migrants will lead individuals to “self-deport” (Madison, 2012). Self-deportation is an impossible choice for asylums seekers. Return means continued oppression, prison, or worse. While encouraged by the results of the 2020 election, Russians in Guam have expressed little hope regarding their status. In a cruel irony, some whose time was stolen waiting in Soviet lines now find themselves at the mercy of an indifferent regime in the Western Pacific.

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Wave Riding in Cultural Contexts: *He'e Nalu*, Surfing, Film, and Discourse

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This article provides an historical overview that documents the origins and practices of *wave riding* – surfing – in Oceania. Attention is given to its pre-colonial origins, and the roles of Hawaiian and Indigenous¹ practitioners. Possible connections between surfing and traditional sea-faring are explored; as are political, cultural, and social identity factors. Attention is directed to the symbolic transformations involved as *he'e nalu* was constructed as surfing. Text, image, and film representations of surfing are examined to reveal colonial conventions. Finally current events and status implications involving surfing are considered.

Riding waves - or surfing - stemmed from the awareness produced through open sea navigation and canoe building, and has been practiced throughout Oceania and maritime Southeast Asia (Finney & Houston, 1966). From the moment of European interaction by Ferdinand Magellan in Guahan (Guam) in 1421 with Indigenous² CHamoru, and James Cook in Hawai'i in 1777 with Indigenous Kanaka, the practices of canoe building, seafaring, and wave sliding have been symbolized according to distinct narrative arcs that reflect political contexts. Scholars such as Matt Warshaw (2010), Scott Laderman (2014), Isaiah Heickunihi Walker (2011; 2017); Colleen McGioin (2017); Kevin Dawson (2017), Dina Gilio-Whitker (2017), Dexter Zavalza Hough-Snee, and Alexander Sotelo Eastman (2017), and others, have contended that surfing was an Indigenous activity. As Dawson (2017) reported, scholars generally

¹ The term indigenous is capitalized – Indigenous – throughout this text as a sign of respect for Indigenous ways of being. It is a way to decolonize language and recognize identity on par with the ways in which national identity is represented. At times, according to the *Elements of Indigenous Style: A Guide for Writing by and About Indigenous Peoples* (2018), this calls for an Indigenous style that overrides conventional standards. This decision follows trends evident in other resources such as the *International Journal of Critical Indigenous Studies, Journal of Postcolonial Studies, and Critical Indigenous Studies: Engagements in First World Locations* (2016).

believe that the first descriptions of surfing occurred in Tahiti and Hawai'i; however, over a hundred years earlier, in the 1600's in what is now Ghana, practitioners rode waves in "prone," kneeling, sitting, or standing positions, and in one-person canoes." While it is evidenced to have been practiced in a general manner in locations such as Peru, Senegal, Ghana, and the Ivory Coast of Africa, it became particularly evident in Oceania and Hawai'i before colonial contact was made. *He'e nalu* was developed on the pre-colonial Hawaiian shores as a significant practice within the complex governing system of *kapu*, which administered daily life as a complete regulatory system (Warshaw, 2010). Lieutenant James King in 1778 dedicated two pages to the practice of "board-riding" as it was practiced there. Subsequently, surfing was largely described in popular texts and artifacts as an endeavor that was revived and mastered by Western practitioners. The roles of Hawai'i and Indigenous practitioners, notably *Kanaka Maoli* (Native Hawaiians)², within surfing discourse is present, but suffers from years of erasure and obfuscation (Walker, 2011; Ingersoll, 2016).

This article focuses on the discursive tensions between *he'e nalu* and its constructions as surfing. By placing surfing in this context, recognition is given to the function of riding waves in historical contexts, revealing some of a much larger body of Indigenous knowledge as well as its shared territory of obfuscation. From the context of the Hawaiian Islands' pre-colonial contact, the author turns to the symbolic transformations involved as *he'e nalu* is transcribed as surfing. Particular attention is given to the ways in which notions of political, cultural, and social identity are appropriated, produced, and maintained. Qualitative and artifact analysis here are based partially on the author's experiences as a practitioner of both surfing culture and traditional Austronesian and Oceanic seafaring. The intention is to integrate trends in Postcolonial Studies and Critical Indigenous studies to examine the dynamics at play between these practices and their representations in text. Finally, the author examines how text, image, and film extend early representations of riding waves. These tend to reflect colonial conventions in decolonial

² In the Hawaiian language, according to scholars such as David A. Chang (2016), the term - *Kanaka Maoli* - refers to Native Hawaiians.

and postcolonial contexts. The *ka po'ina nalu*, or wave borderland, continues to function as a liminal space, which is transferred to the identities of the practitioners themselves through material consequentiality (Walker, 2011; Modesti, 2008). Attention is given to Indigenous knowledge as well as to the colonial structures through which it is framed in everyday practices such as surfing. It is argued that these tensions within the history of surfing discourse are felt and experienced in the contemporary practices of surfing around the globe.

Wave Riding in Cultural Contexts: He'e Nalu, Surfing, Film, and Discourse

The now common practice, to many coastal locations, of swimming out to sea with a fabricated board, moving toward the apex of a curling wave, turning around to paddle with it, and standing up to ride across its face, is precisely the way William Anderson on the *Resolution* described a practitioner performing the gestures in Matavai Bay, Tahiti in 1777³ (Warshaw, 2010). Riding waves or surfing is an Indigenousⁱ form of knowledge that predates European colonization. When Indigenous spaces are colonized, locations such as the surf zone, the wave riding practices themselves, and the ways in which we discuss and represent them become sites of tension. To surf is to reference both Indigenous agency and a history of colonial obfuscation as themes of cultural seizure are enmeshed in surfing narratives. Scholars such as Matt Warshaw (2010), Scott Laderman (2014), Isaiah Helekunihi Walker (2011; 2017), Colleen McGloin (2017), Kevin Dawson (2017), Dina Gilio-Whitaker (2017), Dexter Zavalza Hough-Sne, and Alexander Sotelo Eastman (2017), and others contend that surfing is an Indigenous activity. While it is evidenced to be practiced, in a general manner, in locales such as Peru, Senegal, Ghana, and the Ivory Coast of Africa, it becomes particularly evident in Oceania and Hawai'i pre-colonial contact. Here it takes on well-known significant socio-political functions that signal the foundations of surfing as it is understood and practiced today (Finney & Houston, 1966; Warshaw, 2010; Laderman, 2014; Walker, 2011; 2017;

³ This is often thought to be the first western account of riding waves in Oceania. In Matavai Bay in Tahiti, William Anderson on the *Resolution* in 1777 described a local practitioner performing the basics of paddling, watching, riding a swell toward the beach.

McGloin, 2017; Dawson, 2017; Clark, 2011; Ingersoll; 2016). In this article, I examine a few of the intersectional tensions that arise within the discourse concerning Hawaiian wave sliding or *he'e nalu* and surfing (Puki & Elbert, 1986, p. 63).

The practice of surfing was performed for thousands of years throughout Oceania prior to the account stated above (Finney & Houston, 1966, p.22). There exists, centering around its development on the Hawaiian Islands, a sustained interpretation of riding waves in the English-language writings of Hiram Bingham, Henry T. Cheever, William Ellis, James Cook, Mark Twain, and Jack London for hundreds of years after. Other Western writers who have added to the narratives concerning surfing include Isabella Bird, James Michener, Thomas Wolfe, Timothy Leary, and Kem Nunn (Comer, 2010, p.9). Along with these popular English language texts, there exists a large body of information pertaining to *he'e nalu* contained in Hawaiian-language newspapers written before 1900. Much of the information drawn from these newspapers beginning in 1834 are available due to the work of Hawaiian scholars such as John Papa 'Ūi, Samuel Kamakau, Zephirin Keauokalani, David Malo, Mary Kawena Pukui, Samuel H. Elbert, and others (Clark, 2011, pp.2-3). Through the examination of the discourse concerning *he'e nalu* and surfing, I hope to better understand its physical practice as its narrative structures partly construct its ontology.

Surf scholarship and the ongoing critique of colonial and imperial legacies of cultural erasure have also created a valuable conversation concerning the social, cultural, and political roles of *he'e nalu* and contemporary surfing. Surfing has been used according to scholars such as Laderman (2004) to colonize Indigenous land and sea spaces. He argues in *Empires in Waves: A Political History of Surfing* that the Americanization of riding waves has much to do with imperial expansion. Similarly, Dawson (2017) maintained that as surfing is Westernized it is used to further encroach on Indigenous spaces that were previously unavailable to European and American settlers (p.144). Belinda Wheaton (2017) also encouraged us to recognize how settlers have employed surfing as a vehicle to “invade” Indigenous spaces

(p.177). Karin Amimoto Ingersoll in *Waves of Knowing: A Seascape Epistemology* (2016) added that on the Hawaiian Islands, surf tourism and the surf industry have continued to confine and limit the movements of Indigenous Hawaiians as foreign bodies crowd, "...surf breaks, channels, and beaches, leaving no 'space' for autonomous Kanaka movement." Krista Comer (2017), in *Surfeminism, Critical Regionalism, and Public Scholarship*, noted that the gendering of surfing reflects global dimensions that often further sexist constructions of identity while acting as a cover for, "...Western imperial land grabs in surfing's new emergent markets." I argue that these historical tensions continue in contemporary discursive themes and are directly experienced in wave riding spaces around the globe. Contemporary surfing is Indigenous surfing and while it has been industrialized, marketed, and practiced by a global community for centuries; it nevertheless is based on an Indigenous knowledge set that is contextualized by its historical appropriation and erasure.

While such contexts are constantly at play in contemporary acts and representations of surfing, scholars such as McGloin (2017) have stated that Indigenous surfing also functions as a form of agency, a "...repossession of culture, of landscape and seascape, a practice of resistance to the enduringness of colonialism." Walker (2011) noted in *Waves of Resistance: Surfing and History in Twentieth-Century Hawai'i* that the *ka po'ina nalu* or surf zone becomes a site of resistance due to the sustained presence of Hawaiian surfing practitioners. Perhaps it is the fluidity of the zone itself or the radical nature of the movement employed in this space that creates the liminal nature of the surf zone. He added that due to the preservation of these spaces through surfing, "colonial powers were less able to conquer" (Walker, 2017). Dawson (2017) added that a continual wave riding presence and culture, "challenged these incursions as twentieth-century coastscapes were embattled political spaces" which remained "Indigenous culturalscapes." Comer, in *Surfer Girls in the New World Order* (2010), added to her analysis of gender and surfing, stating that "critical femininities" can also be developed alongside "critical sensibilities," arising from an awareness of the ways in which surf zones are formed and function. In the text, she

discusses the connections between surfing sites and identity formations surrounding gender, race, and nationality. In contemporary contexts, the *ka po'ina nalu*, continues to function as a borderland, becoming entangled in historical tensions of cultural erasure, authorship, and belonging.

Many Indigenous scholars such as Elizabeth Lynn-Cook (2001; 2012), Epeli Hau'ofa (2008), Marissa Muñoz (2019), and Vincent Diaz (2016), among others, have discussed the ways that Indigenous paradigms are revealed when paying attention to geographical and socio-spatial contexts. Many scholars have noted the social productions of space in general, such as Henri Lefebvre (2007) and Marc Augé (1995), the interplay between physical *places* and more ideological *spaces* such as Yi-Fu Tuan (2007) and Tim Cresswell (2004), the ways individuals and groups embody, reify, and resist spatial and social productions through everyday *practices* such as Michel de Certeau (1984) and Pierre Bourdieu (1990), and the intersections that are created between geographical borders and boundaries of identities in Gloria Anzaldúa's (2007) *borderlands*. Walker (2011) defines the *ka po'ina nalu* as a *borderland* site, where social differences converge, and "unique social and cultural identities are formed." He claims that as a result, "state-sanctioned authority is often absent from the borderlands." Scholarship observes that surfing has performed many, often-contradictory roles, throughout its history, yet the practice, its spaces, and its discourse remain important sites of examination and tension that continue to unfold.

The first intersectional tension I explore is the connection of surfing to Indigenous Austronesian and Oceanic seafaring, an obfuscation often left out of surfing discourse. The second is its appropriation within sports centric frameworks that involve nationality. Third, its celebration as a practice mastered and disseminated around the globe by U.S. and Western practitioners, which in turn gives credence to its symbolic representation as a form of Indigenous advocacy, marking the continued colonial conditions of cultural destruction at work in surfing discourse and practice.

Seafaring, Surfing, and Obfuscations

He'e nalu is developed on the pre-colonial Hawaiian shores, undoubtedly stemming from the awareness produced through open sea navigation and canoe building, practiced throughout Oceania and maritime Southeast Asia (Finney & Houston, 1966, p.22). From the moment of European interaction by Ferdinand Magellan in Guåhan (Guam) in 1421 with Indigenous CHamoru, and James Cook in Hawai'i in 1777 with Indigenous Kānaka, the practices of canoe building, seafaring, and wave sliding are symbolized according to distinct narrative arcs that reflect political contexts. In this process of symbolic narrativization, what it means to ride waves entails a certain corporeal normalization of what it looks like to ride. What is seldom discussed is the place riding waves occupies in relation to practices of seafaring and canoe building. Riding waves utilizes a hand carved board to forge unique relationships with aquatic spaces first established through traditions of Austronesian and Oceanic seafaring. Ingersoll (2016) highlights the Indigenous connections between seafaring and surfing due to their similar abilities to forge what she refers to as a "seascape epistemology," writing that they demand "a travel ideology that slides, is flexible, and creates distinct ecological and social ethics."

It is, in this regard, part of a much larger historical and wide-spread network of Indigenous wisdom, a lineage that stretches back over 4,000 years from the Philippine and Indonesian archipelagos to Madagascar in the east, Hawai'i and *Rapa Nui* or Easter Island to the north and west, and New Zealand or *Aotearoa* to the south. A cultural comparison can be observed along the west coast of Africa where independently formed wave riding practices developed before colonial contact, which utilized creating and riding both canoes and boards in surf zones (Dawson, 2017). Relatedly, the *caballito*, a reed canoe-like vessel, was used before Western contact by Indigenous Peruvians to slide down and across the face of breaking waves (Warshaw, 2010). We can observe in each instance, particularly in Oceania, the connections between the practice of riding canoes or vessels and boards on waves. These are indicators of a shared practice, and they are further revealed in the unique practices of

canoe and board carving as well as navigation and surfing performances honed by Austronesian and Oceanic Indigenous cultures. Within the cultural constellation of traditional Polynesian seafaring, the Hawaiian outrigger canoe, the *wa'a*, for example, has a shallow hull designed to ride waves when returning from sea while the more specific design, the *wa'a pā.kā.kā nalu*, is described as a canoe specifically intended for surfing waves (Clark, 2011).

Surfing is an aspect of seafaring and both vessels, particularly the latter, function today as forms of Indigenous agency and social advocacy. The various forms of traditional seafaring practices throughout Oceania and the world exemplified by the *Hōkūle'a* and the *Polynesian Voyaging Society*, the *Tahiti Voyaging Society*, the *Piailug Seafaring Academy*, among many others, represent a practice and resulting rhetoric that promotes Indigenous optics. There are many links between surfing and Austronesian seafaring culture, practices, and history. For instance, there is a network of shared practices, which connects the islands and sea spaces of Oceania and the cultures to a shared origin. The first known engraving of a surfboard in 1778 depicts a Hawaiian rider paddling out to sea amongst numerous traditional outrigger canoes, undoubtedly carved according to similar traditions as the board depicted (Finney & Houston, 1966). Austronesian seafaring is part of a system of physical practices and concepts, a series of interconnected methods, terms, and ideas. Navigation is preeminently connected to carving, plant identification, and harvesting, which revolve around a sustained structure of learning, teaching, and pedagogy that is maintained through community formations.

Hawaiian newspapers from the nineteenth century indicated the connections between these practices along a shared structure. The extensive undertaking of moving through oceans on fabricated crafts can only occur from a series of interrelated precursory practices that involves the carving of canoes for paddling and sailing, and boards for surfing. This larger structure constitutes a set of knowledge that provides the epistemological foundation for the culture of riding waves as well as an indication of their ordering within a shared system.

He [Kamehameha] chose kahunas who were makers of double canoes (wa‘a kaulua), war canoes (wa‘a peleleu), single canoe (wa‘a kaukahi), sailing canoes (wa‘a kialoa)—either one masted canoes (kiakahi) or two-masted (kialua); and kahunas who were makers of holua sleds and [alaia] surfboards (papa he‘e nalu) (Clark, 2011).

Royalty, *Kamehameha*, chose specialists to manufacture various canoes, boards, and sleds to be used to traverse through aquatic spaces. The excerpt above indicates a shared maker of numerous crafts, and that all are constructed, designed, and used in similar ways. As both canoe and board building and use are discouraged, banned, and obstructed due to colonial intervention, these connections to a larger network of meanings are also severed. As the endeavors reemerge in differing ways, they become aligned with mainstream depictions of individual sports and explorations of daring, leisure, and privilege, rather than everyday pursuits of life-sustaining spatial engagement, stemming from a personal and often intimate fabrication.

The examination of these connections in relation to Indigenous knowledge situates discussions in specific places while promoting sharing between cultures, nations, and communities. Today both practices can be viewed as forms of social advocacy and communication while marking instances of historical appropriation and obfuscation. Traditional Oceanic and Austronesian seafaring take similar forms in performances, artifacts, and traditions throughout maritime Southeast Asia and Oceania. Such practices are based on local identification and harvesting of trees and plants, carving canoes, and tool construction, all of which effectively lead to the same identifying, harvesting, and carving practices that produce the *olo* or longboard and the *alaia* or shortboard (Clark, 2011) of Hawaiian *he‘e nalu*. The places and spaces of creation and use of boards and canoes are similar if not the same. The ancient Austronesian and Oceanic art of carving, with adze, blade, and fire, is an epistemological trade that produces these material objects (D’arcy,

2006). All of which are made possible by a community familiar with a network of shared practice, production, and pedagogy.

Along with the construction process, riding waves on boards develops as a structure with social meanings indicative of those within traditional Austronesian seafaring culture. The social and political significance in maintaining community connections placed on *he'e nalu* on the Hawaiian Islands and the importance of Austronesian seafaring throughout Oceania is one example. Finally, the practices of seafaring and surfing exhibit a similar epistemological approach to the negotiation of dynamic seascapes, a complete familiarity with the sea, and an equally complete subjectivity that arises from the social, physical, and intellectual practices involved. Seafaring and surfing share not only a particular relationship with the sea, but a way of knowing based on calculated responses to constantly changing environments. Ingersoll (2016) stated that like surfing, “voyaging becomes an ideology,” which constitutes a way of knowing. Both endeavors engage in unique situational contexts as frameworks for action, navigating according to a variety of signs and directing a surfboard through water to catch and ride swells (Lewis, 1972). Traditional Austronesian and Oceanic seafaring are Indigenous sets of knowledge that reflect contemporary conditions and historical forces of cultural erasure. Ingersoll adds that as Indigenous Hawaiians “were still actively voyaging throughout Moana, captain James Cook embarked upon a very different type of Ocean movement,” indicating that “movement can also establish specific agendas and doctrines of control” (pp.145-46). Travelling from afar, over sea, to conquer, convert, and settle, Europeans encountered various cultures that moved through the same aquatic spaces in their own way for centuries. Indigenous surfing is an extension of Austronesian and Oceanic traditions of seafaring and canoe building, entailing a constellation of practices of meaning and socio-political importance. The ways in which these tensions play out in discourse and practice has much to say about our cultural, social, and political identities.

He'e Nalu, Surfing, and Appropriation

Lieutenant James King in 1778 dedicated two pages to the practice of *board-riding* as it was practiced on the Hawaiian Islands. Here *he'e nalu* has been a significant practice within the complex governing system of *kapu*, which administers daily life as a complete regulatory, spiritual, and governmental system (Warshaw, 2010, pp.23-31). What we refer to as surfing, which is not used as a term until the twentieth century, is an encounter with the practice of *he'e nalu* on the Hawaiian Islands. While it is its technological and commercial predecessor, it is also an attenuation of an ancient practice and form of knowledge. As Dawson (2017) reported, scholars have generally believed that the previously mentioned descriptions in Tahiti and Hawai'i are the first accounts of riding waves; however, over a hundred years earlier in the 1600s, in what is now Ghana, practitioners are chronicled to ride waves in "prone, kneeling, sitting, or standing position, and in one-person canoes" (p.139). It is from Oceanic and African seafaring, surfing, and swimming practitioners that Europeans learned not only how to ride waves but also how to swim and navigate aquatic spaces in vessels proficiently (Dawson, 2017, p.147). Many of these techniques are visible in contemporary professional and competitive swimming, boating, and surfing arenas such as the *Olympics*, *America's Cup*, and the *World Surfing League*.

The gestures and narratives associated with the practice of riding waves constitute a contested material and symbolic site, where conceptions of culture, nation, and identity play out. Walker (2011) noted that riding waves creates contested spaces where the social production of cultural identity can be witnessed, challenged, and affirmed through a series of unique gestures (pp.10-1). The practices of riding the waves that arise in the surf zone continue to function symbolically according to the settlements of land nearby. The individual articulations of everyday practitioners in the water, partially determine the nature of these spaces (de Certeau, 1984). The symbolization mentioned here is drawn from a constellation of attitudes and values that shape the material reality of wave *borderlands*. As we encounter symbols, Sonja Foss (2004) wrote, "(We) try to figure out how they are

working and why they affect us as they do.” As a result, texts or artifacts that reference the subject of surfing become sites of tension over meaning. The signifiers we use to describe people, places, and things fills in for the territory of the signified. Ingersoll (2016) states that “as the activity of *he‘e nalu* travels, the spatial metaphors of surf “spots” also move: Marching waves, circulating currents,” and shifting sand. In this regard, the names and symbols associated with these places also moves according to the social forces that surround them.

Waves are part of land, breaking due to water interacting with the surface below or nearby, and are part of the social constructions of both spaces. Surf zones continue to function as dialectical sites of tension due to the Indigenous practices and colonial pasts involved in the practices being performed. None perhaps are more significant than those along the North Shore of Oahu, notably, *Pipeline*. The names of surf zones along this famous seven-mile shoreline from Haleiwa Beach in the south to Sunset Beach in the North remind one of a symbolic reordering, *Gas Chambers*, *Off the Wall*, *Log Cabins*, *Leftovers*, and *Velzyland*, named after Southern California surfer Dale Velzy by John Severson after visiting for a film production. Sites are renamed and surfing terminology along with its materiality, shift. U.S. surfers name and are credited repeatedly as the first to ride the waves at these long-revered sites, which now bare their names. Ben Finney and James Houston compile a list of over one hundred identified surf zones throughout the Hawaiian Islands (pp.28-32; Clark, 2011 noted that beginning with *Kapuni* on Waikīkī Beach, which turns into *Canoes*, roughly all the surf zones were given English names by the early 1900s. Just as European explorers claimed to “discover” unknown lands, provide religious salvation, and introduce scientific knowledge, U.S. surfers claim to recover the “lost” cultural practices of riding waves, which these legacies of domination silenced initially. Brown stated in *The Endless Summer* (1966) that in the 1950’s intrepid surfing explorers such as John Kelly, George Downing, Gregg Noll, Pat Curren, Peter Cole, and Fred Van Dyke were the first to ride Waimea Bay, perpetuating similar narratives of Western discovery. Ingersoll affirmed, based on Hawaiian periodicals and oral histories or *mo‘olelo*, that Indigenous Hawaiians were the first who “rode and named

the waves at Waimea Bay and elsewhere” (Ingersoll, 2016). Along with the sites of the surf zones, the knowledge associated with the practices of riding waves becomes appropriated according to new meanings.

Clark (2011), working from Hawaiian sources previously mentioned, produced a Hawaiian and English language reference work containing a glossary of over one thousand Hawaiian terms relating to the practice of *he‘e nalu*. This surviving knowledge represents a fraction of the meaning and importance placed on the practice. Pre-colonial definitions of wave riding provide a glimpse into its conceptual nature. Pukui and Elbert (1986) defined *he‘e* “to slide, surf, slip, and to flee” or “to cause to slip, slide, flee; to put to flight” and *nalu* as “wave, surf” as well as “to ponder, meditate, reflect, mull over,” and “speculate.” These words and stories are glimpses into a much larger oral and physical history as the meanings associated with these signifiers indicate. From a child riding a small *pupo* or body board prone in the shore break or *po‘ina nalu* to an *ali‘i* or royalty riding a large buoyant *olo* surfboard on a *ha‘i*, *ha‘i maika‘i* or perfectly breaking wave, there is ample evidence of wave riding as a physical act and a body of conceptual knowledge pertaining to its creation, reception, and associations that both inform and are appropriated by contemporary surfing discourse (Clark, 2011).

A hoonoho aku la no hoi oia I na kahuna kalai waa; waa kaulua, waa peleleu, waa kaukahi, waa kialoa a me na kahuna kalai papa alaia heenalua a heeolua. (Clark, 2011, p. 160).

On the Hawaiian Islands prior to colonial contact, the practice of riding waves for most began with the shaping of a *papa* or board, typically the *alaia* (Clark, 2011). A Hawaiian language newspaper in 1865 describes the widespread practice of riding waves.

Surfing is a very popular sport in Hawai‘i from the chiefs to the commoners. This is how you do it. The board is created ahead of time out of koa, kukui, ‘ohe, wiliwili, or other woods that are good for making boardsⁱⁱ. (Clark, 2011, p.406)

Hawaiian language translation of excerpt: *O ka heenalu, oia kekahi paani nui loa o Hawaii nei, mai na'lii a na makaainana. Penei nae hoi ka hana ana o keia hana: Ua hoomakaukau e ia ka papa mamua, oia hoi koa, ke kukui, ke ohe, ka wiliwili, a me kekahi mau e ae no I kupono no ka hana I papa. (Clark, 2011, p.406)*

The description of riding waves begins with the production of a material object that is now an aspect of an industrial market. The directions start with the searching for, “woods that are good for making boards,” or plant identification, harvesting, and fabrication intended for specific use (Clark, 2011). To this day, boards are referred to as being shaped rather than made and often are products of handmade labor. The design of the *alaia* is specific while generally adaptable to the rider. It is the outcome of an evolution of riding the *waha* or steep section near the inside of a curling wave (Clark, 2011). This is still the most sought-after posture and position in surfing culture, crouching low as if riding an *alaia* as one is required to do to maintain control on a thin finless board, tucking one’s torso under the lip of a hollow breaking wave, of which



Fig. 1: Reconstruction of a Hawaiian *alaia* fabricated and carved by the author from a Paulownia tree in Northern California (Photographer: Greyson King)

there are many on the Hawaiian Islands. The thin narrow *alaia*, functions as the board of the people commonly used to ride waves in Hawai'i and is typically constructed by the rider themselves rather than an expert carver. The modern short board, which dominates contemporary surfing represents an innovation, a revival, and an obfuscation of a previous cultural gesture that predates the longboard, typically placed before the shortboard in Western surfing narratives. Dawson (2017) and Laderman (2014) agree that "post-annexation (1898) Hawaiians planted 'the roots of global surf culture' before considering how surfboards became imperial implements" (Dawson, 2017). The *alaia* and the contemporary shortboard as well as the gestures required for their navigation are symbolic reminders of this history.

The act of riding particular boards at specific sites, by certain practitioners, indicates status, agency, and identity achieved through meaningful movement. As *he'e nalu* turned into surfing, this royal conception gained traction as a practice engaged in by many became one that is enjoyed primarily by the unique or special. In this binary, its meaning has been appropriated into opposing stances, which function to obscure most riders, who shape their own *alias* and ride waves that are not *taboo* or restricted under the conditions of *kapu*. The space of breaking waves suitable for riding is commonly referred to as a *break* in contemporary surfing culture. The riding practices that take place there, continue to define the practice and its sites as a *borderland*, in which competing notions of territorial ownership, privatization, local belonging, and outsider incursion unfold. McGloin (2017) for example, examined how constructions of white "...masculinity have been historically mobilized to support dominant discourses of national identity," particularly in Australia (p.198). Early texts on *he'e nalu* have indicated its widespread use and varied conceptual underpinnings, yet it is most often discussed in royal and sports centric frameworks encapsulated in the term, *the sport of kings*. This trope has been applied to many endeavors, from cockfighting to horseracing, and frequently to surfing, present in early text on the subject by Jack London (2017) and others. This includes more recent documentary films, such as *Riding Giants* (Warshaw, 2004) and Warshaw's book, *The History of Surfing*

(2010), as well as newspapers such as *The New York Times*, and magazines such as *Surfer*.

Most agree, such as Kenvin (2014), Laderman (2014), Walker (2011; 2017), Ingersoll (2016), and others that surfing was introduced to North America when visiting sovereign princes of Hawai'i, Jonah Kuhio Kalaniana'ole, David La'amea Kahalepouli Kawanakoa, and Edward Abnel Keli'iahonui rode the waves at the mouth of the San Lorenzo River in Santa Cruz County, California around 1885. As sovereign *ali'i* visitors, they had a royal *olo* board shaped from a local timber mill for the undertaking (Kenvin, 2014). Surfing in California began with sovereign Hawaiian royalty riding traditionally noble boards; this moment is a cultural instance of importance and an interaction between nation states. The board and practice of riding, functions as an exchange of global politics. The use of boards in waves becomes a vehicle of diplomatic exchange and a plaque remains in commemoration at *Steamer's Lane*, a popular surf *break* now at the heart of northern California surfing culture. A similar yet contradicting plaque in Redondo Beach, California indicates that the more sports centric George Freeth was the "first surfer in the United States" to surf the region in 1907. The practice of surfing functions primarily as a royal and sport endeavor, leaving out much of its larger societal functions and epistemological associations.

Today, national recognition and the political and cultural status of Hawai'i regarding surfing on the global sporting stage is a contested area. Hawaiian surfer Carissa Moore has won numerous women's *Surf World Championships* and the Olympic gold medal in surfing for the U.S., yet like other Hawaiian competitors, she is able to surf under the Hawaiian flag in the *World Surf League* but not the *Olympics*. This is also true in the *International Surfing Association*, and the *National Scholastic Surfing Association*, which, "define Hawai'i as an independent region" (Walker, 2017). These recognitions fall within *the sport of kings* frameworks and unfold as a series of tensions in identity and representation, which involve Indigenous agency and the legacies of colonialism. The dialog between nations is performed in the water and continued through discourse as the act of riding waves is transformed through symbols to

fit within the interests of nation-states and sports centric productions. The tensions between *he'e nalu* and its constructions as surfing are present in these early moments and more contemporary texts. As these symbolic obfuscations and appropriations unfold in group formations, image, and film, so does the call for reflexivity and resistance.

Discourse, Film, and Advocacy

Surfing is largely described in popular contexts and artifacts as an endeavor that is revived and mastered by Western practitioners, and the role of Hawai'i and Indigenous practitioners, notably Kānaka Maoli or Native Hawaiians within surfing discourse is present but suffers from years of erasure and obfuscation (Walker, 2011, pp.31-41, Ingersoll, 2016, pp.60-72). The practice continues in the *ka po'ina nalu* as it had for centuries by Indigenous practitioners when it is introduced to Europeans and reintroduced by U.S. practitioners to the world. By 1895 Nathaniel Emerson lamented the decline of this vibrant cultural past time, writing that he “cannot but mourn its [*he'e nalu*] decline, [and] today it is hard to find a surfboard outside of our museums and private collections” (Warshaw, 2010, p.34). Physical diminishing and symbolic replacement are at work as the textual mourning precedes the loss of territory. This theme within the historiography of riding waves indicates an emphasis on absence. Indigenous perspectives expressed through grand and everyday practices reflect an untold loss and *he'e nalu* is but one example; however, the practice continued, like many others including weaving, dance, language, and traditional Austronesian and Oceanic seafaring. Western chroniclers catalog a certain way of looking at the practice that re-writes its corporeality, yet this rearrangement often entails a symbolic razing, and we can see many examples of this from colonial to contemporary accounts. *He'e nalu* is in practice in 1866 when Mark Twain visits Hawai'i and observes practitioners riding waves on a *papa he'e nalu* or “board for wave-sliding” (Warshaw, 2010, p.32). The practice is so unfamiliar to Twain and his cultural perspective that he states, “none but the natives will ever master the art” (Winchester, 2015). Three years later, in 1898, Hawai'i was forcefully annexed by the

U.S. and surfing re-emerged as a series of gestures with new cultural and national connotations.

South Carolina transplant, Alexander Hume Ford, helped establish a European and U.S. vision of surfing along with statehood. Ford, like many others endowed with a similar colonial disposition, believed that foreigners can learn all of the cultural secrets of the Hawaiian surfer. He formed organizations and publications that served the interests of Eurocentric settler communities. Many years later, popular films such as *The North Shore* (1987), echoed this narrative via a surfer from landlocked Arizona who masters the unruly surf *breaks* of O'ahu's North Shore. Surfing subsequently spread around the world with Europeans and Americans as inheritors of an abandoned Hawaiian practice, who go on to become experts of the craft (Walker, 2011, p.95; 32). London, on a trip through the Pacific Ocean, stopped in Hawai'i in 1908. After meeting Ford and Freeth, London experienced and cataloged his experience riding waves. His attitude toward the practice, due to the encouragement of Ford, was decidedly different from Twain's; as London declared in *The Cruise of the Snark* (2017): "The Snark shall not sail from Honolulu until I, too, wing my heels with swiftness of the sea," referring to the act of riding waves. The article in which London described his attempts to ride waves on boards is originally titled, "A Royal Sport: Riding the South Sea Surf." Here he noted the royal conception of the practice and perhaps paralleling the loss of sovereignty with the perceived loss of a prominent cultural practice (Winchester, 2015). London and other Westerners, as Dawson (2017) stated, "perceived surfing as people's attempt to conquer nature." London (2017) was indebted to Ford as the possessor of Indigenous wisdom, writing, "I am always humble when confronted by knowledge. Ford knew." Furthermore, his knowledge is without an author as London (2017) embellishes, "...he had no one to teach him, and all that he had laboriously learned in several weeks he communicated to me in half an hour." London was actively searching for new experiences and cultural perspectives for his readers to absorb. On his way to the Hawaiian Islands, he wrote a similar statement after learning bits of information about celestial navigation, an artform and science mastered in Oceania. There is in these narratives, a desire to seize not just the

place of the land, but the social spaces that stemmed from deeply engrained aquatic relationships and knowledge.

Sam Low (2013) noted, Ford intended to turn Hawai'i into a "white man's state" creating a "beckoning paradise for the growing number of Pacific tourists," establishing the islands "as a crucial outpost of American global power." London and Ford formed the *Outrigger Canoe Club* and intended to develop, "the great sport of surfing in Hawai'i." The name of this club reflects the English name change of the nearby surf breaks such as *Canoes*. This all white club is commonly recognized as surfing's first organization, outside of the marginalized history and significance of *he'e nalu* (Warshaw, 2010). The group promoted not only surfing as they saw it, but Western segregation. As Franz Fanon (1963) concluded in *Wretched of the Earth*, no colonial system draws its justification from the fact that the territories it dominates are culturally non-existent. Ingersoll (2016) stated that the organization functioned as a means of exclusion, which provides a space where only some could enter and "engage in a paradoxical act of negation and appropriation" by participating in an Indigenous practice while excluding an Indigenous population. The dominant narrative, like many colonial tales of discovery and mastery, indicated that riding waves is all but lost, if it were not for the revival of it by Ford, London, and others. There is a dwindling of many local pursuits, yet if there is a revival of the practice after colonial and imperial encounters, it is already underway by Indigenous practitioners of *he'e nalu*.

In 1911 a group of Hawaiian surfers, notably Duke Kahanamoku, formed the *Hui Nalu Club* or *Surfing Riding Club* as an organization of Indigenous agency. The Hawaiian language name of this organization refers to the early signifiers of the practice discussed in this text. This collective was a political response to what was becoming the racist infrastructure of surfing, which marks surfing as a form of social advocacy. It is a form of empowering optics that responds to the segregation and subordination suffered at the hands of what was becoming a society based on Hawaiian oppression. Today the physical spaces and bodies within mainstream contemporary surfing are

“phenotypically White” (Wheaton, 2017). Such homogeneity according to structural forces of power that involve subject positionality are created intentionally and are direct reflections of the histories discussed in this text. James Baldwin noted that, “the great force of history comes from the fact that we carry it within us, are unconsciously controlled by it in many ways, and history is literally present in all that we do” (Giroux, 2021). *Hui Nalu* members find an identity that is linked to a pre-colonial past in a threatened cultural space. Later in 1976, the *Hui O He’e Nalu* or *Club of Wave Sliders* was formed as a revival of the original *Hui Nalu Club* in order to respond to the increasing numbers of mostly U.S. and Australian surfers brought to the shores of Hawai‘i by the growing global surf and sport industry. The *ka po’ina nalu* is situated as an endangered native Hawaiian space due to the incursion of the modern surf industry, a continuation of colonial seizure (Walker, 2011). The group continues to champion Hawaiian agency by outlining the club’s objectives to preserve Native Hawaiian influence over the sacred waves of the North Shore. I use these examples of conceptions, group formations, and symbolic uses to indicate a dialectical tension present in the discourse concerning surfing. From the intersections of its corporeality and significations, a production occurs that Sonja Modesti (2008) refers to as a “material consequentiality,” which can be felt by individual practitioners.

The relationship with the ocean and the unique movement on boards in surf zones embodied by the aforementioned Hawaiian princes, Freeth and Kahanamoku are indicative of an Indigenous epistemology associated with *he’e nalu* and traditional Austronesian and Oceanic seafaring cultures. As the accomplishments of Freeth and Kahanamoku are framed according to national and sport optics, they help propel surfing, swimming, Hawai‘i, and the U.S. onto the global stage. They both gave surfing demonstrations around the world and Kahanamoku won Olympic gold medals for the U.S. Walker remarked that Hawaiian representation as semi-autonomous in international competitions, outside of the *Olympics* (a point of contention on the Hawaiian Islands), enables “Hawaiian surfers to develop unique and empowering identities,” which have functioned in the context “of longstanding cultural, political, and economic struggle evolving from a 150-year

history of colonization” (2017). Along with Hawai‘i, the *World Surf League* also recognized Guåhan as an independent region which, according to the United Nations Special Committee on Decolonization, is one of seventeen entities that remain under control by U.N. member states, including the U.S., the largest territorial power (Statham, 2002). As the sports centric framework unfolds so do notions of national identity and sovereignty, which further the *sport of kings* reference while also marking its use as an empowering optic to resist colonial legacies of domination.

The associations of surfing with leisure have been heightened through the narrative of the movie *Gidget* (1959) and its symbolization as an aspect of counterculture. Due in part to its success, by the 1950’s, a beach culture of youthful carefree leisure with the surfboard at its center was practiced by millions. The narrative first appeared as a novel that follows the true story of a young woman named Kathy Kohner, written by her father. The merit of the novel is secondary to its profound societal impact as a film. Simon Winchester (2015) refers to it as, “the single greatest influence on introducing surfing,” as through this tale the audience learns the practice of riding waves as well as its escapist function in a distinctly apolitical shore. Here, surfing is placed once again at the periphery of mainstream society pursued by a few unique and culturally transgressive individuals. The ethos of resistance to rigid structural norms of settling communities, now in Southern California, is transformed into a counter cultural ease of both the shore and the act of riding waves, solidified in narrative. The counterculture that centers around leisure and the practice of riding waves, like other tensions visited in this article, is problematized by its use to encroach on Indigenous spaces through appropriations of Indigenous practices.

As *he‘e nalu* turns to surfing and becomes, along with beach culture, synonymous with leisure, the narrative combines with a national image. Fanon (1963) noted that culture was often mined from the past, “to be displayed in all its splendor, is not necessarily” that of one’s own country. A care-free narrative indicative of California beach culture was centered around the many popular narratives that have depicted surfing

as play. This sentiment has been strengthened with each articulation as an entire genre of surf exploitation films has been produced. In these iterations, the practice of surfing has played a lesser role to the formation of an easygoing lifestyle, as in *Bikini Beach* (1964) and *Beach Blanket Bingo* (1965). American Independent Pictures and Hollywood studios produced over seventy surf-related films such as *Beach Party* (1963), *Muscle Beach Party* (1964), *How to Stuff a Wild Bikini* (1965), and *Ghost in the Invisible Bikini* (1966) (Ormrod, 2005). The mainstream cooptation of surfing's cultural meaning says much about the ways in which practices become conditioned through narratives as millions are inspired to experience them and live out their depictions, resulting in actual beach scenes that resemble those constructed in films.

The lived U.S. and Californian culture of surfing aims for more authentic representations and produces a counter-cultural rebuttal to these depictions in the form of small budget documentaries produced by Bruce Brown, John Severson, and others. In many ways, these films merely reinvent the questioned dominant narratives as an infusion of appropriated Indigenous knowledge cemented in the mythological status of American exceptionalism and the frontier spirit. These films are the precursors to surf and skateboard videos, which revolve around authentic quality performances. The early versions, notably *The Endless Summer*, also entailed a substantial lifestyle narrative. Brown's initial budget documentaries, *Slippery When Wet* (1958), *Surf Crazy* (1959), *Barefoot Adventure* (1960), *Surfing Hollow Days* (1962), and *Waterlogged* (1962) are shown to high school and civic center auditoriums throughout Southern California (Low, 2013). *The Endless Summer* completed in 1964 slowly emerged to become highly influential, which seemingly tapped into a more authentic ethos of surfing culture not depicted by mainstream films at the time; however, the narrative presented in *The Endless Summer* gained discursive strength as a synecdoche of Western expansion, precisely because it arises as an alternative to the overt physical domination of war. The narrative in the film is intended to embrace the unknown and foreign but comes to rehash colonialist narratives of surfing conquest and escapism through Indigenous and environmental domination. In this film, culture is not

controlled overtly as in war or colonization, denigrated systematically as in missionary projects, or excluded intentionally by all-white organizations such as the *Outrigger Canoe Club*; rather, identity and agency are overlooked in favor of empty surf *breaks*, available land, and absent culture. Aside from the overtly racist scenes and characterizations, locals in *The Endless Summer* become naive characters of childlike infatuation and awe, a narrative that continues in magazines such as *Surfer* (2015), and elsewhere. *The Endless Summer* sparks an entire generation of surfers and non-surfers alike to set off in exploration and pursuit of a now essential surfing narrative, the search for the perfect wave, which is devoid of others competing for the same resource.

This perfect “emptied” wave, functions as a *Terra Incognita* in the narrative, an unknown location that is preconceived as an available utopia. By surfing foreign *breaks* in “discovery” and “enlightening” local populations unaware of their own resources, these global performances read as reminders of the territorial and symbolic claims of Magellan, Cook, and Francis Drake before. Like the colonial search for the mythical south land conceptualized as early as antiquity, *Terra Incognita Australis*, as a place, is not found but created. The film preconceives this location in South Africa at Cape St. Francis, a right *break* stretching across an intentionally emptied sandy beach. The film is campy and apolitical, countercultural while reveling in privileged innocence as the practice of riding waves becomes synonymous with, a contemporary version of the carefree colonial narrative. The surf zone is not empty, it has already been colonized and the Indigenous practitioners removed, which allows the fantasy of the “empty beach” to continue. Low (2003) observed that there is no mention of the country’s notorious system of racial segregation, or the fact that Hawaiian professional surfers such as Dane Kealoha and Eddie Aikau are, “...technically prohibited from surfing on many of the country’s finest beaches.” After its release, like *The Travels of Marco Polo* (1300), which in part, sparked the journey of Christopher Columbus and others, the globe for surfers is much smaller and unrealistic. In turn, many more are prompted to wander a world of untapped waves to “discover” a resource that is not fully appreciated by friendly locales of an apolitical shore.

Severson, to promote his budget documentaries, created a newsletter featuring still shots and articles that initially sold 5,000 copies to become *Surfer Magazine* in 1961. In the first issue, Severson wrote: ...in “this crowded world the surfer can still seek and find the perfect day, the perfect wave, and be alone with the surf and his thoughts” (*The Surfer* 1960). Joining the narrative of *The Endless Summer* in the pursuit of unrealized waves, readers are positioned as explorers of a razed cultural landscape, as an uncontested space to conquer and settle, outside the gaze of a modern world. This narrative plays out in Joseph Conrad’s, *The Heart of Darkness*, and adapted into Francis Ford Coppola’s film, *Apocalypse Now* (1979), as the practice of surfing becomes symbolic of American expansion. In the film, Bill Kilgore (played by Robert Duvall) emphatically states, “Charlie don’t surf.” Aside from the use of a cultural epithet, it is also untrue, as the Vietnamese army utilized the surfboard in military operations. Never-the-less, the scenes in the popular artifact, further link surfing, leisure, and empire (Laderman, 2014). In 2020, during a global pandemic that restricted travel, *Surfer Magazine* continued the narrative, celebrating on the cover and in multiple articles, “60 years of escape.” Most that ride waves, as devised on the islands initially, surf local *breaks* and enter communities through surfing rather than escape from them; yet, the imperial narrative of discovery persists, which overwrites cultural gestures and performances of place for a landscape of self-discovery and denial.

The impact of this symbolic production encourages the search for the empty wave with films such as *The Endless Summer* and *Surfing Hollow Days* (1961). This is followed by a counter cultural soul, encompassed by films in the 1960’s such as *Hot Generation* (1967), which fuels the “shortboard revolution” narrative and *Evolution* (1969), which also celebrates a radical style of crouching low to engage in tight turns, a posture required of riding the ancient Hawaiian *alaia*. (Warshaw, 2010). In the next decade, surfing discourse took a turn toward the psychedelic, with films featuring an esoteric aesthetic such as *Cosmic Children* (1970) and *Morning of the Earth* (1972) featuring music by Pink Floyd. Severson’s most popular film, *Pacific Vibrations* (1970) followed a

countercultural return, in which humans live in harmony with nature, sensationalizing a primitivist escapism (Warshaw, 2010). The political and hierarchal nature of the practice is substituted for apolitical leisure as *he'e nalu* is enmeshed and hidden within surfing discourse. This hyperbolic subjectivity is exemplified in Sean Penn's portrayal of Jeff Spicoli in *Fast Times of Ridgemont High* (1982). Desiring cultural capital more than mainstream success, the character longs to visit and dominate the ancestral homeland of *he'e nalu*.

By the late 1980's and 1990's, surf films capitalized off of the cultural appropriation of riding waves; e.g., in films such as *The North Shore*, while compiling stereotypes in films such as *Surf Ninjas* (1993). Over forty years later, *The Endless Summer II* (1994) reasserted the same scenario as the first, while *Surfer Magazine*, over fifty years later, continues to uphold and celebrate the principles of surf travel as societal escape, all in pursuit of, the perfect "empty" wave (*Surfer* 2017; *Surfer* 2020). These discourses are symbolic of what it means to ride waves in its contemporary context, situating escape as a core value. While containing shreds of established *he'e nalu* ontology, they ignore and manipulate countless principles such as local communal interaction, gender equality, and socio-political elements. Bhabha (1994) wrote that colonial discourses depend on a fixed ideological construction of otherness as signs of difference are paradoxical modes of representation. Such constructions connote a rigidity and an "unchanging order as well as disorder, degeneracy and daemonic repetition." The success of these depictions and symbolic portrayals rests on the fact that they reflect mainstream values of hypermasculinity, heterosexuality, white superiority, imperial expansion, and rugged individualism. A critical reading of the intersections between *he'e nalu*, Indigenous surfing, and contemporary surfing recognizes the threads of power and the bodies affected by such discourse. As *he'e nalu* is seized as surfing, the practice undergoes a signifying shift indicative of a much larger discourse about Pacific Islanders and an even larger discourse of colonial subjectivity, Indigeneity, and place (Walker, 2017; Bhabha, 1990, 1994; Said, 1979; Spivak, 2006). Each instance of symbolic representation adds to the

semiotic weight of narrative structures as we continue to perform and question texts.

Conclusion

Riding waves is a product of various cultural, political, and environmental forces that play out in symbolic and corporeal forms. Just as it has been informative to ride waves and carve boards it has also been critical to examine what it means to ride waves through discursive attention. In doing so, I can also read the context in which we ride and the various forces that inform the subject and subjectivity of the practitioners involved. I argue that *he'e nalu* developed from traditional seafaring and canoe building practices throughout maritime Southeast Asia and Oceania that result in the initial settling of the Pacific Islands. By placing surfing in this context, I attempted to recognize the function of riding waves in historical contexts and reveal some of a much larger body of Indigenous knowledge as well as its shared territory of obfuscation. From the context of the Hawaiian Islands' pre-colonial contact, I turned to the symbolic transformations involved as *he'e nalu* merges with surfing discourse, paying particular attention to the ways in which notions of political, cultural, and social identity are appropriated, produced, and maintained. For example, as mainstream surfing culture shifts to short boards from long boards the turn is noted as a "short board revolution" when it is more accurately a *return* to the Indigenous *alaia*, the board most used initially (Warshaw, 2010). I also argue that these tensions within the history of surfing discourses are felt and experienced in the contemporary practices of surfing around the globe as the *ka po'ina nalu* continues to function as a *borderland*. This borderland is then transferred to the identities of the practitioners themselves through material consequentiality. The practice of riding waves is a form of Indigenous advocacy in its ability to reference cultural expression, and perhaps in its ability to communicate and mark loss. Finally, I have looked at how text, image, and film extend early representations of riding waves, which tend to reflect colonial conventions in decolonial and postcolonial contexts. Ultimately, we find in surfing a dialectical tension that reflects forces of cultural repression

and forms of wisdom ingrained in the practice as an act of Indigenous knowledge and advocacy.

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Discography

Slippery when Wet (1958)	Pacific Vibrations (1970)
Gidget (1959)	Crystal Voyager (1973)
Surf Crazy (1959)	Big Wednesday (1978)
Barefoot Adventure (1960)	Apocalypse Now (1979)
Surfing Hollow Days (1962)	Fast Times of Ridgemont High(1982)
Waterlogged (1962)	The North Shore (1987)
Beach Party (1963)	Surf Ninjas (1993)
Endless Summer (1964)	Endless Summer II (1994)
Muscle Beach Party (1964)	Blue Crush (2002)
How to Stuff A Wild Bikini (1965)	Riding Giants (2004)
Ghost in the Invisible Bikini (1962)	

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Generational Factors of Private Managerial Commitment on Guam

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This study examined organizational commitment factors on the US Territory of Guam, through the perspective of private-sector managers. A qualitative research approach was used which involved a collective case study of eight private managerial individuals who were, at the time, working for their respective companies. The collection of data occurred in two different phases with a demographic questionnaire and in-depth interviews. Participants described their rationale for commitment based on personal experiences in their work and daily lives. The findings in this study provide a clearer picture of how generational norms influence the decisions of Guam managers to remain with their respective companies. Recommendations for further research involve comparable studies in public sector management, with *Generation Z* managers, and with private executives from other islands in the Micronesian region; with the goal of understanding different managers' perspectives on generational distinctions and organizational commitments.

Keywords: Generation X, baby boomers, millennials, organ-izational commitment, managerial executives.

The Problem

High employee turnover significantly impacts organizations due to its negative effect on overall firm performance. Employee turnover intention factors include increased costs associated with recruiting new employees and the time and cost obligations of retraining individuals on the organization's processes, culture, and job expectations (Rainayee, 2013). Several rationales exist for the potential lack of commitment of individuals to an organization, categorized as internal and external factors associated with the workplace environment (Guha & Chakrabarti, 2015). In studying the commitment of individuals in a multigenerational workforce, the research considers several elements. Some commitment-based aspects include how individuals' generations influence their professional identities, values, and perspectives (Stutzer, 2020). In

addition, the present generational outlook (i.e., millennial) on organizational commitment (designated the post-loyalty era) has also impacted managerial executives in considering job positions. One such viewpoint of Millennials consists of pursuing networking opportunities and financial extensions rather than long-term positions in the organizations, as was viewed favorably by prior generations (Hawkins, 2001).

Table 1
Largest Occupational Groups of Guam in 2019

Major Occupational Group	Percent of Total Employment	Hourly Wage Variance from the U.S.
Management	8.2	-42%
Educational instruction and library	7.2	-22%
Food preparation and serving related	11.4	-20%
Office and administrative support	14.7	-25%
Construction and extraction	7.2	-39%

Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics, Occupational Employment and Wages in Guam, May 2019.

Management personnel on Guam have the third-highest occupational proportion on Guam. Compared to the US, Guam-based managers account for a higher proportion (8.2%) of total employment on the island than managers in the US (5.5%) (BLS, 2019). Hourly wage earnings for management reflects the most significant negative difference (-42%) between Guam and US-based counterparts amongst the largest occupational groups on the island. Thus, a need exists for identifying the commitment and retention factors of a significant proportion of Guam’s workforce.

Purpose of the Study and Research Questions

This study examines generational influences, cultural norms and values, and personal preconceptions (motivation) on establishing

organizational commitment through managerial executives working for private companies on Guam. Therefore, two research questions guided the study:

1. What influence do generational norms have on the decision of managers to remain with an organization?
2. In what way do perceived workplace environment factors affect organizational commitment amongst managerial executives?

Review of Current Literature

Producing a better understanding of the perceptions, motivations, and rationale that private managerial individuals have concerning commitment to organizations will assist such individuals in gaining a better sense of the positive facets involving their professional situations and personal outlooks. Such an analysis should also improve the quality of the work environment. Identifying commitment rationale and multigenerational values should assist Guam-based organizations in comprehending influences that produce employee retention.

Commitment Factors

Commitment has been described in various studies as potential actions that bind employees to their organizations, separate from mere motives or attitudes (Meyer & Herscovitch, 2001). For example, in their study, Mowday, Steers, and Porter (1979) determine a converging relationship between commitment and attitudinal (sentimental connection to firms) and motivational viewpoints (performance). Likewise, Dursun (2015) posits a need for encouragement (support) of superiors which produces job satisfaction, ultimately leading to trust and improvement, and commitment to the firm. In addition, researchers categorize organizational commitment into two alignments, one of which focuses on the moral, attitudinal viewpoint related to affiliation and connection and allegiance to the organization (Mowday et al., 1979). The second orientation, calculative, has been depicted by Becker's side-bet theory. The theory involves an awareness of perceived incurred costs associated with leaving an organization, such as benefits associated with

tenure (compensation for seniority). In addition, the time and investment costs of learning skills specific to the organization (Powell & Meyer, 2004).

Additionally, studies have identified organizational commitment as two distinct classifications: *Affective* (moral obligation), and *instrumental* (a calculative attachment due to incentives) (Penley & Gould, 1988). Moreover, through the cost perceptions of leaving, Becker's *side-bet* model represents a contributory commitment approach. Finally, future models, such as Meyer and Allen's *Three-Component Model* of organizational commitment, have developed the foundation for a third type, *continuance commitment* (Powell & Meyer, 2004).

According to Chang and Choi (2007), commitment involves two categorical forms, professional commitment (career outlook) and how an individual perceives his or her firm, considered organizational-based. Additionally, Singh and Gupta (2015) extend the notion of commitment to include team-based commitment, in addition to organizational and professional commitment. Employees feel the emotional connection due to interpersonal group relationships, differing from solely organizational commitment due to the focus of the attachment being the team rather than for the overall firm. Studies associate lower commitment with interpersonal workplace challenges such as incivility, and intra-organizational problems (such as lack of communication, poor climate, and absenteeism), negatively impacting the organization's workplace environment (Ahmed, 2013). Furthermore, Rusu (2013) indicates that organizational commitment reflects a byproduct of effective management leading to beneficial outcomes, including overall firm performance.

Generational Cohorts in the Workplace

Regarding the current workplace, the generational cohorts that encompass the majority of the workforce are the Baby Boomers (born 1946 to 1964), Gen X (born 1965 to 1980), and Gen Y (born 1981 through 1994), also known as Millennials (Cennamo & Gardner, 2008; Kelly, Elizabeth, Bharat, & Jitendra, 2016). In addition, through autonomous organizational structures, decision-making responsibility has been

demonstrated as a potential factor concerning generational perceptions of both job satisfaction and turnover, ultimately relating to commitment (Mencl & Lester, 2014). Furthermore, cohort perceptions and how each group values their respective organizational environment can be attributable to understanding the values, motivational influences, outlooks, and mannerisms distinct to each cohort and learning the appropriate method of communication. Appropriate communication methods assist in avoiding any potential workplace conflict arising from the unique generational characteristics (Kelly et al., 2016).

According to Fry (2015), regarding the U.S. labor force, the Millennial generation has surpassed Generation X as the most significant representation in the workforce, totaling 53.5 million, while Generation X amounts to 52.7 million individuals and Baby Boomers equating to 44.6 million. The three-generational cohorts -- Baby Boomers, Generation X, and Generation Y (also identified as the Millennials) -- primarily embody the current organizational workplace (Hoole & Bonnema, 2015; Glass, 2007). The generational makeup of the U.S. labor force shows a transition from 2010, where Baby Boomers were the most prominent representation, approximating 55 million workers, while Generation X accounted for roughly 52.8 million in the workplace, and Millennials had just under 40 million individuals in the U.S. labor force (Fry, 2015). From the perspective of age, Baby Boomers encompass individuals born between the period of 1946 and 1964, Generation Xers are born from 1965 to 1981, and Generation Y (Millennials) as those with birth years from 1984 to 2000 (Burnett, 2012; Zemke, Raines, & Filipczak, 2013; Shragay & Tziner, 2011; Strauss & Howe, 1991).

Nelson (2012) provides a correlational study between affective commitment and work-family conflict amongst the three current generations in the workplace, thus supporting generational influence about organizational commitment. Moreover, a lack of synchronization between individual and workplace values yields lower levels of commitment and increased turnover intention for all three cohorts (Shragay & Tziner, 2011). Likewise, Macky, Gardner, and Forsyth (2008) suggest a linkage between generational distinctions in leadership

advancement desires and approaches to development and learning to retention behavior, which establishes the legitimacy of generational theory in exploring the potential commitment influences.

Method

Participants. The managerial participants were selected using a snowball method with a criterion-based, purposeful sample. Through a snowball intermediary, who contacted individuals known to him, the study fulfilled criterion parameters, and individuals volunteered to be a part of the research study. Additionally, in completing the participant list, the researcher asked the participants themselves for referrals.

In qualitative inquiry, a research code of ethics outlines the procedures and emphasis on various research issues such as privacy, confidentiality, and adherence to collecting and presenting valid and reliable empirical data (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). In order to ensure the anonymity of participants and their employers, the researcher did not include any specific identifying data about them during the procedures of the study. Instead, the researcher established pseudonyms for each of the eight participants and presented comprehensive demographic information. In addition, the researcher removed employers' names and other identifiable characteristics of their organizations.

Procedures

The study incorporated a qualitative research approach utilizing a collective case study of eight management-level individuals. They had been working for private firms for at least two years, and were continuing that employment. They maintained a supervisory or executive decision-making capacity for at least one year. The qualitative inquiry design incorporated in-depth, open-ended interviews, as well as a demographic questionnaire, as the focal instruments for data collection. The objective of utilizing in-depth interviews within this study was to embolden the managers to retrieve and convey their perceptions about managerial experiences and their expertise. The process allowed them to grasp and

convey their life accounts while using the questionnaire to form a narrative surrounding the background of the participants.

Participation in the study was strictly voluntary. The participants could withdraw during the study or the interview process without any negative repercussions. The researcher provided the interview transcriptions for each participant to review in order that they could identify any possible misrepresentations, inaccuracies, or misinterpretations. In addition, the researcher conducted the review of interview transcriptions for reaffirmation purposes, or to identify any information the participants did not want to include in the study. The researcher also informed participants of potential risks, including referencing previous memories, physical or emotional distress, and bad feelings about participating in the study. A listing of Guam Mental Health professionals was also provided to participants to help minimize any adverse reaction to the interview process.

The researcher gathered data for this study in two phases. In the first phase, the participants completed a demographic questionnaire. A general overview of the demographic information of the participants showed the generational breakdown of the individuals.

Table 2

Classification by Generations and Gender

Age Intervals	Number of Participants	
	Male	Female
Millennials (Gen Y)	1	1
Generation X	3	2
Baby Boomers	1	0

Source: Author created

All management individuals were working for their respective private firms for two years or longer. All participants held their respective positions in a management or supervisory capacity for at least

one year. Of the eight participants, six were in middle management positions, while two were serving in upper management roles. The number of years the individuals had served in a management role ranged from two years to 16 years. Three of the eight participants had previously worked in the public sector. Of the eight participants, four individuals were working for his or her own family-owned business.

The highest level of education completed by the eight managerial individuals was a Bachelor's degree. Although the questionnaire included higher levels of education such as Master and Doctoral degrees as options, the participants represented themselves only with the two levels mentioned. Four out of five males had received a high school diploma or equivalent as their highest level of educational completion, while one male had received his Bachelor's degree. Of the three female managerial participants, two had received their high school diplomas or equivalent as their highest levels of educational completion. In contrast, one female participant had received her Bachelor's degree. Overall, six out of eight (75%) participants were high school graduates.

In the second phase, the researcher collected data from in-depth, open-ended, individual interviews with the participants. The researcher coded findings from the data utilizing analysis from interviews and the observational field notes created during the interviews. The interviews were analyzed using categorical aggregation or direct interpretation, pattern correspondence, and naturalistic generalizations (Stake, 1995). During this process, the researcher dissected the transcription via an open coding process to induce thematic patterns, followed by an axial process. Next, the researcher established a linkage of subcategories to overall themes. Finally, the analysis included a selected coding procedure involving integrating and refining categories, subcategories, and patterns.

Results

Perceived Generational Values

The participants discussed their perceived outlooks on their management commitment to their organizations based on generational factors, identifying their respective generational cohorts. The majority of participants responded with the appropriate generation identification, while one individual needed information about his generation based on age. Based on their responses, the participants unexpectedly shared distinct and similar sentiments regarding generational factors related to espoused values and mindset and workplace expectations.

Espoused Values

The following are some expressions of the adopted values of their generation that influenced their mindsets and perceptions of generational distinctions and that are potentially impactful to their organizational commitment as managers.

Millennials. A Millennial manager responded with of adopted values or expectations regarding his generation,
Everything else is kind of the same as previous times. Just do what you got to do, do it well, you know you want to do something well, provide enough value if you can, be on time, all the common work-related factors that you would have, or that an employer would want to have in an employee. So I think that they [respondent's generation] share some values. Yeah, they share most values. You will have people with different perceived values, like, for whatever factors that affect that, they just come with a different mindset than another person. I know that my generation is savvy, technology-wise. We grew up in the technological era of our time in the most prevalent technical era. There are cell phones. Everyone has got a cellphone, and everyone has got a laptop. There are all these new things coming out.

Gen X. A Gen X manager mentions learning from other generations and adapting based on her experiences,

I think my dad's mentality when running the show was 'my way or the highway. The door is there; if you do not like it, walk out the door.' So

for me, I realized, that yeah, ultimately, we are the boss, that is correct, but at the same time, I am not trying to sit here and be a dictator. I try to work with my employees.

Another Gen X manager also emphasized the values instilled from His generation, less about the financial outcomes.

However, growing up from where I came from, you cherish it. You learn from it, grow with it, and I think that is unique. If you talk to anybody, probably in my age group, you will not hear how much salary they are making; it is more about how much they love doing what they do.

One Gen X manager emphasized finding a work-life balance,

Many people think it is harder to decide with my age group because they are scared to make mistakes. It goes back to them after. So they do not want to make the decisions because they are scared, they are not very sure. So right now, I think with our generation, people see us as not so much as hard workers, it is like it balances, and we relax a bit. The way I see it, we work 8 to 5 right after you relax and probably get a beer or something.

Baby Boomer. A Baby Boomer manager emphasized,

Our generation versus the newer generation goes back to being 'old school.' If we were to look at our generation, we are more 'old school' and 'down in the gutters' with the people, being more upfront with your people; what I mean by 'down in the gutters' is being out there with them, expecting what you expect.

Work-related Expectations

For all participants, work-related expectations were another factor of generational distinction while also about their organizational commitment. Participants responded with frustration and happiness

when recollecting past and present memories and experiences regarding their upbringing and working in their respective generational eras.

Millennials. A Millennial manager expressed his generations' desire to seek organizations with progress-based efforts and wanting the flexibility to become innovative: *"I guess . . . improvements. I suppose it is not to adhere to already established procedures or conducts within a workplace environment. In that case, it is either that or a drastically improved version of those procedures or conducts"*. He mentioned, however, that his generation anticipates expectations to be technical individuals, referring again to individuals typecasting his generation as a technically-savvy cohort. The possible distress this may cause, *"You never really want to have that expected upon you, because what if you cannot deliver? You have already lost someone's interest or lost his or her respect, which is kind of sad"*.

Gen X. Workplace expectations for one Gen X manager emphasized having a desire for work rather than financial motives for his generation:

I think the generation that I came from is not necessarily how much you are making, but it is really about the love of the job. Especially in the business that I am in, the business that I chose to pursue, hospitality and food and beverage, is really about loving what you do. So if you look at the per hour rate, it is almost a 75 percent increase from when I first started, but I am still doing what I am doing.

Another Gen X manager demonstrated the same sentiment:

For our generation, I think it is about stability. So many of my friends in my age group have all been in our positions or employment. Everybody has been in the same line for as long as I can remember. We are not just jumping around to the next higher pay.

Baby Boomer. A Baby Boomer manager reflected effective decision-making in his rationale and expectations for the workplace: *I do not know, but as the older you get, your expectation gets higher. I would*

think that what stands out for me is that my expectations are a little higher. I hate to say this, but you want immediate results. So I think with my age group, I think it is that higher expectations and results more quickly.

Perceptions of other Generations

The participants described their perceptions of other generational cohorts and how they felt other generations perceived their respective cohorts concerning work-related values.

Millennials. A Millennial manager states: *It is either you stick with the status quo and work with it, or in some cases, I will feel like we must expand upon it or make it better for the older generation. They look at us because we grew up in this climate, this technological culture, that we have almost had this innate [pauses] . . . So I feel like we are depended upon to run with what we have right now.*

Gen X. Generation X managers emphasized both perceptions by older (Silent, Baby Boomers), along with their perceptions of the younger generation (Millennials) in the workforce. One Gen X manager shares: *So, with the older employees, it is just 'let us do what the management says. I have been here for twenty years. We will retire soon, and if he is going to leave, we will sign the papers.' I think that is the difference between them [the older group], my [generation], and the younger ones. I can see a difference now with new managers, probably they will change their minds later in life, but the way I am seeing the new managers, the ones that get promoted now, the younger ones, are hungry for power somehow. I guess it is because they were in that position at a very young age, so they think they are smarter than everyone else.*

Another Gen X echoed this sentiment emphasizing: *Some of these younger kids, it is like, 'you pay me more, and then I will work harder.' That is not really how it works [chuckles]. It works the other way around, so that you know. It is just the newer generation. I think they are not as eager to work for what they want, and they are more entitled to, 'how can I get this more*

easily.' They are not used to working hard for everything that they made or want.

Baby Boomers. A Baby Boomer manager emphasized the differences between his generation and perceptions of other generations: *Our generation versus the newer generation goes back to being 'old school.' If we were to look at our generation, we are more 'old school' and 'down in the gutters' with the people, being more upfront with your people. What I mean by 'down in the gutters' is being out there with them, expecting what you expect. The new generation now does not often have the same mentality as we do. I do not mean it negatively. I mean, I think they are more business or structure-oriented. They want results from behind the desk versus our generations, and we like to see the results physically.*

The findings regarding the effects of generational norms on private managerial individuals reflected three theme categories: (a) espoused values, (b) discernment of other generational cohorts, and (c) workplace expectations. The following section comprises relevant findings regarding the motivational aspects related to organizational commitment.

Commitment

As the participants discussed their management commitment to their respective organizations, they expressed their professional and personal rationale for remaining with their firms. All of the participants' responses had characteristics of three types of commitment: affective (emotional attachment), continuance (cost-related factors), and normative (an obligation to remain).

Emotional Attachment

All managerial participants displayed some sort of emotional attachment shown through an affective commitment to their organizations. Most noteworthy of responses was the passion and

admiration that each participant had for their bosses, customers, or organization, in general. In addition, the participants responded with amusement, joy, and overall enjoyment in being able to tell their personal stories and appreciation for their organization and their workplace.

Millennials. A Millennial manager expressed an affinity for his customers, as he cherished the relationships he had built during the time working for his organization, “My clients [customers] would probably be the biggest factor.” Another Millennial manager mentioned the autonomy she felt in the workplace, a reason for her affinity for her organization:

What I love is I know my boss is not on the island [laughs]. I can be my boss. I can do one thing at a time and not rush because I can make sure I can make my own decisions. Do not worry about who will have a say, who will like it, or if they will not approve of [my decisions]. That is why I like it. All I have to do is just answer [her mother, the owner] by phone.

Generation X. A Generation X manager reflected her emotional attachment to her organization and the sense of pride she gained from the organization continuing to prosper under her helm, having taken over the company from her father:

I love what I do, I enjoy what I do, and my dad sees all the awards and everything going on now. I think we make him proud that we are hanging on, businesses rarely survive to the second generation and [construction services] of all things, and we are girls!

Another Generation X manager emphasized his organization’s values as corresponding to his own:

When you are loyal to yourself, and not necessarily to the company, you know that your loyalty is the best possible. It makes your decision to stay with the company a lot easier because of the ohana part again. I love family, I have my own family, and family values are concerned it is easy for me.

Baby Boomers. A Baby Boomer manager describes his affinity for his work, surrounding the day-to-day functions of his role within his organization leading to an emotional attachment:

I mean, I never thought of leaving. It is not the money; it is not the position. It is none of that. I have had management positions before. It is all work-related, fundamentally loyal to the company, good people working with, great environment. If anyone ever tells you why they leave a business, it is because they are not happy. I am personally happy.

Continuance-Based Commitment

The majority (seven) of the eight participants expressed some cost associated with leaving their respective organizations. Most notably, although participants expressed the potential costs that they would incur due to departing from their companies, only two participants suggested a lack of other better career opportunities, an additional factor of continuance commitment. The participants' responses were both humorous, and at times, expressively moving, as participants shared a clear outlook into their personal and professional career motivations.

Millennials. One manager mentioned the financial opportunity provided by his organization: *That is like a personal thing because it is external to the core focus, the core product. It is just an extra factor that supplements technology as a whole, the tech company as a whole because I do get asked questions, I do get asked if I can do this or that, which I will entertain for several reasons. Either I can do it or know someone who can do it or is easy enough or lucrative enough. So it makes sense to do it.*

Generation X. A Gen X manager discussed a long-term goal of achieving financial stability with her respective firm: *I want to be able to be like, 'Okay, we can make this kind of run on autopilot,' and get people in the correct positions so that we can enjoy the fruits of our labor. So we cannot go on family vacations, because one of us has to be here. So we want to get to the point where we can have people in the right places, train them properly, and have the business running as smoothly as possible without you having to be here to oversee it.*

Another Gen X manager mentions the time investment and stability of the organization: *“Of course, family and security . . . job-security. I have been here six or seven years, but yeah, job security, and they trust me, trust me to build things, and that is what I like, to build my wings.”*

Normative Commitment

Of the eight managerial participants, six individuals demonstrated feelings of obligation to remain with their respective firms. Most notable of the participants' responses was the overall sense of having a duty or responsibility to give back to the organization or its members for their opportunities. The participants responded with laughter and a sense of appreciation by retelling accounts and personal stories regarding their commitment to their respective firms.

Millennials. One Millennial manager expressed an obligation to her and her company, in remaining committed to her organization: *I do not want to fail my mother [the company's owner]. I motivated my mom to move from Chuuk over so that we can start a small business. I did want her to sell. A friend of mine pushed me to hold on to the fish mart and see where it goes. So, that is the reason why I thought it over again and think, 'you know what? I am not going to fail her,' because I was the one who had her move over Chuuk. That was a big step for her because she had to leave the family there in Chuuk, you know, my dad, and she moved over [to Guam] and stayed here [on Guam] for six months. So, I did not want her to think it was for nothing.*

Generation X. One Gen X manager emphasizes her obligation and responsibility to her family and her organization: *Yeah, I feel obligated to the company, I kind of do, because my dad has no sons, so it was past to my sister and me. My sister does not do the [operations] side of the business; she does the taxes, payroll . . . all the stuff I hate to do, the numbers stuff, the bookkeeping, paying the bills. Sh So she tells me how much money we need, and I get the money in.*

Another Gen X manager mentions his obligation to his company due to the support it provided him: *The company also allows me to improve myself. On their behalf, I did not have to pay for any of [the improvements]. It was given to me by the company to equip myself and even educate myself to be more equipped in what we do.*

The findings categorized motivational factors surrounding organizational commitment into three themes: (a) emotional attachment, (b) obligation to stay, and (c) cost-related factors.

Insights, Discussions, Recommendations

The purpose of this study was to examine the perceptions of managerial individuals working for private firms by attaining a clearer understanding of the rationale behind their decisions to remain committed to their present organizations. The study yielded data from demographic questionnaires and in-depth, face-to-face, interviews. In addition, the study produced a narrative summary of the responses to the demographic questionnaires to form a detailed description and introductory background about the study participants. Data from the individual interviews were analyzed utilizing Stake's (1995) three classifications of qualitative analytic inquiry and interpretation, concentrating on the case study approach; categorical information from reoccurring opinions through segmentation of the data, followed by axial coding and selective coding to identify emergent patterns and the themes that developed. Furthermore, the study provided a discussion linking the findings to the current literature recommendations for future use.

Insights

Upbringing had a role in perceptions of workplace values, a factor of generational norms. The individuals expressed determination, work ethics, and hard work as specific values instilled in them since an early age, either through observing elders, other individuals' opinions, or the difficult situations they encountered. Two individuals explained growing up in environments where they experienced financial hardships, which

had fueled them to succeed. Interestingly, three individuals who had all noted the significance of generational norms on commitment, felt an internal motivation. Even though they had shared the same work-related factors consistent with their respective generational groups, they did not feel motivation as generalizable by generational distinctions. The two millennial participants explained that their motivation, in part, was due to the highly competitive, fast-paced, current business landscape that required them to be determined.

Unpredictably, most individuals had an undesirable perception of the generational cohort younger than their own identified generation. The reasoning for the negative undertone surrounded the individuals' feelings involving the perceived workplace values, personal motivations, career outlooks, and mindsets of the younger generational cohort. The two participants belonging to the younger, Millennial cohort, explained having felt pressure or a sense of the older generational groups' expectations of them in the workplace. Interestingly, one individual from the older generational cohort had expressed an awareness of the younger groups' perception of her older group having more expectations and mutual effort regarding work ethics.

Discussion of Results

Regarding the commitment discipline, the findings in the study are that management individuals in private firms on Guam have commitment rationale consistent with Allen and Meyer's (1990) Three-Component Model (TCM), which describes commitment as affective, normative, and continuance-based. The literature review emphasized that these TCM commitment factors were related to intentions to leave and positive workplace outcomes (Allen & Meyer, 1990; Ghosh & Sahney, 2011; Herscovitch & Meyer, 2002). Budihardjo (2013) suggested that managers who are highly motivated by their affective commitments to their firms enhance organizational capability, overall effectiveness, and overall performance. The results indicate affective commitment as the highest indicator of turnover intention and employee attitudes toward their respective organizations and work (Yao & Wang, 2006). The

findings of this study corroborated this assertion, as participants' responses most reflected an emotional attachment to their firms.

From the normative obligation rationale, individuals have a moral or psychological sense of obligation to their respective firms, a finding highlighting the investments made by firms and thus developing a sense of reciprocity (Yucel, et al., 2014). Participants expressed such indebtedness to their firms based on the support and investment their companies had given them and described a feeling of responsibility – a moral imperative – in terms of the organizations' success. However, the normative commitment was the least of the three types of commitment detailed by the participants. The personal sacrifice associated with continuance, the personal investment of time, effort, and potential rewards or incentives, suggests a negative effect on employees' perceptions regarding their work place behavior and overall feelings toward their organizations (Iverson & Buttigieg, 1999). However, participants in this study reflected investments made to their organization but exhibited positive feelings toward their organizations and their workplace behavior – hard work, positive interaction, and determination – thus, potentially conflicting with current and past research.

All participants identified themselves with their particular cohort, stating similar experiences, reflecting both location and age traits indicative of generational cohort theory. A generational difference in commitment regarding career outlooks, pursuing work from a perspective of “job for life,” has been maintained as a perception for the Baby Boomers in the workplace (D'Amato & Herzfeldt, 2008, p. 933). Although the Baby Boomer participant did mention this outlook (unpredictably), the six participants who were part of Generation X also had a similar perspective to Baby Boomers' work place arrangements. However, the two millennial participants did not mention a career viewpoint of their work situations.

Recommendations

Future research should examine organizational culture factors surrounding environment, growth opportunities, and socialization to more effectively determine workplace factors that support organizational commitment in Guam's private firm managerial workforce. Although managerial participants did acknowledge the factors in their respective workplaces that supported their commitment, the researcher failed to determine which factors specifically related directly to commitment. Moreover, researchers should investigate the effectiveness of open space work places as organizational arrangements on commitment. Participants mentioned open space elements such as collective, collaborative, flexibility, and decision-making autonomy associated with positive work place environments.

The theme of generational distinctions and norms in this study reveals that the approach to work did not differentiate among the groups. Nevertheless, the perception of other generations' work values became evident in the findings. Moreover, the newest generation, Generation Z, has started to enter the work place. Therefore, this study could include the youngest cohort to enter the work force as they may have different rationales for their professional careers.

Findings in this study also explore commitment rationale for management rationale in line with job satisfaction, indirectly related to affective commitment, and goal-setting theory. Individuals feel empowered by challenging but achievable goals in the work place. A logical extension to this research would be to compare goal-setting rationale versus expectancy about commitment motivation in organizations. Another relevant extension to the study should involve a look at public sector management commitment. Research has shown a potential differentiation exists, surrounding prestige and status in the form or value commitment; thus, possibly related to an expectancy-based influence (Cho & Lee, 2001). The private firm managerial participants in this study represented a particularly unique group of individuals on Guam. Comparable studies should focus on private firm managers in neighboring islands in Micronesia to ascertain whether location and culture also impact commitment rationale.

Conclusion

Management individuals act as the go-between and the backbone of the organization. They are facilitators, mentors, communicators, and decision-makers for their respective organizations. Retaining such skilled, knowledgeable, and experienced individuals remains significant for an organization concerned with quality and consistency of performance, while also maintaining a competitive advantage. Understanding the thought process for why an individual chooses to stay with their respective firm can assist Guam businesses in maintaining one of their greatest assets – the manager.

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The Japanese in Postwar Guam: Towards a Reconciliation

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The paper inquires how the concept of “Japanese” transformed from a fluid label that allowed Guam’s Japanese locals a sense of duality before the Pacific War to a racial stereotype that encompasses diverse individuals and boxes them in the category “the Japanese enemy.” As late as July 1944, islanders resisted this stereotype, yet by 1947 they adopted it in their narratives or dissociated their Japanese friends from it by portraying them as “part of us.” Examining archival records from the 1940s, supplemented by published oral histories, the paper finds three factors to this change: dehumanizing violence during the mop-up operations, news articles’ insistence that Japanese atrocities were customary to “the Japanese race,” and the islanders’ participation in the dichotomous us-versus-enemy discourse. Through historical analysis, the paper shows the creation of a racial trope (the anti-thesis to the other racial trope of “the American Liberator”) in order for present-day readers to rethink if such trope is worth maintaining.

Alvin Josephy, a journalist-turned-sergeant, was with the 3rd Marine Division that landed on Guam on July 21, 1944. His account, published in 1946, provides candid stories of the experiences of these American military men, and of the many surprises they encountered while working with Chamoru people. In one part, Josephy (p. 90) admits:

There was one note that puzzled us. Occasionally all the Guamanians would agree that some particular Jap was a good Jap; he had liked the Guamanian people and had tried to help them. Dr. Sablan, for instance, had a sympathetic word for the *Kohatsu* doctor, who he said had been kind to the Chamorros. Father Calvo told us about the Japanese Catholic priests. And men and women whom we liberated in various parts of the island seemed to want us to know that

there had been some humane Japs on Guam who had tried to ease the people's lot.

This observation caught my attention because in the early 1960s, Ritsuko Dejima, the daughter of the Guam's well-known retailer Riye¹ Dejima, shared with a Japanese researcher visiting from Japan that most of the members of the *nisei-kai* [association of second-generation Japanese] had been, at one point, asked if they were a Japanese soldier (Shinohara, H., 1963, p. 21). Then, in the early 1980s, Jesus Martinez Yoshida, the only key informant with a Japanese-sounding name in the oral histories project led by Kathleen Owings (1981), spoke of "the Japanese" to pertain to brutal Japanese soldiers, as if he himself was not the son of a Japanese settler (pp. 666-70).² His narrative, like those of other Chamoru interviewees in the collection, was filled with the tragedy he experienced under this inhumane Japanese invader. Interestingly, the transcriber of Yoshida's account deemed it necessary to note that, "He was urged by the interviewer to tell his story" (p. 666).

Juxtaposing Josephy's 1940s account with Ritsuko's 1960s and Yoshida's 1980s statements, there seems to be more nuanced understanding of "the Japanese" in the immediate postwar than in the decades that followed. Atrocities and violence during the war made people in Guam wrathful, yes, but in 1944 their anger did not encompass all Japanese. Yet, by the early 1960s and more so in the early 1980s, war histories came to have a vivid image of "the Japanese." Persisting up to this writing, it is an image of a brutal, inhumane, defeated Japanese soldier. It is a trope that is made to represent numerous individuals regardless of their participation in the war.

This paper asks how the understanding of diverse individuals transformed into the unitary, generalized racial image of "the Japanese

¹ Names are spelled based on prewar sources in Guam, such as *Guam Recorder*, and may be different from the official transliteration of their names in the Japanese language.

² In the manuscripts of the 1940 census available online in the 1940 Census website of the U.S. National Archives, a "Yoshida, Jesus M." (age 20 years old and born in Guam) appears under the household of "Yoshida, Jose T." (age 60, born in Japan). See National Archives, Official 1940 Census Website.

enemy” that pervades in Guam’s Pacific War histories today. It focuses on Guam’s postwar period. That is, its focus begins after the US forces declared the island secured in August 1944 and ends in 1949, when the racial trope of “the Japanese” became an apparent force affecting people’s telling of the past war. In this paper, “Japanese enemy” does not pertain to the politico-military label ascribed to people of Japanese ancestry living in the US and its territories during the US-Japan War. Rather, it means the character trope in the grand narrative that undergirds people’s narration of the war. It is a specter that follows Guam’s Japanese locals like a stigma and from which they consistently need to extricate themselves.

Employing historical analysis, I examined military reports, newspaper articles, and published accounts from the period under study (1944-1949). Unlike the preceding works on Chamoru war history, archival sources – not oral histories – were primarily utilized. As can be seen in the aforementioned testimonies of Ritsuko Dejima in the 1960s and of Jesus Yoshida in the 1980s, the emergence of the racial trope of “the Japanese [enemy]” long predated the massive oral histories projects on Guam. Thus, while oral histories are used in this study as valuable supplements, it is essential that archival materials be exhumed in order to reveal how the trope was created. In so doing, the paper advances the feasibility of using colonial sources to write local histories and insists on the need for various kinds of historians to apply their energies to the question of the Pacific War on Guam.

In the succeeding sections, the paper first lays out the trends in war history on Guam, notes its limitation, and suggests an alternative approach. Next, it sketches a picture of Guam’s prewar Japanese locals, highlighting their duality as people of Japan and as people of Guam before the war, and demonstrates how this duality was made unfeasible during the Japanese Occupation. Then, it proceeds to the postwar period, tackling it by theme so as to explain how the racial trope emerged. It ends by returning to present-day war history. The way that war stories are written, remembered, and retold have made enemies of those who

had long been part of the island society. Keeping in mind the danger of perpetuating the divisive legacy of the war, I hope that readers will contemplate how islanders can narrate their war experiences without resorting to racial tropes.

Toward an Alternative Approach to Writing War Histories

Scholarship on the Pacific War on Guam has developed significantly. Early on, Pedro A. Sanchez's book, *Uncle Sam, Please Come Back to Guam* (1979), entitled after the popular wartime song, presented the "Guamanians" as loyal to the United States. Other works in the 1980s similarly focus on CHamoru experiences, albeit notably without the weight of loyalty to Uncle Sam. Tony Palomo's book, *An Island in Agony* (1984), for example, highlights the tragedies experienced by the islanders and their resiliency. Don Farrell's book on the 1944 liberation of Guam (1984), though largely a military history, devotes a chapter to CHamoru tragedy after the 1944 U.S. military bombardment of Guam in 1944. He achieves considerable impact through the photographs presented. The extensive oral histories project supervised by Kathleen Owings refuses to be boxed within a single theme. Conducted as the civilian counterpart to the research of National Parks Service historian Russell Apple on the U.S. military operations, the collective biography includes a staggering 74 key informants.³ These early works present a holistic war history, which covers not just military operations but also the experiences of ordinary islanders.

In 2001, Vicente Diaz faced the dilemma posed by the Liberation grand narrative, in which the CHamoru is portrayed as the loyal subject of the United States. In this grand narrative, the CHamoru was liberated from the Japanese and now remembers the period with gratitude and increased devotion to the U.S. Referencing preceding historians such as Sanchez and Palomo, Diaz (2001, p. 157) acknowledged CHamorus' love and loyalty to the U.S.; however, he was also quick to note that such love and loyalty were unrequited. Reflecting not a relationship, but the

³ Some were interviewed in dyads.

devotion of one to another, it shows, rather, the inner strength of a people (p. 175). Moreover, because of continuing postwar issues, this devotion – as well as the Liberation grand narrative itself – is being questioned. As Diaz observed:

...for unresolved issues such as postwar land con-demnations, war reparations, and Guam's neocolonial status, and for the unprecedented economic and social growth and impact on indigenous culture and the land itself, the postwar commemoration of Liberation Day has also begun to feature public challenge and opposition, even through mimicry and sarcasm. It is contested even as it is commemorated.

In the 2010s, more examinations of war commemoration and history-writing were published. In his book, *Cultures of Commemoration* (2011), Keith Camacho juxtaposed the commemoration of the war on Guam and on the islands of the Northern Marianas, specifically Saipan. Camacho argued that the increasingly diverging histories of CHamorus in Guam and in the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands (CNMI) are rooted in their respective colonial histories under the U.S. and Japan before, during, and after the war. Further, Camacho insisted that history-writing is done not only by the U.S. and Japan, but also by the islanders themselves. Thus, the responsibility of writing history and liberating themselves from this divisive history is on the islanders themselves (p. 177). Taking a tougher stance, CHamoru scholar activist, Michael Bevacqua, directly criticizes the Liberation grand narrative (2016, p. 115): “The Scene of Liberation reduces history to two basic subject positions. There is the Chamorro, the passive victim of war... who can do nothing else but wait for sustenance... Towering above this Chamorro is the United States marine, the soldier, the liberator.” As Bevacqua succinctly points out, “According to the Scene, the Chamorro is made to feel as if life could not be possible without the U.S. figure present.”

Noticing the gaping absence of studies utilizing Japanese archival sources, Wakako Higuchi presented a politico-military history of – as the

title of her book clearly states – *The Japanese Administration of Guam, 1941-1944*. Not only does Higuchi provide the much-needed clarification on Japanese terminologies (e.g., official titles, institutional names, and translations) and the organizational structure of the Japanese navy in the Marianas, she also elaborates on the underlying ideologies that guided the Japanese Navy's administration of Guam. In addition to the main text, Higuchi appends a wealth of accounts, some from her interviews, others from non-official archival materials (e.g. diaries) by Japanese individuals who were in Guam during the war or were somehow involved in its administration.

In a recently published book, Keith Camacho likewise veers the attention on individuals affiliated with the Japanese empire. Camacho examines archival documents related to the cases tried in the war crimes tribunal on Guam, especially those concerning Japanese soldiers, Chamorros from Saipan, and a Japanese citizen who had lived in Guam for decades since before the war. In doing so, he "demonstrates that the [US] navy's tribunal prosecuted Japan's nationals and its native subjects in an effort to impose the U.S. rule of law in Guam and other formerly Japanese-occupied islands" (2019, Introduction). Moreover, he shows that Chamorro memories of victimization "functioned as vital testimonies for the navy's court." Showing the various "inclusive exclusion" experienced by these men in the tribunal, Camacho argues that they are "homo sacer" (sacred men), that is, persons who may be killed but not sacrificed.

Like Higuchi and Camacho, I focus on the Japanese in Guam. However, unlike Camacho who did so to critique US imperialism on the island and Higuchi who illuminated Japanese empire's designs in Guam, this paper is concerned with the writing of war history. What it critiques is the configuration of the historiography undergirding the narratives of the war. For example, in advancing CHamoru agency to counter the image of the dependent CHamoru subject, Bevacqua placed the spotlight on CHamoru resistance (both active and passive) against the Japanese invaders. In doing so, the brutality of the Japanese was highlighted. Yet,

Jessica Jordan (2015) insisted in her dissertation that the Japanese Colonial Period in the Northern Mariana Islands was far more complex than the oppressive period it is often portrayed.

Like in Jordan's dissertation, Japanese atrocities are not denied in this paper. Rather, here is an opportunity to nuance the idea of "the Japanese"—the third character trope in war histories, alongside "the American" and "the CHamoru." Who are included in this category, "the Japanese?" Does the label pertain to those who arrived in December 1941? If so, what of the Koreans and the Taiwanese who served in the Japanese military? To further complicate the idea, are Okinawans part of "the Japanese?"⁴ What of the Japanese mestizos born on Guam who went to Japan for a year or two to study? What of their parents who were born and raised in Japan, but who lived on Guam for years? Instead of directly answering those questions, this paper shows how the concept of "the Japanese" transformed from a fluid notion before the Pacific War to a rigid stereotype postwar.

Before inquiring into the idea of "the Japanese," the paper needs to be grounded on a theoretical perspective. In this paper, the Pacific War is not viewed as a clash of nations; but rather, as a race war, a total war. Japanese studies historian, John Dower (1986, Chapter 2) revealed that to justify waging their total war, the U.S. and Japan both portrayed each other as polar opposites. In wartime posters and speeches, each portrayed the other as evil, uncivilized, and "mad." At the same time, each portrayed themselves as good, progressive, and the liberator of subjugated countries. Writing years after Dower, Takashi Fujitani (2011) called the sort of exclusionist racism discussed in Dower's book as "vulgar racism." In contrast, Fujitani concentrated on an inclusivist kind of racism which he calls, "polite racism." By comparing Japanese Americans and colonial Koreans, Fujitani argued: "...the U.S. and Japanese total war regimes shifted decisively toward the strategy of

⁴ Did colonial Korean soldiers fighting in the Japanese imperial forces consider themselves Japanese? Notwithstanding the anti-colonial title of Brandon Palmer's empirically wealthy book, *Fighting for the Enemy: Korean's in Japan's War*, I follow Takashi Fujitani's take that this question has no easy answer. To push the point further, would Okinawans who left Saipan for Guam in 1944 consider themselves Japanese? For a glimpse of the diversity of the backgrounds of the Japanese POWs, see "POW Interrogation Reports," Micronesia Area Research Center.

disavowing racism and including despised populations within their national communities.” To wage their war, both empires had to entice the entire populace to their side and had to prove to themselves that they are not racists as the other side accused them to be. Enticed, the empires’ national minorities and colonials sought to be recognized as part of the empire-nation. Interestingly, Japanese anthropologist Hidekazu Sensui (2018) reached a similar conclusion, albeit writing in Japanese and not citing Fujitani. Comparing an Okinawan in the Japanese military and a Latin American in the U.S. military, Sensui found that both colonial soldiers knew of the discrimination that they and other minorities experienced in their empire, and precisely because they were the object of discrimination, they sought to prove themselves at par with the other nationals.

Relevant to this point of view, war sociologist, Senisa Malesevic, demonstrates that for large scale violence to occur, there needs to be: “highly developed organizational mechanisms of social control and well articulated and institutionally embedded ideological doctrines capable of justifying such action” (2010, pp. 4-5). To rephrase Malesevic’s theory in simpler terms, for people to wage war, they must be organized (institutionally or otherwise) and they must have a justified reason for killing and hurting other human beings. Total wars, therefore, are centrifugal movements of diverse peoples into two or more contesting poles; i.e., the polarization of hybrid societies. In this approach to writing war history, the story is not about one people against another. It is not even about “a people.” Rather, it is a story of increasing polarization of a place.

Following such approach to writing war history, this paper is undergirded by the story of Guam’s polarization, a divide due to colonization and war. It shows how “the Japanese” trope – the pole that serves as the antithesis to “the American” and “the CHamoru” – was completed postwar by protracted routinary violence and racist discourse.

The Prewar Japanese Locals of Guam

The Japanese empire began its expansion to the Pacific in the 1860s, however as argued by historian Terutaro Nishino (1984), the first Japanese to set sail seemed to be part of a Pacific-wide black-birding network rather than to be labor migrants sent by a cognizant country. Late though it was, Japanese business ventures to the Marianas throttled in the 1900s-1910s, bringing with them capital, goods, and migrants; thus linking Guam to Japan. According to Higuchi (1998, p. 155), Kazuji Shimizu of Ibaraki, one of the well-known Japanese pioneers of Guam, had moved to Guam in 1900, married into a respectable CHamoru family, took the Catholic name "Jose," and established the J.K. Shimizu Company. Later, he and his brother partnered to import Japanese goods (p. 156). Besides Shimizu, other Japanese entrepreneurs also settled on Guam. Takekuma Shinohara of Kagoshima also married into a CHamoru family, acquired land, and established an export business which spanned Guam, Japan, and reached even San Francisco (Shinohara, S., 1963, p. 68). These wealthy Japanese merchants imported much of their merchandize and personal properties from Japan, mostly via American vessels.

Along with their transpacific business networks, the Japanese locals of Guam were also well-assimilated into the island society while maintaining links with Japan. According to the Bureau of the Census (1941, p. 10), 288 of the 326 Japanese on Guam were born on the island. Perusing the manuscript of this census, I culled a sample of 35 (out of 43) married Japanese males and discovered that, of the 35, all but one were married to CHamoru women. While Japanese settlers established familial kinship with CHamorus, they also sent their sons to Japan for a year or three for schooling, for example, the sons of Vicente Takano and Dolores San Nicholas. One of the sons returned to Guam and married his childhood sweetheart; another brought home his Japanese wife to the island (War Claims).

Given their overlapping transpacific and local linkages, these Japanese merchants and their organization, the Japanese Society of Guam,

understandably sought harmonious relationships with elites in Agana and at the Naval Government. The Society gave grand welcome banquets to newly assigned American governors, as the *Guam Recorder* reported in August 1929 and April 1938. Shinohara, the Society's president, was also remembered by Naval Station officials for his sukiyaki parties (Giles, 1994, p. 48). Issues of the *Guam Recorder* often announced that younger officers assembled at his restaurant for their regular Rooster meetings (May 1935, June 1938, September 1938), at times fondly calling him Señor Tomas Shin O'hara (February 1936). As the caption in the Society's photo published in the *Guam Recorder* declared: "The Japanese Society is always ready to help with any project for civic betterment and is thus an important factor in the life of the community" (May 1937). Before the Pacific War, Guam's Japanese locals enjoyed plural affinities, belonging to both the island society and the expanding Japanese empire. They were simultaneously islanders and Japanese. Mostly merchants, they also maintained transpacific networks and saw themselves in between the empires of Japan and the US.

Such plurality became untenable since the outbreak of the Pacific War. On 8 December 1941, after the Japanese planes from Pearl Harbor bombed US military installations on Guam, about 35 Japanese locals regardless of nationality were detained in Agana prison under the suspicion of espionage (Bōeichō Bōei Kenshūjo Senshishitsu, 1967, p. 40). Although unrecorded, given that the prewar Japanese population was 326, one can safely assume that the 291 others escaped with their CHamoru friends and families. Rosario Mafnas, for example, recalled that her family escaped the Japanese invasion with the help of their friend, Dong Sayama. Whether purposively or not, not once did Rosario mention Dong Sayama's Japanese background, or that his father was one of the Japanese detained in the Agana city jail (Owings, 1981, pp. 374-375). At the outbreak of the Pacific War, the Japanese of Guam were either "Japanese" spies or "CHamoru" islanders; for the first time, they could not be both.

Upon the surrender of the US Navy, Guam's Japanese locals served as mediators between the new imperial masters and the islanders. In Owings' (1981, pp. 84 and 146) compilation of oral histories, CHamorus recall that Japanese acquaintances advised them to procure or procured for them a "pass" by which they could go about their daily activities without being apprehended by Japanese soldiers. The Japanese settlers who knew the Japanese language served as translators, at times not by the order of the military but at the behest of their community (e.g., Owings, 1981, pp. 175-176). Those who accompanied the military also vouched for their CHamoru friends and families, sparing them from death or imprisonment (e.g., Owings 1981, pp. 176 and 314). Those in influential positions, for example Nawo Sawada, had the capacity to pluck an Insular Guard detained as prisoner-of-war out of jail and then send him to work at an electric shop owned by another Japanese local with whom he was in cordial relations (Owings 1981, pp. 227-229). From these recollections of the Japanese Occupation Period, it seems that being "Japanese" and even collaborating with the Japanese military was not deemed a betrayal of Guam.

This does not mean that there were no atrocities because violence, be it individual or systemic, can be gleaned in archival sources. Women were forced into sexual labor. Granted that some of the women who served Japanese officials had been prostitutes since the US Naval Period, it was during the Japanese Occupation that they lost the freedom to choose their clients ("Documentary Evidence; Ms. A. L, Elder Sister of the Victim Woman"). The men who were taken in for interrogations concerning the whereabouts of the American straggler Tweed were abused. "[H]e kicked me, hit me with his pistol and finally he stopped and told me that he would take me to the Army Military Police to be killed because I was telling a lie," Pedro Dueñas Camacho later testified (cited in Camacho 2019, Chapter 6). Moreover, since the start of the Occupation, the Japanese military put in place a racial structure wherein the Japanese military was on top and the islanders were at the bottom. This racial structure dictated the distribution of supplies, thus when famine struck in 1943, no food rations were distributed to CHamorus (Sanbō Honbu

1944, p. 53). Then, in March 1944, soldiers from East Asia poured into the island (Higuchi 2013, Chapter 5). Notwithstanding the fact that islanders had to toil the land to feed themselves, they also toiled to feed both the Japanese administration already on Guam and the 20,000 new comers from Asia. To appreciate that number, one must recall that Guam's prewar CHamoru population was 20,177, including children (Bureau of the Census 1941, p. 3).

As the situation became dire, it became increasingly difficult for Guam's Japanese locals to mediate between the Japanese officials and the islanders. Soon, they were bound to choose a side and give up another. In July 1944, as the Battle of Saipan reached its catastrophic end, the Japanese locals of Guam were physically separated from the rest of the islanders. By order of the military, Guam's Japanese settlers and their CHamoru families followed the Japanese military to its last stand in the northern mountains of the island. Here, US bomber planes decimated their camps, likely killing Nawo Sawada and Jose Shimizu (Palomo 1984, 191). Meanwhile, most islanders, save for a few who accompanied the military as manual laborers, marched toward Manenggon on the eastern side of the island. Besides the arduous march made more dangerous by land mines planted to forestall the impending US re-invasion, CHamoru evacuees also contended with the inexplicable brutalities of their guards. At least two massacres are recorded in CHamoru oral histories (e.g., Owings 1981, pp. 13-14, 199; Bevacqua 2015, p. 97). On the eve of the US landing, Japanese atrocities had so aggravated the natives that CHamoru men began an "uprising" (Bevacqua 2015), killing Japanese soldiers in sight.⁵

The polarization of the island society began at the outbreak of the Pacific War, continued throughout the Japanese Occupation, and (as this paper argues) was completed in the immediate postwar. When the US and the Japanese empires began their war, "Japan" and "the Japanese" came to be enemies of Guam. Such total war conceptions, however, were

⁵ Wakako Higuchi notes, "There are various publications on the Merizo massacre, based on the testimonies of survivors, but neither full hunts for the incident's truths nor research has been carried out by the US military, the Chamorros, or the Japanese side" (2013, Chapter 3, Note 41).

mitigated by the presence of Japanese locals, many of whom were dually Japanese-islander. As revealed by Sergeant Alvin Josephy's observation at the start of this paper, Guam natives did not equate "Japanese" with "enemy" even as late as July 1944. How this equation came about is the subject of the next section. There, "Enemy" is not a politico-military term pertaining to people of belligerent countries; rather, it pertains to a racial trope within the grand narrative that undergirds history-writing. The "Enemy" appears as a character in war stories and consequently influences how such stories are told. How this specter emerged thus deserves academic attention, especially since it dons the face of people who, before the war, have been part of the island community.

The Creation of "the Japanese [Enemy]"

The Dead and the Hunted

In late 1943, Guam became part of Japan's "Absolute Defense Perimeter" and consequently saw the arrival of about 20,000 battle-hardened soldiers from East Asia in March of the following year. Besides these soldiers from the north, fisherfolks and other manual laborers arrived from the Japanese territories of Saipan, Rota, and Palau at around the same time. Thus, in just the short span of a few months, Guam saw a spike in the number of Japanese military and military-affiliated (*gunzoku*) individuals (POW Interrogation Reports). By August, after the US offensive in June and July 1944, many of them would be dead, their bodies lay open for the islanders to see. Japan's official war history, *Bōeichō Bōei Kenshūjo Senshishitsu* [War History, National Institute for Defense Studies] (1967, pp. 62-64), recorded 19,135 Japanese war dead. That is, the number of Japanese lying dead on Guam was almost the same as the island's prewar population.

Besides the dead, prisoners-of-war (POW) were ferried in and out of Guam. A communique dated June 18, 1946 reported that 3,440 POWs, affiliated with the Japanese navy and army from Guam, Rota, and Yap,

were left on Guam. The same report says that just three days prior, 1,600 POWs arrived from Truk (Gaichi Jōhō, p. 1382). A month later, another report counted 989 Japanese left on Guam, including those from Okinawa, Iwo Jima and so forth. On July 9, another repatriation ship left Guam bound for Saipan, Tinian, Okinawa, and finally Kagoshima (Gaichi Jōhō, p. 1379). Again, to make sense of these numbers, one must recall that Agana's prewar population was only about 10,000. The sight of 3,000 POWs trafficked in and out of Apra Harbor must have appeared as a large crowd. Meaning, while their island was littered with enemy corpses, islanders now saw a harbor and surrounding waters packed with prisoners-of-war.

Most importantly, the hunt for the Japanese stragglers continued even after Guam was declared secured. As Capt. C. W. Kunz, Jr. (Estimate of Enemy Situation) of the 3rd Battalion reported on October 23, "Scattered enemy personnel are still at large on the Northern end of Guam. Patrols operating in that area have made continual contact with small groups and individuals. There is no evidence of any organization among these enemy troops." The following day a similar situation was reported by Capt. B.A. Hyde of the 21st Regiment. In February 1945, Col. H. N. Stent reported that the tally of enemies killed was 18,063.

Alvin Josephy, the journalist-turned-sergeant with whom we opened this paper, gives a vivid account of the mop-up operation on the ground. When taken together with the military reports by Kunz, Hyde, Stent, and other field commanders, Josephy's account presents three noteworthy points concerning the months-long operation.

First, there were so many Japanese stragglers to kill or capture that the job had become routine. Day in and day out, US forces patrolled the jungles in the north. When they found a straggler, they either took him in or, if he fought back, they killed him. As Josephy candidly shared, what the Marines found more exciting was the "giant modern American base [which] was to go up practically overnight behind our backs," but which they could not see because they were "too busy fighting in the boondocks"

(p. 93). Indeed, while reading through Josephy's account, one gets the sense that the task was becoming mundane. In such an environment, human lives amounted to mere numbers on a map (see Figure 1).

Second, the Japanese stragglers continued to pose a threat. Although military reports from the field did not see the potential of the enemy re-organizing and staging a massive resistance at par with the battles in July 1944, the threat remained. Earlier, an individual assigned to accompany a wounded Japanese prisoner-of-war to treatment was found mutilated, apparently by grenade (Investigation into Alleged Shooting). Understandably, Americans who came to Guam in 1944 held an image of fanatic Japanese soldiers who died fighting, an image probably intensified by news of the so-called Banzai charges by the Japanese defenders in Asan and Agat (e.g., Farrell 1984: pp. 96-97 and 118). The hold of this image on the newly arrived Americans was so strong that, according to Josephy (1946), when the American strategy shifted from *kill-or-capture* to *entice-to-surrender*, "It amounted to a new relationship between ourselves and our enemies – an incongruous relationship that bewildered a lot of our men.... To most of the Marines, accustomed to a fanatical enemy who preferred death to surrender, our new policy was at first puzzling" (pp. 113-114).

Besides the American soldiers' pre-existing image of a fanatical Japanese who fought to the death, there was also the practical risk of stragglers plundering their food and ammunition supplies, ambushing their patrols, and sabotaging their facilities. As E. N. Murray of D-2 Section of the 3rd Marine Division reported on October 18, 1944, "The only recent indications of any aggressiveness have been motivated by extreme hunger." By February the following year, exceptions were already noted. As Col. H. N. Stent reported, "The enemy is, with a few notable exceptions, disorganized and for the most part unaggressive." Of these exceptions, "The weapons tended to be found among the more organized groups which are often well-armed even to the extent of possessing serviceable automatic weapons." In April, another report reiterated the warning. "Scattered enemy remnants continue at large

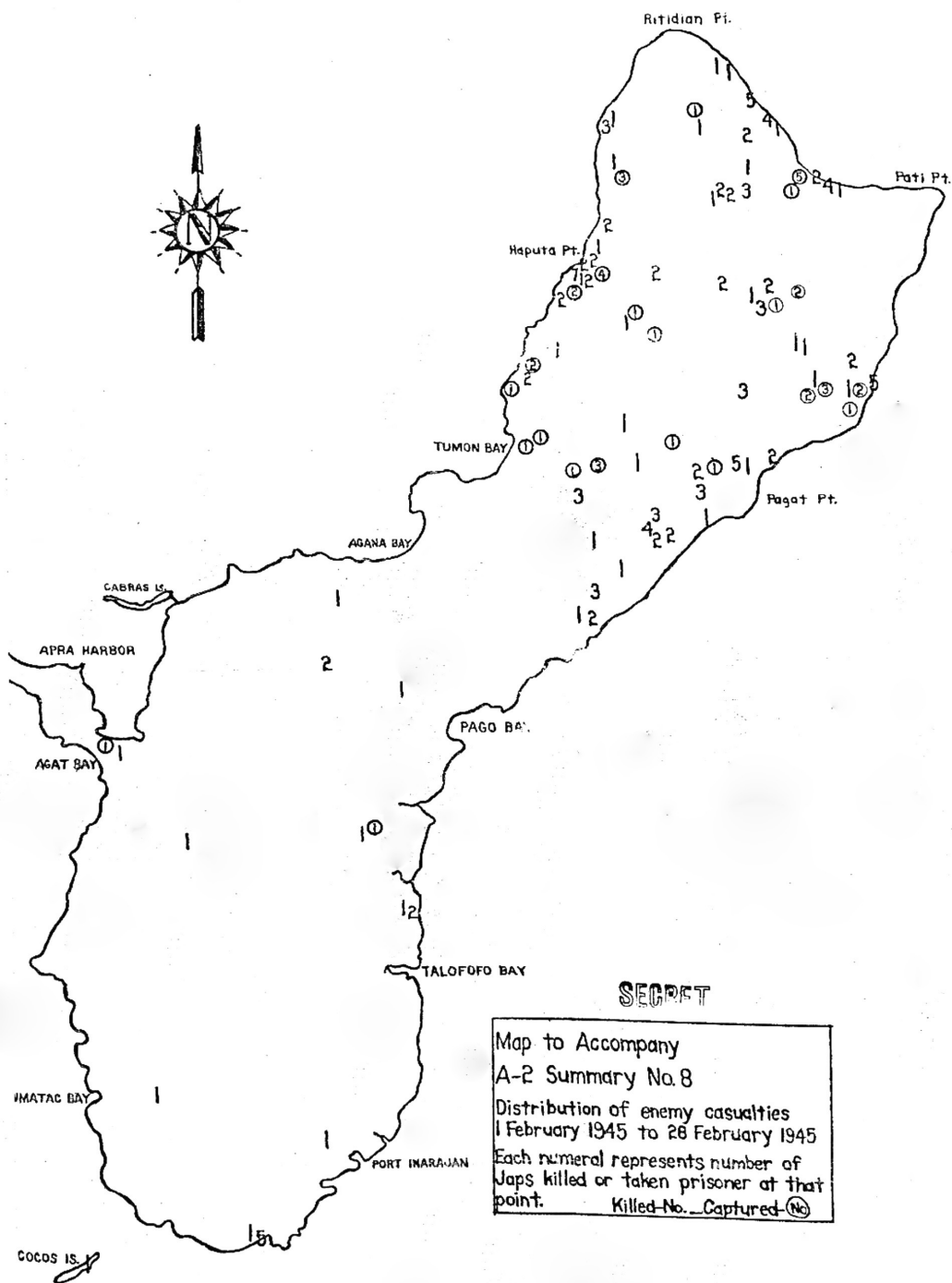


Figure 1. Map of Killed and Captured, February 1945. (Source: Estimate of Enemy Situation, Micronesian Area Research Center, p. 118).

throughout the island. They recently have been discovered to be maintaining relatively large caches of our food, clothing and ammunition taken from dumps and supply areas not carefully guarded." It was thus imperative that mop-up operations continue. The numbers in the map pertain not merely to Japanese enemies per se; but rather, gauge the extent of the danger this enemy posed.

Third and last, CHamoru men were involved in the mop-up operations. As Josephy (1946) narrated, CHamorus "knew the terrain thoroughly, some of them having farms there" (p. 94). Thus, like the U.S. Marines, their CHamoru guides were exposed to the threat posed by Japanese stragglers: "In February 1945 – six months after the island was called secure – five unarmed American sailors and a Chamorro, looking for bananas in the jungle, were ambushed and massacred by a band of Jap stragglers" (p. 142). Considering the danger that they too faced, CHamoru men were allowed to carry guns. Some of them, for example, Alberto Babauta Acfalle and Francisco Chargulaf, were given guns with which to protect themselves and their families (Owings 1981, pp. 9-10 and 153). As expected, they used them: "Once, near one of our camps, a sixteen year-old boy... came on three sickly Japs in an abandoned hut near his farm," wrote Josephy. "He fired five shots with his carbine, riddling one of the Japs through the chest. The other two enemy ran away" (1946, p. 105).

In sum, Guam was besieged by a deluge of militarized bodies, the size of which was almost the same as the total population. By early the following year, most of these bodies would be corpses scattered throughout the island and its waters. Those that remained mobile and breathing threatened the US-established security and, closer to home, were a danger to the lives and properties of islanders. The enemy, thus, must either be captured or killed. It was an environment that was overwhelmingly violent and dehumanizing. Such violence began at the outbreak of the war, shifted gears as the US neared the Marianas, reached climax in July and August 1944, and trailed on in the succeeding

months. Thereafter, writers sought to make sense of the violence, periodically publishing their insights.

“The Japanese” in the News

A war crimes tribunal and stockade existed on Guam, trying cases and holding suspects from as far away as Kwajalein in the east and Chichijima in the north. Keith Camacho has already shown how the trials and Chamorro participation in it, “reified the distinction between loyal [Chamorro] wards, on the one hand, and war criminals, on the other” (2019, Introduction). This paper goes beyond the tribunal and focuses on the associated news coverage.

The broadsheet *Navy News* covered not only the war crime trials in Guam’s tribunal but also those in Shanghai and in Tokyo. Surviving copies of the broadsheets, which are archived at the University of Guam, Micronesian Area Research Center (MARC), show that initial coverage was mostly on the trials themselves. “War Crimes Commission imposes death for five Jap Officers,” it reported on July 3, 1946. On the 24th, the report was, “Jap colonel, four subordinates given long term sentences.” Then, on August 24, *Navy News* reported that the war crimes trials on Guam were open to the public. What followed were three issues of in-depth accounts of the heinous crimes; e.g., “Jap navy lieutenant says he was forced into cannibalism (August 26th).” Finally on the 31st, “Jap medical corpsman gives vivid description of dissection.” By the start of September, the agitation over people eating people had died down and news returned to the regular: “War Trials to convene this morning,” and “War Crimes defense asked adjournment.” In 1946, news on the war crimes trials (save for some spikes) focused on the legal aspects of the trials: Witnesses, defendants, lawyers, and summaries.

From mid-1947, a marked change in reported news was noticeable. Beginning with the news of the first batch of executions, the June 20 headline was: “6 Japs hanged: Pay first death penalties on Guam.” Although, executions by the War Crimes Commission on the island were

kept to a few military officials, readers of the broadsheet were treated to executions in other places: “Thousands gather for Jap execution [in Shanghai],” it reported on the 30th. In August, the series, *History of War Crimes Trials*, began. Running almost every Sunday in the *Navy News*, it was later carried into the *Guam News* in 1948. While the series reviewed the war crime trials, its focus was not on the trials themselves but on the atrocities and the character of the Japanese. “Japanese practice cannibalism here,” headed the seventh installment (*Navy News*, October 12, 1947). On November 9 and 16, 1947, the series extended to the war crimes of the Chamoru interpreters sent to Guam from the neighboring islands of Saipan and Rota. The series continued in this tone for several more issues, reviewing the tortures in Chichi Jima (*Navy News*, December 7, 1947), pondering the Japanese suicide attacks (*Guam News*, 11 January, 1948), observing that Japanese authorities lacked civilized means of boosting morale (*Guam News*, 18 January, 1948), and surveying the Japanese killing of priests (*Guam News*, 28 January, 1948).

Two things about the series are worth noting: First, it synthesized the war crimes, finding patterns in the different atrocities by the Japanese. The article on the Japanese killing of priests, for example, began by raising the case of the martyred Chamoru Father Duenas as evidence that the Japanese targeted religion. Then, the same article linked Duenas’ execution to the cases of the Marshall Islands and the French-Swiss (*Guam News*, 28 January, 1948). Second, the series sought to provide explanations for the actions of the Japanese and others under their tutelage; concluding that there was no rational explanation whatsoever. As the 12th installment mused, “It is hard to understand what provoked this long string of Saipanese and in this case, Rotanese civilians into dealing out such severe and callous punishment to peoples of their own race origins” (*Navy News*, 16 November, 1947). The Japanese suicides were deemed “irrational” and “barbaric.” The Japanese way of ruling was neither “normal” nor “civilized.” As the editor’s note for the 11th installment expressed, the actions of Japanese militarists were predominated by “sadistic tendencies,” overshadowing “more

tangible motives for their crimes” (*Navy News*, 9 November, 1947). The note continued by crediting these tendencies to Japanese custom:

It appears that the custom of the Japanese on this Island as well as other people who came under the rule of the Japanese was to subjugate them into slavery by fear and force and to break their will to resist by sheer ruthlessness.... [I]t also appears that the enemy militarists endowed even the most lowly interpreter with the power to inflict serious punishment against the native Chamorrans (sic) and to judge their guilt or innocence. This clearly brings out a major fault of the Nipponese wherever (sic) they ruled...

The “History of the War Crimes Trials” (later renamed “War Crimes Series”) was not published in isolation. It ran alongside other articles exploring Japanese atrocities. In January 1948, for example, *Guam News* reported that the secret records in which the Japanese ambassador to Berlin concurred with Hitler about sinking all ships and killing all personnel of the enemy was introduced in the trials (*Guam News*, 23 January, 1948). A few days later, it added that two were found guilty for murdering unarmed American prisoners-of-war (28 January, 1948).

While Japanese ruthlessness was emphasized, so was the victimization and the loyalty of the “Guamanians” and of their gratitude to their American liberators. In May 1945, the magazine *Colliers* argued that the Guamanians were loyal Americans who suffered under Japanese brutality. On December 7, 1947, *Navy News* published an astoundingly erroneous article, “Guam Produced No Quislings,” which claimed that no one on the island betrayed the U.S. Just as the news of Japanese atrocities were continuously revisited, the pitiful plight of the indigenous people of Guam was also remembered. “Back in 1945,” *Guam News* reported in February 1, 1948:

“...shortly after the American reoccupation of Guam, a popular stateside magazine featured a picture of a shabby dressed

little twelve year old girl surrounded by four toddling infants all kneeling amid war's devastating ruins... this little girl had safely carried her four brothers and sisters... after her mother had been brutally decapitated."

Needless to say, these articles, written mostly by *Navy News* and *Guam News* correspondents, did not mention Guam's prewar Japanese residents. "The Japanese on this Island" apparently pertained only to Japanese military, particularly those who came since the outbreak of the war. One piece that did mention Guam's prewar Japanese is a revelation. Part of a series of essays by "students of an English composition class," this piece by Louisa Garrido narrated her life during the "Japanese rule." It echoed the tone of Guamanian victimization and Japanese brutality:

I had in mind that the Japanese were harmless, since practically all of the pure-blooded Japanese I had seen on our Island were very small and very kindly. They all looked pale and sickly and I figured it out that they are all alike. But I was totally mistaken for indeed, they are the most merciless and most cold-hearted people ever to come to this peaceful Island (*Navy News*, 14 December, 1947).

Ms. Garrido's well-written composition, describes the islanders' suffering under the invaders by providing vivid anecdotes of their experiences with the Japanese soldiers. Interestingly, there were none to illustrate how the "very small and very kindly" Japanese transformed into the "most merciless and most cold-hearted." Moreover, she does not say whether the descriptor, "pure-blood Japanese," pertained to the prewar residents or to the wartime Japanese soldiers. They were one and all "the Japanese."

Her composition class was held during the summer term of 1947. The essay was published the following December. Apparently, a year and a half after the barrage of rhetoric about Japanese brutality, and three

years of dealing with Japanese stragglers the language of total war to be spoken by a youth of Guam.

Negotiating Japanese-ness in the War Claims

Simultaneous with the war crimes trials was the war claims program, which sought to provide relief to victims of war-related damages. As early as June 1945, war claims applications had been filed. Most important for this paper are three war claims applications: those by Riye Dejima, Carlos SN Takano, and Joaquina Baza Sayama. In all three cases, the Japanese background and affiliation of the claimants were known to the interrogators and were revealed at the onset of interviews. Riye Dejima was a Japanese citizen who came to Guam in 1930 to follow her husband who then died in 1937. Joaquina Baza Sayama, a CHamoru born on Guam, was married to Jesus Sehachi Sayama. Her husband was born in Japan and moved to the island in 1905. Carlos SN Takano, though he did not specify that his father Vicente Kosako Takano was a Japanese migrant, did mention that he went to Japan in 1927 and studied there for about a year, returned to Guam, and then went to Japan again to study from 1934 to 1938. After his wedding in 1939, he and his bride took a trip to Japan, China, and Manila, of which they stayed longest in Japan.

All claimants, as well as their witnesses, were asked the standard question of whether the claimant had “at any time voluntarily aided an enemy of the United States or any National of any country at war with the United States, or any ally of such enemy country.” Those who knew the claimant prewar said “no,” or at least “not to my knowledge.” Interestingly, Jesus Sayama who was interrogated as witness to his wife’s war claim and the only interrogated Japanese witness in all the 1940s war claim records was asked whether he – not his wife – voluntarily aided the enemy. Despite Jesus’s and his wife’s participation in the war effort during the Japanese Occupation, whether willingly or not, he replied, “no.”

Some of the witnesses went further to attest to the claimants' innocence. Tomas Ramirez Santos, who had known Carlos Takano "since boyhood" testified:

This boy played the game like fox. He was married to a Guamanian, the daughter of the superintendent of school system here, and he tried to pretend to the Japanese authorities that he was in sympathy with their policies to protect his family under it all... Sometimes it appeared as though he was in favor of the Japanese but if you watched him you found that he was merely putting up a front to be able to help the Guamanian.... I consider him a person willing to help the Guamanian people at any time. During the war years he was obliging and in many instances that I know of -he gave help to the natives here.

His testimony echoes that of Luis Palomo Untalan, the school principal where Carlos' wife taught. Principal Untalan offered. "This boy, Carlos, was all right. He was not pro-Japanese at all. He was always very nice to all the Guamanian people..." In both testimonies, Carlos was tied more to his wife - a teacher and daughter of the superintendent of schools - than to his Japanese family.

Similarly, when asked whether Joaquina Sayama aided the enemy, Maria Taisague Cabrera, her neighbor in Agana replied, "No, nor did any member of her family. Her husband was badly beaten in 1943 by one of the Japanese authorities for defending his daughter's honor." Notice that Ms. Cabrera volunteered the information that Jesus Sayama suffered at the hands of Japanese military even though her interviewers did not ask for it. In raising Jesus Sayama's victimization, she pulled him into the circle of "us islanders" and away from "them, the Japanese enemies."

Principal Untalan, who knew the Takanos as well as the Sayamas, offered another tidbit of interest.

It was during the war that the father [of Carlos] sent the brother to join the Japanese Army in Japan. Mr. Sayama tried to send the Sayama boys at the same time but Mrs. Sayama would not stand for it and then, before the Sayama boys ever got away from Guam, the bombing came.

Contrary to this statement, Jesus Sehachi Sayama shared with a Japanese researcher (who published the findings in the Japanese language in Japan) that his eldest son died in the Battle for Saipan (H. Shinohara, p. 63). Considering the apparent devotion of the Sayama family's friends to them, it makes one wonder how they would have reacted had they known that the eldest "Sayama boy" died as a Japanese soldier, especially since, by 1947, "the Japanese" had been homogenized as a brutal, barbaric, ruthless, incomprehensible enemy, *othered*, and not human. Whatever diversity and complexity the concept of "the Japanese" had had before the war, and even as late as July 1944, it had been flattened into a racial trope, one of the contesting poles in Guam's historiography of the war.

Discussion and Conclusion

Alvin Josephy's confusion over CHamorus' diverse descriptions of their Japanese enemies greatly differed from Louisa Garrido's account of her experience during the Japanese Occupation. The former was complex, noted varieties, and seemed to seek to counter the generalized image of the Japanese that was held by the American newcomers. The latter was a stereotype of "the Japanese," silent on the diversity of Japanese individuals on the island, and very similar to the image which islanders sought to counter in Josephy's account. Ironically, the former was by an American Marine, while the latter was by a Guam student.

In juxtaposing these two descriptions of the Japanese, this paper does not say that the U.S. Marine is better than the Guam student. What is emphasized is the *time* when their descriptions were made. Josephy's was written based on field notes jotted down in 1944. Garrido's was

written and published in 1947. The point is that between 1944 and 1947, the notion of “Japanese” in Guam changed immensely, and this change explains the difference between Josephy’s and Garrido’s depictions. How this change came about is the subject of this paper.

Although the historiography of the Pacific War on Guam has much developed, the scholarship has yet to make sense of “the Japanese” in local war histories. At present, Guam’s war histories contain racial *tropes*: the American, the CHamoru, and the Japanese. Of the three, the first two have been seriously examined. Diaz (2001) has pointed out that America’s image as Liberator is increasingly questioned because of (among others) Guam’s persisting neocolonial status. Bevacqua (2015) highlighted CHamoru active resistance in order to oppose the image of a passive islander dependent on America. Meanwhile, the third character “the Japanese” remains underexamined.

Left as it is, the historiography sustains an unscholarly simplistic stereotype comparable to “the American Liberator” and “the pitiful CHamoru.” Just as importantly, it sustains the contradictions surrounding Guam’s Japanese locals. For example, in pondering over CHamoru identity, Diaz claimed that those with surnames such as Yamaguchi, Tanaka, Shinohara, Okada, and Yamanaka are CHamoru often mistaken as Japanese (1994, p. 51). Whether on purpose or otherwise, Higuchi contradicted this when she demonstrated that after the war, Guam’s prewar Japanese were discriminated for their affiliation with Imperial Japan (1998, p. 174). In his study on the US Navy’s prosecution of Japanese and colonials of Japan in the Guam’s war crime tribunal, Camacho (2019) used the phrase “inclusive exclusion.” This phrase aptly describes the lack of discussion on the Japanese locals of Guam. They are in a weird position in between the US and the Japanese empires, as well as between Japan and the island. When their three worlds clash – as it did during the Pacific War and as it continues to do so in war histories – they are either excluded or made to give up other identities so as to be included in one.

Like Camacho (2019) and Higuchi (1998, 2013), I also focus on the Japanese of Guam. This paper differs from the other two scholars in that it specifically tackles “the Japanese” character trope in war narratives. Examining archival records from 1944 to 1949, it finds three factors that contributed to the generalized image of “the Japanese.” First, following the deluge of Japanese soldiers in early 1944 and the US offensive that decimated them in July 1944, the US mop-up operations involving islanders further plunged the island into a protracted dehumanizing violence that lasted from late 1944 to 1945. Second, news articles especially those covering the war crime trials interpreted atrocities by persons who fought for the Japanese empire as not only incomprehensibly brutal but also customary, a characteristic of “the Japanese race.” Lastly, in their interview with American officials during the 1940s war claims investigation, islanders participated in the racist discourse in which “Japan” was “the enemy.” Unable to hide the Japanese background of the Japanese war claimants, islanders who were interrogated as witnesses strove to portray their Japanese friends and families as “part of us” and not “the Japanese.”

In arguing this, this paper does not criticize the islanders in the 1940s; they participated in the racist us-versus-enemy discourse in order to protect people who are part of their community. Rather, this paper seeks to pose a question to present-day readers: Given our context today, must we still participate in the dichotomous way of telling the past? Also, this paper does not deny the atrocities committed against Guam locals during the Japanese occupation. What it rejects is the arbitrary lumping of diverse peoples into racial tropes and the approach in history-writing where racial tropes interact as if they are actual, living characters.

Having shown the artificiality of the racial trope of “the Japanese enemy,” the paper invites readers to rethink their own narratives of the war. Rethinking does not mean denying their experiences, but rather reassessing the other characters in the narrative. Is the enemy still a real person or already a conception? A more difficult question to answer: If

the enemy were real persons, what sort of life led them to become the enemy? It is my hope that my readers will reassess the socio-historical borders that continue to divide people into opposing sides. As we do, it will also serve well to recognize those whom we exclude from our social-historical communities, or whose hybridity we stamp out so as to permit inclusion within the borders of our social-historical communities.

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How Effective is China's Soft Power Diplomacy in FSM? The University of Guam's FSM Student Perspective

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China's increased use of soft power diplomacy and engagement with Pacific Island countries have led to favorable views of China among countries on the receiving end. Favorable views of China may lead to a closer relationship between China and the Federated States of Micronesia (FSM), and impact FSM's current relationship with the United States (U.S.). While the literature on China's soft power diplomacy is voluminous, scholarship on the perspectives of FSM leaders of the future is limited. Based on focus group interviews with FSM university students at the University of Guam, this paper argues that - within the soft power conceptual framework - China's soft power in FSM is tangentially effective. From their perspectives, the university students indicated that China subsidies are consequential, but they fear the loss of land and culture under increased China influence. This research is relevant to understanding the attitudes of FSM's future leaders and providing valuable insights into the future US-FSM-China relations.

How effective is China's soft power diplomacy in the Federated States of Micronesia (FSM), from the perspective of potential FSM leaders of the future? Despite the ongoing strength of the FSM-US relationship, FSM has also maintained a strong relationship with China. Nye (1990) coined and described soft power as, "...when one country gets other countries to want what it wants might be called co-optive or soft power in contrast with the hard or command power of ordering others to do what it wants."

FSM, through its Compact of Free Association (COFA) agreement, is closely aligned to the United States (U.S.). In 1979, FSM, after over three

decades as a Trust Territory of the U.S., gained its sovereign status. In 1986, FSM implemented the COFA agreement between the FSM and the U.S. The concept of the COFA is that the U.S. will help the FSM advance its self-sufficiency and economic development. The agreement mandates the U.S. to provide defense of the FSM and financial support of over USD110 million annually. Thus, COFA binds the FSM to the U.S. politically, economically, militarily, and socially. Furthermore, it bestows non-resident status on FSM citizens relative to the U.S.; thus, allowing them to live, work, and study in the U.S. In exchange, the U.S. has unfettered access to FSM's land, water, and air. It also gives the U.S. denial authority on foreign access to FSM when this is perceived as a threat to U.S. security.

The US/FSM COFA agreement is in place until both countries mutually agree to end it. However, U.S. financial support is scheduled to expire in 2023 (U.S. Department of State, 2018).¹ The uncertainty of FSM's future economy creates an environment ripe for China's soft power diplomacy success.

The central question of this research is: How effective is China's soft power diplomacy in FSM – from the perspectives of University of Guam's FSM students?

The answer to this question may lead to an understanding of the attitudes of future leaders, who will have the power to create and change policies that impact their nation's international relations with both the U.S. and China. The research will also provide valuable insight into non-financial factors that could come into play during the COFA re-negotiations with the U.S. For these reasons, the focus group interview method, within the soft power framework, was used to elicit perspectives of the participants.

¹ In August 2019, the then Secretary of State, Mike Pompeo, announced that the U.S. and FSM governments agreed to renegotiate the terms of the COFA (Srinivasan, 2019).

Literature Review

In the past four decades, China's has increased its economic and military strength, and expansion of its global influence. China's paramount leader of the Communist Community Party (CCP), Deng Xiaoping, during the late 1970's and early 1980's, incorporated capitalism into its central planning through a series of far-reaching market-economy reforms, dubbing these reforms "Socialism with Chinese Characteristics" (SWCC). SWCC incorporated the advancement of Chinese culture while opening the country to foreign investment (History, 1984). Under the paramount leader Hu Jintao, the Chinese government policy emphasized "peaceful rise" to reassure the international community that China's political, economic and military growth were not threats to international peace and security; that China was committed to internal affairs and improving the welfare of its people (Zhu, 2007; Hu, 2006). In 2012, Chinese President Xi Jinping proclaimed that the greatest Chinese dream is the rejuvenation of the nation, declaring that by 2021, China would be a moderately prosperous nation and for China to be a *modern, socialist country that is prosperous, strong, democratic, culturally advanced and harmonious by 2049.*" (Xi, 2018) The following year, Xi introduced the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) which greatly enhanced its global influence.

BRI is an ambitious economic and diplomatic strategy to strengthen China's leadership through a vast program of infrastructure development of ports, roads, railways and airports, energy and telecommunications networks, connecting Europe, Asia, Africa, Middle East and the Pacific to China. Analysts argue China's strategy has several objectives (Berndzen, 2017; Meick et al., 2018; Tüysüzoğlu & Özgen, 2020)

- Maintain stable and friendly relations with its neighbors, building multi-polar international relations and expanding its soft power influence.
- Obtain a steady supply of resources to sustain its economic growth.

- Gain political influence to prevent strategic alliances directed against China while reducing Taiwan's international relations.

While China grows its military might, it continues to employ soft power strategy through the BRI (Morris, 2019). The FSM-U.S. COFA agreement makes soft power the logical policy for extending its influence in the Pacific.

China's soft power diplomacy with the FSM hits the mark for all the above points to achieve its goals in the Pacific. In addition to further weakening Taiwan's international standing, China promotes its soft power image through its very visible, infrastructure developments programs such as the construction of government buildings, and a gym, renovation of roads, and bridges. Additionally, China provides economic assistance during times of natural disasters and more recently cash and supplies to assist FSM with its battle with COVID-19 pandemic. (Baldock, 2021, Qudkirk, 2019, Rodriguez, 2017, McClure, 2018, a, b). China also provides scholarships for FSM college students and technical training for government officials to study and train in China, thereby exposing FSM citizens to the Chinese culture.

In 2017, China and the FSM signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) regarding the BRI (Peng, 2017). More recently, in May 2021, China and FSM entered an economic and technical cooperation, with China promising USD16 million to FSM, and FSM President David Panuelo reiterating his country's commitment to supporting the "One China" policy. (FSM Information Services, 2021).

The uncertainty from the Pacific partners about the U.S.' willingness and ability to sustain a robust bilateral presence (Oudkirk, 2019) has allowed private sector with strong ties to the Chinese government to successfully bid for telecommunication projects and enter long-term leases with landowners. While these communication projects and long-term leases have received mixed responses from the community or blocked by the U.S. government, changes to the law are being made at the state and national level. In 2018, the Pohnpei State legislature amended its laws to reduce requirements on foreign

investments. Dual citizenship for foreign citizens and relaxation of land ownership for business investments and loan security, while restricted under the current FSM Constitution, are proposed amendments to the Constitution (2020 FSMConCon, 2020). These constitutional changes have the potential to change FSM's relations with both the U.S. and China.

Methodology

Study Design and Procedure

Focus group interviews were used to study the perspectives of a group of Micronesian college students on a variety of topics related to future political status questions in their home islands. The interaction among participants of the four FSM states (Pohnpei, Chuuk, Yap, and Kosrae) produced new and valuable data that may not have been captured through other qualitative data collection methods, such as individual interviews. The group explored questions in an in-depth interactive manner. Nuanced personal views emerged, helping to explore a range of perspectives toward research questions, and from citizens of four historically, culturally, and linguistically very different FSM States. Considering the high educational status of these participants, their perspectives may provide a window into those of future community leaders of FSM.

Participants

All six participants will receive a degree in Public Administration and are likely to enter government service upon graduation. This arrangement is compatible with Morgan's recommendation (1977) that members of research groups such as this have a degree of homogeneity of background (not opinion), and that strangers should not be selected due to discussion inhibition that may develop. Except for one, participants lived in the UOG dormitory, and that one participant was a frequent visitor to the dormitory. They knew the author through shared campus activity. Therefore, they were likely to express their opinions (Plummer-D'Amato, 2008).

FSM students at UOG are likely to know one another. The population of FSM students at UOG is comparatively small, making up only 5.6% (221 of 3,917) of the student base at UOG. Over 50% of FSM students live in the dormitory. Cultural conversational expectations in Micronesia tend to favor silence, particularly between individuals who are not well known to one another (e.g., Hezel, 2013). For this reason, the selection of focus group participants was based on the following: 1) Students with whom the researcher had already developed rapport; 2) Students who showed a willingness to share opinions; 3) Students who knew and were comfortable with each other; 4) Students who identified as being from FSM or were FSM citizens; 5) Students whose opinions on COFA, China, or the U.S. were unknown to the researcher; and 6) Students who represented different FSM island states.

Stewart & Shamdasani (2015) suggest that 8-12 is a good number for a focus group. More than twelve is challenging to manage, and fewer than 8 may stifle discussion. Haynes (2012) recommends 5-10. One or more of the participants were from each of the four FSM states (Chuuk, Kosrae, Pohnpei, and Yap). Since Chuuk State is the most populous (approximately 50,000, or 50% of FMS's total population), two additional participants from Chuuk were added. One student was of mixed parentage (Chuukese and Pohnpeian) and raised in Chuuk. Each of the four states has at least one distinct language and culture, relative to the other states. Therefore, the focus group interview was conducted in English, the common language spoken by all participants. Two students were undergraduates, and four were graduate students. One student was a recipient of a Chinese scholarship, had studied in China, and transferred to UOG after one year.

Focus Group

The group interview was held in a "quiet room" in the dormitory where five of the participants live. Refreshments were provided. An observer took notes. Anonymity regarding participation in the study was promised. An iPhone was used to record the discussion and the audio file was sent to an online transcription service (REV.com). The returned

transcripts were downloaded as a Word file, and the Atlas Ti.8 software package was then used to code the focus group discussion. The discussion points were classified as positive, negative, or neutral. While the discussion was mainly about China, the U.S. was frequently mentioned. It lasted 2.5 hours.

Discussion Questions

1. How do you feel about the Compact of Free Association agreement between FSM and the U.S.?
2. What do you know about China?
3. Between the U.S. and China, with which country would you want to develop a closer relationship?
4. What is your reaction to China's presence in FSM?
5. Do you believe China's influence in FSM is growing? If yes, how do you believe this influence impacts you and/or your family?
6. Are there specific policies, whether economic, political, educational, environmental, that you would be interested in enacting as a policy as it relates to China?
7. Is there anything about China that excites you?
8. Is there anything about China that worries you?
9. China provides scholarships to FSM students to study in China. What do you think is their purpose for giving scholarships?

Results

Because the focus group research design of this study involves a small number of participants, the results are qualitatively directional rather than appropriate for inferential statistical analysis. Participant responses represent a glimpse of what is important to these young adults, future leaders of Micronesia, and provide a platform for additional future research.

Nine questions were asked for the purpose of gauging the feelings of focus group participants about China. However, discussions about the U.S. were unavoidable because of the symbiotic relationship COFA created between the U.S. and FSM. Concerns and discussions raised within the focus group to each question discussed are presented in the qualitative analysis below.

Question 1: How do you feel about the Compact of Free Association Agreement between FSM and the U.S.?

This question was asked because COFA defines the relationship between the U.S. and FSM. The answer to this first question was intended to gain insight into their feelings about the U.S. in order to compare perspectives on China and the U.S. The consensus among the students was that FSM benefited from COFA but needed *“improvements or adjustment.”* The most common sentiment was that FSM was not an independent country because of COFA, and that it had no control over its land and ocean. Secondly, FSM was viewed as overly reliant on COFA. One participant stated, *“...even though the U.S. is giving us all of these opportunities and benefits to become an independent and then also giving us all this stuff, but at the same time they have control on who comes and goes; I mean initially coming to the FSM.”* Another said, *“It’s good for our country because it helps us start us up, but I think the bad side is that I think we’re too dependent on the Compact.”* The group felt the leaders need to renegotiate the COFA, so it is more beneficial to FSM. As one participant stated, *“...the Compact could be designed as a strategy.”*

Most expressed that even if FSM is economically stable, the COFA is necessary to provide security measures.

Question 2: What do you know about China?

The group’s collective and individual knowledge of China and its culture was minimal. However, the group members believed that China’s economy is robust, and it is a very powerful country. One participant said he would like to do business with China and that China would make a

good trading partner. The student who had lived in China for a year found China to be strict.

Question 3: Between U.S. and China, which country would you want to develop a closer relationship?

The consensus was that they wanted to stay in the middle and not choose a side between the U.S. and China. Because of the long relationship between FSM and the U.S. and the economic support FSM receives from the U.S., the author's expectation was that the students would prefer a closer relationship with the U.S. However, this was not the case. Surprisingly, all stated they want to stay in the middle rather than choose a side. The student who studied in China said, *"Because China, their law system is strict...and we also don't want to be too Westernized."* Another student said they could have a relationship with both but, *"...not jump too much into the U.S. side and not jump too much on the Chinese side."* Another said, *"In the middle when you see whichever side meets the need of our people and making sure that we [are] standing on safe ground."*

On the other hand, the group members are also aware of the benefits of the close relationship with the U.S. One person said the U.S. had been there from the beginning: *"Why do we have to restart again with the Chinese?"* When asked a follow-up question on their thoughts on a COFA with China instead of another COFA with the U.S., their replies were non-committal; the more beneficial agreement would be their choice. As one person summed it up, *"We can sit here and say we'll sit with the U.S. But what if 2023 comes, and then our government really needs some money? We don't know if we'll just say okay, we'll agree to have a COFA with China, so that's why I say it really depends on the situation."*

Another typical comment was that the FSM leaders need to think outside the box on pushing back for FSM's survival and not just lining their pockets. Further, *China is only "investing in its own country."* The FSM leaders *"need to think about how FSM can survive and do a better job at negotiating with the U.S. at the next funding negotiations, if any."*

The participants also expressed reservations about changes its relationship with the U.S. and China could mean. *“...we don’t want to be too Westernized. And we also don’t want to have that Chinese mindset.”*

Question 4: What is your reaction to China’s presence in FSM?

Many held the opinion that both China and U.S. interests and investments in FSM are self-serving – that their investments in the FSM were an investment in themselves. Despite the preference to stay in the middle, some of the participants also believed that China had altruistic reasons for their investments in the FSM. One participant who spent about a year in China as a scholarship recipient, stated that China is very strict, and that the people *“are very serious about what they want to accomplish...they are more strict than the U.S.”* However, this same individual believed that China is trying to *“help out”* the FSM - and so are other nations - through their offers of scholarships. Another participant stated, *“...heard of China as a country trying to reach out and help other countries.”* The general perception is neutral towards China.

The follow-up question was asked, *“Between China and U.S. who is doing more for FSM?”* Again, there were mixed replies to the question. One person felt the U.S. has promised a lot but had done little for FSM, but China did what they said they would do. He believed that China is doing more because he sees more improvements in his state (Yap); that China is trying to improve tourism in his state. However, he also expressed concern about losing land. Another person felt that the U.S. is doing more, that China is helping the State of Yap, but the U.S. is assisting all four states through the amended COFA agreement. The other participants were very aware of the visible gifts such as transport cargo-carrying supplies and the financing of the legislative building. Still, they were not aware of the actual amount of grants and funds provided by the U.S. under COFA.

One participant felt the Chinese presence would open job opportunities. Others expressed fear about China becoming the dominant society in the FSM and the loss of culture.

Question 5: Do you believe China's influence in FSM is growing? If yes, how do you feel this impacts you and/or your family?

There was minimal discussion on this question. One person felt it would not impact him personally but would have more impact on his children and grandchildren. However, the discussion quickly reverted to the effect on their culture rather than their family. There was some discussion about a potential Chuuk cessation from FSM, but most believed that the frustrations of politicians are the driver for Chuuk's cessation movement from FSM, and not any action by China.

Question 6: Are there any specific policies, whether economic, political, educational, environmental, that you would be interested in enacting as a policy as it relates to China?

The researcher asked a follow-up question on their thoughts about FSM's relations to the U.S. One participant answered "environment" and "economies." The discussion returned to the loss of land and culture. They believe the FSM constitution prevents foreigners from having outright ownership of the land. However, changes in policy that allowed for land ownership by foreigners were also discussed. The participants' biggest concern was the economic impact if the COFA funding ends as scheduled.

Question 7: Is there anything about China that excites you?

The most common discussion was about making money off China. One person's immediate response was, "*Get money from them. I need their money.*" The conversation immediately returned to trade with China. The group's perception is that Chinese goods are cheaper than U.S. goods and therefore more affordable to the average FSM citizen. The consensus was that China is a good trading partner. The discussion then led to the low minimum wages in FSM and its citizens' ability to afford only the lesser quality goods from China.

Question 8: Is there anything about China that worries you?

While expressing fears of Chinese influence resulting in loss of land and culture, the participants also saw the importance of maintaining a close relationship with China and the U.S. Another said he fears the relationship between the FSM and China because he is afraid that the foreign country (China) will become, “*more dominant over the local ones.*” Along with the same notion of dominance by a more powerful nation, another stated that the complaint about China is nothing new because other countries such as the U.S., Germany, Japan, and the United Kingdom have all colonized other countries. However, she went on to say that a relationship with a powerful country can open so many doors. Another participant stated that the Chinese are generous with benefits, donations, scholarships, and loans. Still, the reality is if the (FSM) country cannot pay back China, China will ask for land. The topic of dual citizenship, a current debate in FSM, also centered around land and culture. Some felt that giving land to those who were not born in FSM or had lived away from the FSM should not feel entitled to land.

Furthermore, they discussed the cultural aspect of land ownership and passing it to the next generation. For example, in some states, the land is passed on to daughters. To whom does the land transfer if there are no daughters, or if the daughters are U.S. citizens? Another participant stated that the family owns the land regardless of who stays on the land and how long they have stayed.

Question 9: What do you believe is the purpose of China giving scholarships?

The answers varied from China attempting to influence FSM, and it is self-serving; to a more altruistic response, such as China wants to promote education.

General Comments on Group Discussion

China is thought to be powerful, and its economy is healthy and good for FSM's economy. Most believed that China's presence will open job opportunities in FSM and will "...*strengthen communication resources that our island may need.*" Another aspect of the perception of China being good for the economy is that the goods are inexpensive and therefore affordable for the people of the FSM. This reality makes China a good trading partner. Although no question related to land, environment, or ocean was posed to the group, the fear of losing their culture or land or dominance by a foreign country was expressed several times.

Quantitative Comparison of Comments

Table 1 presents absolute numbers (i.e., raw scores) showing that the frequency of positive comments of the discussion group members about China was higher in favorability relative to those of the U.S. However, when converted to percent of respondents giving favorable or unfavorable answers, the U.S. was given 82.35% favorable ratings compared to China's 74.19%. Both the U.S. and China were perceived by the FSM discussion group in a favorable light.

Table 1. Relative Favorability of Comments for China and US by FSM Raters

Country	Comments	Number	Percent
China	Favorable	23	74.19
	Unfavorable	8	25.81
U.S.	Favorable	14	82.35
	Unfavorable	3	17.65

An interesting difference is shown in Table 2 when neutral comments are also considered. China's favorable ratings dropped considerably, from 50% to 30.67%. Conversely, U.S. favorability ratings remained high, at 73.68%.

Table 2. Relative Favorability of Comments for China and US by FSM Raters when Neutral Scores are Included

Country	Comments	Number	Percent
China	Favorable	23	30.67
	Neutral	44	58.67
	Unfavorable	8	10.66
U.S.	Favorable	14	73.68
	Neutral	2	10.53
	Unfavorable	3	15.79

Table 3 displays the frequently mentioned fears expressed by raters. The fears most frequently mentioned were the loss of land and culture, followed by fear of dominance by a foreign country. However, the fear of dominance feeds into the fear of loss of land and culture.

Table 3. Relative Frequency of FSM Fears

Fears	Number	Percent
Dominance by foreign country	3	11.11
Loss of land and culture	18	66.67
Others	6	22.22

Conclusions

The central research question asks how successful China's soft power diplomacy is with the FSM, from the perspective of the University of Guam's FSM students. While they had more positive than negative comments about China, the high rate of neutral comments suggests that the students had no strong feelings about the country's presence in FSM. The results also indicate that China's soft power diplomacy, such as providing educational scholarships and building government structures, may be taking hold. The comments regarding the desire for trade with China because Chinese goods are affordable also suggest that soft power diplomacy is being utilized. The long-term strategy of the Chinese to influence FSM international relations policies through the BRI arrangement may be having an impact on the students' perspectives. It should be noted that China and FSM established diplomatic relations over thirty years ago and have had several warm high-level interactions, more so than the high-level interactions with U.S. leadership.

The central research question of this study was, "How effective is China's soft power diplomacy in FSM?" The University of Guam's FSM students' perspective, by extension, also asks how a favorable perception of China will impact FSM's relationship with the U.S. Although the U.S. was not the focus of the study, the students' responses indicated an overall positive perception of the U.S. The low rates for unfavorable and neutral comments and high favorable rates confirm this perception.

The research data also suggests that China's efforts to apply soft diplomacy have had limited results. Therefore, while the perception of China is more positive than negative, the number of neutral comments indicates that China's soft power efficacy is less than that of the U.S, which received a substantial number of positive comments. However, the volume of neutral comments suggests China's strategy of soft power diplomacy is not immediately clear and must be viewed over the long term.

The focus group, which represents the next generation of leaders, does not seem to see China as a threat but rather a country from which FSM can benefit, in the same way that FSM benefits from its relationship with the U.S. The expressed consensus was that participants desired to stay in the middle, not choosing sides. However, the students expressed fear of China on more than one occasion, suggesting that China's positive soft power influence on FSM may be depressed by fear. Adding to this fear, the comment that "*China is strict*" indicates that the Chinese culture is not aligned with the culture of FSM and is more aligned with punitive attitudes.

The acceptance of China is driven primarily by economics, not by soft power. Statements such as, "I fear China," indicate the participants are cagier about developing a closer relationship with China than the U.S. No one stated they feared the U.S. However, this wariness will not prevent the FSM from negotiating a favorable economic assistance package from China if this would help the FSM get on the right economic footing. The desire for their nation's economic stability and protection of their land and culture hint that they may take a pragmatic approach in their dealings with China and the U.S. China has a much longer road to travel for its soft power initiatives to have a meaningful impact in FSM. Inroads, however, can be seen because the focus group participants also believed that China is attempting to "do good."

Lastly, FSM and the U.S. have recently agreed to renegotiate the terms of the COFA. If an agreement could not be reached, U.S. economic support will end in 2023. The respondents commented that COFA makes the FSM dependent on the U.S., and that FSM is not genuinely independent. They also expressed fear of losing their culture and land. These comments suggest that U.S. negotiators should consider these matters. FSM may demand more authority in the context of its international relations and the country's environmental concerns. The comments of one student who studied in China best encapsulates the responses of the focus group: China is "...very serious about what they want to accomplish...they are more strict than the U.S." Yet, China is perceived to be trying to help the FSM.

Limitations and Future Research

The small sample size of this study means that the data collected are directional, not statistically significant. The results give only a glimpse of what is important to Micronesia's future leaders. Based on limited data, two of the groups greatest concerns are economic stability and protection of its land and culture. A survey of a larger population or an increased number of focus group interviews might identify other important issues and deepen the discussion regarding China-FSM-U.S. relations.

The close familial ties, ease of travel, and access via social media allow FSM students to keep abreast of current events in FSM. However, the general lack of knowledge about China's geo-politics and culture may limit their perspectives on China's soft power influence and its impact on FSM. The high percentage of neutral statements relative to either the positive or negative survey options may be due to lack of knowledge. Therefore, a similar focus group study with participants who have studied in China may provide more insight into how the interaction between Chinese and FSM students could shape FSM perspectives on China's soft power. Would this additional research reveal fewer neutral comments and increase or decrease positive and negative comments about China? Additional study may also provide a glimpse into how increased levels of Chinese education and exposure to Chinese culture might impact the U.S - FSM relations.

Another limitation of this study is that the students are all from an American institution of higher learning. Their experience is related to the U.S. and they benefited from FSM's relationship with the U.S. Their experience with China is much less. Therefore, possible future research would involve comparing the perspectives of students who graduated from Chinese and U.S. universities and entered FSM government service. U.S. presence in FSM is unlikely to dissipate. Therefore, it is important to understand where student perspectives intersect and where they differ will deepen the understanding of the China-FSM-U.S. relations, and FSM's possible strategies for securing its culture and land.

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Teaching Women's Histories in Oceania: Weaving Indigenous Ways of Knowing and Being within the Relational Mat of Academic Discourse

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This article examines the experiences of a Pacific Islander woman creating and teaching a course on women's histories in Oceania in a Pacific Islands Studies program at Brigham Young University-Hawai'i. Weaving curriculum rooted in the experiences, encounters, and voices of Indigenous Oceanic women into Pacific Islands Studies programs is crucially needed to identify, recognize, and articulate why and how the making and remaking of women's spaces provides a more inclusive and fuller understanding of relational ontological, epistemological, and harmonious centric worldviews in and of Oceania. The *Women in Oceania* course is comprised of imagined, created, and expressed voices of Indigenous Oceanic women scrutinizing philosophical and ideological colonial imprints of what is present and what is missing in academic discourse. By opening her students to the legitimacy of Indigenous knowledges, the author shows how they can weave a rich mat of educational discourse that includes both Western and Indigenous methodologies.

Several years ago, I created a class called "Women in Oceania" to add to the curriculum within a Pacific Islands Studies program at Brigham Young University-Hawai'i. The first week I assigned the reading of Caroline Ralston's "The Study of Women in the Pacific" (1992). I read Ralston's work first as a graduate student at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa over a decade ago and it still resonates with me. In "The Study of Women in the Pacific," published in the early 1990s, Ralston seemed to consider how including "women" in the title would attach negative connotations to the scholarship by assuming it excludes men or creates a women (us) vs. men (them) binary (1992). When teaching my Women in Oceania course I have not been preoccupied with whether I should include "women" in my course title. Nor do I ponder how to address the erroneous preconceptions when people hear the title of my course in the

Pacific Islands Studies program and assume this course is “women against men,” another iteration of a feminist class for women, or perhaps a “woke” class in the current American #Metoo movement. I am focused on making and remaking women’s spaces and voices in Oceania in order to understand Pacific Islands and Pacific Islanders. In any Pacific Islands Studies program the making and remaking of women’s spaces is crucial to cultivating relational ontological, epistemological, and harmonious-centric worldviews in and of Oceania.

My paternal nanny used to treat pregnant women in her village of Manunu (Sāmoa) and surrounding villages, as a midwife with Sāmoan medicinal remedies. She traveled by foot when called upon for help. In Figure 1, my nanny, Tauavae Sinive Maugatai Keller, was in her 30’s, photographed here during a school event at Papauta Girls School. She



Figure 1. Tauavae Sinive Maugatai Keller, Papauta Girls School.

would walk to pregnant women in need and help them with Sāmoan healing remedies to not only alleviate pain but to also help them

throughout their pregnancy and share information about which medicinal properties from plants could help with different types of pain. Her Sāmoan medicinal remedies and treatments are not written in any language anywhere. I know of her experiences administering treatments in her district because she told them to me. Her stories are my stories. Her strength walking miles to treat pregnant women in need is my strength. I share her stories as a midwife in academic spaces because Indigenous epistemologies and Indigenous medicines directly improve and enhance academic discourse in various disciplines and college units. I have never felt that Sāmoan knowledges were outside academic discourse because in my mind they are equally useful and just as scientific as anything else we were being taught in “classrooms.”

However, what I’m seeing now are philosophical and ideological colonial imprints embedded into my students’ values; in their view their Indigenous knowledges such as Indigenous medicinal treatments are only parts of “story telling” and not valued as academic discourse. My curriculum sets a different tone and more importantly presents the research methodology of the production of knowledge assigned in class that leads us—as a class and as scholars—to how we know what we know. I oftentimes ask my students to think about how they know what they know, what they have learned from scholarly communities but also from experiences, family traditional practices, and the (re)production of culture and then I challenge them to include these different histories and different relationships to the canon of Western scientific knowledge in their academic work. The value in this reframing of knowledges and the production of knowledges is to discover uncomfortable truths about how we have been educated, what “expertise” or “experts” we resolutely were told to believe, and ultimately the limitless modes of seeing beyond Western seeing and ways of knowing. For me, here at Brigham Young University-Hawai‘i, the importance and value in learning and participating in the making and remaking of women’s roles in Oceania is because it is widely believed to be non-academic discourse. My Pacific Islands students didn’t learn their Indigenous knowledges from books or in schools but in homes and villages (Indigenous classrooms). My focus is to reinforce the value and importance of these Indigenous knowledges

and to show in my Pacific Islands Studies courses that they are just as important as any other philosophical or scientific concept taught in classrooms.

Tama'ita'i Atamamai (Learned Women)

Teresia Teaiwa, Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Aileen Moreton-Robinson, Haunani-Kay Trask, Selina Tusitala Marsh, Lupematasila Misatauveve Melani Anae, Tuiloma Manumaua Luafata Simanu-Klutz, Lisa Taouma, Konai Helu Thaman, Sia Figiel, Trinh T. Minh-ha, Maria Talaitupu Kerlake, Luamanuvae Luafataali'i Sa'iliemanu Lilomaiava-Doktor, Grace Mera Molisa, Tamasailau M. Suaali'i—each of these women and more before me tell the stories and experiences of Indigenous women. Teresia Teaiwa reframes learning within an Indigenous Oceanic worldview by reimagining the classroom not as a static space but as a metaphor for a canoe in her 2005, “The Classroom as a Metaphorical Canoe: Cooperative learning in Pacific Studies;” a journey where each member of the canoe is important to the cooperative learning process (Teaiwa, 2005). Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Haunani-Kay Trask, Tuiloma Manumaua Luafata Simanu-Klutz, Lisa Taouma, and Trinh T. Minh-ha collectively express the need to understand the devastating historical impact of Western cultural academe within institutional structures and approved research methodologies. They point out that the very act of research and the (re)conception of imperialism are embedded deeply in the systems and institutions we belong to and for the most part belong in at various levels. Linda Tuhiwai Smith's 1999 article, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*, details how we see, literally, “through Imperial eyes” to neglect Indigenous ways of understanding and knowing; but that this may be overcome by encouraging Indigenous Oceanic scholars to conduct research and scholarship that embraces our Indigenous epistemology and axiology. Aileen Moreton-Robinson, Tamasailau M. Suaali'i, Konai Helu Thaman, Luamanuvae Luafataali'i Sa'iliemanu Lilomaiava-Doktor, Selina Tusitala Marsh, Maria Talaitupu Kerlake, Lisa Taouma, Grace Mera Molisa, Lupematasila Misatauveve Melani Anae, and Sia Figiel consistently contribute to women's histories of Indigenous scholarship, performance, poetry, and documentary

production of knowledge. They do this by situating the differences between Oceanic women and the Western conception of the “Oceanic woman” in order to dismantle fixed notions of identity and epistemic racism. Many students are shocked to realize school systems and the educators trained in these institutions decide not only which knowledge is superior, but also what constitutes “knowledge” in the first place.

These stories I weave together in a relational mat of Indigenous ontology, epistemology, and axiology, feeling I will widen our lens of perspective and understanding of Oceania. I find the Oceanic metaphor of weaving the mat useful in the analysis to untangle the dominant Western-centric relational mat, paving the way for constructive reweaving of inclusive non-Western epistemologies to enhance academic discourse. I first heard the metaphor of weaving the relational mat from Joan Tofaeono-Filemoni during her guest lecture in my Women in Oceania class as she discussed her book *Reweaving the Relational Mat: A Christian Response to Violence Against Women from Oceania* (2007).

Often times, Pacific Islands students entering university systems learn in postcolonial classrooms and in postcolonial education systems with school textbooks that erase our Indigenous epistemology and reeducate minds to Western methodology, theory, and pedagogy. In most classrooms, scientific methods are taught to be the superior mode to evidence science, knowledge, and validation of an idea (hypothesis), in opposition to Indigenous scientific inquiry and methodologies that are nice to talk about in homes but not scientific or academic enough to serve a global citizen in class discussions. Knowledge is not immutable. Indigenous knowledges deepen a collaborative dimension that embraces complexities of histories, experiences, events, and conceptions of the production of ideas and thoughts that have shaped growth and development. The production of knowledges continually happens in context, and Indigenous knowledges are central to the ongoing creation and recreation of academe.

Teresia Teaiwa poignantly lamented, “The university is undoubtedly part of our colonial heritage in the Pacific. But the paradox

of colonialism is that it offers us tools for our liberation even as it attempts to dominate us. Education is the perfect example of this colonial paradox” (Teaiwa 2005). For example, when Pacific Indigenous students courageously declare in classes that the Pacific Islands are the largest blue continent in the world, professors will quickly correct them with an atlas map, pointing out to them the “small islands” in the Pacific Ocean. The Pacific Indigenous worldview that the ocean is part of our personhood-landscape is challenged by colonial worldviews of Oceania in classrooms (Hau’ofa 1994; Teaiwa 2002).

As a political scientist I constantly confront my discipline’s dimensions and reframe Western-coded frameworks of colonized reality in spaces like the political and social view of “equality.” In my Women in Oceania course, my political science background may provide complex understanding within specific dimensions, but concepts like “equality” within my course curriculum can be dehumanizing and create feelings of “less than” in cultural spaces of learning. I see students trying to decolonize the colonized school systems and I try to not impose Western terms and meanings onto cultural spaces of learning. I can say honestly, this is a constant struggle for me. I think this is also a struggle for my Pacific Islands students. I reflect back to when I first read and felt a strong connection to Konai Helu Thaman’s “Decolonizing Pacific Studies: Indigenous Perspectives, Knowledge and Wisdom in Higher Education.” I continue to feel strongly that her positionality in locating colonized impacts to our minds, ways of knowing, and the importance of including what she argues as “the perspectives, knowledge, and worldviews of the Indigenous people of Oceania in the curricula of formal education, particularly higher education” are significant to decolonizing our internal colonized reality (Thaman, 2003). In making and remaking women’s roles in Oceania, I recognize our colonized reality in the colonized classroom, shared by both lecturer and student. My dual efforts are to reclaim Indigenous Oceanic philosophies, ways of knowing, and perspectives in academia; but more importantly, to decolonize our internal colonized reality.

From the outset, I reframe Indigenous students as experts of Indigenous Oceanic epistemology and axiology with much to contribute to academic discourse, including research and essays, and the continuation of their journeys into the professional workforce or graduate schools. Linda Tuhiwai Smith calls for this paradigm shift in higher education for the development of Indigenous students as researchers and as more than only “story tellers.” I make every effort to ensure my Pacific Islands students are (re)taught the value of Indigenous Oceanic philosophies; researching and writing about them to reimagine the canon of “classics” (Smith 1999). Students taking my class are sometimes enrolled in English courses that require them to read literature “classics”—authors like Robert Louis Stevenson, Herman Melville, and Jack London who continue to reinforce the foreign consumption of garlanded Pacific Island women who sit idly without contributing much to village economics or social interactions beyond reproduction and companionship. After Stevenson’s first encounter with Pacific Island women, he wrote that the island’s mountains became to his gaze “volcanic breasts.” *Typee* by Melville reeks with foreign desire, exploitation, and further sexualizes the “exotic” natural women of the Islands (Sturma, 2002; Said, 1979). Reimagining the “classical” canon means students confront and rewrite these assigned texts in their minds as they tell their lived experiences and invite each other into spaces of sharing to remake the imaginations of foreigners still consuming Pacific Island women (us) in literature that is about us but not by us (Vaeau, 2009; Marsh, 2009). This reworking and reweaving of the Western canon is the relational mat my course and my teaching aims to foster.

Potuaoga Saogalemu (Safe Classroom)

Cultivating a safe and inclusive space for learning, I seek to find similarities in imagining and philosophical mapping within the canoe (canoe being the metaphorical classroom). I assign Sia Figiel’s poetry, “Songs of the Fat Brown Woman,” in the unit of Women in Oceania titled, Third World Differences to Western Conception of Women. I use Figiel’s presentation of the imagery, fear of embarrassment, and collective conceptions of what is a “fat” woman, to facilitate honest and sometimes

painful discussions of body shaming that Western and Eastern dominant ideologies perpetuate through images of female beauty in the media, movies, and social media—particularly Instagram where #skinnygirl size 6 shoe is a symbol of beauty. I assign literature that is rooted in conceptions and language of similarities in experiences, contributions, obligations, and “fatness” as a symbol of beauty and strength, which in many spaces can be an indicator of being “healthy.” In “Songs of the Fat Brown Woman,” Figiel reconstructs the “fat” brown woman as the conception of beauty that is seen and reseen:

When the fat brown woman hops on the bus the girls
and boys whisper
and men and women whisper
and children and cat whisper whisper
and pigs too sometimes
watch her sway
sway sway
and her arms moving like dat
and a shaking like dat
is her tummy too
They make room right behind the skinny
bus driver who gives her a big fat wink
the fat brown woman takes out a bright red
hanky wipes the sweat off her brow
pats her cheek
adjusts her dress/her bra/
her hip
chase away the flies

give the bus driver a mean look
is going be a long way to market

So you can look all you want
and you can watch all you want
and you can stare all you want
but the fat brown woman will keep
swaying her hip
keep swaying her hip
all the way to town. (Figiel 2003)

Figiel directly centers the conception of “fatness” and her (re)conception of “fatness” and “brown woman” as a project to decolonize the Oceanic Indigenous human condition that has been imagined, defined, and shaped by the dominant Euro-American production of knowledge and influence. Figiel positions the understanding of the Indigenous social reality informed by everyday experiences and practices to rupture normalized categories of beauty and brown woman to oppose structures and languages that employ foreignness.

Selina Tusitala Marsh’s “Fast Talking PI,” and Tuiloma Manumaua Luafata Simanu-Klutz’s “On Being Samoan, On Being Woman E au pea le Ina’ilau a Tama’ita’I,” show that as Pacific Islander women, they make and remake the roles of girls and women and the ways of understanding these roles in poetry (Marsh, 2009; Simanu-Klutz, 2002). We watch together as a class and listen to Marsh’s rhythm and captivating intonations inserted into the stereotypes of Pacific Island women in Aotearoa:

'Fast Talking PI', 'criminal PI, behind the bar graphs PI...
fale PI...harvesting PI, copra sacking PI...
heart disease PI...ava pouring PI...
go for God PI...I'm a size 15 in fuchsia please...
I'm a no shoe fits the foot of a earth mama.' (Marsh 2013)

There is peace and solidarity found in Marsh's cadence. The shared understanding is that we, as Pacific women, are reimagined by the observations, studies, and writings made about us, without us. Which is why Simanu-Klutz's poetry connects in a primal sense to our personhood and reengages the students with the multiple dimensions of themselves as women and the spaces they possess internally and how they can participate and lift their voices in remaking the roles of women in Oceania. She eloquently writes:

We, the *Tamaitai* —
We, the tualuga
Have perched our breasts at the rooftops
Basked in the sun; the leaves around our waists
rustle in the breeze.
We shout: Our Tautua, our Pule!
Our Service, our Power of being
Samoan, of being
Woman!

Not a bra burner; not a lone star
A Woman rethatching; a morning dew
settling the dust of the men's shame
Let not it drown it, but nourish it with

the Ina'ilau—the match, the thatch.

A remembrance of the *feagaiga*

Of being Samoan,

and being Woman.

'O ou mama na. (Simanu-Klutz 2002)

So often Pacific Island students engage with the expressions of poetry and the intellectual and philosophical freedom they feel and begin to challenge the internal colonized imagining of Pacific Island personhood with newfound ways of understanding and expressing knowledge outside the conventional Western-styled essay construction in university classrooms (Simanu-Klutz, 2002). The power Simanu-Klutz gives the Sāmoan woman within Indigenous Sāmoan personhood strengthens students' internal colonized imagining within the colonized classrooms to consider dimensions in which Indigenous personhood, values, and ways of knowing can be used in, with, in tandem, or in opposition to other theories presented to decolonize spaces. Then, from that space of recognition and strength perhaps the power of internalizing these strengths and critical self-reflection will translate into the ability and desire to speak on and through Indigenous ways of knowing with certainty and confidence. To feel, understand, recognize, and become empowered to share these ways of knowing is just as significant, scientific, and powerful for intellectual discourse in colonized classrooms to decolonize structures of epistemology, difference, and intellectual belonging. I believe this is where mana, intellectual empowerment, and Indigenous dynamism reveals itself, in the shadows of posturing unsurety to confront the internal colonized fear of judgment.

Instead, we acknowledge and proclaim that our Indigenous ways of knowing are significant to academic discourse. Frantz Fanon declared that decolonization can only be understood as a historical process that ultimately culminates in transforming the social order, dismantling narratives of differences (1963). These Indigenous poetry works collectively weave the mat to develop Indigenous knowledges, to

(de)construct narratives by reweaving the relational mat of awareness and difference that may not be easily understood in our own skin because of the cultural degradation we live in. Haunani Kay-Trask writes, “[a]s colonized people[s], we are colonized to the extent that we are unaware of our oppression” (Trask 1993).

O A’u O Lou Faiaoga (I am your teacher)

There are implicit bias obstacles in challenging the dominant Western discourse on non-Western knowledges, to understanding natural phenomena, political systems, or the perceived “accepted” protocols such as this little thing where students demand to know, “my qualifications.” Here at Brigham Young University-Hawai’i, I have had students ask for my qualifications during lectures where I employ non-Western methods for understanding the assigned curriculum. I had not experienced students demanding to know my qualifications during my lectures before and I wasn’t sure of the intention or purpose. This was not an isolated event but what I have noticed is that the students who questioned my qualifications were all non-Indigenous men. In those moments, Maria Talaitupu Kerslake’s face came to mind (Figure 2), and I could hear her gentle laugh. She doesn’t have a loud laugh like I do.



Figure 2. Maria Talaitupu Kerslake, Dean, National University of Samoa, and author.

Kerslake, my former dean and mentor at the National University of Samoa, was interviewed for the book, *Narratives and Images of Pacific Island Women*, and contributed: "I am your teacher" (Hippolite-Wright, Ram, & Ward, 2005). Her experiences in the 1970's are now mine. Kerslake recollects students questioning her credentials and qualifications to teach in Aotearoa:

But they kept asking me, 'Have you passed the university entrance exam?' 'Of course I have.' I even had to cough up my certificate although the school board had sent my marks. They wanted to see the certificate just to make sure it was a New Zealand university entrance examination.

I was teaching their sociology course and the midwifery option, and I was told that the lecture would be at nine o'clock in a certain room. I walked in, and there sat all these white, middle class women.

'Excuse me,' they said. 'Are you looking for the kitchen?'

'No,' I said.

'Are you lost?'

'No, I'm not lost.'

Then someone told me, 'The cleaning rooms are down the other way.'

And I said, 'No, actually I am in the right room. I am your teacher.' Even that experience was quite amazing because a lot of them couldn't take it, couldn't handle having a brown faced woman teaching them.

(Hippolite-Wright, Ram, and Ward, 2005)

I have queried colleagues on how they address demands for their credentials in their classes. Not surprisingly, the only educators that experience these, "what are your qualifications," demands are Indigenous women educators. I haven't found a papālagi educator come

across these demands during their lectures. Perhaps it could be because Pacific Islander women are still seen as the “Other,” faculty who - because of our race, gender, and assumed “FOB” or believed “foreigner” background - are not seen as the traditional faculty (O’Brien 2005). I/we am/are disrupting the traditional student-faculty relations where papālagi males are considered the traditional faculty and hold the positions of power; Pacific Islander women faculty of color are subject to being contested in the classroom. I use these experiences within academia to show modes and spaces in which we (re)make the roles of Pacific Island women. My doctorate, two master’s degrees, and over a decade of teaching experience are the standard of “traditional faculty.” These classroom encounters are opportunities to remake the image of the “brown-faced woman teacher” into the lexicon and imagery for Pacific Islander students, giving them the future confidence to assert, “I am your teacher.”

Reweaving the Mat of Indigenous Knowledges in Academe

I have found that teaching women’s histories in Oceania requires me to not only delve into spaces of culture and identity but also correct how those roles have been twisted inside the relational mat of academic discourse by colonization, patriarchy, and definitions of what is “traditional” by established exclusionary structures of power. Trinh T. Minh-ha (1986) has challenged the “traditional” conception and discourse by arguing:

Words empty out with age. Die and rise again, accordingly invested with new meanings, and always equipped with second-hand memory. In trying to tell something, a woman is told, shredding herself into opaque words while her voice dissolves on the walls of silence. Writing: commitment of language. The web of her gestures, like all modes of writing, denotes a historical solidarity (on the understanding that her story remains inseparable from history). She has been warned of the risk she incurs by letting words run off the rails, time and again tempted by the desire to gear herself to the accepted norms. But where has obedience led her?

We must question and challenge even what's been taught as "traditional." Producing ways of knowing and learning empowers learners; this is not power over anyone but the real power of higher education, the transformative power. Reweaving the mat of Indigenous knowledges in academe requires rethinking what questions are necessary in critical inquiry and encouraging the interplay of diverse methodologies, techniques, and strategies in order to broaden anticolonial discourse in studying women and histories in Pacific Islands Studies. Teaching women's histories in Oceania offers a space to facilitate the awareness, recognition, and validation of the legitimacy of Indigenous knowledges as pedagogic practice and praxis. This teaching supports diverse knowledge representations for structural, collective, and collaborative reconstitution of spaces in academe. The challenge is to develop discursive frameworks that address different philosophical traditions of Western, Eastern, and Indigenous theories and practices to achieve a fuller theoretical and philosophical understanding of the varied systems of knowledge. In this process, internalized colonial reality and oppression may be reseen and restudied in paradigms, philosophies, languages, metaphors, and symbols that recognize—as David and Karen Watson-Gegeo reveal—"Knowledge is never captured in its entirety, its end being beyond reach. Epistemologically, the idea is that when the knower can see the horizon, it means that person can also see what lies between the knower and the horizon, and can therefore develop strategies to create knowledge" (2001). In my experience, this process reweaves the mat of Indigenous knowledges and frameworks to reconsider what is social science knowledge and how to conduct research that embraces paradigms rooted in cultural frames of reference and Indigenous epistemologies.

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Fukushima Fiction: The Literary Landscape of Japan's Triple Disaster

Reviewed by David Gugin

Fukushima Fiction: The Literary Landscape of Japan's Triple Disaster, by Rachel DiNitto. University of Hawai'i Press, 2019; 228 pages; Paperback, \$30.00.

A prominent English language translator of Japanese wartime and contemporary fiction, and author of the 2008 *Uchida Hyakken: A Critique of Modernity and Militarism in Prewar Japan*, Rachel DiNitto has written a must-read book for anyone – student, teacher, researcher – with an interest in Japanese literature. As her title indicates, she focuses on the Japanese literature that was produced in the aftermath of what the Japanese have come to call 3/11, the social and environmental catastrophe that occurred on March 11, 2011. On that day the Tohoku region on the northeast coast of Japan was devastated by the most powerful earthquake ever recorded in Japan, followed by a tsunami wave that reached as high as 133 feet, and the subsequent level 7 meltdowns at the Fukushima Daiichi Nuclear Power Plant (NPP). Almost 16,000 people were killed; more than 330,000 people were displaced; and in Miyagi, Iwate, and Fukushima prefectures especially, the structural damage to the land itself was immense. But as DiNitto titles her Introduction, when “Disaster Strikes, Literature Responds,” and the foundational argument of *Fukushima Fiction* is the case it makes for the necessity and importance of literature when a country is faced with this kind of crisis. The powerful, often angry writing that followed 3/11 explicitly questioned conventional Japanese cultural and political norms and assumptions while also redefining contemporary Japanese literature itself. Both new and longtime authors used their pens to, in the words of Ichikawa Makoto, “wield their words like a shovel to confront the wasteland of our imagination, and shake the foundations of this reality to unearth another” (DiNitto 1-2). The human and environmental destruction caused by the events of March 11, 2011,

challenged Japanese writers in any number of ways. This book shows how they met that challenge.

As DiNitto points out, the social costs and health ramifications, both physical and psychological, of 3/11 are still ongoing, one result of the uniqueness of the triple disaster. In particular, the effects of the Fukushima Daiichi NPP radiation leakages are in no sense over, even though that is what the Japanese government and the Tokyo Electric Power Company (TEPCO), owner and operator of Fukushima Daiichi, want everyone to believe. It is this combination of two natural disasters (the earthquake and tsunami) and one manmade disaster (the nuclear meltdowns) that problematizes 3/11. DiNitto notes that because the three disasters have some surface differences it is tempting to simply divide the fiction into three categories of analysis – earthquake, tsunami, and meltdowns – and to proceed from there. She then quotes Kristina Iwata-Weickgenannt, who argues that the destruction caused by the earthquake was “massive, immediate, and undeniable,” yet the nuclear accident had almost no initial visual impact and no immediate victims (DiNitto 2). This is why the fiction written directly after 3/11 almost always focused on the earthquake and tsunami but soon shifted to the nuclear, which tended to generate a change in storylines and characters. However, DiNitto cautions that “many victims were affected by more than one of these threats and causally they are intimately intertwined. To treat them separately is to risk hiding their overlapping and interrelated nature, while viewing them together risks downplaying any one aspect of this triple disaster” (2). In an effective display of “simultaneity” she manages to offer compelling readings of the fiction related to the specific disasters, the poems and stories (which predominated early on) and the later novellas and novels. But she is also able to stress the ultimate multidimensionality of the 3/11 experience.

In its often botched and misleading response to the crisis, particularly the nuclear meltdowns, the Japanese government eventually adopted a concentric circle model which based evacuation decisions on the proximity of people to the stricken Fukushima Daiichi NPP. DiNitto utilizes a similar spatial approach in *Fukushima Fiction*, deciding not to

organize the book around type of disaster, or literary genre, or author, choosing instead to start at the epicenter and work outward. Her analysis also only examines “serious fiction” – the belles lettres (*junbungaku*) of Japan – because Japanese entertainment media and popular cultural/fiction have largely ignored 3/11. Therefore, her approach begins with discussions of the specific (local) experience of victims in the affected zones and then proceeds through the “regional and national conceptualization of the disaster, to considerations of the disaster as history, and last, to the global concerns common to nuclear incidents worldwide” (4-5). Furthermore, she tempers her spatial framework with temporal considerations when, for example, she compares and contrasts the fiction of 3/11 with earlier, post-WWII atomic bomb survivor fiction. As mentioned, DiNitto could have structured her book differently, and that probably would have made for an easier read overall. Personally, I typically prefer simpler designs, but I do admire what she has accomplished here. First of all, she has constructed a sophisticated theoretical model, a quite elegant perceptual lens. Crucially, she then uses that model or lens to provide a wide variety of truly helpful interpretations of Japanese literary texts. I am relatively new to the field (and certainly no expert), but I doubt there are too many Western scholars who know more about contemporary Japanese literature than DiNitto.

Chapter 1, “Voices from the Debris: Cultural Trauma and Disaster Fiction,” is a good example. On a technical note, DiNitto uses headings effectively throughout the book, dividing, or signposting, her material into more manageable sections. At the beginning of this chapter, she asks and addresses a key question, one that goes back to the multifaceted nature of the catastrophe – “Who is a victim?” Or rather, “Who speaks for or narrates the 3/11 disaster?” (22). Her larger point is that proximity-based criteria for victim status are useful for, and developed for, natural disasters like earthquakes and tsunamis, but not so useful for radiation fallout, which is typically spread by wind and contaminated food far beyond the initial accident zone. The toxic effects of radiation poisoning can also last for centuries, whereas the physical damages caused by earthquakes and tsunamis can be repaired fairly soon after they occur

(though that does not mean they always are). In other words, victimhood is not just about distance from these incidents. It is about the constituent elements of the incidents themselves. Next, working ground previously prepared by sociologist Jeffrey Alexander and others, DiNitto argues that for narratives of disasters of this type to become more than just representations of individual suffering they must be somehow transformed into “a collective transformation – they must be narrativized as trauma.” More specifically, this narrative “is not one of individual psychological trauma, but of cultural trauma, a representation of the event that establishes significant meaning for the social group [. . .] a theoretical concept that emphasizes the collective, socially constructed nature of trauma” (DiNitto 25). What literature can provide, and what Japanese literature did provide after 3/11, is a creative and imaginative path forward that, without diminishing or marginalizing an individual’s pain or loss, still leads from the one to the many, from the trauma of the “I” to the trauma of the “We.”

Pacing is important in any writing genre. Given the sophistication of its theoretical model and critiques of the political and sociohistorical context of the triple disasters, pacing is critical in *Fukushima Fiction*. Fortunately, DiNitto is up to the task, moving skillfully from the abstract to the more concrete whenever the book is in danger of dragging a bit, getting a little too esoteric. She thus concludes chapter 1 with an excellent close reading of a short story and a novel that were written within a year of 3/11: Shigematsu Kiyoshi’s “To the Next Spring – Obon” and Ikezawa Natsuki’s *The Two-Headed Boat*. Again, one of her main points is that when looking at this fiction it is important to remember that the narrative retelling is always determined by which of the disasters is the focus. Shigematsu’s story is about the nuclear victims, the *hibakusha*, who have never been treated well by Japanese society, while Ikezawa’s novel is about victims of the earthquake and tsunami, natural disasters with which Japan is historically all-too familiar. DiNitto uses the two texts to show that the impact of 3/11 on different groups of victims was not the same, that the manmade and natural disasters were not experienced in the same way, and that possibilities for closure were and are less likely for the victims of the nuclear disaster. In Shigematsu’s “To

the Next Spring – Obon,” DiNitto argues that “the nuclear disaster has permanently robbed victims of their communal past and future.” However, Ikezawa’s *The Two-Headed Boat* “presents a hopeful view of a community coming together to rebuild lives for those who lost homes and loved ones in the earthquake and tsunami” (49). Generally speaking then, the fiction that emerges out of the reactor meltdowns at the Fukushima Daiichi NPP is less hopeful, less capable of optimism.

In Chapter 2, “Tohoku on the Margins: Furukawa Hideo’s *Horses*,” DiNitto extends herself even further and devotes the entire chapter to an author that many readers like myself had probably never heard of before, an author that I would certainly like to read in the future. DiNitto makes the point that perhaps somewhat surprisingly most Fukushima fiction is not usually experimental in terms of form and structure, even when written by writers who were previously known for their experimental style. However, Furukawa Hideo’s 2011 *Horses, Horses, in the End the Light Remains Pure* (a lovely title I might add) is a notable exception. Like several other examples of Fukushima fiction, Hideo’s novel is a rewriting of a previous text, his 2008 *The Holy Family*, which is a fictional account of an earlier road trip he had taken through Tohoku. But *Horses* is not just a journalistic record of his journey into and across the disaster zones, and it certainly does not stick to the documentary approach characteristic of much of the initial 3/11 fiction. Instead, operating both spatially and temporally, the text moves back and forth between his personal journey and Tohoku’s long history, between the present and the past, between the building of medieval castles to the building of nuclear power plants, especially the Fukushima Daiichi NPP, which generated the electricity for Tokyo, 160 miles away. As DiNitto says, “Furukawa mixes fact and fiction in a literary tour de force that reveals Tohoku’s status as an ‘internal colony’ (*naikokuteki shokuminchi*) of Japan with a long-standing tributary relationship to the nation,” a relationship of exploitation that was dramatically exposed when the 3/11 calamities “stripped away the prosperity of nuclear subsidies to reveal a region teetering on the brink of survival” (57). DiNitto’s explication of what Furukawa is doing in *Horses* is impressive to say the

least. I think it would be very useful to anyone interested in working with what appears to be an important but complicated novel.

Continuing with her concentric circles approach, DeNitto's Chapter 3, "Hiroshima Encore: Return of the Hibakusha," offers a comparative analysis of the literature that emerged from the August 1945 atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and the literature that resulted from the March 2011 nuclear reactor meltdowns in Fukushima. The return of the term *hibakusha*, or "nuclear victims," was itself a shock to most Japanese. But DiNitto is careful to emphasize that any attempt to examine the historical relationship between the two events – one caused by the intentional use of a newly invented weapon and the other by what had always been portrayed as a safe energy source – was not as straightforward as it might seem to be at first glance. In fact, she gives a variety of reasons for looking at them differently: "The number of victims, the singularity or multiplicity of the events, the nationality of the perpetrators," to name a few (89-90). And many Japanese, including writers like Taguchi Randy in "Into the Zone," hesitate to use *hibakusha*, preferring instead the more neutral word *hisaisha*, or "victims of a disaster." The Fukushima victims themselves often avoid the *hibakusha* label, given the social stigma typically associated with it. In addition, a major narratological difference is that atomic bomb writing is essentially survivor fiction, written by victims of the actual bombings (see Oka Yoto and *City of Corpses*) while fiction pertaining to the Fukushima meltdowns is typically written by people who did not have first-hand experience of the disaster and the toxic, radioactive poisoning it unleashed and is still unleashing. Nevertheless, according to DiNitto, although "Fukushima fiction does not necessarily trace itself back to the legacy of Hiroshima or Nagasaki atomic-bomb literature [. . .] neither does it ignore their historical or political significance." In an interesting comparison with 9/11, she argues that unlike 9/11 fiction, which tended to dehistoricize the Al-Qaeda attacks, Fukushima fiction "is written into Japan's historical encounter with atomic bombings, nuclear testing and war," in other words, historical precedent functions as a "prominent intertext" (91-92). With her usual adroitness, she then discusses the statements and writing of a variety of Japanese writers and public intellectuals, concluding with

Tsushima Yuko's *Mountain Cat Dome*, another Japanese novel and author that seem well worth reading.

Since the Fukushima disaster at least temporarily altered Japan's relationship with nuclear power, in her final chapter, "Chernobyl and Beyond: A New Era of Nuclear Literature," DiNitto looks at how as a consequence of Fukushima Japanese writers reimagined possible realities and potential futures in the contaminated areas of both Japan and the world. Here her analysis "moves outward to consider how Fukushima fiction reaches beyond the 3/11 disaster and Japan to engage with the global culture of the nuclear" (121). In effect, what has emerged is a new global genre of "nuclear fiction." DiNitto uses this chapter to discuss Japanese writers who are working within that genre, all of whom are exploring in their own way the literary implications of life in an irradiated world. Throughout *Fukushima Fiction* DiNitto does not shy away from pointed political critiques of the Japanese government and its cozy relationship with the Japanese nuclear power industry, both before and after the 3/11 meltdowns. At the end of this chapter, she is at her most polemical, arguing that one constant in these works is their authors' courage in condemning the Japanese political system and by extension Japanese culture for its willingness to abandon transparency and individual rights in pursuit of widespread reliance on nuclear power. Concurrently, she is also at her most hopeful, writing that these specific texts and Fukushima fiction in general "reveal the power of the word [. . .] to make visible the very 'foreseeable' nature of the Fukushima disaster, to expose the euphemisms of power and surveillance, and to force painful reflections on complicity" (159). For those of us who believe that literature is not too rarefied, not too removed from the practicalities and pressures of modern life to make any kind of difference, DiNitto provides an invigorating breath of fresh air.

Fukushima Fiction concludes with an interesting "Epilogue: Writing toward the Future" that starts with a summary of a visit to Tokyo DiNitto made while finishing up her research for the book. She juxtaposes the continuing bad news from the ever problematic "cleanup" of the Fukushima Daiichi NPP with a stroll she took through the fashionable

Roppongi Hills shopping district, where she encountered the “Summer 2017 *Mirai* (future) Tour,” a festival “replete with armies of Doraemon statues, dancing cartoons, giant inflatable cat balloons, and saccharine pop music,” all offering the “promise of a bright, amnesiac future” (161-162). In 2017 the Japanese government and its corporate allies was intent on keeping all eyes focused on the upcoming 2020 Summer Olympics, which was supposed to be the exemplar of that happy future, as well as the signal to the world that Japan had fully recovered from the 3/11 disasters. Of course, Covid-19 intervened and it is unlikely that too many people in Japan right now (or anywhere else) are thinking optimistically about what comes next. And as we have seen, the opposition to the eventual 2021 Summer Olympics by most Japanese was intense, and their corresponding levels of distrust of the Japanese government, were very high. DiNitto could not have anticipated Covid-19, so it will be instructive to watch and see if the pandemic and its numerous ruptures impact Japanese literature to the extent the 3/11 disasters did. I suspect it will.

Human history has never been lacking in disasters and the 21st century has already contributed its share. Unfortunately, there is every indication that the trend will continue and even accelerate. As a result, the disaster fiction genre will undoubtedly expand and grow in relevance. With its insightful writing and innovative organization, as well as its 30-page Endnotes section and 20- page Bibliography, *Fukushima Fiction* has thus significantly enhanced the landscape of literary criticism, both in terms of contemporary Japanese literature and the broader field of international eco-criticism. As a personal example, I am currently using the book to prepare for an upper-division environmental literature course that I will be teaching here at the University of Guam in the spring of 2022. I have previously taught the course on several occasions, but for the first time I will be focusing specifically on disaster fiction, including Matsuda Aoko’s “Planting” and Sato Yuya’s “Same as Always.” In the final analysis, *Fukushima Fiction* reminds us of the vital, courageous role many Japanese authors played in the wake of the triple disasters – a role many authors continue to play today in their own parts of the world. Rachel DiNitto should be commended for writing this book, and the University

of Hawai'i Press should be commended for publishing it. But most importantly, as *Fukushima Fiction* insists, the victims of 3/11, those who died and those who lived, should be always honored and forever remembered.

The Properties of Perpetual Light *and* Dry Nights

Reviewed by Paulette Coulter

The Properties of Perpetual Light, by Julian Aguon. University of Guam Press, 2021; 109 pages; Hardcover, \$23.00.

and

Dry Nights, by Pep Borja. University of Guam Press, 2021; 74 pages; Paperback, \$12.00.

The Properties of Perpetual Light by Julian Aguon (a book of speeches, essays, and poems) and Dry Nights by Pep Borja (a chapbook of thirty poems) are University of Guam (UOG) Press's premier publications of 2021. While UOG Press published An Islander's Voice, the work of Guam's only Poet Laureate, Frederick B. Quinene, in 2018, these new books differ in genre from many others from the Press. The works of Aguon and Borja also differ markedly from those of Quinene. They do, however, share with him love of life, love of place, love of others, and share with each other love of words--words that go straight to the heart, straight to the bone.

Aguon's book comprises several speeches, eight essays, and eight poems of free verse, all interspersed. The speeches include addresses to graduating classes at UOG, at William S. Richardson School of Law, and at Simon Sanchez High School, as well as a eulogy for Tony de Brum (which also contains a poem), and a poem for Teresia Teaiwa. The book concludes with a conversation between Desiree Taimanglo-Ventura and Aguon. Several essays contain poem-like structures in the form of single-line paragraphs. Besides love, several themes recur throughout the writing: destiny, beauty, quiet, and the sea.

Reviewing Aguon's book is a daunting challenge. First, the introductory pages of the book are filled with comments from regional and worldwide literary heavyweights. (What can a mere mortal add?) Second, the context in which this reviewer knows of Julian Aguon is law and politics, not a favored subject to review. *The Properties of Perpetual Light* is political in the sense that it addresses power, but not always within the political sphere. Furthermore, art itself is most political when it is least political and most nearly pure art because its very nature highlights disparities of power.

Aguon's title refers to *perpetual light*, and the first essay in the book explains this title. The term comes from a Catholic prayer for the dead. Like Aguon, many have recited it thousands of times (3). Contemplation of this title led to thought of polar summers where daylight disturbingly lasts for several months. That kind of perpetual light cannot be what we pray for. Aguon comes to a far better conclusion: hope as "a stubborn chink of light in the dark", faith as "our belief in the light to guide us", and perpetual light as "Ancient Beauty", love (4). He goes on to say, and thereby consoles the reader:

When we recite the prayer for the dead, we are asking God for our loved one's safe passage, and we are offering up the only thing we have, our love, to light their way.

This book is a little like that. Like a love letter to young people.

It seeks to call them forth. To do language and to do battle.

To write as if everything they love is on the line.

Because it is. (5)

This passage could easily be from a conversation or from a poem. This passage also demonstrates one of the powerful points of Aguon's writing: strong closing and opening lines, a topic we will return to later.

The first speech in the book, "My Mother's Bamboo Bracelets: A Handful of Lessons on Saving the World," is an address to the May 2009 graduating class of the University of Hawai'i's William S. Richardson

School of Law. The speech begins with one of those strong opening lines: “Despite what we’ve been told, the world is not ours for the taking” (Aguon 14). Not necessarily the most encouraging advice for the graduates, but realistic! Nevertheless, Aguon continues with a love story, the story of the Chamoru women who cut their hair (a symbol of beauty) and made a net to capture the giant fish that was eating the island of Guam. Aguon admits that he understands this story now as an adult, and it offers the first lesson, that “no offering is too small” and that “all of us, without exception, are qualified to participate in the rescue of the world” (16). Another lesson, especially true for the law graduates, is to “*go out and fight the fights that need fighting,*” not only those that can be won (18; emphasis in original). And why his mother’s bamboo bracelets? Because they are sounds that have saved his life, “back and forth on the kitchen counter, as she, after hours on her feet, gets dinner ready” (19); these are the sounds of love, of beauty, of the sacrifice of beauty to fight the battles that need fighting. These are the lesson that “the most cherished of all things” we have “is, quite simply, other people” (19-20). This may be the most valuable lesson for anyone.

Aguon writes of quiet in “The Ocean Within” as he advises the May 2010 graduating class of Simon Sanchez High School, “Get quiet” (57), he says. “If you can learn to be quiet, if you can become good listeners to your own ocean, you--and Guam--will be better for it” (58). With this speech, Aguon gives them a place to be quiet--the seashells attached to each graduate’s program, seashells gathered especially for them, a place where each may listen to the world’s great sea.

In the speech “Fighting Words,” made to the December 2018 graduating class at the University of Guam, Aguon discusses what may seem to be the opposite of quiet: breaking silence, breaking the silence of speechlessness in the face of barbaric attacks on humanity (74-82). In this instance, too, he gives each member of the graduating class a gift, a copy of *Overcoming Speechlessness* by Alice Walker. In this book, Walker recounts a story told to her by women in the Congo, women who had been sex slaves, who had been raped, who had been mutilated, and, in one case whose mutilated flesh had been eaten by her own daughter (qtd

in Aguon 78-79). Aguon also recounts a personal instance of being rendered speechless as a child upon witnessing his grandmother, who had dementia, being mistreated by other relatives and then himself being passed, upside down, between two of his laughing cousins after fainting at the sight of her (80). Overcoming this kind of speechlessness is necessary for survival. And, yes, the family was able to rescue his grandmother and care for her until her death.

The second essay in Aguon's book is "No Country for Eight-Spot Butterflies" (8), an op-ed written for *The Wire* and published in June 2020. This essay addresses the development of live-fire ranges for the military on Guam. This development is destroying Guam's limestone forests and, thereby, the habitats for native endangered species, "including a fruit bat, a flightless rail, and three species of tree snails[,] a swiftlet, a starling, and a slender-toed gecko" as well as the eight-spot butterfly (8-10). In addition, the limestone forests are home to many of the medicinal plants used in Chamoru traditional healing practices (11). This essay definitely addresses issues of power. The provocation for the essay, however, has inspired Aguon to join a "global initiative to mobilize people around the world behind a shared vision of social justice" (12), one of the characteristics for which he is known.

Aguon's op-ed for the August 2017 *In These Times*, "Birthday Cakes Mean Birthdays," highlights two things: Guam's precarious position as a political and colonial outpost of the United States in the Western Pacific and the value of life and loved ones. In August 2017, Guam was under threat of bombing by North Korea. The daily newspaper headline shouted "14 Minutes," the time a bomb would take from launch in North Korea to arrival on the island. Like many, Aguon went out and bought groceries (32), expecting to survive. Then he had to find a place in his car for the birthday cake he had ordered for a loved one. He writes:

I was fussing with the bags in the backseat when it hit.

Birthday cakes mean birthdays.

Another year in the life of a loved one.

LIFE.

Guam may have to bear the burden of being a colony in a world suffering from decolonization fatigue, but --to be clear--her people mean to live. (ibid.)

That last sentence seems to deserve exclamation points.

Among strong essays and their strong opening lines, one that goes to the heart and the bone of the reader is “Yugu Means Yoke,” where the first sentence reads, “The last thing I said to my father when he was still alive was how I hated him for having cancer” (33). These are the words of a nine-year-old child, but perhaps the unspoken words of anyone who has faced the same situation, although as adults we might say we hate the disease rather than the person. These words get the reader’s attention. And keep it. This essay also provides the inspiration for the book jacket illustration, for in this essay Aguon explains that he found solace on Mount Santa Rosa, finding there “a whole wide world” (34). The first inhabitants of this world he met were a family of tree snails, then butterflies, grasshoppers, other things with wings, which he watched day after day, praying for wings for himself. Aguon was not the only person suffering the loss of his father; so were his mother, his sister, and his brother, each grieving separately and in their own way (34). A friend, meanwhile, grieving for another cause, hanged himself in his home (35). At the conclusion of the essay, Aguon comments that when he notices his sister’s grief, he changes his prayer: “I prayed for her wings, not mine” (36). This is a powerful intuition in a child who learned early what the French philosopher, Bernard Stiegler, has written: that care “always works through the care one takes *of oneself through* the care one takes of others” because these interpersonal actions create the individual self (178, emphasis in original).

The Properties of Perpetual Light also includes “The Gift Anne Gave Me” (41-45), “Nirmal Hriday” (46-49), “Reflections While Driving” (63-67) and “Nikki and Me” (68-70). In “The Gift” Anne is Anne Perez Hattori, Ph. D., currently Professor of History, Micronesian Studies, and CHamoru

Studies at UOG. The gift she gave Aguon was a glimpse of a photo of two Chamorus with leprosy who were to be deported to a leper colony in the Philippines in 1912 (45) and, albeit later, the story of this woman with no legs and this man who could not see but who escaped together from the Guam leper colony and remained hidden in the jungles for a month--despite the Navy's offer of a reward (41-42).

Nirmal Hriday means "Home of the Pure Heart" in Hindi, known by its English name as Mother Teresa's Home for the Dying and Destitute in Tibet (49, 46). Aguon worked there briefly during the summer he was nineteen, leaving when he began to question whether the home stood for any kind of social justice (47). In 2018, he questioned even more when he learned one of the sisters had been arrested for selling newborn babies (48). He examined pictures taken there and found one of children, the sisters, and the other workers at play. He writes then, noting the joy on their faces in the photo, "I don't know if hearts can ever really be pure.

"They can, however, be good" (49).

These sentences typify the brief, paratactic sentences that often comprise his essay conclusions.

"Reflections While Driving" (63-67), written in 2019, discusses the decision of the Ninth Circuit Court in the case of *Davis v. Guam*, a case in which Davis stated that allowing only "Native Inhabitants of Guam" to vote in a plebiscite in Guam violates the Fifteenth Amendment. This may be the most lawyerly chapter in *The Properties of Perpetual Light*. But not entirely. The last page or so of the chapter Aguon dedicates to the work that must still be done to build community and power in Guam: to create "the conditions where our people can live powerfully and live well" (66-67); and "to know [. . . t]hat we may be without a blueprint, but we are not without vision.

"That what we love we can save--even ourselves, even each other, even when we are afraid' (67).

This is a strong conclusion in the face of fear

In “Nikki and Me” Aguon gives the reader another glimpse of himself as a young person. The setting is a ride home on the school bus with a substitute driver, a driver who hates Chuukese. Aguon and his friend are in the ninth grade. A Chuukese boy, Xavier or X, gets on the bus, followed by another boy, to whom the driver gives a sharpened pencil, whispers something to this boy, nods at X, whispers something else (68-69). Aguon writes, “Time stopped” (69).

Aguon and Nikki get there in time. They also get thrown off the bus and have to walk home, all three miles. He writes, though, “[I]t’s not the walking I remember, really. It’s the talking” (70). That day he learned-- they both learned most likely, “We find our friends. And our way home” (ibid.): Another strong ending to an attention-grabbing and -holding story.

“We Reach for You” is a twelve-sentence “Statement of solidarity delivered in June 2007 at the 62nd anniversary of the battle of Okinawa” (62). It is much like a poem or a prayer. Aguon addresses the Okinawans as people “who know that death is only one kind of dying”, people “who hold up more than their share of the sky” in their effort to stand against militarization (ibid.). “Our Father” is a eulogy for the Marshallese statesman Tony de Brum. In it, Aguon quotes extensively from de Brum’s account of the events of March 1, 1954, the day of atomic testing in the Marshall Islands, an event that changed forever the lives of the Marshallese people and an account that changed the course of Aguon’s life (89). A poem, composed some time after de Brum told Aguon of the bombing, follows the eulogy. It begins with personification...

Justice and
Patience are
not exactly
friends (91)

...and goes on to describe the losses of the Marshallese people “who watched [. . . / . . .] the rain turn into a terrorist” (another personification), who have lost their thyroids and their voices, but not their song (92). They have never received just compensation for loss of their food supply to contamination of both land and ocean, nor for their children lost to genetic damage. Aguon employs other metaphors in this poem:

Waiting is

Empire’s

favorite

game

[. . .]

and

Patience

a parka

of loneliness (92-93)

Aguon adds that the parka is provided in a place where it does not snow. The people of the Marshalls, however, especially the children, thought originally that the radioactive fallout was snow and were thereby further exposed to radiation.

“Yeye Tere” (glossed in the work as “(Mother Teresia)” (85)) seems to be eulogy, elegy, and/or prayer and ode to and for Teresia Teaiwa, a poet, writer, teacher, activist who “razed canons” and

stained glass and

tempered steel and

forged metal

of [her]
students'
minds. (84)

She also mothered students

from the
milk
of [her]
mind. (85)

The combination of motherliness and engineering creates an interesting image. Clearly Teaiwa fostered growth and strength in her students. Aguon closes this poem with a prayer: "swim free" (86), a beautiful closing line.

Besides the statement of solidarity with the Okinawans, the eulogy and poem for Tony de Brum, and the tribute to Teaiwa, other poems pay tribute to persons, things, or ideas. "Go with the Moon" honors Aguon's godfather and his quiet. "More Right" honors his Aunt Lou and the star-shaped foraminifera sands of northern Guam. "A Crowbar and a Conch Shell" recognizes both Epeli Hau'ofa and Toni Morrison, people who

spun gold
from pain
loved us
always a
little
more
than we
deserved (39).

The poem “Mugo” honors family (and asks his father “all [his] questions” (51)). “We Have No Need for Scientists” is a protest against sea rise caused by global warming and praise of the coral reefs and mangrove forests (59-61). “Onion and Garlic” is, despite its title, a tribute to childhood and freedom (71-72), and “Gaosåli” protests having a foreign flower rather than the Guam torchwood flower as the official flower of Guam (94-95). Several of these pieces have long lines, even paragraphs as stanzas, making them more difficult to identify strictly as poems, though their content suggests that genre. Others, however, have short lines and stanzas of varying length like most lines of “We Have No Need for Scientists.” Most of “Gaosåli” is written as short-lined couplets; one line (94, l. 7) is a singleton: “to gaosåli”.

Varied line length in poems and varied paragraph lengths in prose seem to be a distinguishing mark of Aguon’s style as well as strong opening and closing statements. The line lengths are visually noticeable on the page. These variations may be a result of delivering speeches, offering pauses to focus or refocus audience attention or to shift topic. In the poems, they capture the reader’s attention and hold it fast. In “Mugo,” for example, the first two lines are: “They say if you take the mugo’ from a dog’s eyes and rub it into your own you can see the dead. / They lied” (50). How can the reader not continue? Fortunately, for the non-CHamoru speaker-reader, Aguon offers footnotes with translations, but in this case, eye-goop is relatively easily understood. In the poem “Sherman Alexie Looked Me Dead in the Eye Once” (22). Immediately, the reader stops and says, “And. . . ?” because the reader wants to know why, what happens next, and continues reading! Aguon footnotes the poem about Alexie and states that despite accusations against Alexie in the #MeToo movement, he has included the poem because it is more about himself and his development as a writer than it is about Alexie.

Another captivating first line of a poem is “Go with the moon, my godfather says” (8). This godfather is a talayeru, which means that he fishes with a net, but more importantly that “he knows things” (6). One could say the topic of the poem is mañahak fishing, except that it is and it is not. It is about catching fish, but it is about more: It is about quiet. As

the fisherman focuses on the fish, the poem's speaker (undoubtedly Aguon) stops to "Watch a quiet man grow even more quiet" (7). The last two lines of the poem state, "And I stand in awe. / Never ever have I seen something so quiet be so alive" (ibid.). These lines draw attention to something most people are too busy to notice, the quiet that is necessary to do things well, the quiet that is beauty, the quiet that is the pre-dawn hour filled with hope.

Another aspect of Aguon's style of writing and speaking is the use of a single sentence paragraph. These may often be single lines or even stanzas of a poem. They function as marvelous beginnings: "In Guam, even the dead are dying" (8); "Despite what we've been told, the world is not ours for the taking" (14); and "My aunt Lou told me once that it is easier for our / people to believe in magic than it is for others" (26), as already noted. They also make powerful endings: "Because it is" (5); "Because we had so little, yet somehow we had it all" (27); "But then, doctors don't know everything" (52); "Our broken world is waiting" (82).

Single-line paragraphs between longer paragraphs in Aguon's work also make the reader stop and pay attention. They occur in all genres of his work in this book. They literally bring the reader up short. After recognizing that each family member mourned alone, for example, he notes, "We didn't stand a chance" (34). In a tall skinny poem in which the title, "We Have No Need for Scientists," is longer than all but one line of the poem and each of the five stanzas is a single sentence with one to four words per line, the second stanza spans the width of the page: "The inundated need no instruction on inundation" (59). Visually and mentally, this sentence is disruptive, just as a single sentence paragraph at the beginning, middle, or end of an essay of longer paragraphs is disruptive. It is meant to be.

The Properties of Perpetual Light concludes with a conversation between Aguon and Desiree Taimanglo-Ventura; reading it sometimes felt like eavesdropping. The two attended Simon Sanchez High School together, and their friendship is of long standing. They speak (in transcription) of time spent in high school and Aguon's famous (or

infamous?) blue backpack (96-97), of racism and how it keeps people from doing the work of creating art (98), of how this book forces readers to consider things they might not want to talk about (ibid.), especially trauma and loss (98-99). Aguon mentions “Yugo Means Yoke” and how a single paragraph there showed him “the moment a writer is born” (99). The two discuss writing, then: that this book is a love letter to young people; that Kathy Jetñil-Kijiner is a regional writer he admires (101), for she is “a lion with a pen,” defending the hunted from the hunter (101); that he loves music but no longer sings (103-104); and that he eagerly awaits the writings of the young people who read his work and dream of writing their own book (105). He advises them to “draw close to that well [of coming from a wayfaring people], drink that water, then kindly bring someone else something to drink” (ibid.). When Taimanglo-Ventura comments, “That’s beautiful,” Aguon responds, “Luckily for us, beauty is something else we’ve got in spades” (ibid.): Another of his strong, single-line endings.

While love is also a major theme in Pep Borja’s *Dry Nights*, this love seems to be lost and followed by sadness over its loss, a haunting of love. In addition, a key element in this book of thirty poems (ten each for 12 a. m., 2 a. m., and 4 a. m.) is ambiguity. For example, in the title of the book, are the nights dry because of no rain, no alcohol, no sex, or no love—or all of these? Each is certainly a possibility for the reader, and only the writer may know for certain. Yet ambiguity makes the work interesting. Also interesting is the book’s cover, which displays a butterfly, a *gaosáli*, and a canoe that suggests the sea, all items mentioned or written about by Aguon. The photo on the cover is that of a female named Billie. The dedication of Borja’s book is “To the bird, / the whale, / and the moon” (7). The book contains twenty illustrations by Constance Sartor. The title page of each section contains an illustration and a haiku; “Blooming” is a cinquain (18). These are a few strict poetic forms noted; most of the poems are free verse. “Ink”, however, is a tight quatrain with six syllables per line, and “Moonflower” has the thirty-one syllables in five lines of *tanka*, but not in *tanka* line order.

Dry Nights is a book of broken nights (as the reflection of the title on the title page indicates), of haunting dreams of physical love and loss, of memories and regrets. Some readers may find the references to sex, drugs, alcohol, self-harm, and bondage uncomfortable. And sometimes the love cuts so close to the bone that it bleeds. This is not a children's book.

Besides references to plants of Guam, to the ocean or sea, poems often mention color, hue, ink, writing, or painting. More than twenty of the poems name colors; the second poem in the last section is titled "Ink," and the second-last poem in the book is titled "Color." The poem on the title page of "4 a. m." reads: "I wanted you too. / Lay your paint on my canvas / Destroy me in hue" (49). Several poems refer to mythology and astronomy/astrology, with references to the constellation Gemini in "Gemini Eyes", its stars Castor and Pollux, the planet Venus (38), and "a Pisces song" (46). Others refer to popular culture, to the poet Charles Bukowski, the singer/songwriter Eryka Badu, and Pearl Jam's "Yellow Ledbetter" (40, 39, 56).

In the first section of the book, "12 a. m.," two poems refer directly to the moon, "Lune" and "Moonflower" (19, 20), though neither mentions the moon in its text. In "Lune" the speaker "saw your silhouette / Against the sunset, / [. . .] and wanted to come back / To you / [. . .] Over and over" (19) While the "Over and over" ostensibly modifies "Shaping your edges in sand / And the sea", it may refer as easily to the speaker's desire (ibid.). Besides the moon, Borja frequently mentions water and the sea: for example, in "Don't Yawn" (14-15), in "Dew" as a waterfall, headwater, rain-streaked leaves, and a riverbed (16-17), in "Lune" as "Crashing / Like wayward waves" and the sea (19); these are the mentions in only the first four poems of the collection.

Local Guam plants and animals also appear in the poems: "marble eels / Jumping butterflies" and cycads in "Dew" (16-17), torchwood leaves in "Blooming" (18), betel nut in "Chew" (22), jellyfish and plankton in "Bluebottle" (29), to name just those in "12 a. m." In the "12

a. m.” poems, those of the midnight hour, the structure of “Awake,” with its repeated question, has particular charm. Here the speaker poses:

If I asked
Would you show me how
You made the earth move
Again? (26)

The question, despite its underlying intimacy, has a tone of innocence, which is enhanced by its repetition at the beginning of each stanza: “Would you show me”; “Would you let open / The leaves of all your trees”; “Would you let me taste / When I thirst / To appreciate you”; “Would you let / The river run. . . ?” (26-27), calling forth nearly each of the senses. The poem seems filled with homage (as well as desire), both to the person it addresses and to the earth, its other living things, and “the purple /Awakening / Of the sky” (27), the dawn several hours away.

Among the “2 a.m.” poems, the title of “Whites of My Lies” is a solid double pun on white lies and whites of eyes, nicely ambiguous, making the reader wonder which lines are true and which are lies and showing some respect for that “razor gaze [. . .] / Sharply lifted” (44, ll. 3, 5). The poem “Canoes” is rich, on the other hand, in its image of vulnerability, of the lateen sail tacking into the wind, and the reader, with the speaker--perhaps rendered more vulnerable by a Pisces song--can

imagine an ocean
Between two exiles
Their boat made of dream trees
Moored in the silence of the seabed (46, ll. 6-10)

An ocean separates two exiles, although they have but one boat. Here the silence overwhelms, and the reader wonders how life-seaworthy a canoe made of dream trees can be. The second stanza of the poem confirms that doubt. The verses of the song are maroon, flotsam

that surrounds the exiles, and the speaker states, "I'd give anything / to be close to anyone" (p., ll. 12-13). Alone. Lonely. Very lonely.

"Billie," the seventh poem of "4 a. m.", may be this reviewer's favorite poem in *Dry Nights*, despite its sadness. Again, the element of ambiguity arises from the presence of the "Veronicas." First thought: Were these the Veronicas of the teenage comic books or the Veronicas to wipe the face of Jesus? Neither, actually, and worse than both: the gossip and rumor mongers of high school hallways (Leon Guerrero *Recent UOG Publications*), who speak "ruthless rabble" (60, l. 2) and are intolerant of difference, like Billie's "soft black bob / that none of them wore / and the bangs to [her] cheeks" (61, ll. 17-19), all lines containing alliteration. The speaker in the poem and Billie (in the photo on the book cover; Leon Guerrero "Edits to review"), as the second stanza of the poem shows, are compatible from the moment of meeting:

But when you walked in CHamoru

Third day of your first year

I knew you with without knowing

And you knew I knew it,

And from that point on

The language in class was old and easy

And it felt like we'd speak

In the sweet tongue forever (61, ll. 7-14)

Here the repetition of knew and knowing and the assonance (long e) and consonance (s) in easy, speak, and sweet create a nearly loping rhythm, a comfortable and comforting voice. Now, however, it is too late. A missed call and then, as the last lines of the poem tell us, whispers, and

At your viewing I couldn't come to your casket

My shame kept me stained in black

On the pew in the back

And I died inside as the Veronicas walked by. (63)

Like the suicide of a fourteen-year-old classmate that Aguon notes (35), this young girl's death is heartbreaking and revealed not only in the bruising on her neck but also in the harsh assonance of (æ) and the consonance of (k) in casket, black, and back, to which can be added the alliteration in couldn't come. Full understanding comes only later in life, when we realize, as Aguon notes, "That when we are in pain, we inflict pain. That when we feel we can no longer breathe, we grab other people's air" (35-36). Aguon's line may offer some consolation to Billie's friend, the speaker in the poem.

At thirty poems, Pep Borja's collection may be classified as a chapbook. Although he has published work before—including in UOG's literary journal, *Storyboard*, and in *Indigenous Literatures of Micronesia* (Borja 44-45, 93-94, 210-11), this publication is his debut collection of poems. These poems of love and love lost may evoke visceral responses. Some poems may seem as thin as skin, others as deep and dark as the abyssal plain, the bottom of the ocean. Depth and darkness are a part of life, a part of love. The launch for *Dry Nights* is scheduled for September 3, 2021.

In darkness, though, wherever there is love, there is also perpetual light—or at least its possibility, according to Julian Aguon. For this reviewer, and perhaps for other readers, Aguon's book may become something to turn to in moments of darkness, a source for meditation and mindfulness, whenever any of *The Properties of Perpetual Light* is needed. The book is well written and well edited.

Acknowledgements

Many thanks are due to Victoria-Lola Leon Guerrero for asking me to review these books for the University of Guam Press; for providing a manuscript of Pep Borja's book, and page numbers for the citations; for information about the authors; and for reviewing this book review before it was submitted for official review at PAI.

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What is Japanese Cinema? A History

Reviewed by Christopher M. Cabrera

What is Japanese Cinema? A History, by Inuhiko Yomota. Translated by Philip Kaffen. Columbia University Press, 2019; 258 pages; Paperback, \$26.00.

The history of Japanese cinema seems just as—if not more—complex than the modern history of the Japanese nation itself. In *What is Japanese Cinema?* translated into English by Philip Kaffen, the Japanese film historian Inuhiko Yomota navigates readers through what has been more than a century of cinematic history in the archipelago—110 years at the time the book was published in Japanese in 2014, according to the author—covering just about every aspect of cinema one can conceive, from the movie going experiences to the collapse of the studio system and rise of independent films to the technological advances in sound, color, and digital cinema and their specific implications in the context of Japan. Of course, there is plenty here on genre, from pink films, *roman porno* and the avant garde, to early *shinpa* and *shoshimin* films and monster movies—and auteurs from every walk of life, complete with a robust filmography full of surprises and discoveries for even the most self-professed Japanese film expert.

While Japanese readers and scholars will no doubt be familiar with Yomota—as will those outside Japan who delve into works published in Japanese—he has had few works available English until now, which is a shame considering he is one of the tantamount authorities on Japanese film in his home country. Not only has he written dozens on the cinemas of Japan, Asia, and beyond, but Yomota has also delved occasionally into writing about literature, theatre, and the arts. While certainly a film historian at heart, his wider knowledge comes in handy for this monograph in particular, especially in the early years of Japanese cinema when there was plenty of crosstalk between the movies and other arts, especially Kabuki theatre, where many of the most skilled actors hailed and which influenced both cinema's presentation and themes for many

decades. Yomota pays particular attention to the ways cinema was introduced to Japan and its reception alongside well-established traditions like Kabuki. The parallels with literature and cinema cannot be ignored, and in this field, too, Yomota has critically absorbed adaptations of important literary works from cinema's inception in Japan—the gothic writer Izumi Kyoka is noted for his influence on early works of *shinpa* melodrama—but also brings to our attention the curious dabbling of major literary figures into the world of film, from Junichiro Tanizaki's forays into film production (which ultimately were a flop, at the time) and Yukio Mishima's ventures into starring in films before producing his own during the 1960s, not to mention the author's dislike of the internationally acclaimed master Akira Kurosawa.

While Yomota certainly possesses the credentials that allow him to give rich context to his writing it is perhaps the accessibility of *What is Japanese Cinema* that serves as its most rewarding feature. This is achieved with a condensed form—the entire book, with back matter and plenty of black and white stills, is less than 250 pages in print—and extremely readable prose, allowing readers to not get lost in too much jargon or lengthy, dry historical columns of text. It is also easy to navigate, largely due to the clearly structured layout, proceeding in a linear fashion and dividing the book into important eras and decades. Some earlier eras are demarcated by advances in cinematic technology—Motion Pictures is followed by Silent Films—which is followed by eras of wartime films, films in the postwar under American occupational forces, “Golden Ages” and then by decades like the 1960s, 70s, and so on.

The chapters give some context of what was happening in Japan at the time and its relation to film but by no means suggest cinema as a simple allegory of society, a perfect mirror image of Japan at that particular historical moment. Instead, Yomota's writings, even if not explicitly, offer the reader an opportunity to ponder how cinema in Japan was often at odds with and negotiated with what had occurred in real life, offering no clear victor in a fight for influence and power. Cinema indeed was not merely evidence of the linear movement of Japan across time but intermingled and clashed during the course of history. While he notes the protests of the 1960s and their relation to radical cinematic output of

directors like Koji Wakamatsu and Masao Adachi (*PFLP: A Declaration of World War*) and later mentions the rise of Marxism among youth in the late 1920s and the footprint it left on the politically charged genre of *tendency* films (1929's *What made her do it?* Which survives in incomplete form), he is careful to present these as not simply reflecting the times but also cinema's role in changing Japan at large noting the films' impact and power both at the moment and sometimes in a larger frame of time.

These full chapters are conveniently divided up into smaller sections and headers that offer insight into particularly noteworthy directors, movements, or genres. For instance, while he certainly notes the most popular masters of the Golden Age—Kurosawa and Mizoguchi, and of course Ozu—Yomota is much more nuanced in his approach to their international recognition and dedicates a section to demystify their success. In this aside he considers some of the formal features of their films that made them stand out aesthetically when brought to film festivals abroad, despite being less successful and unrepresentative of most cinema in Japan during that time: their pandering to a foreign gaze that was searching for a particular kind of “Japan” that was mythologized and almost nonexistent in the present reality. These short sections, in turn, provide an excellent way to organize the book for those looking to read it in its entirety, creating small segments that are neatly organized, but also make the monograph a useful resource for those looking to brush-up on specific time periods or even more specific details like film movements, ideas, or people.

The concisely written chapters offer a kind of crash course full of trivia that is sure to appease even the most seasoned researchers and hobbyists of Japanese film, with Yomota referring to notable auteurs and films but spending just as much time highlighting directors and films that have been given little attention in the West—Shinji Somai in the 80s is given just as much importance as New Wave masters like Nagisa Oshima. His impressive knowledge of early cinema history is especially helpful and was my biggest take away from the monograph for filling in what can be a history that can be difficult to piece together, given the lost films and few existing resources—though of course, the field of early cinema

in Japan is already rich in academic, book-length studies on stardom, film reception and practice, a brief rundown is certainly not a bad addition to this repertoire. Actually, Yomota offers so many interesting recommendations during the course of even a single *section* of a chapter, that one may be cautioned to always keep a smartphone or internet browser in the immediate vicinity while the book is open to be able to search for a film that sparks your curiosity—although, to be warned, many of the earliest films have been lost and some of the more obscure erotic films and B-movies are near impossible to track down even in Japan.

What makes *What Is Japanese Cinema* most compelling is not simply Yomota's ability to assemble a formidable encyclopedia of films and directors—although the trivia and constant references to unknown and underappreciated films is certainly appreciated and praiseworthy. His role as a historian aside, it is ultimately his position as a film *critic* that gives *What is Japanese Cinema* its most rewarding characteristics. The injections of exegesis and interpretations of these films, auteurs, industrial upheavals, and technological shifts and their relation to Japan sets his writing from being a dry historical rundown of endless facts, dates, and names. The tricky politics of war films, for example, are brought often, and Yomota is keen to note not only the most important films surrounding the war but also comments on *how* such films came to be so highly regarded or why they were produced by studios at the time, noting such points as, for instance, the lingering nostalgia for a Japan of the past—one that was more grand and powerful—while erasing any trace of controversy. He also makes particular mention of issues like minorities in Japan, thought to be a largely homogenous country, noting how Japanese directors had made its minorities invisible on screen for decades. With a small glimmer of hope, he mentions the more recent films of directors like Sai Yoichi, who has brought attention to *zainichi* Korean issues in his films, changing how they are represented on screen and finally acknowledging what had remained silent for so long.

What is also of interest is how the author observes the ways other areas of Asia intersect with Japan over the course of film history. While the history of early cinema is certainly more confined to Japan proper

(thought there are certainly many instances of collaboration and exchange), his most interesting chapter is one that discusses the production and distribution of cinema during and before the war in Japan's colonies. Here Yomota notes the role of film in these overseas territories—Taiwan, the puppet state of *Manchukuo* in China, Korea, and the Philippines—noting how the Japanese empire was deeply interested in cinema as a tool for carrying out its agenda under the Japanese empire's Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. Not only were films from the “mainland” screened actively in these regions during and before the war for the purpose uniting and enlightening lands at the fringes of Japan's wartime empire, but they were also produced in the colonies, with Japan effectively bringing the technology and know-how with them—not to mention theaters and sowing the seeds of movie going. Yomota makes note of the irony in this exchange many decades later when the “New Waves” of Asian cinema—the Taiwan New Wave, Hong Kong New Wave, and “Fifth Generation” from China—formed colonies that made waves on the international film festival circuit much like Japan had in the post-war era, reversed the flow of cinema from the center/periphery from the colonial period by distributing and working on their films, acclaimed at worldwide international festivals, in Japan. While there is still a tendency for films to gloss over the complex past and current debates within Asia and with other nations relations with Japan—Shunji Iwai's *Swallowtail Butterfly* is one of Yomota's recent examples of a shallow surface-reading of this—he is hopeful, amid a lot of anxiety about the present state of film, that Japanese cinema will press on.

Yomota does express hope regarding the rise of female directors, another noteworthy addition to his journey through Japanese film. He notes the recognition abroad of the auteur Naomi Kawase, who would go on to direct the film for the 2021 Tokyo Olympics (Inuhiko mentions the controversial predecessor in this book, Kon Ichikawa's *Tokyo Olympiad* made for the 1964 Olympic games) and offers a detailed rundown of women's place in the director's chair—or rather, their disappointing absence—over the course of Japanese cinema history. The eradication of the studio system and the changing audiences ushered in by the shift in

the experience of viewing cinema in mini theaters—which are now more welcome to all audiences, as opposed to being perhaps more male centered in the past—women are now slowly arming themselves with movie camera, much more accessible than in the past, as a means of expression.

While these are noteworthy asides in *What is Japanese Cinema*, Yomota also makes some oversight, especially in the category of animation. He takes up this subset of “film” in what feels like a very belated portion of the book—in the 80s—and makes little mention of it elsewhere. Perhaps his exclusion of a more detailed and nuanced exploration of animation and cinema is on account of the wealth of information already known about directors like Hayao Miyazaki and Mamoru Oshii both in Japan and overseas, but at its core his exclusion may also attest to the compounding difficulty of integrating studies of Japanese anime with cinema proper, serving as evidence of the ongoing debate of where to draw the line between what constitutes cinema and what does not. One could perhaps argue that animation has its own complex history outside the scope of Yomota’s book—this is certainly true, considering animation’s bleeding into the history of television—but it feels like an oversight nonetheless of what could be an interesting and worthwhile inquiry. Documentary is also not given as much attention, although it could be argued that Japanese documentary has its own unique history that, like anime, oscillates between theaters and televisions and is written about extensively elsewhere. Yomota of course does not ignore documentary completely, and *What is Japanese Cinema* contains information about some of the most landmark directors in the craft: Shinsuke Ogawa, who directed the *Sanrizuka* films about the seizing of land for Narita airport, the personal and affecting documentaries of Kazuo Hara and the scrupulous documentary films on the Minamata disease that became the lifework of Noriaki Tsuchimoto.

Steeped in information, the reader feels challenged to keep up with the rather rapid pace at which Yomota has condensed over a century of history. While the brevity is certainly a merit for those with the background knowledge of Japanese history and moving pictures, those who are looking for an introduction right off the bat to Japanese

cinema—and Japanese history in general—may get lost in the details, and without a preexisting roadmap it may be difficult to stay on track. Originally intended for a Japanese audience, Yomota may be presuming that most of these dates and historical events are already common knowledge for his readers. A bit of a crash course on Japanese history and of cinema’s evolution would go a long way in preparing readers for the book. Nevertheless, it would be a perfect accompaniment to a course on Japanese cinema, with its readability and quick pace that includes so many references to films and directors without spending too much time on a specific period, director, film, or movement. Even a fundamental Japanese history course may find the book an interesting supplement for its insights into understanding Japanese society through the moving image.

One may also find that the conclusion—or lack thereof—to just about every chapter is slightly lacking. Most of the chapters begin with a short recap of what the decade will entail, its overall climate, and ideas to keep in mind before delving into specifics; but the chapters end without rounding out the discussions so far or even making an attempt to offer a brief, even single sentence transition into the next section. The book itself, too, seems to end abruptly without a conclusion or a summary of the events so far. For the most part, though, Yomota does this in his provocative and intriguing introduction, which serves as perhaps one of the most important takeaways for Japanese film studies enthusiasts, as he presents the reasonings and rationale for the book and some current debates of the historiography of Japanese cinema.

These are miniscule complaints, however, and do not distract from what Yomota has achieved in one of his first translations in English: a welcome primer on Japanese film that pays just as much attention to vanguard filmmakers like Takamine Go from Okinawa and the creator of over-the-top action-meets-art films in the 60s (and 70s and 80s) revered by the masters of cinema Akira Kurosawa (revered at one point as “emperor”, according to Yomota) and Yasujiro Ozu. The book comes highly recommended and has something to offer to both those looking for more detailed insight or an introduction to Japanese film, but also those who have extensive knowledge of the topic. *What is Japanese*

Cinema covers so much ground that anyone is sure to find an obscure film that sparks their interest, a director that warrants their attention, or a theme that requires reexamination somewhere in its pages.

Convenience Store Woman

and

The Hole

Convenience Store Woman, by Sayaka Murata. Translated by Ginny T. Takemori. Grove Press, 2019; 172 pages; Paperback, \$15.00.

and

The Hole, by Hiroko Oyamada. Translated by David Boyd. New Directions, 2020; 92 pages; Paperback, \$12.95.

Reviewed by C. S. Schreiner

One of the unexpected themes discussed by reporters and athletes at the 2021 Summer Olympics in Tokyo was Japanese convenience stores or *konbini*. Due to COVID restrictions, many visitors were not allowed to eat in restaurants, so they frequented 7-11s, of which there are 25,000 in Japan. As reported by CNN and other news media venues, many of these foreigners were astonished by the prodigious variety and quality of food items in the *konbini*, and they communicated their gustatory and aesthetic observations to their home audiences. If *konbini* are viewed as symbols of being that distinguish a psychosocial trend and the cultural milieu which supports it, it seems somewhat less peculiar that for both Japanese *shosetsu* under review in these pages--one with a rural setting, and one, urban--the *konbini* is an indispensable structure of the lifeworld for alienated souls, much like an oasis is for parched travelers. I had not planned to review two novels about convenience stores; the coincidence is genuine; but *konbini* serve different life-sustaining or existential purposes for differently alienated souls, as the present review will show.

When Jean-Paul Sartre wrote that the human is a being of *distances*,¹ he primarily meant the existential space, the intimidating abyss between one's given identity and the identity one projects as a goal to be achieved. Unlike a stone or creature, which cannot relinquish their essence to become something else, the human is free to question its inherited status and transfigure itself, its identity or essence. Hence the

existential credo, “Existence precedes essence.” People tend to flee from themselves less to shirk commitments than escape the difficult freedom in which commitments are formed and responsibilities assumed. In other words, many prefer to have choices but flee from choice itself and would rather be chosen or commanded due to their insecurity, indecision, servility, distraction, ignorance, anxiety, or cowardice. So many flaws—apparently it is difficult to become an engaged and compassionate individual who is *socially responsible but true to oneself*. The problem with obediently assuming a role that has been imposed or enforced by social norms is that this false choice haunts the individual who becomes disindividuated such that a gap or ambiguous space of self-doubt lingers between their assumed role and the potential of their true selfhood. Under ordinary conditions, existentialists like Sartre conceive this ambiguous space as a positive envelop of choice in which the individual can pivot from one role to another in pursuit of personal authenticity. If you need to change your job or career, you can choose to do so. But what if existentialism has finally exhausted its resources in the new millennium? As we will see in the novel, *Convenience Store Woman*, first published in Japanese as *Konbini ningen* (2014), certain contemporary individuals like Keiko, the Convenience Store Woman of the title, become utterly fatigued by existential ambiguities and forcibly seek to close the “gap” such that they totally absorb and are absorbed by the role they assume at work. By doing so they can say, “I am doing something that genuinely constitutes me.”² But in Keiko’s situation, would this pronouncement mean victory or defeat? Does she express existential authenticity in establishing her functional niche at the convenience store, or pure nihilism which devalues traditional human values such as personal enrichment, choice, and privacy? Earlier generations would probably accuse her of reified behavior and soulless conformity.

The feminist philosopher, Anne Dufourmantelle, has argued that human beings tend to flee or hide from their passions because they are associated with sin, and they *avoid risk* by fearing the possible instability provoked by passion.³ People revere passionate individuals and idealize passion but cringe before its consequences, which can be chaotic, even

fatal. Nonetheless, passions define us even if suppressed. It has been said that a sure way to find out if someone is alienated is to ask them to identify their passion in life. If they draw a blank, then go mute, or become despondent, or confused, or apologetic, they are alienated—their passion rendered insensible or impotent. Contemporary alienation, which occurs in a digital milieu Bernard Stiegler calls “generalized automation” within hyper-industrial societies like Japan,⁴ is interrogated by media-focused Marxian thinkers concerned not only with brutally repetitive and inequitable working conditions, but attention capture algorithms. They see alienation deepening in those who are unaware of their unfreedom, such as the worker who is exploited, or those who blithely exploit themselves and their children for free on Instagram, or those who blithely “personalize” their social media pages incognizant that modes of expression are preselected by software design (algorithms). This is the meaning of “disindividuation” as evoked by Bernard Stiegler in defining *proletarianization*: isomorphic doubling *toward* identity as objective codification (factory worker with brand loyalty to Chevrolet trucks) and *away* from creative self-determination.⁵ Hence workers bond with their workplace as a primary mode of identification and self-understanding. It is also a mode of alienation characterized by stupefaction and hyper-consumption. The reliable individual who works all day in a Libby cannery producing cans of corn feels like a can of corn--dense and insensible--when she gets home. Unlike the agronomist, she does not understand much about corn; and the college courses the worker takes at night are all but opaque to her sleep-deprived proletarian consciousness, servile as it is and oversaturated with stray puzzle pieces from Google in search of their unique puzzle. Information is ceaselessly incoming but remains diffuse and unsystematic, hence *never becomes knowledge*. (As Robert Frost said, “If you don’t know something specifically, you don’t know it.”) Any nascent passion (for gospel music; motocross racing; fly fishing; philately; gardening; cybersecurity, etc.) has itself been rendered alien and incommunicable in the context of the mute and senseless industrial production in which the worker has invested all her energy and time.

Rarely except in the world of the compulsive neurotic does labor take on the gripping existential intensity we typically associate with passion, as we see in the case of earnest, hardworking Keiko, the salesclerk protagonist of Sayaka Murata's *Convenience Store Woman*. Is alienation more severe if a singular passion has never formed or been empowered to individuate the worker? A worker can be productively alienated, ever more excited and seemingly satisfied with a mercantile surrogate for a more unique becoming which stalled out long ago or never took form at all. That surrogate is Keiko's mode of employment, "convenience store worker," and she channels her passion into *belonging there* so thoroughly that there is no gap between her selfhood and the operations of the convenience store. Keiko ultimately declares her love for the store where she works: "I was eighteen when we met...I don't suppose either of us could pinpoint the exact moment we fell in love" (167). This seemingly sincere and heartfelt development demands close analysis, for it is not easy to discern if Keiko's devotion evinces a hyper-reified corporate instrumentalism that is darkly comical and almost grotesquely compliant (*otonashi*) or an existential choice that expresses Keiko's innermost freedom of subjectivity, her love of the structure provided by a consistent labor-intensive format. Is she a sovereign, active subject, or a passive being subjected abjectly to postmodern industrial conformity? Is such binary questioning obsolete? What if Keiko is a *hikikomori* whose private world (*Eigenwelt*) has melded with a corporate ideology and task set (*habitus*) such that they are for all practical purposes indistinguishable? In that case, Keiko has closed the gap, taken possession *of* as much as been possessed *by* her situation, and alienation has either been neutralized or reached its most perfect (perfectly reified) sociocultural form as an act of *generational nihilism*.

Homelessness is often cited as a prime example of social alienation, but the *hikikomori* hiding away at home is another mode of alienation. Alienation is a multifarious mode of distancing and estrangement, and not every *hikikomori* resembles others who share the label. Some of them stay in their rooms obsessively playing video games either solo (first-person shooter) or in multiplayer mode with other *hikikomori*; either way, they remain oblivious of their surroundings. By using the

bedroom primarily as a purely functional space to play video games, share drawings, shop, search for collectables, do social media, etc., the hikikomori as *otaku* never really inhabits it, never personalizes it—hence the space feels sterile and alien except when he is sleeping. In other words, the bedroom becomes a *digitally depersonalized personal space*. Other hikikomori or *otaku* become intimately familiar with their room and its contents in a highly personalized construction of a niche or comfort zone exhibiting every childhood toy, manga, collectible action figure, hobby model, book, magazine, and video game. In these cases, the social world and the environment have been integrated into one's private world (*Eigenwelt*). Their bedrooms, which resemble either hobby shops or Egyptian tombs where all the Queen's precious belongings are stored near her corpse, serve as a surrogate identity. "I do not need to speak. Look closely at my room and its contents, and you will understand me."

As we will see, this latter mode of being a hikikomori is inverted by Keiko such that she stages her niching project at the convenience store, not her bedroom. She bestows all the convenience store tasks, objects, and policies with the value and significance that other hikikomori bestow on their bedroom. By doing so, she can consistently care for them.

The modern concept of alienation was not invented by Marx but refined and developed by him in the context of a certain post-Hegelian, Darwinian socioeconomic determinism. This perspective made alienation appear all but inescapable because work was inescapable, often in deplorable conditions. According to a recent article on Marx, one can be alienated by (1) *the object produced or manufactured*—whether cans of WD40 or jugs of Clorox; (2) by the *industrial process* or means of production, such as a loud and dangerous factory, or an autobody painting shop that supplies subpar facial masks for workers exposed to highly toxic fumes; (3) by *one's fellow workers* and employers who bully coworkers with racist innuendo, and (4) one could be *alienated from oneself*, an alien to oneself (the one who peers into the mirror and asks, "Is that me?").⁶ These types of alienation presuppose the existential framework of the worker's concrete being-in-the-world. They are

essentially negative modulations or distortions of embeddedness in the work world, a common world of coworkers. Their transformative “value” as such is contingent upon the clarity with which the worker becomes self-conscious of his conditions at work. Alienation is productive when, for example, the employee who spray paints automobiles recognizes the danger of flimsy masks and successfully petitions for upgraded safety equipment for all employees.

In Keiko’s case, her compulsively diligent solicitude overcomes predictable forms of alienation through productive alienation. She uses her willpower to transition her servility in the store into *taking care*. Take number one above, *alienation from products*: her care of store items, product arrangements, inventory, shelf decorations, and so on, is so assiduous and loving that it overcomes whatever residual estrangement she had first felt upon being hired and dealing with such things on a routine basis. As time goes by, Keiko interacts with coworkers by absorbing their distinctive traits such as facial tics, gait, and speech habits, and becomes *more like them* by emulating them in social acts of mutual self-affirmation. This is surely an uncommon way of ameliorating alienation and can arguably be described as a more complete (totalizing) form of alienation. Does this manner of inhabiting the workplace *comprehensively* make Keiko more or less servile than the others who often complain and dither?

The landmark Japanese publication in alienated literature was Kobo Abe’s *Sunna no Onna*, which appeared in the early sixties, with the English translation by Dale Saunders, *The Woman in the Dunes*, coming soon after in 1964. It has never been equaled for its artistically rendered wry, often quirky profundity, nor for the darkly romantic struggle it stages in the sand dunes between Marxism and Existentialism. It is arguable that *The Woman in the Dunes* accomplishes the reconciliation of Marxism with Existentialism sought by Sartre in *Search for a Method*; to borrow the phrasing of Sartre’s translator, Hazel Barnes, for Sartre’s own ambition, Abe’s novel “makes room for the individual in a Marxist framework.”⁷ The intensely stubborn desire for independence demonstrated by the bug collector from Tokyo, who often brutishly

asserts his existential sovereignty after descending into the sand pit hovel, looks petty if not comical when confronted by the dune woman's seemingly selfless spirit of labor and sacrifice needed to keep the sand from encroaching on their district. Of course, she digs to save her own life as much as the lives of the villagers. The "dig or die" expediency of the dune dwellers forces collective engagement whose existential exigency (imminent death by suffocation due to premature burial) is more convincing than that of the bug collector's claim to freedom by refusing shoveling tasks. Junpei, the amateur entomologist, gives in, starts digging, and hence conforms to the vaguely socialist framework enforced by the villagers who seek to preserve their lifestyle and residual economy in the sand dunes on the coast of Japan. But one can hardly ignore the bug collector's assiduous focus on his osmotic water invention as the novel ends, a contraption that might ultimately provide water for himself, the dune woman, and the villagers. By personalizing this technical endeavor, taking ownership of it, protecting it, Junpei compartmentalizes his crisis of freedom and reaffirms his scientific identity in an encompassing framework of socialist design. In this manner, existentialism and socialism can be said to sort of coexist in the hovel ceaselessly threatened by sand.

It is easy enough to list a bounty of literary motifs spawned by Kobo Abe's distinctive novel, some of which appear in the novels under review. The sand pit in which the bug collector finds himself corralled is of course much larger than the hole into which the alienated housewife, Asa, tumbles in *The Hole*. And the labor-intensive existence of Keiko in *Convenience Store Woman* resembles the way work becomes a social form and the primary mode of existence in *Woman of the Dunes*. The issue here is not literary imitation. These thematic parallels show that the problem of reconciling the demands of personal development and corporate culture is renewed for each generation, but writers nonetheless find a common vehicle for posing the problem in fictional works. As literary forms, both *The Hole* and *Convenience Store Woman* are conspicuously more minimalist and plainspoken than *The Woman of the Dunes*. The latter, recognized internationally in 1962 as an artistic and philosophic achievement, appealed to an audience blessed with

advanced literacy and discerning aesthetic tastes. One can for now only speculate as to the reasons for the transition to a more minimalist prose style in the more recent novels. Surely changes in the literary preparation and tastes of readers today bring pressure on authors to communicate more effectively and broadly. If, as has been argued by some critics, the audience is but a mirage, a fictional construct, then the change in prose from a literary style to a more modest or pedestrian sort of writing in recent novels could merely signify that for the authors themselves the primary mode of cultural engagement is not literature but television, film, and social media. Hence there is no need to “meet” or comply with the audience’s literacy level and taste since the author’s already share these with their readership.

Asa, the narrator of *The Hole*, is a housewife whose husband has been recently transferred to a rural district where his parents raised him. Although Asa worked part-time for a company in Tokyo, she was never fond of her work and felt no compunction in leaving her job behind. Unlike her only friend at work, another woman with a part-time position that would gladly accept a full-time assignment, the narrator is indifferent about employment in general, and feels no pressure to look for work after she moves to the country. “Well, it’s way out in the country. I’ll try to find something, but who knows. Either way, we should be alright. We’re going to live in a house my husband’s family owns” (10). She feels equally indifferent about having children, to the perplexity of her friend, who can’t wait to start a family. Overall, Asa’s situation is not different in kind than the type of marriage described by Simone de Beauvoir in *The Second Sex*:

Many young couples give the impression of perfect equality. But as long as the man has economic responsibility for the couple, it is just an illusion. He is the one who determines the conjugal domicile according to the demands of his job: she follows him from the provinces to Paris, from Paris to the provinces, the colonies, abroad; the standard of living is fixed according to his income; the rhythm of the days, the weeks, and the year is organized on the basis of his occupations; relations and

friendships most often depend on his profession. Being more positively integrated than his wife in society, he leads the couple in intellectual, political, and moral areas.⁸

To be sure, Asa's attitude to social conventions like child rearing and employment suggests that she has an independent mind that measures aspects of existence with her own set of values. But what are those values? You might expect her to be excited about the possibilities of a new homestead and slower-paced lifestyle where she can exercise her freedom. But her whimsy and nonchalance carry over into her natural attitude and slacken the field of embodied consciousness like a tranquilizer. The reader senses that Ana drifts and wanders more than she mobilizes herself with a plan. This mode of freedom does not involve what Sartre in *Being and Nothingness* calls a "transcendent projection" (573) toward some goal in keeping with Ana's integral self-determination. This is an unstructured freedom that does not project itself into concrete forms of actualization but lends itself to chance. It drifts and wanders.

Within a short span of time after moving to the province, Asa discovers she has lots of time on her hands, so she walks to the local 7-11, observing rustic scenery along the way, with the town's river and riparian life forms coming into conspicuous salience. Before long, Ana suddenly glimpses a "big black animal" on the riverbank, and when she tries to chase it, plummets neck-deep into a hole in the soft earth near the river. "I wasn't hurt," says Asa. "I wasn't even uncomfortable. I could smell something, maybe the grass or the river. I let it fill my lungs and body. There were a few rocks and bits of plastic on the flat grass surrounding the hole. I could see some black ants and red ants in lines, soldiering around" (31-2). Eventually an old woman helps pull Ana out of the hole, and she makes her way to the 7-11. There, by chance, she meets a gregarious *hikikomori* that has lived in a shed near her house incognito for twenty years. The students that typically hang out at this 7-11 have become fond of the eccentric fellow, who they call "sensei," and who with a friendly attitude engages Ana in conversation. He knows all about the river and its holes and strange creatures, and often cavorts

with the children in the river area. In this role of one who espouses naturalistic wisdom he recalls the *village idiot* of yesteryear insofar as the Greek meaning of “idiot” was an intensely private citizen who keeps to himself. Ana is absolutely stunned to discover that this *hikikomori* is her husband’s older brother, as it was her assumption that he did not have a sibling. Her husband never mentioned his brother, who is now Asa’s brother-in-law. The scope of such a deception is deranging to consider, prompted by something as trivial as vanity or shame or both.

In the *hikikomori*’s conversation with Asa, he offers his own homegrown epistemology of the creature in the hole. He says he has never bothered to identify it scientifically, has never used the internet, but knows the creature’s behavior, habits, and habitat. He knows and understands things by paying attention to them, not by compiling data and scientific nomenclature about them. He says that everyone always ignores the creature: “Who knows, maybe they never even noticed him. People always fail to notice things” (67). Asa concurs with him, says to herself that even if she looked the river creature up online, “what would I do with that information. I guess that wasn’t really what I wanted to know” (60).

The million-dollar question, then, is what does Asa want (desire) to know? One obvious answer is that she subconsciously desires another way of knowing—an alternative epistemology to the boring world of the office worker, a sort of corporal epistemology of the bristling riverbank. She does not explicitly seek it cognitively, this alternative epistemology, but she does not reject it either when it engulfs her as an alternative mode of Being-in-the-World. This means an alternative, earthbound mode of comporting herself in the lifeworld that overlaps with the common sense, information-based lifeworld of the Japanese. That this way of knowing is slow, nonlinear, unscheduled, and based in lived experience and intuition instead of Big Data, does not disqualify it in Asa’s mind; its elemental novelty distinguishes it and her encounter with the *hikikomori* as an original experience.

At one point, the *hikikomori* scolds her for falling into the hole. “What kind of idiot falls into a hole? ...Who do you think you are, Alice in Wonderland?” (61). Asa is taken aback by this onslaught and recognizes her husband’s occasional outbursts of peremptory judgment and criticism in his older brother. But she continues to listen to the *hikikomori* with perverse curiosity, since her preunderstanding of *hikikomori* was that they are not typically prone to loquacity. The fact that Asa does not dismiss or rebuke the *hikikomori* based on his conspicuous idiosyncrasies evinces her inner tolerance for aberration if not psychopathology.

Another topic on which the *hikikomori* likes to expatiate is the meaning and significance of the 7-11 for the village children. “This store is a godsend!” (61). His claim sounds at first counterintuitive, for a convenience store is hardly a cultural mecca:

Before the store opened, the kids had to go all the way to the farmers’ co-op to get ice-cream. We couldn’t read manga unless we went to the bookstore, and that’s way too far to walk. This store is a godsend! The store and the river—those are our main battlegrounds. Which probably means I’m not a real *hikikomori*. I like to come outside and play” (61).

A confession like this redefines the *hikikomori*, who is now outside among other members of society loosely assembled by national citizenship in a rural village whose casual lifestyle and social forms bind them more securely than anything else. This is one of the novel’s noteworthy contributions to the growing literary subgenre of the *hikikomori*—it designates certain regions and their citizens as hospitable and tolerant places to wander outside, make friends, and express themselves freely without coercion or discrimination. In short, there are *hikikomori*-friendly places.

But if we wish to speculate as to the meaning and significance of the hole, let’s first consider the fact that the translator decided that the protagonist’s name (changed from “Ana” in the Japanese novel to “Asa”

in English) and the hole are synonymous; why else substitute the English word “Hole” for the Japanese title, which is simply “Ana/Asa”? As Sartre writes in his famous essay, “The Hole,” the hole, as a “symbol of a mode of being,” invites one to plug it up in an act of bodily self-sacrifice.⁹ But is this what happens in Asa’s case?

By stumbling into the hole in the riverbank, by being encased and immobilized inside the hole along with soil and animal life, she arguably *encounters herself outside the immaterial mode of drifting and floating* that characterizes her daily motion. The earthen hole arrests her drifting psychophysical mode of comportment and closes the distance between Asa and herself. The abrupt trauma of the earth enclosing her tightly as if she is an earthworm is not a conversion experience for Asa but a psychophysical reorientation, a releveling of her horizon (field of consciousness) on the plateau of elemental and wild things, which becomes more salient to her perceptions. She experiences an initiation to an organic order of meaning based in riparian adventure, not purposeful employment. The hole resets her gaze and attentional channeling to be more earthbound and inclusive. Since becoming a housewife who is not the primary breadwinner, and accustomed to part-time employment, her adult life has been one long “gap year” extended indefinitely. If as Sartre argues the hole represents the existential anticipation of an emptiness to be filled, then the world Asa aimlessly occupied before falling into the riverbank hole *was* the Hole, metaphysical emptiness, whereas the riverbank hole is secretly enlightening as burrowing and belonging, an act of *transdescendance* to borrow a clever phrase coined by Jean Wahl, who defines it as follows: “A hierarchy or even hierarchies of transcendence can be conceived. If we can put it this way, there is a hierarchy directed toward the below, of which, say, (D.H.) Lawrence has been aware when he presented the unknown God beneath us, in the depths of being. There is not only a *transascendence*, but also a *transdescendance*.”¹⁰ One could suggest in this context that Asa is introduced to the unknown God beneath her village by the hikikomori, who is alienated from the world beyond the village but intimate with the natural world beneath and around it.

To clarify our distinction, Asa's former "floating" or "drifting" mode of existence was not due to her own emptiness, but the nothingness immanent to the conventional roles of part-time worker and housewife. They offered her nothing that would engage and arouse her attentional powers. The main issue is that a person like Asa is not "lacking something" but has not been sufficiently exposed to unscheduled experiences of life, of nature, or sufficiently impressed by an experience to engage with its contents wholeheartedly with undistracted attention. Asa is blessed with a capacity for active attention which only needed to be awakened by the raw and muddy contingencies of riparian life enjoyed so much by her husband's brother, the *hikikomori*. Such experiences are not officially measured and ranked. Yet Asa has no trouble with the seeming insignificance of her life "offline" so to speak, and tends to value them for their own sake, their own intrinsic value for her self-understanding... much as the *hikikomori* does.

Perhaps the most interesting revelation about Asa is her easy congeniality with her husband's *hikikomori* brother, which suggests she has always been a *hikikomori* hiding in plain sight. Surely there are many of them among us, outside. This insight, if publicized with research support, will help dissolve the cruel social norms that now exclude them from feeling normal.

Not unlike *The Hole*, the novel *Convenience Store Girl* is slight in length and, as mentioned earlier, conventional in form and style. These are not experimental fictions, but minimalist depictions of interesting women in tortuously banal circumstances no different in kind than those of Sisyphus rolling the boulder up the mountain forever. The protagonist of this story is a part-time convenience store (*konbini*) worker in Tokyo. And what is her story about? Her part-time work at a "Smile Mart." Aside from her compulsive diligence, what distinguishes Keiko from your average *konbini* worker are her powers of mimicry and empathy, between which there is a complex inner relation best described as *interpersonal intuition*. As she says, "I absorb the world around me, and that's changing all the time" (32). If taken at face value, that declaration precludes identity as typically understood. Keiko's absorptions are

always individuated. For example, she absorbs and simulates the speech patterns of certain customers and fellow workers. She picks up on their clothes, mannerisms, and speech rhythms. This is not done as a comedic performance for coworkers, but as Keiko's inner experience, which is uncannily intersubjective and ventriloquistic. She populates herself with actors in the cozy theatre of her mind. Who can blame her for such intuitively vibrant antics given her endlessly dry, repetitive tasks at Smile Mart? At first glance, such behavior would suggest a common postmodern condition: she has no "core" self or selfhood but only role diffusion, is not a "person" but so many personae in so many ever-changing masks whose deployment is always situationally determined. True enough, but Keiko does not suffer from it, she transindividuates her existence and gives herself a so-called identity by sticking with Smile Mart, whose culture and tasks have become second nature, even while individuating herself via her cognitive style and spirit in a performative niche all her own. She is herself—inevitably—at Smile Mart, even while she obediently conforms to its rigid framework and relies on its durability. It pays to recall that when introducing yourself in Japan, your corporate namesake/moniker comes first, before your family name, like this: "Smile Mart no Furukura Keiko" or "I am Smile Mart's Keiko" (I belong to the Smile Mart family). You might say the *konbini* structure of repetition, the slavish and banal exterior or scaffolding of a franchise provides a steady shelter for Keiko's inner transformations. We know her spirit exceeds that framework through the record of her behavior both inside and outside work. She understands how to manage people's reductive and stereotypical expectations about her form of employment. When old schoolmates ask about her career status, Keiko has a smooth, well-rehearsed response. She tells them she has never been very strong or vigorous, and this physical condition limits her choices to parttime work. When her family and friends condescendingly inquire as to the reason for her working part-time at Smile Mart, they admonish her with insults such as, "You need to wake up, Furukura. To put it bluntly, you are the lowest of the low...a burden on the village, the dregs of society" (105). Keiko's reply candidly reflects her self-understanding acquired through experience:

“I see. But I’m not capable of working anywhere else except the convenience store. I did give it a go, but it turns out the convenience store worker mask is the only one I’m fit to wear. So if people don’t accept that, I have no idea what I can do about it” (105).

Keiko is referring to the fact that she has already tried other kinds of work, but the only work that she is fit to do, to which her spirit can be enslaved while exercising noetic freedom, is *konbini* work. Her noetic activity, mentioned above, transcends the otherwise purely transactional interactions with customers. Every person expresses their relative individuation or disindividuation via the position they take in relation to the labor market. Keiko’s boyfriend, Shiraha, who inhabits her bathtub, is in retreat from the world, *hikikomori*-style: “I want to spend my whole life doing nothing. For my whole life, until I die, I want to just breathe without anyone interfering in my life. That’s all I wish for” (108). The problem with Shiraha’s attitude is not his nihilism, but the hypocrisy with which he accepts shelter from Keiko while disparaging people who work at *konbini*. He is the most caustically judgmental character, excepting Keiko’s sister, and Keiko ultimately throws him out—her first boyfriend, but not before he spits out every commonplace prejudice against *konbini* employees, repeatedly referring to those employees as “losers”—an obvious projection of his own fear of failure in a competitive job market.

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Emergent literatures of the new millennium depict experiences that problematize world belonging and participation for individuals even while digital modes of communication have proliferated. Postmodern theorists such as Felix Guattari and Bernard Stiegler would recognize the psychosocially disoriented portrayals glimpsed in recent Japanese fictions such as *The Hole* and *Convenience Store Woman*, which suggest the elusiveness of finding one’s place in the world of digital capitalism, and the consequences of such for personal psychology and wellness. This sort of adjustment is supposed to be easier in Japanese society! The common but anachronistic perception of Japan as a culture whose

citizens share a unified worldview makes its recent novelistic treatments seem incongruous and disquieting. Even when in striving for critical rigor we try to suspend stereotypes, it remains difficult not to expect of the Japanese people social concinnity and tacit mutual understanding, traits that would precede politics and homogenize the lifeworld of the Japanese. To deconstruct, as certain novels do, the world status of individuals like Asa and Keiko, the tenuous quality of their membership, is to challenge the bedrock assumptions of the common reader in Japan, where only foreigners are perceived as detached from the Japanese lifeworld. But European existentialism takes it as a matter of course that individuals are in the world but must struggle to belong in their own way, and not take membership or purpose for granted. The world is the horizon in which existence seeks to negotiate its furtive essence: this is the basis for Sartre's credo, "Existence precedes essence," mentioned earlier, which describes a situation fundamentally alienating because inherited identity is meaningless. One *is* what one *does vocationally* with that inheritance, whether renouncing it for another destiny, or adopting it for empowerment. The struggle to overcome alienation becomes a question then of closing the gap between one's vocational calling (if one hears it) and the demands of the lifeworld in which one lives and seeks shelter. This struggle might for some individuals appear to be a dissociative identity disorder, but as was said above, existentialism argues that anxiety (*Angst*) and dereliction (*Geworfenheit*) are integral to personal development. In any case, by reducing the demands of Japanese culture and identity politics to the finite and *workable* space of the convenience store, Keiko successfully compartmentalizes her existential challenge and becomes functionally assimilated on her *own terms* which become *identical to those of the convenience store*. Hence, she depersonalizes herself and becomes an ideal convenience store employee, and this mode of existing—this niching strategy—is satisfactory for her, however robotic it appears to her coworkers. Likewise, Asa's experience in the hole by the riverbank presents an opportunity to re-niche her existence on another ontological level—with the creatures of the river and the local *hikikomori* who sort of plays the role of Beatrice, the tour guide in Dante's *Inferno*.

Today, as millions still battle viral contagions, there is more appreciation for *konbini* workers as “frontline” citizens whose public labor endangers them. When Asa of *The Hole* gets hired by the local 7-Eleven *konbini* toward the end of the novel, the meaning and significance of the event is fundamentally different than Keiko’s employment at the Smile Mart. For Keiko, the meaning of the *konbini* is pragmatic as a sustainable framework, which provides a nexus of in-order-to relations, or habitus; and the significance is *existential* insofar as she chooses *konbini* work over other kinds of work. For Asa, the meaning is less concrete, more ethereal, which defines her. At the end of the story, Asa’s unpressured decision to seek employment could be nothing more than a general feeling of cultural conformity in a society where indolence is judged harshly, where a housewife without children is a bit suspicious, and work has a connotation of moral rectitude, associated as it is with the common good and national prosperity. As the *hikikomori* says, the 7-Eleven is a lively place with schoolchildren and farmers and salespeople all passing through. At least it will not be boring for Asa. And if it is boring, ask Keiko, from *Convenience Store Woman*, how to make *konbini* work more tolerable if not stimulating.

Notes

1. J.-P. Sartre, *Being and Nothingness*, trans. Hazel Barnes (New York: Philosophical Library, 1956): 51.
2. Jean Wahl, *Human Existence and Transcendence*, trans. William C. Hackett (Notre Dame, Indiana: Notre Dame Press, 2016): 24.
3. Anne Dufourmantelle, *In Praise of Risk*, trans. Steven Miller (New York: Fordham UP, 2019): 46.
4. Bernard Stiegler, “For a Neganthropology of Automatic Society,” in *Machine*, edited by Thomas Pringle and Gertrud Koch (Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 219): 30.
5. Bernard Stiegler, “For a Neganthropology of Automatic Society”: 33.

6. Jonathan Wolff and David Leopold, "Karl Marx", *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Spring 2021 Edition), Edward N. Zalta. <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2021/entries/marx/>.
7. J.-P. Sartre, *Search for a Method*, trans. Hazel Barnes (New York: Vintage Books, 1968): 3.
8. Simone de Beauvoir, *The Second Sex*, trans. Constance Borde (New York: Vintage, 2011): 521.
9. J.-P. Sartre, "The Hole," in *Existentialism and Human Emotions*, trans. Hazel Barnes (New York: Philosophical Library, 1985): 84.
10. Jean Wahl, *Human Existence and Transcendence*: 28.