8-9-2010

The Literate Lives of Chamorro Women in Modern Guam

Sharleen J. Q. Santos-Bamba
Indiana University of Pennsylvania

THE LITERATE LIVES OF CHAMORRO WOMEN

IN MODERN GUAM

A Dissertation

Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies and Research

in Partial Fulfillment of the

Requirements for the Degree

Doctor of Philosophy

Sharleen J.Q. Santos-Bamba

Indiana University of Pennsylvania

August 2010

Indiana University of Pennsylvania
The School of Graduate Studies and Research
Department of English

We hereby approve the dissertation of

Sharleen J.Q. Santos-Bamba

Candidate for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

June 24, 2010	Signature on File
_____	_____
	Nancy Hayward, Ph.D. Professor of English
June 24, 2010	Signature on File
_____	_____
	Claude Mark Hurlbert, D.A. Professor of English
June 24, 2010	Signature on File
_____	_____
	Anne Perez Hattori, Ph.D. Professor of History University of Guam

ACCEPTED

_____ _____

Timothy P. Mack, Ph.D.
Dean
The School of Graduate Studies and Research

Title: The Literate Lives of Chamorro Women in Modern Guam

Author: Sharleen J.Q. Santos-Bamba

Dissertation Chair: Dr. Nancy M. Hayward

Dissertation Committee Members: Dr. Claude Mark Hurlbert
Dr. Anne Perez Hattori

This ethnographic study traces the language and literacy attitudes, perceptions, and practices of three generations of indigenous Chamorro women in modern Guam. Through the lens of postcolonial theory, cultural literacy, intergenerational transmission theory, community of practice, and language and identity, this study examines how literacy is used as social practice and to make meaning for themselves as Chamorro women in modern Guam. The study provides insight to the advantages and disadvantages of becoming literate in the language of the colonizer, English, in the lives of nine Chamorro women.

Historically, U.S. Naval government imposed English-only policies and banned Chamorro language use in the school system and in government agencies. English literacy became the primary means to colonize and control the indigenous people of Guam. As a result of the English-only policy, the use of Chamorro language diminished drastically over the course of one generation following World War II. Today, English and Chamorro are the official languages of Guam, but English is the primary language used for domains of "official" business and education. In contrast, Chamorro language is prevalent in the religious domain.

The study revealed each generation of Chamorro women valued English literacy and Chamorro literacy for different purposes. Generation 1 valued English for school and official business domains and valued Chamorro for personal, social, and religious

domains. Generation 2 valued English for educational and professional domains and Chamorro for religious and home domains, but chose not to use Chamorro in the home with their own children. Generation 2 prioritized English literacy over Chamorro with their children because of their own negative language experiences and desires to conform to a U.S. mainland lifestyle. Generation 3 valued English literacy for the public and private domains. Generation 3 was exposed to Chamorro language literacy during their formative years, but did not acquire fluency in the language. Generation 3 does not speak Chamorro fluently, and they possess a sense of loss and regret for their native language. Ultimately, the common thread among all three generations is that Chamorro remains significant in the private and religious domains via song and prayer.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Para I mañaina-hu
Manuel Concepcion Quintanilla† *yan* Ana Babauta Taitague Quintanilla†
yan
Francisco Cruz Santos† *yan* Maria San Nicolas Quenga Santos†

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

A sociocultural view of language and literacy research calls attention to the ways literacy and learning are shaped by power, identity, and agency. People use multiple literacies (Perez, 1998; Scribner & Cole, 1981; Street, 1984) to achieve their goals in multiple sociocultural contexts. Literacies are used in the academic, professional, or home domain and understanding how, when, and what ways Chamorros of Guam use English and Chamorro literacy to achieve goals and transmit cultural knowledge will provide information to enhance current language and literacy policies and practices on Guam.

Literacies take various shapes in different contexts, and in many cases some literacies are privileged over others (Barton, 1991; Purcell-Gates, 1995; Street, 1999). The intersection of language, literacy, and identity in empirical research helps to better understand how, why and in what ways various peoples of multiple cultures around the world make sense of and produce knowledge in their communities. Sociolinguists and literacy researchers posit that background knowledge plays a significant role in meaning making and that there is a social nature to literacy learning (Bruner, 1996; Heath, 1983; Goodman, 1992; Scribner & Cole, 1981). Not only are language, literacy and identity specific to culture, they are also constituted as a result of sociocultural, historical, and political events.

As in this particular literacy research project, the transformation of Guam's language, literacy and identity is fraught with colonization and politicization as a result of domination by Spain, the United States, and Japan.

Guam: The Politicization of Language, Literacy, and Identity

Language, literacy, and identity on Guam have been and continue to be politicized as a result of Guam's ambiguous political relationship with the United States and its colonial history. As a result, Guam's language and literacy history includes the reality that Guam's native language and culture, labeled here as Chamorro, have been directly influenced by colonialism, westernization, modernization, migration and integration of peoples, and the globalization of English. Italian social theorist, Antonio Gramsci, cautions a citizenry about the consequences of politicizing language:

> Each time that in one way or another, the question of language comes to the fore, that signifies that a series of other problems is about to emerge, the formation and enlarging of the ruling class, the necessity to establish more intimate and sure relations between the ruling groups and the popular masses, that is the reorganization of cultural hegemony. (1972, p. 52)

Guam's language history is confirmation of Gramsci's argument that problems emerge as a result of politicization. Thus, the Chamorros of Guam, those affected by language and literacy education and policies around the world, or all who are interested in cultural literacy, globalization, ESL, and the role politics plays in language and literacy development and acquisition may want to learn about what occurred in Guam's language and literacy history. Learning about why changes took place to better understand why Guam's current language and literacy education, practices, and attitudes exist today will provide "new ways to see and understand the cultural forces at work in society" (Bressler, 2003, p. 199). This research project places emphasis on the historical and sociocultural contexts within which Chamorros of Guam have been culturally,

linguistically, politically, and socially constituted which in turn impacted Chamorro language, literacy and identity. Researchers Lewis, Enciso and Moje (2007) argue that there is a "need to reinforce the importance of attending to the sociocultural nature of literacy […] and to focus on how identities are shaped by and shaping of social and cultural contexts" (p. 6). Learning about Guam's experiences is important to understanding similar situations around the globe particularly about colonized or formerly colonized communities.

Before one can begin to conceptualize the Chamorros of Guam, it is best to discuss the term Chamorros at the onset. The *Chamorro* language is indigenous to the Mariana Islands and the *Chamorro* people or *Chamorros* are individuals who identify themselves as descendants of ancient Chamorros, the native people of the Mariana Islands. Individuals who do not recognize a Chamorro heritage, but who reside in Guam, can be identified as *Guamanian*. Guamanians generally recognize Guam as their true home, regardless of their ethnicity, but Chamorros, like many other ethnic groups around the world, have a collective identity distinctive to Chamorros of Guam (Underwood, 1987; Perez, 2004). In order to best extract characteristics in Chamorro identity, I have adopted Gee's (2001) characterization of the "identity kit" as the incorporation of "saying (writing)-doing-being-valuing-believing combinations" (p. 256). Gee's definition of literacy, as applied to this study, does not imply that writing must be present in a person's life for her to be literate. Rather, Gee calls for acquisition of literacies and not literacy. Essentially, literacy may include, but is not limited to, her ability to write or read text. Some may argue that the use of Gee's identity kit counters the objective of this project because it is a theory derived from western thought. However, the identity kit, as Gee

presents it, can be applied to this project because western influences have altered and impacted Chamorro identity and Chamorros of Guam. In addition, Chamorros of Guam who matriculate on the island are educated in a U.S. based educational system, so acquisition and knowledge of English language and literacy are mandated. Further, Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Associate Professor in Education and Director of the International Institute for Maori and Indigenous Education at the University of Auckland, points out that native or indigenous researchers use the language and/or theories of western academe to write indigenous research so as to engage an audience within the dominant culture (1999). In other words, the indigenous researcher who chooses to engage in a conversation about western and indigenous issues draws on the language, literacy and theories derived from western academe; this choice affords entry to join the conversation or the discourse within a dominant culture. Tuhiwai Smith goes on to impress that research methodology is a colonial construct and that more often than not, indigenous research calls for methods that do not fit within the confines of western, academic research; yet, indigenous researchers are expected to adhere to western methodology. Tuhiwai Smith writes:

> The ways in which scientific research is implicated in the worst excesses of colonialism remains a powerful remembered history for many of the world's colonized peoples. It is a history that still offends the deepest sense of our humanity […] It galls us that western researchers and intellectuals can assume to know all that it is possible to know of us, on the basis of their brief encounters with some of us. It appals us that the West can desire, extract and claim ownership of our ways of knowing, our imagery, the things we create and

> produce, and then simultaneously reject the people who created and developed those ideas and seek to deny them further opportunities to be creators of their own culture and own nations. (1999, p.1)

Tuhiwai Smith (1999) further stresses that the indigenous researcher must be careful about what is written and documented because the indigenous researcher must live with the consequences of what she writes and so too do her families and community.

Thus as an indigenous researcher, born and bred on Guam, who understands the native language well (but with limited Chamorro speaking ability), I aim to provide insight into the intricacies of Chamorro language, literacy and identity. I believe, and find Gee's description of the "identity kit" and Gramsci's (1972) position that critical literacy allows people to "participate in the understanding and transformation of their society" (Giroux, 1987, p. 2) provide a valuable strategy to analyze the complexity of modern Chamorro identity. The present study uses the language and literacy histories of three generations of Chamorro women to show how and in what ways Chamorro and English language and literacy influenced these women's perceptions, attitudes and practices and ultimately their identity as Chamorro women in modern Guam. That is, how have these specific Chamorro women used Chamorro and English language and literacy to shape their own identities and pass on Chamorro culture to their children and grandchildren? For example and from personal experience, I use Chamorro and English literacy to teach my students about indigenous issues and Chamorro culture as it relates to past and present life on Guam and how historical events have contributed to and created complex issues today in modern Guam. The complexity of Chamorro identity could be attributed to the blending of native Chamorro traditions and the three different colonizers

in Guam's history: Spain, the United States, and Japan. This is a concept I discuss in Chapter 2.

Additionally, Chamorro, as a term, signifies a people, a language, and a culture. In the case of my present research, Chamorro—as a language and culture—has been infused with loaned words and borrowed cultural traditions, such as Catholicism and from languages including Spanish, Japanese, Tagalog, Standard American English, and nativized Chamorro-English, as well as a multitude of other languages and cultures. Much of the infusion of other languages within the Chamorro language is a result of Guam's colonial past, a significant U.S. military presence, and diverse population. Chamorros' language and identity have been politicized as the people of Guam have been colonized four times by Spain, Japan and twice by the United States.

Language, specifically, has gone through much transformation particularly since the first United States Naval Administration officially established a government on Guam in 1899. I believe that for Chamorros of Guam, like everywhere else in the world, language is a part of cultural identity (Whorf, 1956). The belief that language is connected to cultural identity is supported by research of multilingual communities like Native American, Puerto Rican, African American, and South American communities (Lanehart, 2002; McCartie & Watahomigie, 1998; Torres-Guzman, 1998; Wogan, 2004). Taken this way, language and identity are linked to historical experiences and sociopolitical contexts in which a people are a part (Ogulnick, 2005). The relationship between language and identity and historical experience will be discussed in the Conceptual Framework section of this chapter. The transformation of the Chamorro language and people from a mono-lingual and mono-cultural to a multi-lingual and

multicultural community can be attributed to colonization, occupation, western education, and a tumultuous history that has been heavily influenced by political dominance. Together, Chamorro men and women, throughout Guam's history, have worked in tandem to enhance their families' quality of life by adjusting to changing times and governing bodies despite the negative events of the past (Hattori, Personal Communication, 2004). Yet, as I will point out, the influences and contributions of Chamorro women, much like women of other cultures impacted by colonialism, have historically been muted. That is, Chamorro people are aware of the influences and contributions that Chamorro women have had, but are not usually referenced, spoken of, or documented. Like Alastair Pennycook (2002) I express the need to be "critical of the social and political roles and implications" (p. 67) that informs my work. In order to be critical, I aim to generate insights, explain events, and to seek understanding of the work I engage in, as critical ethnography proposes (Anderson, 1989).

My work, then, focuses on the role of Chamorro women within the context of the Chamorro people. Specifically, in this work I examine how Chamorro women have historically affected and continue to affect literacy and its influence on language and culture. In other words, I examine how those who identify themselves as Chamorro women juxtapose the Chamorro past and present to influence the future of language, literacy, identity, and culture on the island of Guam. Chamorro women, in particular, are significant to this study because it is they, more likely than not, who pass on the Chamorro and English language and literacy practices and attitudes to their children. Previous studies of literacy (Heath, 1983; Zentella, 1987; Souder, 1991; Sohn, 2003; Clark, 2005) suggest women are the guardians and bearers of culture and language. It is

this intimation of women and literacy and culture that drives my objective to document how Chamorro women perceive English literacy as it influenced Chamorro literacy, language, and culture choices within the familial intergenerational context and to what extent did literacy influence the changing roles of Chamorro women in modern Guam. Therefore, I enter this study with the following research questions to guide my inquiry.

Research Questions

1. **How has becoming literate in English shaped Chamorro women's understandings (ideas/perceptions) of being a Chamorro woman in modern Guam?**

   Prior to U.S. governance in 1899, education under Spanish rule was a male privilege (Rogers, 1995). When the U.S. first gained possession of the island in 1898, through the Treaty of Paris, the naval government instituted compulsory public education for males and females. English was the only language used in schools and government institutions. Did becoming literate in English and getting an education strengthen Chamorro women's influences in the home, work place, and community?

2. **What advantages and/or disadvantages did/does becoming literate in English have in the lives of Chamorro women?**

   How do Chamorro women of different generations value literacy? For example, an intergenerational literacy study of a Chamorro family on Guam revealed that the value of English literacy and education increased over time within three generations and that English literacy was associated with academic success which in turn led to successful careers and financial stability (Santos, 1998).

Definitions

Literacy as Social Practice

For the purposes of this study *literacy* will be used to discuss and describe people's ability to read and write and as "a set of social activities involving written language in terms of its function and context, that is, the ways that people use literacy to achieve their goals in a variety of sociocultural contexts" (Perez, 1998, p. 22).

This definition implies that literacy involves written language to accomplish different tasks in different situations; in other words, literacy is situated. As such, literacy is knowing how and when to use written language (reading or writing) to do things like applying for a job, filing a formal complaint, completing homework assignments, retrieving public information, reading a newspaper, reviewing children's school assignments, writing and reading recipes, applying for a bank loan or a social security number, sending an email, and reading the Bible or other religious literature. These are examples of literacy as social practice that I expect to find through this study.

Literacy as Meaning-Making

Extending the definition of literacy as social practice, Gee (2001) argues that literacy is more than just reading and writing; literacy is embedded in, shaped, and reshaped by life experiences and a larger communicative society and sociopolitical entities. Literacy, as meaning-making, is informed by "integrate[d] words, acts, values, beliefs, attitudes, and social identities" (Gee, 2001, p. 526). Thus, literacy and literacy uses are also "culture-specific ways of knowing" (Perez, 1998, p. 24). Through this project, literacy as meaning-making, for Chamorro women, may tell us that the ways language is used or appropriated, Chamorro and/or English, is a signifier of how and in

which contexts different meanings are realized. My birth and upbringing on Guam has led to my own realizations about Chamorro and English. For me, the Chamorro language is close to my heart. As a teacher, I see many of my peers desiring to learn and use Chamorro but have few opportunities to do so. English is the predominant language as it is used in school and the workplace where Chamorros spend most of our days. Explicitly, English is for work and survival; Chamorro is for the heart.

Conceptual Framework

The following theoretical perspectives have influenced the course of my research as they examine the sociocultural, historical, and political influences of language and literacy development and transmission.

Heath's Literacy and Social Practice

Based on the premise that literacy acquisition and development are socially constructed, my goal is to analyze a group of intergenerational Chamorro women's attitudes and practices about Chamorro and English language and literacy, Heath's (1983; 1999) theory of literacy and social practice provides an appropriate framework for the study as Chamorros of Guam were socialized into adapting to the use and application of the English language and literacy practices . Heath's theory offers four key factors:

1. The social nature of literacy calls for multiple perspectives (the plurality of literacy). Multiple perspectives in literacy studies, as Heath points out, should involve various individuals (e.g. locals from the community, teachers, parents, students, interpreters, analysts) so that the variations of literacy meanings are conveyed in ways reflective of the specific community. This study will provide multiple perspectives from female participants of varying social, economic, and

professional backgrounds;

2. Literacies are shaped by family, community, time, space, and cultural conditions over an individual life span;

3. Literacy landscapes and geographies (i.e. the influences and spread of new technologies and media) are crucial to literacy development and practices;

4. Literacy is purposeful and is appropriated to portray life events and self-identities. (1999, p. 103-105).

Intergenerational Transmission Theory

Building on Heath's (1983; 1999) theory that language and literacy are socially constructed, Bengston, Biblarz, and Roberts' (2002) intergenerational transmission theory proposes that "individual development—especially a person's values, aspirations, and self-esteem—are related to family of origin and the social context within which…she grows up and grows old" (p. 24). The home is where education begins and the value and development of literacy are, more often than not, observed and transmitted by individuals in the home like parents, siblings, and relatives. Heath (1983), Purcell-Gates (1995), Taylor & Dorsey-Gaines (1988), Santos (1998), and Clark (2005) show us prime examples of intergenerational transmission that I expand on in the review of the literature.

Community of Practice Theory

Another concept used to discuss relationships among individuals within specific groups is *community of practice*. Communities of practice consist of people—in this study, the Chamorro women of Guam—who share similar characteristics like language, specific interests, philosophies, and even spiritual beliefs. Specifically, a community of

practice is a mutual engagement that binds members together into a social entity (Wenger, 1998). Wenger (2006) highlights three basic elements of Community of Practice: 1. The Domain; 2. The Community; and 3. The Practice.

1. The Domain. A community of practice is not merely a club of friends or a network of connections between people. It has an identity defined by a shared domain of interest. Membership therefore implies a commitment to the domain, and therefore a shared competence that distinguishes members from other people. The domain is not necessarily something recognized as expertise outside the community. They value their collective competence and learn from each other, even though few people outside the group may value or even recognize their expertise.
2. The community. In pursuing their interest in their domain, members engage in joint activities and discussions, help each other, and share information. They build relationships that enable them to learn from each other.
3. The practice. A community of practice is not merely a community of interest—people who like certain kinds of movies, for instance. Members of a community of practice are practitioners. They develop a shared repertoire of resources: experiences, stories, tools, ways of addressing recurring problems—in short a shared practice. (p. 1-2)

Churches, women's groups, and community organizations are some examples of communities of practice in which women on Guam are a part. Community of practice theory is influential in this study as it speaks to the nuances of literacy and gender, and points to a variety of ways in which communities of practice take shape in some societies

(Clark, 2005, p. 9). In particular, Chamorro women, more often than not, take charge of their families' spiritual and religious practices, literacy learning, and social gatherings. Communities of practice like religious organizations (e.g. Christian Mothers or the Legion of Mary) bind many Chamorro women together and serve as meeting spaces where they can serve God, the church, and the Guam community, and use language and literacy to do so. Further, the language and literacy used in a community of practice helps to reinforce and shape the relationships that exist between members (Bergvall, 1999).

Postcolonial Theory

The United States, a colonial power since the 19th century, strengthened its world dominance by force. Puerto Rico, the Philippines, Guam, and the U.S. Virgin Islands are prime examples of nations in which the U.S. employed its colonial powers to expand its borders. Today, such places are described as *postcolonial.* Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin characterize the postcolonial as "all the culture affected by imperial process from the moment of colonization to the present day" (1989, p. 2). Thus, since the inception of Guam as a U.S. territory at the end of the 19th century through the present, all political, social, cultural, and educational transpirations may be considered as postcolonial. Considering that because the United States exercised imperial powers on existing societies like Guam in the 1800s and early 1900s, the cultures within each society were transformed to reflect a stateside lifestyle so as to better accommodate the colonizer (Le Blanc, 2002; Said, 1978). On Guam, education, the prime medium to institute change, focused on the instruction of the English language and literacy from 1899 through 1941 and then again after the Japanese Occupation from 1944 to 1978 (Palomo, 1987;

Underwood, 1987). Because of conflicting values and way of life between Chamorros and the United States, the people of Guam delineated spaces to conform either to be complicit to the dominant culture or to resist on their own terms. The focus of English literacy and the devaluation of Chamorro literacy led Chamorros of Guam to become silent (Bressler, 2003) in "official" and "professional" domains. English language learning, at the expense of Chamorro culture and language, has become the language of power and prestige; thus, the practice and use of the Chamorro language has become less prevalent.

The sociocultural, historical and political impact that the Guam community has encountered since its contact with Spain, the United States, and Japan directly influenced language, culture, and identity of the Chamorros of Guam. Postcolonial theory provides a basis from which to be critical of past and present conditions (Bhabha, 1996; Bressler, 2003). That is, postcolonial theory draws attention to the problematic issue of the discursive representation of colonized or previously colonized nations and their peoples. Further, postcolonial theory places emphasis not only on the discursive but also on the material effects of the historical fact of imperialism. Thus, postcolonial studies are sensitive to language, since language itself played a leading role in colonization (Ashcroft, Griffiths, & Tiffin, 1998, p. 1-2).

To further extract consequences of colonialism and the postcolonial condition of the Chamorros of Guam, it is necessary to credit Said's (1978) recognition of the multifaceted complexities of the colonized space and the political challenges that accompany taking claim of such space:

> [The] universal practice of designating in one's mind a familiar space which is 'ours' and an unfamiliar place beyond 'ours' which is theirs is a way of making geographical distinctions that can be entirely arbitrary […] It is enough for 'us' to set up these boundaries in our own minds; 'they' become 'they' accordingly, and both their territory and their mentality designated as different from 'ours.' To a certain extent modern and primitive societies seem thus to derive a sense of their identities negatively. (1978, p. 54)

Colonialism is an extension of this tendency, the consequences of which are the "destruction of another's space in the name of recreating a home space for the colonial" (Le Blanc, 2002, p. 240). Consequently, colonial presence dispossesses inhabitants of the colonized space while creating a space for itself. When the U.S. officially established the Naval government on Guam in 1899 and again upon their return following World War II, they requisitioned fertile lands inhabited by people and the Apra Harbor to secure the arrival and departure of ships. The Apra Harbor was being used by the people for the same purpose, but when the U.S. set up shop, the inhabitants were barred from returning to the harbor. Further, Chamorros who lived in the vicinity of the Apra Harbor and the southern village of Sumay were forced off their native lands and homes and pushed into the hills of Santa Rita. Essentially, large groups of people from various villages had their homes taken away. For Chamorros, immediate dispossession came in the form of U.S. seizure of tracts of native land, segregated schools, curriculum heavily focused on agriculture, and industrial and manual skills, an English-only policy, and the consequences with using the Chamorro language in public spaces like schools and government agencies and organizations. Bressler (2003) highlights how colonialism

marginalizes the colonized, "[C]onquerors not only dominated the physical land but also the hegemony or ideology of the colonized people, and the effects of these colonizations are many and are still being felt today" (p. 202). Concomitantly, when native lands were requisitioned for military use prior to and after World War II, this land loss resulted not only in the loss of livelihood, but also in the loss of a place in which to root Chamorros' identity—not simply as individuals newly governed by the United States, but as "distinct peoples with values, customs, and desires that run counter to the American notion that the course of civilization runs in the direction of becoming Americanized" (Petersen, 2004, p. 61).

The colonized space, or "location" as referred to by Bhabha in *The Location of Culture* (1994), is transformed over time to complement colonial presence. Thus, for individuals, specifically for Chamorros, born into colonial context, identity becomes difficult to establish and often questions of the transformation of space and location and its impact on language, culture, and identity. For example, Naval Governor Richard Leary set forth a general order that all residents of Guam should learn to read, write, and speak the English language so as to improve their "own mental conditions" (U.S. Navy Department, 1905, p. 17). Thus, through the lens of postcolonial theory, the colonizer (U.S. Naval government) constructed and perpetuated the idea that Chamorros of Guam lacked higher mental facilities because English was not the primary language.

Island Identity Theory

Islands and identity are crucial to this particular study as the collective cultural identity of the Chamorros of Guam have been blended with that of the mainland United States, Spain, and Japan. Island identity theory offers two distinct concepts to

understand island identity, *real identity* and *perceived identity* (Omoniyi, 2000). Island identity does not follow western notions of ethnicity, but rather is rooted in external situations and experiences (Howard, 1989; Linnekin & Poyer, 1990; Omoniyi, 2000). Specifically, island identity is not defined solely by identifying with a specific ethnicity. Rather, island identity is shaped by situations and events that penetrate the island community. With this in mind, colonial rule and western governance have influenced Chamorros' of Guam identity.

Indigenous researcher and sociolinguist, Tope Omoniyi (2000), informed by extensive research in island nations, conveys that *real identity* is fashioned by sociocultural, political and linguistic features that characterize an island community. That is, the focus of real identity is on "the roles that islandness plays in constructing the identity of island societies and states such that they are different from neighboring continental societies" (Omoniyi, 2000, p. 4); whereas a perceived identity "derives solely from the visible characteristics of the geophysical space" (p. 4). For illustration, Guam is often referred to as an "island paradise" or the more popular touristic identifier, "Guam, where America's day begins." Such references are used to market Guam as a tropical tourist destination and to inform visitors that Guam is a U.S. possession. Thus, Guam's perceived identity is based on its geophysical characteristics. Yet, Guam's colonial history, past and present debates of sovereignty and political status, and a surge in U.S. military presence point to a real identity that differentiates Guam from the mainland United States.

Language and Identity

Theorists Tafjel (1974), Norton (2000) and Pavlenko (2001) concur that individuals possess not one core identity, but rather multiple identities and move between identities to fit the context, situation, or domain in which they are a part. Significant to this study is the concept of identity; more specifically, the concept of identity and its relationship to language and literacy. John E. Joseph, in *Language and identity: National, ethnic, and religious* (2004), addresses the concept of identity in tandem with language. Joseph contends that there are many complex aspects relative to language and identity, but they are all connected to individual experience. Specifically, Joseph claims that identity is central to understanding language choices because language is shaped by an individual's identity and others' perceptions of the individual's identity. Joseph's position parallels Omoniyi's (2000) island identity, specifically the concepts of real identity and perceived identity. Thus, the attitudes about English and Chamorro are not perceptions of the language itself but rather perceptions about Chamorro people and U.S. Americans. Joseph's work leads me to assert that for many Chamorros, being U.S. Americans was better than being Chamorros of Guam because the U.S. was modern, powerful and wealthy. Extending Joseph' s work to this particular study strengthens the intent of this project; to extract lived experiences of three generations of Chamorro women with specific emphasis on attitudes and practices relative to language and literacy.

Parallel to Joseph's concepts of language and identity is Bonny Norton's work, *Identity and language learning* (2000). Researchers (Duff & Uchida, 1997; Thesen, 1997; Morgan, 1997) inclusive of Norton, note that the construction of identity "must be

understood with reference to power relations between the language learners and the target language speakers" (2000, p. 6). Norton's overarching stance is that language choice and learning are negotiated and that the language appropriated is heavily influenced by the language of power. More specifically, Norton posits that the language learner must have an investment in the target language. Norton encourages teachers of language to view the language learner as having a complex identity that is best understood within the context of wider social, historical, and economic processes. Simply, to invest in a language is to invest in an identity (Norton, 2000). For Chamorros, learning English became the means to obtain jobs outside of manual labor and to further their educational opportunities. The Chamorro language, because of English-only policies, was not perceived to be the language of opportunity. To perpetuate the notion of English as the language of opportunity and success, the Naval Administration, via *The Guam Recorder* (a monthly news publication during the Naval Administration from 1924 to 1941), published articles that encouraged Chamorros to continue to learn the English language as a vehicle to ensure continued educational and economic progress. A particularly disturbing example of such propaganda was published in September 1924.

> English will bring to the people of Guam, through the public schools, a knowledge of sanitation and hygiene which will enable them to live in a correct manner. This will result still more favorably in the increase in population. Along with such increase will come further and enforced economic development. With economic development will come more of the real pleasure of life. Through English will come a knowledge of fair play and a keen sense of honor such as the progenitors of Americans had at the time of the origin of the language and such as

is practiced by the American nation at the present time. (p.9)

This particular excerpt encapsulates the United States' Naval Administrations' position in reference to the English language and a "good life." That is, learning the English language will ensure a pleasurable and fulfilling life.

The Naval Administration had a role in directing what was best for the Chamorros and so, too, did individuals who were not from the island but made the decision to make Guam their home. In 1966, Joe Murphy, Managing Editor of the Guam-based newspaper *Territorial Sun*, wrote an opinion piece in his column *Pipe Dreams* entitled, "The language barrier on Guam is serious." Murphy had only been on island for a year when he made it known that parents who spoke to their children in Chamorro at home made it much more difficult for Chamorros to be American. Murphy's inferior views of the use of the Chamorro language among the Chamorros of Guam is, more likely than not, similar to statesiders who were stationed or relocated to Guam for various reasons. Further, Murphy's perception that bilingualism was a hindrance to Chamorro children's learning and education stemmed from the myth that "bilingualism in itself has a bad effect on children" (Cook, 2001, p. 160). This belief stems from what is known as *deficit theory;* this theory was used and applied through the 1960s (Cook, 2001; Hudson, 2001). Essentially, the deficit model implies that children raised in a bilingual home have a learning disadvantage (in contrast to children raised in a monolingual home) because the second language confuses children. Since the 1960s, however, research has shown that children who are bilingual are linguistically more perceptive to language than monolingual children (Cook, 2001). In Murphy's quote below from his 1966 opinion piece, specific words and phrases are italicized for emphasis.

> The dual language on Guam is a *serious barrier to idea exchange*. The frustrations of the stateside school teacher, here on contract, have been pointed out to me many times. A first grader, brought up in a Guamanian home speaks little English and consequently his entire schooling process is *retarded* […] The Guamanian isn't able—by virtue of his dual language—to express himself, not only in school, but in the newspapers, or other mass communications. He has problems in his job—all because *he must be exceptionally smart enough* to go back and forth between the melodic and expressive Chamorro and English […] Maybe *you people* want to be Chamorros first and Americans second.
>
> Maybe you would like to withdraw as a territory and become a separate nation like Tongo [sic]. But think about it for a moment. If you are going to accept the idea of American citizenship, if you are going to learn to love rock and roll, TV, bingo, cars and all the rest—then it's time you stopped *hurting your children* by speaking in the *vernacular* at home. (p. 4)

The implications of this quote to this study are significant. First, it may seem that Murphy's concern is for Chamorro children; however, it is apparent that the frustration with the use of the language lies not with Chamorros themselves but with stateside teachers on contract in their contact with Chamorro schoolchildren. That is, stateside teachers did not recognize the possibility that their teaching methods and beliefs may have been the problem. Second, Murphy makes the assumption that employing the dual languages is a hindrance to education and employment because Chamorros are not smart enough to codeswitch. Third, he equates enjoying American entertainment with being fluent in the English language. Finally, Murphy proclaims that speaking Chamorro at

home hurts children. In this particular instance, Murphy's position at the newspaper and his access to publication opportunities provided a fairly large readership. Perceptions such as Murphy's directly and negatively impacted the perceptions and collective identity of the Chamorro people.

While identity is significant to language and literacy learning and choice, it is important to consider the context in which the language learner exists. Specific to this study is the fact that the Chamorros of Guam are not nor have been for a long time a sovereign people and the imposition of the English language among the natives of Guam was one way to create a space in which the U.S. Navy could function and govern the people. In a report to the Hoover Institute School of Naval Administration, Laura Thompson (1946) contracted by the U.S. Navy, writes that a U.S. Naval officer burned all the Chamorro dictionaries he could find (p. 1). This explicit act solidified Chamorros' perception that the U.S. government and the Navy had little to no regard and respect for the people of Guam and the Chamorro language. In the same report, Thompson is critical of the U.S. Naval Government's treatment of the native language:

> The Navy, it should be noted, does not defend the episode, but its effect on the feelings of the natives was unfortunate. More significant than this incident is the fact that, in banning Chamorro for official use, the Navy sacrificed the opportunity of creating good will and facilitating administration by dealing with the natives in their own language. (p. 1-2)

Instead of using the Chamorro language to transition or ease Chamorros into a new system of government and earn the people's trust, the Navy chose to ban the language ultimately separating the people from the government. During the first and second Naval

Government and well into the 1970s, Chamorro was relegated to private spaces and its use led to consequences in the school system. The English language eclipsed Chamorro and the shift from Chamorro to English following World War II was quick. Nonetheless, Chamorro is still used today; although less frequently than English.

Hybridity

The dual languages are still heard on the island and in Chamorro communities across the mainland United States where Chamorros have settled and a hybrid lens is possibly the best way to view and understand Chamorro identity. While hybridity and postcolonial theory are ideal components of this study's conceptual framework, Bressler (2003) cautions theorists, researchers, and writers to "guard against ascribing our own cultural ideas into postcolonial works" (p. 205) because it is relatively impossible to understand all colonized groups and can lead to another form of oppression.

Hybridity is not just two cultures, identities, or definitions cohabitating. Hybridity also implies intense clashes and differences in hierarchy between two or more traditional, national, or global models. Hybridity calls attention to the users and perpetuators of the language or to the impact the language makes on the audience. The concept of hybridity exists not only within an individual who struggles with complicated notions of identity, but also between individuals by recognizing cultural similarities.

Homi Bhabha's (1994) views of hybridity paired with a postcolonial condition (discussed earlier) highlight that there is a constant battle for the individual who struggles to maintain cultural and ethnic ties yet acknowledges the necessity to adapt and grow with modernity and changes in society. Making a specific connection to Guam, teachers during the naval administration and post World War II (late 1800s to late 1970s) ascribed

identity to their Chamorro students by modeling and teaching that Chamorro language was not applicable to public life and academics. To be more specific, teachers excluded the native or indigenous within the confines of the classroom and the learning experience because teachers were instructed and expected to conduct all lessons and matters of education in English. Specifically, Chamorro language and way of life were excluded from the discussion and act of progress. At the same time, parents sought to shape the identities of their children within multiple contexts by exposure to relatives and close friends, nuclear and extended family, and the Catholic Church. Such exposures, more likely than not, provided opportunities to stay connected to the culture as the U.S. education system did not perpetuate Chamorro culture or the continuation of the language itself.

The cultural hybridities that Bhabha describes are realities for Chamorros of Guam and call upon us to recognize ourselves as indigenous Chamorros with U.S. American influences. Bhabha further articulates that hybridity is produced when there is "discrimination between the mother culture and its bastards, the self and its doubles, where the trace of what is disavowed is not repressed but repeated as something different—a mutation, a hybrid"(1994, p. 111). Bhabha goes on to posit that the hybrid being is an individual who possesses the mark of the colonizer but also recognizes that the colonizer discriminates and displaces in order to gain domination. With that said, the hybrid is able to use the tools of the colonizer, like language, literacy, and education, to criticize and draw attention to the "mimetic and narcissistic demands of colonial power" (p. 112). In an interview with Olson and Worsham (1999), Bhabha emphasizes that literacy is connected "intimately and institutionally" (p. 28) to democratic representation

and that literacy is "in some ways an equalizing force" (p. 29). In other words, critical literacy lends itself to the development of agency. Bhabha's description of the hybrid being is mirrored in what I do as an educator and in what I have accomplished via this research project.

As Chamorros of Guam seek to situate ourselves in society, we are cognizant of the contradictions we face negotiating cultural norms within public spaces and schools. In Chamorros' struggle to adapt and survive in a society so different from traditional native customs, some Chamorros have chosen to focus on opportunities for success our modern environment presents while some remain loyal to our traditional customs and cultural practices. Avoiding overgeneralization, it is fair to say that many Chamorros do not take on the either-or stance as Chamorro or American, but rather embody, without realizing it, hybrid-ness. Thus, many Chamorros have made the choice, conscious or not, to value a U.S. mainland way of life so as to engage with, enter, and be successful in a society that is dominated by U.S. politics, business, economics, and educational institutions. Hybridity, in this project, marks the constant negotiation, challenge, and struggle within relationships marked by asymetrical power relations and remains grounded in the material and historical condition under which it was created. Simply, Chamorros of Guam remain in flux as the Chamorro way of life does not always coincide with the demands that the U.S. government places on the people of Guam. When Guam leaders make attempts to take control of local situations or problems, it is common for the U.S. federal government to step in and "fix" the situation. The act of stepping in disempowers Chamorros and removes the responsibility of Chamorros being the agents of change in our native homeland.

Significance of the Project

Significance the Project I: Significance for Literacy and Language Studies

Knowledge of specific functions of literacy varies among cultures and social groups (Perez, 1998, p. 24). For the Chamorros of Guam, sociocultural and sociopolitical experiences (i.e. war, colonialism, language policies) have directly influenced their ways of life. Reading, writing, and other literacy events are inextricably associated with Chamorros' sociocultural and sociopolitical history; therefore, "[o]rganizing quality literacy instruction requires knowing the sociocultural context of the learner" (Torres-Guzman, 1998, p.99). As Torres-Guzman implies, if formal literacy instruction takes place in the classroom where learners engage in a variety of literacy events like reading, writing, and group discussion, then teachers must be cognizant of students' cultural, linguistic, and social backgrounds. This awareness is significant because, if educators accept the idea that students' cultural, linguistic, and social backgrounds influence literacy acquisition and learning, then it is fair to employ the idea, as Ferdman (1990) and Fullinwider (1996) posit, that "literacy education can be seen to be a major vehicle for socialization and for the development of cultural identity" (Ferdman, 1999, p. 97). To further support the significance of this literacy study, ten years after Faigley's (1986) call for a social view of writing and historical awareness, Deborah Brandt solidified the link of literacy and culture by articulating that literacy is a term that "illuminates the ways that individual acts of writing are connected to larger cultural, historical, and social and political systems" (Brandt, 1996, p. 392). Research such as this "illuminates" how language and literacy on Guam has transformed Chamorros and how Chamorros ourselves have transformed language and literacy practices and attitudes. Thus learning

about specific cultures, peoples, or individuals is a way to inform pedagogy, particularly in literacy and language studies.

When students learn to read and write in the classroom, often, though not always, they are exposed to social issues while simultaneously being exposed to how reading and writing are fluid in everyday life. They learn from their teachers and peers that reading and writing are not exclusive to school assignments, and that literacy practices are reflective of the home and community environment. In the case of students on Guam, some bilingual, monolingual and multilingual, classrooms are comprised of students of varying linguistic backgrounds. Because classrooms on Guam today are more culturally diverse than they were 20 years ago as a result of immigration, the island's increased military presence, and economic growth, educators must seek to enhance their pedagogical practices to meet the linguistic, cultural, and social needs of students (Freire, 1970; Berlin, 1996; Harris, 1997). Moreover, educators must facilitate a learning environment for students to embrace cultural differences, behaviors, and practices that they bring into the classroom and at the same time provide opportunities to extend and share their literacy knowledge and skills with others.

It is the goal of the educator to provide opportunities for students to improve their ability to utilize language for academic success, social survival, and personal enrichment. However, the educator must recognize that it is essential for students to maintain their cultural and linguistic identity at the same time (Akinnaso, 2001; Fox, 1994; Freire, 1970; Rose, 1988). In the U.S. educational system, particularly on Guam, when minorities and immigrants enter the classroom, they bring with them cultural values and ideologies that often clash with western educational practices. Nonetheless, if educators choose to take

on the responsibility to utilize or incorporate students' histories, cultures, values, and epistemologies then students will feel empowered and be successful in and throughout the learning process. Yet inasmuch as educators advocate incorporating students' backgrounds into the classroom, the globalization of English propels the English language to the height of "dominant symbology system" (Lundsford, 1999, p. 63). Gloria Anzaldua explains in an interview with Andrea Lundsford (1999) that English, as a dominant symbology system, creates and displaces reality. In other words, the imposed use of the English language on Guam has created a new reality, while concomitantly pushing the existing reality (the existing use of the Chamorro language) into the periphery, or worse, relegated to vernacular status.

On Guam, the acquisition and use of the English language was compulsory beginning at the turn of the 20th century. The reality created was one that forced the Chamorros of Guam to learn the English language, and learn it well, in order to gain employment and to excel in school (Carter 1998; Underwood, 1987). This change in language use caused the gradual displacement of one language by another (from Chamorro to English) in the lives of the community members either partially or completely (Dorian, 1982). Further and perhaps more significantly, the spread of the English language displaced the reality that the Chamorro language was significant to collective cultural identity—in fact, it was as if Chamorro was insignificant and a hindrance to progress. Thus, because the English language has been politicized on Guam, Chamorros have been "swallowed up" (Lundsford, 1999, p. 63) by the English language. That is, Chamorro identity, culture, language, and literacy on Guam have been displaced by the politicization of language.

Historical literacy research is valuable in literacy and language studies as teachers of language try to address the linguistic and cultural needs of students. The classroom is an environment that promotes awareness of social and cultural issues and facilitates learning experiences where students can learn to articulate their thoughts, ideas, and feelings through writing (Berlin, 1996; Hurlbert & Blitz, 1991; Villanueva, 1993; Macedo, 1994). Historical research—in this instance, literacy histories—will provide the people of Guam, researchers, historians, and educators information that may be significant to future decisions, policies, and classroom practices. Moore et al (1997) articulates:

> Among the most important reasons for knowing and doing history is that it brings into being who we are as a group. History is a vital sign of our community's maturity, vitality, and growing self awareness. It provides the basis for a collective sense of direction and purpose. (p.97)

Knowledge of a people's history, in this instance the history of the indigenous people of Guam, is essential to understand how that history has influenced the present. While the intent is not to engender feelings of guilt, it is about acceptance, moving forward, and commitment to social justice and understanding not just for the people of Guam but for indigenous peoples all over the world. In response to the social mistreatment of native and indigenous peoples, Dobson (1993) promotes a social justice agenda and articulates:

> Social justice must always be considered from a perspective which is grounded in the daily lives of the indigenous…social justice is what faces you in the morning […] it is the ability to nourish your children and send them to a school where their

education not only equips them for employment but reinforces their knowledge and appreciation of cultural inheritance. (p. 10)

In order to best understand the nature of how or why a colonized (or formerly colonized) community developed into its present state, it is essential to be familiar with the community's history, colonizer, and culture (Memmi, 1965). For example, in *Magical writing in Salasaca: Literacy and power in Highland Ecuador* (2004), anthropologist, Peter Wogan illuminates how Christianity, colonialism, and politics influence literacy practices in Salasaca, Ecuador. While Wogan is not indigenous to the Salasaca people, he is critical of the colonizer's imposed language and literacy practices and articulately describes how the indigenous Salasaca people utilize literacy in their culture. Akin to the Salasaca people of Ecuador, Guam's colonial history is particularly significant to analyzing the present state of language and literacy attitudes and practices of Chamorrros because the contemporary or modern "frequently eclipses history" (Franklin & Lyons, 2004, p. 58). Parallel to Franklin and Lyons' sentiments, research such as this that documents historical and lived experiences, not only encourages an appreciation for the past but also provides information about how and why things are the way they are on Guam today.

Guam, an unincorporated territory of the United States since the end of World War II, has contributed much to the United States. Chamorro men and women have served and continue to serve in the U.S. armed forces and have gone to war under the U.S. flag; ancestral lands have been allocated for military installations; and Guam has and continues to be a major military installation in the western Pacific. Yet, Chamorros' contributions have not been written in the history books or taught to U.S. children in

schools across the nation. Instead, Chamorros are virtually silent people whose histories remain unknown to U.S. citizens.

Chamorros' literacy history, within the postcolonial context, has influenced Chamorros' present literacy and will continue to influence literacy in the future. Henry Giroux (1992) addresses central ideas relevant to literacy, culture, and postcolonialism. He articulates that:

> [l]iteracy becomes an enabling condition for forms of citizenship in which members of dominant and subordinate groups are offered subject-positions that address what it means to live in a society in which they have the opportunity to shape history in emancipatory terms rather than be subject or object of its oppressive and colonizing practices. (p. 1)

Following Giroux, this particular study of women and literacy, through the lens of intergenerational transmission theory and a postcolonial perspective, provides insight from the eyes of the indigenous and critiques the negative impact of colonial forces; however, postcolonial theory also affords the possibility for the indigenous to take control of their history. Taking control of their history implies that the indigenous need not rely on the statesider or outsider to document indigenous history based on *perceived* rather than *real identity* as island identity theory posits. This stance of the indigenous taking control of their history is not alien to non-native researchers. Cynthia Franklin and Laura Lyons, feminist scholars of postcolonial theory, propose, "if postcolonial criticism is to be responsible, if not revolutionary in its effects, the least that those of us who are non-natives can do is to recognize that what native people demand above all else is their right to self-determination" (2004, p. 74)

This research, vis-à-vis literacy histories, provides a sociocultural and critical perspective of how colonialism, U.S. governance, and mandated English language and education policies have influenced Chamorro and English language and literacy practices and attitudes and how Chamorros ourselves have influenced the transformation and perception of English and Chamorro on Guam. These literacy histories also provide insight into the impact that Chamorro and English language and literacy had and have on Chamorro women's roles and identities. Additionally, this critical perspective offers qualitative data that may contribute to and enhance existing theories of literacy and teaching practices within the context of language and literacy studies. The participants in the study share education, language, and literacy experiences that influenced their learning and helped shape who they are today. Such narratives are valuable as they can be used to inform present and future decisions of language and literacy practices relative to island peoples like Chamorros, and provide a starting point for the development and more diverse view of the various approaches to language and literacy education. Finally, this research, because it focuses on Chamorro women, sheds light on the importance of women on Guam and their contributions to cultural change and preservation through literacy, despite their invisibility in Guam's documented history and at the same time serves as an invitation for people to listen to and learn about multiple perspectives and voices about *ways of knowing* particularly from the native or indigenous perspective.

Chamorro (Souder, 1992) and Chicana women (Galindo & Gonzales, 1999) are just two groups of many that share commonalities, both groups recognizing their collective and individual cultural identities have been influenced by U.S. education and culture. Cultural studies embrace diversity and recognize that individuals of various

backgrounds enrich the classroom and learning process through cultural and personal experiences; however, English in each situation (Chamorro and Chicana), continue to be the language of power as a result of past and present language policies, colonialism, U.S. ideology, and a slow-changing educational system. There is no end in sight for the globalization of English; however, it is the responsibility of educators and policy makers to guard against hegemony as Freire (1970) articulates "to make possible the pursuit of a fuller humanity" (p. 47). Yet, the United States government has failed to publicly recognize the cultural denigration among minority cultures like the Chamorros of Guam as a result of language policies and U.S. educational practices.

Significance of the Project Part II: Significance of The Literate Lives of Chamorro Women in Modern Guam

Much of Guam's written history is told from the perspective of the outsider--that is, individuals who are neither from the island, nor bear any relationship to the people of Guam. Though local and stateside scholars (e.g. Perez-Iyechad, 2001; Rogers, 1995; Thompson, 1947; Underwood, 1987) have researched and documented much about the island, its people and culture, the stories that share the cultural significance and contributions of Chamorro women have gone largely untold. In an attempt to close the gap between research from outsiders and research from a Chamorro perspective, as a Chamorro woman and researcher, I document and present the literacy history of Chamorro women from within, that is, from the eyes of Chamorro women.

At this point, I would like to share the motivations for this study. My agenda may be unclear. Is it political or academic? Maxwell (1996) discusses various purposes for research, writing that "[p]urposes are those that motivate you to do this study; they can

include such things as political passion to change some existing situation, a curiosity about a specific phenomenon or event, a desire to engage in a particular type of research…" (p. 15). Based on Maxwell's statement, it is clear that my motivations are both academic and political. They are academic as I engage in the study to document literacy histories of Chamorro women from an insider's perspective and to add to existing academic research on literacy of the Chamorros of Guam. And, they are political because I noticed that there were many language, literacy and identity issues on Guam that resulted from historical events and an ambivalent Guam-U.S. relationship. I wanted to learn more about how political decisions and government policies impacted present attitudes and practices of Chamorro and English literacy.

The shift from Chamorro language use to English in Guam during the first and second U.S. Naval Administration greatly impacted Chamorros. Placing focus on Chamorro women, who are the bearers of culture and language, the shift was both negative and positive: negative because women were forced to instill the idea in their children that English was necessary to prosper, and positive because women were afforded the opportunity to seek careers and educational opportunities.

Growing up on Guam, I had little insight into what it meant to be a Chamorro woman. My grandmother, mother, and my mother's sisters were and are my role models as Chamorro women. These women, in my eyes, are strong and have always been the tie that binds the family together. Yet as I got older, attained more education, and asked these women about their lives and their experiences as Chamorro women, I realized that they suffered a great deal and made changes in their lives to ensure that their children and family were able to obtain education, become financially independent, and maintain

families of their own. To suffer, in the context of my perceptions of my maternal aunts, included suppression of cultural beliefs and practices so as to conform to U.S. standards and expectations to be successful. Their cultural beliefs, native language, and way of life were publicly degraded since they entered the school system and continued into the work force. Nonetheless, these women placed their feelings, beliefs, traditions, and language aside to follow the rules and policies instituted by the U.S. government.

In my family, acquiring success and independence came down to education and the push toward academic excellence in U.S. schools. A good example of such a change is with my mother and me. She always told me that it was important to learn about my heritage and my past, but that if my culture or heritage interfered with my education or my professional endeavors, that I had to suppress my cultural values in order to be successful in the dominant culture of U.S. education. Thus, I valued the English language and learned to use it well.

My mother knew from personal experience that Chamorro culture and beliefs often clashed with U.S. practices. She was punished in school for speaking the Chamorro language with friends and classmates. She internalized the punishments and constructed the idea that Chamorro was bad. Consequently, our heritage became inferior to mainland American culture. As a result of the intergenerational transmission of the inferiority of my heritage, I have constructed a reality and identity that signifies that I am neither 100% Chamorro nor 100% American; like Anzaldua (1987) and Perez (2004), I am in a borderland between the two languages and cultures. It is this type of ideology that has caused me to ask questions and seek answers about the influences that English and Chamorro language and literacy have had on Chamorro identity. Although I am critically

conscious of this "borderland" state as Anzaldua (1987) posits, I am curious to discover how other Chamorro women view their roles as Chamorro women in modern Guam.

I am aware that hundreds of years of colonization, westernization, and an ambiguous Guam-U.S. relationship have impacted the collective and individual cultural identity of my people. Like many colonized groups across the world, Guam continues to struggle with cultural and national identity as a result of 400 years of colonialism (Thompson, 1946). In "Cultural Identity and Diaspora," Stuart Hall (1994) emphasizes that cultural identity is a matter of becoming as well as of being:

> It (cultural identity) belongs to the future as much as to the past. It is not something that already exists, transcending place, time, history and culture. Cultural identities come from somewhere, have histories. But like everything which is historical, they undergo constant transformation […] they are subject to the continuous play of history, culture and power. Far from being grounded in mere recovery of the past, which is waiting to be found, and which when found, will secure our sense of ourselves into eternity, identities are the names we give to the different ways we are positioned by, and position ourselves within, the narratives of the past. (p. 394)

This literacy study, from an indigenous perspective, is a source that investigates a traditionally oral society that was forced to learn and use the language of the colonizer. The language and literacy narratives presented in this research project provide historical, sociocultural, political, and intergenerational experiences that explain or lend insight to the identity of the Chamorro people.

CHAPTER 2

GUAM-*GUÅHAN*

Location and Current Demographics

Guam is located in the western Pacific and is the southernmost island in the Mariana Islands chain. It is approximately a seven hour flight from Honolulu, Hawaii and three hours from Tokyo, Japan; Manila, Philippines; and Seoul, Korea. There are four U.S. military installations on island: Navy, Air Force, Army, Coast Guard, and Marines; the Navy and Air Force being the largest of the four. For an island that is 32 miles long and 8 miles wide, military presence is prominent; therefore, it is evident that Guam is strategically located for U.S. military defense.

Because of Guam's affiliation with the United States, location within the Asia-Pacific region, and the existence of the Federated States' of Micronesia Compact of Free Association with the U.S., the population continues to grow steadily. According to the U.S. Census Bureau (2002), it was estimated that 154,805 people live on the island. This estimate is not inclusive of U.S. military personnel and their dependents. Of the total number of people on island, 51.1% are male and 48.9% are female. The population is culturally diverse; of the total population, 86.1% claim one ethnicity or race: 37% Chamorro, 0.1% Carolinian, 4% Chuukese, 0.2% Kosraean, 0.2% Marshallese, 1.4% Palauan, 0.9% Pohnpeian, 0.4% Yapese, 0.4% Other Pacific Islander, 1.7% Chinese, 26.3% Filipino, 1.3% Japanese, 2.5% Korean, 0.6% Other Asian, 6.8% White, 1.0% Black or African American, 1.2% Other Race or Ethnic Group. Of the total population 13.9% claimed two or more races or ethnic groups: 5.1% Chamorro and other group(s) and 7% Asian and other group(s).

Guam's diverse population and desirable tropical climate attract international investors and visitors. Guam is commonly known as an international hub in the western Pacific as tourism is the main industry. Guam's tourist industry relies on visitors predominantly from Japan, Korea, Taiwan, and mainland China. Hotels, restaurants, luxury retail boutiques, water recreation services, and tour agencies are prevalent businesses on island that cater to tourists and visitors. In the tourist areas of Guam, shopping centers, and entertainment venues' signs, announcements, advertisements, and other environmental print are in English and Japanese. Any use of the Chamorro language is reserved for areas that are frequented by locals, such as the airport and government agencies. I highlight the delineation of the Chamorro and English languages in certain areas of the island as evidence of an existing dichotomy that perpetuates the practice of catering to Japanese and English speakers at the expense of our own. In turn, this practice fuels the attitude that Chamorro language is not necessary to maintain and grow Guam's economic industry or even to the construction of a Chamorro identity.

Guam: Her History and Her People

To better conceptualize the island and the people of Guam, I offer a brief history. The island of Guam is the largest island in the Mariana Islands and is an unincorporated territory of the United States. This unincorporated status signifies that the people of Guam are U.S. citizens; however, they are not privy to all rights and privileges as mainland United States citizens. Chamorros on Guam do not vote for president, nor do they have a voting member in congress. Despite Chamorros' inability to vote for president or have a voting delegate, Guam remains under the purview of the U.S. federal government, specifically the U.S. Department of Interior. Although the island of Guam

and her people are governed by the United States, the unincorporated status indicates that the people who live on the island are not fully protected by the Constitution of the United States. Thus, this status implies "an implicit colonialism whereby the 'unincorporated' territories are inferior to the states" (Fallon, 1991, p. 37).

Given this "implicit colonialism" as Fallon suggests, the proceeding section of Guam's history will provide the reader with historical information on Guam with an emphasis on Guam's cultural and colonial history. Attempted here is to make *explicit* this *implicit* colonialism so as to extract those things pertinent to the current study. Guam's cultural and colonial history is significant as Chamorros of Guam have never been recognized as an independent or sovereign people. Chamorros have been governed, occupied, and colonized throughout history and continue to be colonized by the United States. Chamorros of Guam are representative of colonized and formerly colonized peoples around the world as we share similar histories and issues of identity and globalization (e.g. Hong Kong, Puerto Rico, American Samoa, Hawaii). Through a brief overview of Guam history, I show the significant influences of colonialism and how political dominance greatly impacts Chamorros' collective cultural identity, language, education and literacy, and particularly Chamorro women's roles as these directly inform the heart of this study.

To begin making explicit this implicit colonialism, the ancient Chamorros of Guam were a self sufficient people for over 3000 years prior to initial western contact in 1521. Spanish soldiers arrived and lay claim to Guam and her people in 1521. Some 300 years later, the United States' first occupation of Guam began in 1898 at the end of the Spanish-American war and continued until Japan conquered the island on December

8, 1941 (simultaneous to the bombing of Pear Harbor) and remained until July 1944. In July 1944, near the end of World War II, the United States returned to Guam and has been present since.

Prior to western contact, Chamorros, a seafaring people, traveled across the Pacific Ocean for the purposes of trade. Ancient Chamorros traveled to the Marshall Islands, the Caroline Islands, and Malaysia to trade and barter (Carano & Sanchez, 1964; Thompson, 1946). These ancient Chamorros were a free people; that is, they were not governed by any nation. The United States, Spain, and Japan all gained control of the small island at separate times in history.

Guam's colonial history with Spain, the United States, and Japan has been documented by missionaries, historians, and researchers. However, a common thread among these stories is that Chamorro women are rarely spoken of. It is as if they were absent from history. Yet, the absence of documentation that supports the significance of Chamorro women in Guam history is not because women were insignificant, but rather because those who wrote Guam history failed to or chose not to emphasize their significance. Chamorro women's absence in history books is not unique to Guam. The absence or lack of documentation of women in history is common throughout the Pacific and the United States. Jocelyn Linnekin, a Pacific historian, imparts the opinion that "women in Island societies seldom fulfilled the European preconceptions of passivity, devaluation and dependency. But because male visitors interacted primarily with Island men, men's activities were well documented while detailed information on women's lives scarcely exists" (1997, p. 11). It is most likely that women were displaced from Guam history because of the patriarchal nature of colonizers and of Christianity (Hattori,

Personal communication, 2004). It is important to keep in mind that prior to western contact, Guam and her people functioned in a matrilineal society; that is, women were powerful, revered and respected within the Chamorro culture. Therefore, a question that remains, considering that Guam's history, as recorded by colonizers and Christian missionaries, contrasts the matrilineal tradition of the Chamorro people is: when, how, and why did Chamorros' roles shift, if they did, on Guam? To begin investigating this, I continue this discussion of Guam's history with what is known about Guam's history, her people, and culture. I begin with pre-western contact Chamorro culture through the present.

Pre-Spanish Contact: Prior to 1521

Ancient Chamorro society was organized by a caste system and categorized into three social classes. The *matua* was made up of high ranking natives and others held in high regard. Within the *matua,* usually the eldest brother and sister, referred to as *maga'lahe* and *maga'haga*, were the primary heads of their clan. Essentially, males and females shared decision making responsibilities. This balance of power and authority was a political system of government that recognized the strengths of both men and women. The *acha'ot*, a lower class, were relatives of the *matua* and were the largest class. The *acha'ot* were able to move upward to the *matua* class via marriage, age, or wisdom. The lowest class, the *mangachang*, were an unfortunate class and considered inferior; they, more than likely, were prohibited upward mobility (Hattori, 2004).

A matrilineal society was in existence prior to western contact. Matrilineal kinship determined descent within a clan, and "this matrilineal principle conferred power and prestige on Chamorro women" (Souder, 1992, p. 44). Because of the practice of

matrilineal kinship, children assumed their mother's surname. Another example of the status of Chamorro women is through inheritance. Male children were sent to live with their mothers' brothers on family land. Female children stayed with their parents on their fathers' property until marriage. This matrilineal kinship system remained in place until Spanish colonization. In modern Guam there still exist remnants of the matrilineal kinship system. For example, many children are given their mother's maiden name as a middle name and many married women control family finances and issues of inheritance.

The Spanish Crown: 1521-1898

Guam first came in contact with Spanish citizens when Ferdinand Magellan's fleet anchored in the southern village of Umatac in 1521. Following initial contact with the west, Guam became a haven for Catholic priest, soldiers, pirates, and expatriates (Rogers, 1995). Under the guise of Christianity, Spain conquered the island and her people in 1698. Men and women were coerced into converting from their religious pagan practices to that of Catholicism. The Spanish Crown did not intend to transform Chamorros to Spanish people. It was Spain's position that no one could become Spanish; therefore, they left Chamorros to govern themselves in accordance with the Catholic Church (PSECC, 1996, p. 126-127). Essentially, Spanish influence was more about converting Chamorros to become complacent, God fearing people.

Nonetheless, the missionaries' beliefs and practices altered Chamorro traditions and practices. The Chamorro caste system was done away with, and people of the different castes were forced to live amongst each other. That is, the Chamorro caste system was no longer recognized by the Spaniards. Rather a new class system recognized by the Spanish crown was put in place. The *mannakhilo'* were the high class

and most likely of mestizo or mixed decent. The *mannakpapa* were the low class and of Chamorro decent. This two class system immediately marginalized the Chamorro people as the Spanish did not acknowledge the Chamorros as a people essentially stripping their collective identity. The practice that women remained only in the home was not a part of Chamorro culture—women's roles went beyond the home. Women were active and participated in political affairs along with maintaining their homes and families. Women took much pride in their children, homes, and families; their roles as mothers strengthened their authority. In essence, after the arrival of Spanish missionaries, women's roles were downgraded. Their roles were merely domestic and limited to serving the Catholic Church. It was during Spanish rule that the roles of Chamorro women began to shift (Souder, 1992).

It can be inferred that because the Spaniards recognized the strength and influence Chamorro women yielded, they encouraged women to actively participate in the Catholic Church in order to quicken the spread of Christianity. Women, once converted, taught their children and influenced their husbands to convert to Catholicism. Moreover, because the Spanish learned to speak the Chamorro language (Chamorro is an oral language and culture) they were able to share and teach scripture. This just may have been the catalyst to emergent literacy in ancient Chamorro society.

What was once a matrilineal society for more than two thousand years soon became one that adopted western patriarchal practices. Women no longer immersed themselves in public affairs or the delineation of inheritance. Moreover, unlike the past, women were forced to take on their husbands' last names upon marriage. Spanish

missionaries encouraged women to keep their interests limited to the church and their homes (Souder, 1991).

Although Spain did not wish for Chamorros to become Spanish, they did expect Chamorros to practice Spanish ways. No longer were women expected to hunt or fish; and the Spanish did not recognize the role of the *maga'haga* (the eldest daughter). Chamorro women who were once robust and active soon became demure Spanish-like ladies who remained in the home (Souder, 1991). One exception to this perception of Chamorro women is the *techa*. The *techa*, more often than not, was a female prayer leader. She was depended on by families to lead prayers for rosaries for the dead and novenas. Her presence at religious celebrations and events placed her in the public's eye and her association with the Catholic Church was respected and imbued a sense of power. Therefore, it is apparent that "colonialism has imparted a brand of patriarchy which has distorted and limited women's participation in decision making" (Teiawa, 1992, p. 32). Despite the drastic changes in women's roles and the balance of power between men and women, women maintained their roles as mothers and the authority that came with managing a family and clan.

By the beginning of the 18th century, Chamorro women were marrying outside their ethnicity as depopulation took place in what Pacific historians call the Spanish-Chamorro Wars (Rogers, 1995). The war between the Spaniards and Chamorros was a result of Chamorros' rejection of Spanish governance and lasted for decades (Sanchez, 1989). After the Spanish-Chamorro Wars' end in 1695, Chamorros faced not only the loss of their sovereignty, but also devastating depopulation, due not only to warfare but also as a result of diseases introduced by their conquerors (Carano & Sanchez, 1964).

Following the island's defeat in these wars, Guam fell under Spanish colonial domination for more than two centuries. This reign would bring to the island men of Spanish, Mexican, and Filipino descent, and over the course of Guam's history, intermarriages resulted between Chamorro women and immigrant laborers. Spain conquered Guam and retained control for over 300 years, but the Spanish crown had to relinquish its control over the island to another colonizer, the United States.

First United States Government: 1899-1941

Spain ceded Guam, the Philippines, and Puerto Rico to the United States at the end of the Spanish American War in 1898. In 1899, the United States sent the Navy to take possession of the tiny island of Guam and her people. The Naval Government built schools, developed the island's infrastructure, and instituted laws to govern the people. Chamorros were expected to obey the newly instituted laws, yet, the people were not given U.S. citizenship. Chamorros lived in a state of ambiguity as neither aliens nor citizens (PSECC, 1993, p. 32).

Fifty years of pleas later, President Harry S. Truman signed the Organic Act of Guam on August 1, 1950. This act granted the Chamorros citizenship, "created a Bill of Rights, and identified powers that the United States would maintain over Guam" (PSECC, 1993, p. 52).

During the World War II military campaign to liberate Guam from the Japanese occupation, vast tracts of native farmlands were taken by the U.S. military. On these acres of land, large military bases were built, but in the process, Chamorro farmers were displaced en masse. These former farmers who were now landless sought employment in the growing cash economy as the primary means of survival. Now, under these new

economic conditions, communication in the English language was necessary to obtain jobs (Aguon, 1977; Thompson, 1946). The English only policy was reinstituted by the Naval Government and reinforced by the Catholic Church (Palomo, 1987; PSECC, 1996; Underwood, 1987). Public ceremonies, government operations, and public education were carried out in English. It is essential to note that a major difference between Spain and the United States is that the Spanish soldiers and missionaries learned the Chamorro language and communicated with the natives in Chamorro. The Spanish did not want Chamorros to "be" Spanish, they just wanted to Christianize the Chamorro people. The Americans, on the other hand, chose to communicate only in English (PSECC, 1996, p. 21). The justification of the institution of U.S. education and the English language as the official language by U.S. Naval Governor Leary was so that natives could improve their "mental conditions" (Carter, 1998, p. 185). These mental conditions that Carter (1998) cites is congruent to what Ngũgĩ Wa Thiong'O writes in *Decolonizing the mind* (2003), about the politics of language within African culture, "The domination of a people's language by the languages of the colonizing nations was crucial to the domination of the mental universe of the colonized" (p. 16). On Guam, all official business was conducted in English and "English-only" signs were posted in government buildings and schools during the first Naval Administration and well into the late 1970s (Monnig, 2007). As a result of the enforcement of the English only policy, English became the primary means of communication outside the home. This, of course, forced parents to instill the idea that English was the key to successfully obtaining a job; therefore, English became a vehicle for survival and economic opportunities. English became the language of the elite, as it was the elite families who possessed the financial means to ensure the acquisition of

English and higher education. It was at this point in time that the politicization of English became the initial steps toward the globalization of English on Guam; however, the English language was not the last language to be governmentally and educationally instituted.

Japanese Occupation: 1941-1944

The Japanese invaded Guam on December 8, 1941; the invasion was simultaneous to the bombing of Pearl Harbor in Hawaii. The Japanese Imperial Army bombed the island and the Japanese forced Americans to leave the island and the people of Guam (Higuchi, 2001; Rogers, 1995; Carano & Sanchez, 1964). Hundreds of American soldiers and local men were taken as prisoners of war, and some were killed. On December 10, 1941, the flag of the Land of the Rising Sun waved as Japan secured control of Guam and her people.

The establishment of a Japanese government took place immediately. Like all colonizers, Japan used education as the medium to achieve the Japanisation of the Chamorros of Guam. The Japanisation policy instituted by the Japanese government was a policy that outlined the objectives of gaining and maintaining power in the Pacific. This policy was a part of Japan's goal to unite peoples of the Pacific with Japan. In an attempt to achieve this goal, Japanese teachers were brought to the island to work in the schools, and locals were employed as teaching assistants to encourage other Chamorros to cooperate with the new government (Higuchi, 2001). These actions by the Japanese government consequently imposed linguistic and cultural imperialism on the Chamorros of Guam further perpetuating the construction of complex identities; however, Japanese presence lasted only two and a half years, so the linguistic impact was minimal.

Chamorros suffered tremendously at the hands of their occupiers. People were forced to work in the fields as laborers and farm hands to support Japanese defense. Hundreds of Chamorros were forced onto concentration camps, many women were forced to become comfort women or sex slaves to Japanese soldiers, and hundreds of Chamorros died at the hands of Japanese soldiers. Starvation, rape, slavery, and murder were all consequences of disobedience to Japanese authority.

In the eyes of the Chamorro people, the brutality brought by the Japanese led them to hope for the United States' return. The Chamorro people were desperate for the occupation to end, and they placed their desires for hope and freedom in God and American soldiers. There is a refrain from an underground song that Chamorros often sang during the Occupation that expressed their desire for the U.S.'s return:

> Oh, Mr. Sam, Sam, my dear Uncle Sam, won't you please come back to Guam? (cited in Souder-Jaffrey, 1987, p. 59)

Post World War 11 – Present

Uncle Sam returned to Guam on July 21, 1941. The U.S. Marines raised the American flag after successfully attacking the Japanese at dawn (Carano & Sanchez, 1964; Rogers, 1995). There is much to be said about the *liberation* of Guam. The term *liberation* is controversial as most Chamorros are grateful that America returned to free them from Japan; however, many Chamorros feel that the United States has since failed to provide the same inalienable rights, like voting in a national election, as mainland Americans to the Chamorro-Americans of Guam.

Following World War II and the "liberation" campaign to retake Guam, approximately 80% of the island's structures were destroyed as a result of bombardment.

In addition, more than one-third of the land was condemned by the military for use as bases. Most of the lands that were condemned were farm areas that Chamorros used as family ranches and where they kept their pig pens, carabaos, and grew their crops. Therefore, after the war, the subsistence Chamorro economy was quintessentially disrupted and farmers were forced to find new ways to feed their starving families. These Chamorro farmers were forced into the "new" cash economy. The "new" economy, as shaped and directed by the U.S. naval government, revolved around the construction of brand new bases on the military's newly acquired lands. Chamorros, at the time, were paid wages that were considerably lower than whites (Hattori, Personal Communication, 2010).

The U.S., for defense purposes, afforded the people of Guam education, built roads, instituted the U.S. Postal services; essentially, the U.S. introduced modernity. The developments brought on by the United States were instituted primarily for military officers and soldiers, military dependants, and the U.S. Naval Government. In order for the Naval Government to protect, defend, and maintain their bases, Guam needed to be developed. Therefore, the Naval Government, military dependants, and the people of Guam benefited from such developments. Yet, despite avid education, global networks, and other perks of modernity, the colonized (Chamorros) remain in a state of ambivalence to this day. Let me try to explain metaphorically why such feelings exist. Like an adolescent in search of discovering and defining herself as an individual, Guam continued to seek independence, but was always reminded by her parent--the U.S.--that adulthood was not at arms' reach. As a result, Guam's desire to be free and sovereign diminished and over time constructed the false idea that the U.S. probably knew better.

She therefore became an enabler of U.S. imperial and military agenda and thereby made the conscious decision, by default, to accept English as the language of power. Being literate in English, as many if not most Chamorros believe, opens doors to opportunities (Aguon, 1977; Santos, 1998; Underwood, 1987).

Women and Culture: Women and Literacy

Central to this study is how becoming literate in English influenced the lives of three generations of Chamorro women in Guam. The curiosity behind my interest in this study stems from my own literacy history and my own attitudes about the Chamorro and English language and how the decisions I make are influenced by them. Furthermore, my literacy history and attitudes about the Chamorro and English language have been directly influenced by the stories my parents told me about their experiences of going to school in the 1950s and 1960s on Guam.

My father, a great influence in my life, encouraged education and literacy—U.S. education and English literacy—and demanded academic excellence. Curiously, although fluent in the Chamorro language, my father did not nor does he at present speak to me in the native tongue. My mother, also a great influence, supported my academic endeavors and exposed me to the Chamorro language and culture by talking to me in Chamorro, teaching me how to prepare Chamorro foods and observe other concepts of Chamorro cultural values and practices, and modeling the strength of being a Chamorro woman. Yet, despite her actions, she reified English literacy as superior to Chamorro because of her own negative language experiences growing up and going to school in the 1950s and 1960s when using the Chamorro language in school was punishable.

Earlier studies of literacy suggest that women are the guardians and bearers of culture and language. Based on the implication that women pass on cultural knowledge and language, I extend this implication to include literacy, "culture-specific ways of knowing" (Perez, 1998, p. 24). Chamorro women are central in this study because only a handful of studies (Souder, 1992; Cruz, 1997; DeLisle, 2000) have been devoted to them. It is also unfortunate that only one study exists that offers intergenerational literacy trajectories of Chamorros on Guam (Santos, 1998); therefore, it is my desire to engage in this study to add to the existing data on Chamorro women and literacy on Guam.

CHAPTER 3

RELEVANT LITERATURE

Women on Guam, past and present, have contributed much to the development of the community particularly in public education, religious organizations, and cultural preservation. I place emphasis on education, religion, and cultural preservation for the following reasons: 1. Education is generally accepted as beginning in the home; 2. Religion is embedded in Chamorro culture; and 3. Cultural preservation is significant as women are generally recognized as the guardians and bearers of culture and language. Despite such common knowledge and acknowledgement, very little has been recorded or documented on the roles and influences that Chamorro women have within the Chamorro culture and community on Guam. Much to my dismay, I retrieved only a handful of studies that have actually focused on the Chamorro women of Guam. These studies on Chamorro women (Cruz, 1989; Souder, 1992; Delisle, 2000) offer insight to the different roles Chamorro women had and continue to have on Guam, such as midwives, community organizers, teachers, mothers, and politicians. Although significant to women's studies on Guam, these studies do not address issues of literacy and language. Nor do these studies offer an intergenerational perspective. As I continued to research, in hopes of finding studies about intergenerational literacy on Guam, I came to find that only one study was in existence—my master's thesis. Not to be discouraged I continued my quest and discovered that there are studies of women and literacy and intergenerational literacy that exist and are relative to the present study.

This chapter presents literacy studies of specific groups of people that focus on education, literacy, and changing cultural practices and roles as a direct result of sociocultural factors and westernization or the introduction of western practices.

Situated Studies of Women, Language, and Literacy

Shirley Brice Heath's (1983) ethnographic study of Trackton, Roadville, and Townspeople communities is relative to this study of Chamorro women and literacy as it presents how the children of each community use language and literacy in the home, in the community, and in school. Heath examined language socialization within black and white middle class working communities in the southeastern part of the United States. She focused on each of the communities in which the children were socialized as talkers, readers, and writers, and discussed how well the children performed in school in relation to their socialization of language. Each community had varied differences in how children learned to use language. However, in each community, the use of language, whether written or oral, were or was influenced by that group's social history as well as the current environmental conditions. Like the communities in Heath's study, Chamorros' social history influenced present language and literacy practices and attitudes.

Parents in all three communities wanted their children to be successful; however, activities that the parents constructed for their children to participate in for access to language, oral and written, varied greatly. In Roadville and Trackton, children were familiar with the various concepts of print (books, newspapers, letters), yet, neither had experience in observing their parents reading or writing extended pieces of prose.

Roadville children were coached in reading books at night and when coloring at home. They went to school conditioned about the values of literacy, but with few models of reading and writing behavior. Trackton children were not accustomed to such activities as were Roadville children. Despite the lack of such activities, Trackton children knew what bills, letters, and notices meant. By observing their parents handle such items, Trackton children became familiar with bills, letters, and notices. The Townspeople, like Roadvillers, tended to talk to, and play with their children. They taught their children to label, read books, and play with educational toys.

Heath makes three general points into which each community socializes its children. First, the ways language is used in any community are aligned with and support cultural patterns. The amount and quality of language communication influence "culturally remote language habits" (p. 344). Second, academic success and academic literacy are not wholly dependent of parent-child interaction or formal instruction of language, but rather are more complex. Third, the culture of a community and how and in what ways the cultural community utilizes or engages in oral discourse and writing occasions affect the use and application of oral and written discourse. For example, Chamorro is an oral language and culture. Chamorro folklore, family histories, and Chamorro core values were taught through storytelling. Reading and writing about such things occur far less than talking about them. While literature about such exist, it is more common to talk about such events than it is to read or write about them. The Chamorro cultural community, when aligned with Heath's points, engages in oral discourse more so than writing or reading about cultural traditions, practices, and beliefs.

Heath (1983) further stressed that it is not the quantity of talk, but the quality of talk that enriches the language socialization process. Hence, Heath's ethnographic study supports the notion that language and literacy are learned or acquired through socialization.

Another study that utilizes the tenets of socialization is Victoria Purcell-Gates' (1995) intergenerational literacy study of a midwestern family in the United States. Her study, *Other People's Words,* is framed within a sociocultural context. From this perspective, individuals are viewed as part of a defined culture, and their identity with this culture determines what and how they negotiate meaning for themselves (p. 4-6). Purcell-Gates furthers this perspective by purporting that "socioeconomic status, religion, family education history, gender, ethnicity, and sociopolitical status" are all sociocultural factors that intertwine and interact resulting in individual cultural identities (p. 5).

The mother and son participants in Purcell-Gates' study, Jenny and Donny, did not depend on the literacy of "reading and writing" to accomplish daily tasks. Jenny and her husband, Big Donny, did not read or write. Instead, they depended on memory and other family members and friends to explain letters, documents, and other forms of print. She was able to function in her community without reading and writing, but as time progressed she found that it was getting harder to "get by".

As a result of Jenny and Big Donny's inability to read and write, their children did not recognize reading and writing as a significant part of their lives. Because of this, Donny in the first grade could barely recognize the alphabet or individual letters and was labeled "slow" in relation to his peers. Despite the absence of reading and writing in the home, Jenny's home had a variety of print materials—the family just did not read them.

In retrospect, Jenny explained that she "read" stories to her children by interpreting the illustrations. It was because of Donny's experiences in school that Jenny made the decision to seek assistance from the local university's literacy center, and this was where she met Purcell-Gates. Purcell-Gates' study is evidence that literacy attitudes, practices and beliefs are intergenerationally transmitted and that mothers, like Jenny, can have a profound affect on their children's literacy acquisition and learning; this mother-child intergenerational transmission is a significant facet of the current study.

Parents or guardians are children's first teachers. Denny Taylor and Catherine Dorsey-Gaines (1988) exemplify this concept in their study, *Growing up literate*. Taylor and Dorsey-Gaines present a literacy study of inner city families and how each family manages to acquire and maintain literacy practices to improve their quality of life. Taylor and Dorsey-Gaines presented evidence in support of the concept that appropriating literacy skills in various contexts like seeking public assistance, interacting with school personnel, and basic information gathering improved participants' and their family's quality of life.

From a Multigenerational and Intergenerational Perspective

Like the participants in *Other people's words* and *Growing up literate*, my perception of being literate and engaging in literacy events, as defined earlier, was greatly influenced directly and indirectly by my parents and other family members. Bengston, Biblarz & Roberts' (2002) longitudinal study brings to the forefront the significance of multigenerational families' effects on the values that successive generations construct. The thirty-year study, *How Families Still Matter*, evaluates the Baby Boomer generation and Generation X in relation to parental influence on intrinsic values, levels of

achievement, and self confidence. Their research analysis proposes multiple factors that influence values, achievement, and self confidence as constructed by Baby Boomers and Generation Xers. Particularly significant to this project is their conclusion on emphasizing the influence that grandparents have on successive generations. Because this study analyzes the literacy practices, attitudes, and beliefs trajectory among multigenerational women in three different families, the eldest of the women are the grandmothers and it is this generation of women who are the matriarchs of their families.

Grandmothers, mothers, and daughters often share a sense of connectedness. Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberg, and Tarule (1997) initiated a study to discover how women "view reality and draw conclusions about truth, knowledge, and authority" (p. 3). *Women's Ways of Knowing: The Development of Self, Mind, and Voice*, presents Belenky et al.'s theory that the development of women's identity is promoted and hindered by education and family (p. 3-4). This particular work has received much criticism and even dismissed for being essentialist. In response to such criticism, Belenky stresses that their [Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger, and Tarule] work is not about reporting gender differences rooted in biology. Rather, their work is about describing women's characteristics and experiences in the context of a sexist and aggressive society. More importantly, *Women's Ways of Knowing* is not research *about* women, but research *for* women. This work is meant to empower women by sharing serious stories and providing a space for women's voices (Kirsch, 1993). Akin to Belenky et al., this research project has become a space or location for Chamorro women to share their stories and experiences. While the project attempts to document and share experiences of these

Chamorro women, it is not intended to be representative of all Chamorro women on Guam.

Relevant to this study is their discussion of ways in which family life, particularly relationships between mothers and daughters, influences women's ways of knowing. The authors found, based on 135 interviews, that women value their father's influence, but have a special sense of connectedness to their mothers. This special sense of connectedness stems from socialization. Thus, mothers and daughters sometimes share common interests and beliefs, but are able to develop their own individual identities "in tandem, without one having to be sacrificed for the other" (p. 179). Clearly stated, women value, recognize and negotiate their mother's influences when developing their own identities. This special relationship between mothers and daughters "sets the stage for more fluid conversations and for transmission of literacy practices and cultural values between generations" (Clark, 2005, p. 26).

There are few studies of literacy practices among multigenerational or intergenerational women in a family. One of these few, *Sista Speak!* (2002), is a study that documents literacy, language, and identities of a family of minority women who speak a non-standard and stigmatized dialect of English. In the initial pages of the study, the author, Sonya Lanehart shares her opinion of literacy as "emancipatory" (p.7). I include the ideology of literacy as emancipatory because a majority of Chamorros of Guam were socialized into believing that becoming literate in the English language was the key to success. As such, Lanehart explains that "[l]iteracy is more than self fulfillment. Literacy is also social and political and economic…Society wields its literacy more powerfully than the individual…Literacy neither imprisons nor frees

people; it merely embodies the enormous complexities of how and why some people live comfortable and others do not" (p. 8). Lanehart's words inform readers that literacy is also influenced by political and economic factors beyond our control. That is, society or the powers-that-be dictate what is standard and non-standard. Through narrative, Lanehart shares how language, literacy, and identity intersect for each of the five women in the study. Based on her findings, Lanehart articulates that the women in her study recognize the richness of their language and culture, but are also cognizant of the fact that others outside their community perceive them to be "dumb, lazy, and shiftless" (p. 223) because of the non-standard dialect of English they use. It is unfortunate that such "linguistic bigotry" (p. 225) exists in the United States; however, Lanehart (2002) and Clark (2005) challenge their audiences to accept all dialects of English.

Amy Clark (2005) presents an ethnographic, multigenerational study of Appalachian women and their vernacular literacy practices. Like the women in Lanehart's (2002) study, Appalachians speak a stigmatized dialect of English. Clark's desire to document vernacular literacy practices of three generations of Appalachian women partially stems from a personal need to preserve her Appalachian heritage. She discovered that vernacular literacy practices revolved around spirituality, family, and community relationships; or in Clark's words "Quiltin', Cookin', and Testifyin'" (p. 85). The vernacular literacy practices of the women in her study "reinforce their connections to other women" (p. 85), particularly the women in their families. Hence, the transmission of literacy practices, attitudes, and beliefs within an intergenerational context takes place.

The women in Clark's (2005) and Lanehart's (2002) studies recognize the various factors that influence literacy learning. These women in Clark's study were born and raised in the United States, but were essentially set apart from the dominant culture because of the stigma associated with non-standard English. If these women were born, raised, and educated in the United States, yet were marginalized as a result of non-standard language and literacy practices, then what happens to women who are not of U.S. descent but live and work in the United States? Julia Menard-Warwick's (2005) ethnographic study of ESL women presents the argument that "learners' second language and literacy development can only be understood within the larger sociopolitical context" (p. 165). Through life-history narratives, Menard-Warwick situates her participants' English learning experiences within the broader context of California's immigration policies and within the intergenerational trajectories of education in their respective families. Menard-Warwick writes,

> The narratives illustrate participants' perspectives on how their language learning opportunities have been mediated by such factors as their parents' messages about education, previous experiences of schooling, U.S. immigration policies, the 2001 economic downturn, and the availability of bilingual education for their children. In order to meet the diverse needs and goals of learners in their classrooms, ESL educators need to incorporate into the curriculum the specific sociocontextual issues that these learners confront in their daily lives. (2005, p. 165)

Menard-Warwick's research is relative to this study because the literacy trajectories of these women have been greatly influenced by family educational beliefs and sociopolitical and sociocultural factors. Cultural beliefs, practices, educational

experiences, and public policies are issues that these immigrant women and Chamorro women deal with in tandem with becoming literate in modern times.

Intergenerational Literacy and Educational Attainment in a Chamorro Family

In 1998 I presented research findings that addressed how exposure to literacy events influenced educational attainment within three generations of a Chamorro family on Guam. The unpublished master's thesis, *Intergenerational literacy and its relationship to educational attainment in a Chamorro family*, discusses the forms of literacy available and utilized within each generation, grandmother, mother and father, and daughters.

The study presents individual literacy histories of one Chamorro family and focuses on literacy acquisition, practices, access, and the direct influence literacy had on educational attainment. Based on Vygotsky's theory of social construction, I documented the progression of literacy acquisition and its influence on educational attainment within each generation in a Chamorro family. I knew that education would show great improvement from the grandmother's time (Pre-World War II) through the grandchildren's time (late 1990s), but it was my intention to show that sociocultural history, particularly as impacted by the U.S. Naval government, had a direct affect on how education and literacy were and are viewed.

The grandmother had a fourth grade education, while the parents were high school graduates, and the daughters were all college educated. The study further articulates that over time and through U.S education, the second and third generations valued English for academic and career success. Lou, a participant in the 1998 study and of the second generation, shares her feelings about English and Chamorro.

> I sometimes speak to my kids in Chamorro, but when they were younger we only spoke to them in English. They learned the language [Chamorro] from listening to their father and me speak. I feel that Chamorro won't get them too far. They have to be good in English. I was taught while going to school that English was how we would get good jobs, and that Chamorro was only to be spoken at home not school or work. We were forbidden to speak Chamorro, and I guess it is stuck in my head that English is better. (p. 50-51)

Within the third generation, the lack of fluency in the mother tongue, Chamorro, was regretted. Furthermore, this same generation that regretted the lack of fluency in Chamorro expressed that their mother often used the Chamorro language in the home, whereas their father did not (Santos, 1998). The implications of this study support the theory that women are the bearers of culture and language, and that the constructed reality that English is superior to Chamorro is intergenerationally transmitted. That is, language and literacy attitudes are passed on within a family from one generation to the next.

Relevant Studies on Chamorros of Guam

Acculturation of the Chamorros of Guam

Robert Underwood's (1987) unpublished dissertation, *American education and the acculturation of the Chamorros of Guam*, presents the educational history of the Chamorros of Guam. Underwood's representation of historical events coincides with the literacy and educational histories of participants in my 1998 study, and is important to my present study because it provides an accurate historical foundation of education on Guam.

Here, I will highlight points in Underwood's study that focus on the English-education of Chamorros and access to literacy.

Upon the institution of compulsory education early in the 1900s, most children entered school with little or no experience in any kind of school. In these new schools, Chamorro children were segregated from U.S. mainland children. That is, military dependants had their own school and local children were not permitted to matriculate at the same school as their military peers. Surprisingly, even children of interracial marriages—most often an American officer and Chamorro woman—were not permitted to attend the American school. Underwood (1997) and Smith (1970) note that it was Naval Governor Bradley who justified such discrimination by stating that American children required different skills than Chamorro children because U.S. children were returning to the mainland. Bradley further justified the discrimination by stating that American children should not have to suffer as a result of their brief stay on the island. The Naval government continued to defend their decisions and actions by saying that higher education was unnecessary and that industrial and manual training were more suitable for local children (Underwood, 1987). A prime example of such discrimination and rejection of Chamorro intellect was Governer Edmund Root who tried to prevent Chamorros from enhancing and advancing their education. In a 1932 report, Governor Root wrote with much concern that the younger generation of boys was not pleased with their education and that they did not wish to seek jobs in agriculture. Governor Root concluded that "everything possible is being done to combat this growing tendency" (cited in PSECC, p. 74-75). In other words, Governor Root made it clear that he and those he represented, the U.S. Naval government and its constituents exclusive of the

people of Guam, wanted to prevent the further spread of ideas that would enable Chamorros to seek educational and professional opportunities that would lead to concepts and ideas of agency, self determination and independence.

Secondary education was not compulsory, nor was it encouraged by the government. Naval officers ran the school system based on their experiences as former students. For the first 20 years of Naval governance, no real pedagogical expertise was sought to develop or improve the public education system and very little during the subsequent years.

Education during the first American occupation remained constant with little or no change until the outbreak of World War II. The Japanese took control of the island and her people, and subsequently public education. Education during the Japanese Occupation, 1941-1944, was very similar to that of the American Naval government insofar as they instituted their own schools and language policies; they forbade Chamorros to speak their native language in any public setting. The only major difference between the Japanese and the Americans was that the Japanese brought educators from Japan to teach in the public schools. Children were taught to read, write, and speak the Japanese language, and by the end of World War II there were 26 Japanese-run schools.

Following the Japanese Occupation's end in 1944, the U.S. Naval government reinstituted public education; for the first 10 years after the war stateside and local primary and intermediate aged students were segregated. Because there were few high school stateside students, locals and military dependents were not segregated. Qualified military dependents (usually officers' wives) were hired to teach and later, contract

teachers from the mainland were brought to the island. Changes gradually took shape and the public school system improved. Over time, Guam's public school education mimicked U.S. schools. Chamorros graduated from high school, sought higher education, and established themselves as professionals.

Education was a major factor in the acculturation of the people of Guam; however, education was not the sole factor that led to sociocultural changes. Economic development shifted away from farming and subsistence moved toward access to goods. Further, mass media offered information and images of modernity and the U.S. mainland lifestyle. Thus, many Chamorros embraced desires to live like individuals in the U.S. mainland.

Consequences of English-only Policies

English-only policies, as instituted by the U.S. Naval Government in the early 1900s, were put into place and enforced by teachers and public officials and servants (Palomo, 1987). The people of the Guam, specifically Chamorros, were required to speak English. Official public events, government services, and education (public and parochial) were all carried out in English. As a result of such policies, school age children learned that English was a necessary and critical means of survival and success (Palomo, 1987; Santos, 1998; Underwood, 1987).

Such consequences like native language loss and the lack of awareness of traditional Chamorro culture and customs discovered in my 1998 study can be linked in large part to U.S. language and education policies. Rosa Salas Palomo's (1987), "American Policies and Practices Affecting Language Shift on Guam: 1898-1950," discusses in detail the direct affect of language policies on Chamorros' English and

Chamorro language literacy acquisition and cultural identity. From January 1900 to February 1904, a number of Executive Orders relevant to language policy were issued. Presented here are articles 1, 3, and 4 of General Order No. 12 pertinent to this study:

> 1. The system of *public education in this island is hereby placed under the supervision and exclusive control of the Government* [emphasis mine], and all necessary expenses for the maintenance of the public schools will be defrayed by the government.
>
> 3. All children between the ages of 8 years and 14 years must attend school unless excused therefrom by competent authority for good reasons that interfere with their attendance.
>
> 4. Instruction in the English language will be introduced in the public schools as soon as suitable teachers can be provided, and it is expected that the present force of native teachers will cheerfully and harmoniously cooperate with the teachers of English in order that the greatest benefits may be derived by both scholars and preceptors. (U.S. Navy Department, 1905, p. 15-16)

Immediately following the announcement of the previous Executive Order (No. 12), Governor Leary issued the proceeding articles relevant to his order:

1. Every adult resident of this island must learn to write his or her own name before the 1st day of July, 1900, unless prevented from doing so by physical disability.
2. The signature must be plain and legible, suitable for use when required in legal documents or commercial transactions, and must be without ornamentation, scroll, or other rubrical decoration.

4. All residents are recommended to utilize every available opportunity to learn how to read, write, and speak the English language, *thereby improving their own mental condition as well as preparing themselves for assisting their children who required by law to attend school* [emphasis mine]. (U.S. Navy Department, 1905, p. 17)

Palomo's analysis of language shift on Guam employs the idea that control of education and the issuance of Executive Orders were how the Naval government, as instituted by the Naval governors of Guam, forced change. As such, Chamorros' collective cultural identity was compromised. That is, Chamorros were subjected to a "no choice" situation, thus employing English in their lives. As a result of the enforcement of executive orders relative to language and education from the early 1900s through the 1970s, what followed were generations of Chamorros who did not learn the Chamorro language fluently or even at all.

Making a connection between identity and education, Katherine Aguon (1993) addresses the consequences of the American educational system instituted on Guam. Aguon discusses how Chamorros' values of interdependence, familial obligation, respect for the elderly and authority have worn down since coming in contact with colonial powers (ibid). Aguon further highlights how the denigration of Chamorros' self concept is perpetuated by a patriarchal and paternalistic educational system imposed on the people of Guam. As such, and through the colonizer's educational system, Chamorros subconsciously internalized the colonizer's perspective. This internalization led to the unfortunate cycle of self denigration that continues today, particularly among the younger generations. Aguon writes:

> Told they were lazy, incompetent and part of a primitive reality, the people eventually accepted these distorted images. Chamorros became their own worst enemy in terms of self concept… Largely through the vehicle of schooling, Chamorros accepted their status as children in need of guidance. The creation of dependence, the loss of self-worth and reliance on American largesse were all a part of the American educational scene. (1993, p. 95).

Extending Aguon's words to the postcolonial perspective, the creation of dependence and loss of self-worth is harmful to Chamorro identity because it "retards self-conceptions, but influences Chamorros to forego their own perspectives" (Perez, 2002, p. 466) and fail to critically see the negative consequences brought on by Americanization.

Robert Underwood (1989) in his article, English and Chamorro on Guam, concurs that much of the value placed on English during the U.S. Naval administration period was associated with academic success; however, Underwood also posits that "its [English] identification with a progressive social agenda" (p. 78) was equally significant. In other words, it was through the English language that the U.S. planned to reform the Chamorros of Guam. In the same article Underwood brings to light several examples from the pre-war, navy operated newspaper the *Guam Recorder* that disseminated English language ideology to promote social changes and development. While the *Guam Recorder* did not publicly denounce the Chamorro language, it did not publicly acknowledge the value of the native language. Underwood includes the following quote taken from the *Guam Recorder* in his article that highlights the Naval administration's disposition toward English language learning, the Chamorro people of Guam, and social development.

> English will bring to the people of Guam, through the public schools, a knowledge of sanitation and hygiene, which will enable them to live in a correct manner. This will result still more in the favorable increase in population. Along with such increase will come further and enforced economic development. With economic development will come more the real pleasures of life. Through English will come a knowledge of fair play and a keen sense of honor […] With a knowledge of English under American tutorship will come a natural love for labor and industry by those who even think themselves educated […] and through English under the present order of things, if continued, Guam should become one of thegarden spots of the world. (cited in Underwood, 1989, p. 78)

This statement, in retrospect, concludes that English and not Chamorro will lead the Chamorros of Guam to be a sanitary, hygienic, and hard working people who will enjoy what life has to offer.

Critical Literacy

Critical literacy essentially asks one to question or understand how and in what ways texts (and other forms of literacy) perpetuate oppression, suppression, and then take steps to disrupt the status quo (Giroux, 1992). In other words, critical literacy questions received or acquired knowledge and challenges practices and traditions of inequality. Discourses of critical literacy are varied in that some place focus on pedagogy (Glazier, 2007), while others focus on dismantling or constituting notions of language and identity (Bhatt, 2008; Moayeri & Smith, 2010). No matter the focus, whether pedagogical or language and identity, studies of critical literacy aim to develop an "activist citizenry" (Shor, 1999, p. 8). The active citizenry is essentially the people of a specific community

who are concerned with how and in what ways their community makes progress socially, culturally, politically, and academically.

Paulo Freire (1970), bell hooks (1994), and Henry Giroux (1988), through their work, have influenced or contributed to the discourse of how educational institutions in the West have proliferated the interests of the dominant culture. Their work also provides theories and ideas to help marginalized peoples acquire literacy and "civic engagement skills that will allow them to more effectively navigate, resist, and ultimately transform institutions of power" (Morrell, 2009, p. 98). Critical literacy research, such as this dissertation, can help us to understand how people see themselves as intellectuals, speakers, media users, and as affirmed members of linguistic or ethnic minority groups or socioeconomic classes.

Professor of teacher education, Jocelyn Glazier (2007) raises questions about how to better prepare pre-service teachers for the classroom and to teach in "socially just ways" (p. 375). Glazier posits that it is difficult for her students to come to terms with theory and socially sound pedagogy (learned in the college classroom). Difficulty arises because when new teachers enter the school system they are faced with traditional and conservative pedagogies and colleagues who do not wish to "upset the status quo" (ibid). As a result, new teachers are often hesitant to incorporate critical literacy approaches in their classrooms because they are bound by state and national standards. Ultimately, Glazier challenges and encourages teachers to incorporate critical literacy pedagogy in their classrooms because such pedagogy allows language and literacy learners to develop agency.

A prime example of language and literacy learners who are not afforded the opportunity to develop agency in the classroom is highlighted in Moayeri and Smith's (2010) work about aboriginal women. Moayeri and Smith argue that, although the school system did not totally destroy aboriginal students' culture and language it did destroy students' self confidence and self esteem. Further, the school system continues to promote a "Western, scientific, paternalistic knowledge system that has oppressed and devalued other knowledge systems" (Moayeri & Smith, 2010, p. 415). It is possible that if the government placed the same of amount of commitment and resources to reverse such damage caused to young aboriginal students, students will have a better chance to succeed in school and in the professional arena. By not acknowledging indigenous ways of knowing and learning, the Australian government continues to marginalize and oppress the aboriginal people. Because literacy learning emphasized western notions of knowing and learning, the aboriginal people were disenfranchised because the colonizers did not acknowledge or consider alternatives to how knowledge was constituted for these specific peoples.

Relevant Study on the Roles of Chamorro Women of Guam

Laura Torres Souder, a local scholar and Chamorro woman, published *Daughters of the island: Contemporary Chamorro women organizers on Guam* (1992). Souder's work brings to the forefront ways in which Chamorro women organizers, or women who participate in volunteer or organization work, perceive their changing status and roles in terms of a past and present dichotomy. Important in Souder's work and relative to this study is the constant battle of negotiation between modernity and tradition. This ever present struggle exists as women are viewed as "cultural preservationist[s]" (p.60), which

at the same time, these women recognized that their children's survival and success were dependent upon change.

The participants in Souder's study were affluent Chamorro women; primarily women who were well educated, wealthy, or married into prominent families. Therefore, it is fitting to imply that these women are not representative of the average Chamorro woman. Despite this implication, Souder's work is seminal as it is the first published work devoted to Chamorro women.

Relevant Study of Language and Identity

Chamorro women's attitudes toward English and Chamorro language and literacy are central to this study. Literacy and particularly language have a direct impact on a people's collective cultural identity. Shuanfan Huang's (2000) *Language, identity and conflict: A Taiwanese study,* brings to the fore the quest for identity that the people of Taiwan struggle with at present. Like the Taiwanese people, the Chamorros of Guam are conflicted with issues of language and continue to struggle with identity as a direct result of colonization.

Similar to the Chamorros of Guam, the indigenous Taiwanese were a colonized people. Early attempts to colonize Taiwan during the 1600s by the Dutch and the Spanish "briefly thrust the island into the consciousness of the western world" (Huang, 2000, p. 140). In 1683 Taiwan was officially incorporated with mainland China during the Ching dynasty despite Taiwanese disapproval. Taiwan was later ceded to Japan in 1895 at the end of the Sino-Japanese war which eventually led to the Japanisation of the Taiwanese people.

Over the course of five decades, the people of Taiwan learned and used the Japanese language. Huang's study shares with readers that many people identified with the Japanese culture and enjoyed the fruits of Japan's "stable rule" (p. 141). Yet at the end of WWII, Taiwan fell under the brutal rule of Chiang Kai-shek, a Chinese nationalist (refugee Chinese Mainlander).

Chiang and his band of Mainlanders "combined hegemony in the economic and political spheres with cultural hegemony through their control over education, the media, language, and much of cultural production" (Huang, 2000, p. 142). The Mainlanders further enforced the ban of the use of native languages in schools and the public sphere. Thus, as a result of Taiwan's varied ruling factions, the people of Taiwan struggle with a definitive collective cultural identity.

In relation to the present study, the Chamorros of Guam and the people of Taiwan have experienced an imposition of linguistic imperialism by colonial governing bodies.

In addition, Guam, Taiwan, and other formerly colonized islands and peoples are differentiated from other colonies by features of "smallness, remoteness, isolation, weakness, minority, and marginality" (Omoniyi, 2000, p. 3). Such historical and political experiences have impacted the people of these islands in ways that hinder consciousness of a collective cultural identity.

Conclusion

The literature presented in this chapter is evidence that literacy learning and the construction of identity are greatly influenced by sociocultural, sociohistorical, and sociopolitical factors that exist within many situated communities that have been affected by colonialism or outside governing bodies. The most significant evidence and common

thread among these studies is that family and cultural beliefs and practices help shape individual attitudes, practices, and beliefs of literacy.

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY

This chapter presents the methodology used to investigate the literacy histories of Chamorro women in Guam and how becoming literate in English has influenced their attitudes and practices about the Chamorro and English languages. Chapter 4: Methodology, presents a detailed description of this research project's Study Design, Research Site, Participants, Data Collection, Data Analysis, and Presentation of Data in the final dissertation.

Ethnography, a qualitative research method, permits a researcher to "gain a comprehensive view of the social interactions, behaviors and beliefs of a community or social group" (Moss, 1992, p. 155). Specifically, the ethnographer or researcher, which is me in this instance, focuses on the daily routines and everyday lives of a community or social group being studied. By examining what participants say, do, and know I was able to describe the participants' experiences and community so that an individual who is not a part of the Chamorro culture is able to see and understand just as a native of Guam would, which is the ultimate goal of the ethnographer (Moss, 1992). As a Chamorro woman, researcher, and teacher, an ethnographic research design is best suited for this research project because it bridges the gap between the two communities that I am a part of, the academic and native. The research project seeks answers to following questions:

1. How has becoming literate in English shaped Chamorro women's understandings (ideas/perceptions) of being a Chamorro woman in modern Guam?
2. What advantages and/or disadvantages did/does becoming literate in English have in the lives of Chamorro women?

Given the personal nature of the research questions and the caution or suspicion that indigenous peoples have of researchers outside of their own cultures, my insider status afforded me access to information that, more likely than not, would not have been disclosed to a non-Chamorro (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999). Despite my Chamorro heritage and knowledge of Chamorro culture, I was careful not to make assumptions based solely on my insider status, but rather used my cultural knowledge and the data collected to answer the research questions.

Study Design

Qualitative research provides a framework to understanding the *meaning*, *context*, and *process* of participants of the events, situations and actions they are involved with and of the accounts that they give their lives and experiences (Maxwell, 1996, p. 17-20). Before proceeding I offer the definitions of *meaning*, *context*, and *process* as presented by Maxwell (1996, p. 17-19).

- *Meaning*, in the broad sense, refers to cognition, affect, intentions and anything else that can be included in what qualitative researchers often refer to as the participant's perspective. The qualitative researcher's interest is not only in the physical events and behaviors that are taking place, but also in how the participants in the study make sense of this and how their understandings influence their behaviors.
- *Context*, is the situation, occurrence, and event, and the influence the context has on the participant's action. Because qualitative researchers usually study a small number of individuals or situations and try to preserve the individuality of each in

their analyses, they are able to understand how events, actions, and meanings are shaped by the unique circumstances in which they occur.

- *Process* is the progression by which events and actions take place. A major strength of qualitative research is the emphasis in getting at the *processes* that led to specific outcomes.

This intergenerational qualitative study of Post World War II Chamorro women on Guam, their literacy practices, and their roles within the Chamorro matrilineal society provided the opportunity to try and understand how becoming literate in the English language has shaped their understandings of what it means to be a Chamorro woman and what advantages or disadvantages emerged as a result of English literacy.

Research Site

The research, data collection and analysis took place on the island of Guam where I live and work as an instructor of English. The site was purposefully selected as it is my desire to contribute to existing studies on the Chamorros of Guam.

Guam is a volcanic island in the Pacific Ocean and is a part of the Mariana Islands. It was declared an unincorporated territory of the United States in 1950. After a history of more than 300 years of direct colonial rule, there are no "pure" Chamorros; however, those who identify themselves as Chamorro recognize themselves as descendants of ancient Chamorros of Guam.

The Chamorro language and culture are considered oral as no orthography for the language existed until the establishment of a Chamorro Language Commission in 1964 via Public Law 25-69. It was not until 1983 that a Chamorro orthography was officially adopted (Taitano, 2009). It was through storytelling, song, dance, and art that culture,

knowledge, and the Chamorro way of life was passed on from generation to generation (Sanchez, 1989). This was how literacy, "culture-specific ways of knowing" (Perez, 1998, p. 24), functioned in ancient Guam, and I believe it is still prevalent in modern Guam.

Method and Procedures

Purposeful and critical sampling of participants was selected for the inquiry. Purposeful sampling, as Maxwell (1996) suggests, "is a strategy in which particular settings, persons, or events are selected deliberately in order to provide important information that can't be gotten as well from other choices" (p. 70). The major goal of documenting personal literacy histories can be best achieved by retrieving the information directly from the sources; in this instance, the participants themselves. Because Chamorros are diverse in terms of education, socioeconomics, and professions, selected women are of immediate relation to each other. That is, the women selected for the study are intergenerational (grandmother, daughter, and granddaughter). The purpose of this critical selection is to best show the changes that took place immediately following World War II to the present. Changes such as literacy acquisition, educational attainment, and women's roles were documented. Moreover, because this study is focused on women who came of age during and after World War II, participants were born between the years of 1920 and 1985. These criteria (described later) permitted me to obtain data specific to the time period and to best map the intergenerational trajectory within the time period.

Participants

I selected three Chamorro families each containing three intergenerational women, bringing the total number of participants to nine. These nine women were all born between the years of 1920 and 1985, are of Chamorro descent, and are easily accessible to me as acquaintances. I made the decision to choose nine women from three different families with whom I am acquainted so as to avoid feelings of distrust or shyness. I wanted the women to feel at ease with me.

I secured nine Chamorro women on Guam as participants for my study. These women signed and received a copy of a Consent to Participate form. Three of the participants were born between 1920 and 1945; three were born between 1945 and 1965, and the three youngest generation participants were born between 1965 and 1985. I have delineated such time periods according to the following descriptions:

- 1920-1945: Generation 1

  The participants in this generation attended school on Guam during the first American occupation (1899-1941) and may have attended Japanese Occupation schools (1941-1944). These participants were also the first group of Chamorros to experience the effects of English only policies instituted by U.S. Naval government.

- 1945-1965: Generation 2

  Participants are descendants of Generation 1 and most likely attended school during the "enforcement" period of English only policies on Guam and when the U.S. naval government recognized English as the only official language of Guam.

This generation also attended school during the "reconstruction" period immediately following World War II.

- 1965-1985: Generation 3

  Participants are descendants of Generation 2 and "grand" descendants of Generation 1. They attended school on Guam when English and Chamorro were both recognized as official languages of Guam. Further, participants in this generation were no longer a part of the "enforcement" period of English only policies as English, more than likely, became the first language in the home.

In addition to the description of time periods, I offer the following criteria for participants in the study:

- Born between the years of 1920 and 1985
- Born and raised in Guam and had to have lived on the island for most of their life
- Of immediate and intergenerational relation to each other (i.e. grandmother, daughter/mother, daughter/granddaughter)
- Educated on Guam during childhood and adolescent years
- Self-identified as being of Chamorro descent
- Willing to be interviewed and to share literacy documents

The women who gave written consent to participate in the study met all the aforementioned criteria. So as not to privilege any one educational or socioeconomic background over another, the participants were of varying education and socioeconomic backgrounds. They are women with whom I am acquainted socially and professionally.

It may be of concern to readers whether familiarity with participants poses possible problems. For example, "Is it possible that the participants will not be as

forthcoming with personal information because they know the researcher [me]?" Anything is possible; however, I maintained an honest and open relationship with each participant, answered questions they had, and assured their safety throughout the research process. In addition, I truly believe that because I am a woman of Chamorro descent and because of the nature of this study, the women did not hesitate to share their stories or answer any questions I had.

Data Collection

My study includes data from individual interviews, generational cohort interviews, and a collection of artifacts and documents. By collecting data from multiple sources in conjunction with reflective journaling (which I discuss later), I was able to triangulate the data, thereby improving the process of "ruling out validity threats and increasing the credibility" (Maxwell, 1996, p. 92) of my conclusions. Here, in this section, I offer descriptions of the various data collection techniques that were utilized in this research project.

Individual Interviews

Data collection for this qualitative inquiry came predominantly from interviews and documents and artifacts. Each participant was individually interviewed once for approximately 90 minutes or for a time period that the participant was most comfortable with. Immediately following the initial interview, I scheduled a brief follow up interview with each participant to address issues that needed clarification. Dexter (1970) characterizes interviews as "conversation[s] with a purpose" (in Maxwell, 1996, p. 85). "Interviews allow the researcher and respondent to move back and forth in time; to reconstruct the past, interpret the present, and predict the future" (p. 85). Because I

attempted to gather information relative to literacy histories, the idea of moving back and forth in time allowed the participants and me to better understand sequence of events. Moreover, interviews, as Reinharz (1992) and Sohn (1999) suggest, are valuable data collection techniques in studies that involve women because the participants can answer questions to express their "ideas, thoughts, and memories in their own words rather than in the words of the researcher" (Reinharz, 1992, p. 19).

"Creating a setting or context that helps a person feel comfortable is fundamental to a good interview" (Atkinson, 1998, p. 30). To ensure participants' comfort as much as possible, participants in the study were given the opportunity to choose a time and site they were comfortable with for conducting interviews. I interviewed each of the nine women and gained permission to meet with each of them individually to review the transcripts from their individual interviews which resulted in a total of 18 interviews. The guiding questions for interviews with the participants were:

1. How do you describe the roles you "play" in your life?
2. Have education and literacy influenced the decisions you have made within the various roles you "play" (e.g. woman, mother, professional, student)?
3. What is your idea of a traditional Chamorro woman? Modern Chamorro woman?
4. How do you think/feel that modernity or westernization has influenced your traditional beliefs? Why or why not?
5. What are your feelings about Americanization in relation to your cultural and personal beliefs and practices?
6. How has your life or that of your family benefited from American education? What, if any, have been the disadvantages?

7. How has becoming literate in English affected your life?
8. What are your thoughts or opinions on the movement to become literate in the Chamorro language?
9. With regard to the Chamorro and English languages, describe your education from kindergarten through high school. Did Chamorro and/or English influence your educational experience?

These questions, when needed, were framed to fit the context of each individual interview without altering the meanings of the questions. Responses to interview questions were in English and Chamorro. G1 participants used Chamorro, in some instances, to explain Chamorro ideas, concepts and feelings that were otherwise difficult to verbalize in English. English translations of Chamorro words and phrases are provided in parentheses. Interviews were tape recorded and each recording was subsequently transcribed and summarized. Summaries were brief overviews of each interview.

Generational Cohort Interviews

Following completion of the interviews with the nine participants, I attempted to organize three separate informal "talking" sessions with the nine participants. Unfortunately, this component of the research design did not come to fruition because the participants did not agree to the meeting. I address this issue more closely and critically in Chapter 6.

The plan was to have each of the three talking sessions consist of participants from Generation 1, Generation 2, and Generation 3. That is, all G1 participants were to gather and talk to each other, and the G2 and G3 participants would do the same with their generational cohorts. The generational cohort interviews called for participants to

meet in an informal, convenient, and neutral setting and to talk about their own language and literacy experiences with each other. Generational interviews were incorporated into the study design because Clark's (2005) study suggests that generational interviews consisting of individuals within a similar age cohort and the same region "will have similar literacy influences and ways of transmitting literacies across generations" (p. 55). This procedure would have allowed the participants within each generation to share their experiences with each other and provide a "multigenerational perspective" (Taylor & Dorsey-Gaines, 1988, p. 226) to further validate the data collected in earlier individual interviews.

Artifacts and Documents

Because I intended to document literacy histories of Chamorro women I turned to Kyvig & Marty (2000) who note that artifacts and documents are representative of a person's "material culture" (p. 147). Clark (2005) collected artifacts and documents as one method of data collection in her study of vernacular literacy practices of Central Appalachian women. Like Clark, I requested from my participants documents that they recognized as "written and symbolic records" (Erlandson, 1993, p. 99) of their culture and literacy practices and histories. Documents included but were not limited to academic or professional awards and certificates, bibles, old report cards, graduation diplomas, letters, email, photographs, journals, calendars, and books.

Scheduling and Interview Location(s)

Scheduling interviews with nine participants was at their convenience, and in a setting such as their home, so that participants felt at ease and comfortable during the interviews. Follow up interviews were scheduled with participants to gather more

information following the second interview. To allay any possible scheduling conflicts, I anticipated data collection to take place between June 2006 and August 2006 when my schedule was more flexible to accommodate participants' needs. I, however, requested an extension from the University until July 2007 so as to gather further data from the participants.

The women in my study, as I stated earlier, are socially or professionally familiar with me. This aspect is important as I gathered information that was most likely not privileged to individuals who are unfamiliar to them. Moreover, being able to contact each participant was important for follow up interviews or questions that may have risen from either them or me.

Data Analysis

Analysis depended on emerging data. Following each interview, I completed the following tasks in this specific order:

1. Listened to the recorded interview
2. Transcribed the interview
3. Documented patterns of literacy practices and attitudes

Upon completion of the interviews, transcriptions, and pattern documentation, I wrote and compared individual narratives in order to best find thematic links of language, literacy and identity among the participants and to address the research questions.

Presentation of Data

The participants' experiences and literate lives are presented through narratives in the final dissertation. Narratives "follow a natural tendency of arranging the events and circumstances of a life in a way that gives them coherent order […] As a way of meaning

making, identifying life influences, and interpreting experience, there may be no better method than the subjective narrative of the life story to help the researcher understand a life from the insider's point of view" (Atkinson, 1998, p. 13). Connecting Atkinson's concept to the indigenous perspective and the nature of narrative and the oral tradition within the Chamorro culture, Banks-Wallace (2002) asserts that:

> Narratives are integral to indigenous peoples. Indigenous peoples live through narratives and stories. Without narratives in an oral tradition, there is no history, no reference […] Narratives or stories are a means of relaying information to others, telling of wisdom gleaned from and through living, preserving common characteristics of a culture, and passing truths on from generation to generation. (p. 411-412)

From the individual narratives I identified major similarities in the experiences that the women shared such as attitudes toward, exposure to, access to, and uses of literacy. Upon presentation of their stories, I provide a perspective that shows the relationships that exist between Chamorro women, literacy, culture, and westernization. Because I am immersed in the culture and am conscious of the cultural denigration that has taken place in my homeland, it is my belief that women's roles have been influenced positively and negatively as a result of western literacy and education, and the patriarchal nature of U.S. American ideology.

Recognition of Potential Bias

Because I am a Chamorro woman who was born, raised, and presently live on Guam, I am aware of potential bias that may arise through the course of my research and data collection process. To remain constantly aware and critical of any potential bias, I

kept a reflective journal to document ideas, thoughts, or opinions that I may have had throughout the data collection process. This journal allowed me to reflect on previous thoughts while analyzing the data collected. Before each interview, I noted the date, location and participant I was scheduled to meet. In the journal, following each interview, I wrote questions and comments about the interview and data collected. I also took note if participants' language and literacy experiences mirrored my own. The journal was helpful and provided a chronological account of my research and data collection process.

CHAPTER 5

THE LANGUAGES AND LITERACIES OF THREE GENERATIONS OF CHAMORRO WOMEN

In this chapter I trace the language and literacy trajectories of three generations of Chamorro women on Guam. First, I will recall the theories used to guide this study and how they are relevant to the findings. Following a brief overview of each theory, Generations 1, 2, and 3 are introduced. After each generation is introduced, participants' narratives followed by analyses are presented.

Conceptual Framework

The theoretical construct of this study is based on several assumptions. First, consider Heath's (1983 & 1999) theory of literacy and four key factors of literacy:

1. the plurality of literacy and how literacy is reflective of a specific community;
2. literacies are shaped by family, community, time, space, and cultural conditions over an individual life span;
3. literacy landscapes and geographies are crucial to literacy development and practices;
4. and literacy is purposeful and is appropriated to portray life events and self-identities.

If we accept Heath's theory of literacy, then the social and historical events, geographic conditions, and cultural conditions of each generation are just as significant as the literacy practices the women appropriate in their lives. The women in this study are living testaments of Guam's tumultuous history and reflect three generations of change and adaptation.

The second theory that frames this study is Bengston, Biblarz, and Roberts' (2002) intergenerational transmission theory. Intergenerational transmission theory proposes that, "individual development—especially a person's values, aspirations and self-esteem—are related to family of origin and the social context within which…she grows up and grows old" (p. 24). As such, the literacies of these Chamorro women have been influenced by their individual family's beliefs, values, and social conditions. More importantly, the macrosocial events like occupation, war, and institutionalized policies impact microsocial events like individual educational and career opportunities, marriage, and family planning which in turn affect literacy practices. Furthermore, intergenerational transmission theory suggests that literacies are fluid and recursive between the generations. For example, a G1 teaches G3 how to maneuver her way through a recipe, and G3 teaches G1 how to use the internet to access information. Further, language choice and attitudes are also transmitted through the generations. It is likely that because English has been the official language in Guam schools since 1898, save for two years during the Japanese Occupation of Guam when Japanese was the language used in schools, G1 Chamorro speaking parents wanted their G2 children to excel in school. G1 parents formed the opinion that the English language and not the Chamorro language was necessary for success (Santos, 1998).

Turning attention to the third theory within the study, community of practice theory (Wenger, 1998) draws attention to how people, like the Chamorro women in this study, share similar characteristics like language and interests. In other words, a community of practice is a mutual engagement that binds members together into a social entity. This particular theory helps to understand how shared experiences influence the

types of literacies used within specific social settings. For a few of the women in this study, the Christian Mothers organization within the Catholic church, is a group that affords these women further opportunity to serve God, their parish, and community. Within this organization, specific literacies are used to carry out their plans.

While language and literacy practices and attitudes are significant to this study, postcolonial theory provides a lens to critically examine the language and literacy choices made by these women. Information about the meaning, process, and context of these women's experiences that were documented was not solely about what the practices and attitudes were, but included why these women made the choices that they did. What was documented was information, experiences, and perceptions about what in Guam's colonial and sociopolitical history influenced these women's choices and shaped their attitudes about English and its impact on Chamorro.

Each participant in this study is unique, but with similar cultural backgrounds. That is, while they have individual identities, their collective identity is that of Chamorro woman. Island identity theory posits a real identity and a perceived identity. Thus, significant here is how these women view themselves and the roles they assume in their lives and what it means to be a Chamorro woman on Guam between the G1 through G3 time period. Joseph (1998) and Norton (2004) contend that language and literacy choices are influenced by the language of power. In the context of Guam, the language of power is English. On Guam Chamorro and English are appropriated in different spaces and situations. That is, more likely than not, English is used in public places that call for official business and Chamorro is used in the home or other private spaces and occasions.

The concept of hybridity adds another dimension to language and identity in that it depicts a situation in which one culture penetrates another. When this occurs a struggle for power ensues. In relation to the present study, U.S. English penetrated Chamorro language, and Chamorros of Guam were forced to use both languages in different domains and at different times. The struggle for power exists in that English became the language of education and employment opportunities.

Keeping in mind the aforementioned conceptual framework, the proceeding includes findings as a result of the interviews and the sharing of literacy documents and artifacts within three generations of Chamorro women of Guam over the course of several months. These women have stories to share, stories about literacy, language, culture, identity, what they believe it means to be a Chamorro woman and how public, private, religious, and political influences have shaped their identities and roles as Chamorro women on Guam.

Table 1 provides a visual of the lineage and generation of each woman in the study. G1 Manuela is G2 Teresita's mother; G3 Colleen is Teresita's daughter and Manuela's granddaughter. The second family of women in the study includes G1 Engracia, G2 Lina, and G3 Dolores. The third family who participated in study consists of G1 Rosa, G2 Lourdes, and G3 Rozanne. These participants represent three generations of Chamorro women born before World War II to 1984. Their language and literacy histories span a time period of over 85 years.

Table 1: *Participants' Lineage*

Generation 1	Manuela *b. 1924*	Engracia *b. 1925*	Rosa *b. 1933*
Generation 2	Teresita *b. 1948*	Lina *b. 1956*	Lourdes *b. 1954*
Generation 3	Colleen *b. 1974*	Dolores *b. 1984*	Rozeanne *b. 1975*

Generation 1: 1920-1945 *I Mañainan-måmi*—Our Elders

The Women of G1

The women of Generation 1 have stories about growing up on Guam during the 1920s through the 1940s. The 1920s and 1940s was the time in Guam in which U.S. naval presence was high and Guam was governed by the naval government. There was much change in the way Chamorros lived because of the mandates and policies set forth by the U.S. naval government. While the U.S. governed the Chamorros of Guam, they brought with them modernity and technology but did not permit their dependents to be educated alongside their Chamorro counterparts. The stories that these women shared give voice to a time in Guam history that many have not been recorded. Guam history books do not do justice in bringing the personal and often conflicting feelings about early education on Guam and the impact it had on shaping Chamorro and English language and literacy attitudes and practices among the Chamorros of Guam.

Manuela, 84 at the time of the study, was born in 1924 and is the eldest daughter of five children. She is the eldest among the nine participants and speaks mostly in Chamorro. Manuela, a mother of 13, was born, raised, and lives in southern Guam.

Engracia, aged 83, was born in April 1925 in the village of Sumay, known today as COMNAVMAR, or Commander, Naval Forces Marianas. A lover of gardening, one will often find Engracia working in the yard, picking fruits from her trees, and burning leaves and yard debris.

Rosa, 75, was born in 1933, and is the youngest of 11 children. She is the youngest participant within her generation 1 cohort, and the only one within the G1 timeframe to graduate from high school and pursue a career.

Manuela, Engracia, and Rosa are the women of Generation 1 and their stories highlight their experiences through several phases of their life. Education, family, World War II, and motherhood were some topics that surfaced in their retellings of their histories. These G1 women attended school during the first American presence, lived through the Japanese Occupation on Guam during World War II, and continued their lives on Guam during the reconstruction years. The early 1900s on Guam was a time for the Chamorros of Guam to adjust to a new government. The Spanish crown relinquished Islas de Marianas to the United States in 1898 and the island and people were introduced to another way of life under U.S. governance. Other than the few years the Japanese occupied Guam (1941-1944), the United States maintained control of many facets of life on Guam. A U.S. postal system, compulsory education and civil service jobs are just some of the fruits of U.S. presence introduced to Guam.

Compulsory education afforded young Chamorros a free education—free but not equal. That is, dependent children of U.S. Navy personnel attended schools specifically for dependents. Chamorro children attended schools for Chamorro children. The educational situation on Guam at this time mirrored what was happening in the U.S.

mainland with racial segregation. Naval governor Leary expressed that local children did not need the same education as U.S. children because U.S. children were going to return the mainland. Like other Chamorro children, Rosa, Engracia, and Manuela attended public school specifically for the children of Guam in their formative years and wondered what went on in the "nice American school" that was built for and inhabited by the children of military personnel. The women of G1 confirm that the public schools that housed local children were not newly built structures, but rather structures that already existed and were previously inhabited. The structures primarily consisted of Quonset huts used as housing in the military barracks, whereas, schools for military dependents were newly built structures segregated from the local population.

While the public school for Guam's children was mediocre and focused on agriculture (Carter, 1998; Underwood, 1989), the American school for military dependents was, in Rosa's words, "Much nicer than ours."

Public school curriculum for local children was administered and delivered in the English language, and for these three women Chamorro was their first language. Thus, the transition from Chamorro to English was no easy task. Similar to second language students, these women struggled to use only the English language while in school. They shared that they were afraid to get caught speaking Chamorro because of punishment. Monetary fines of five cents per incident and the more traumatizing punishment of paddling were the most common consequences of speaking Chamorro in the classroom and on the playground.

Also significant to this particular generation's education is the Japanese Occupation of Guam during World War II. Because the Japanese opened schools for

local children, students who attended such schools were forced to learn the Japanese language and culture so as to enforce the Japanisation policy for Guam and other islands in the Pacific (Higuchi, 2001). Furthermore, this brutal time in Guam history had great influence in the ways Chamorros perceived the United States.

Manuela, 82

In a strong and comforting voice, Manuela smiled and sat in a chair in her outdoor kitchen sipping iced water and asked in Chamorro, "*Esta listo hao* (Are you ready)?" I could tell she was wary of my presence. Manuela speaks Chamorro more often than English. "I can tell you more if I talk in Chamorro—my English is not that good. *Kao un comprendi hafa lelekhu* (Do you understand what I am saying)?"

Knowing that my reception was much better than my conversational Chamorro, I encouraged Manuela to speak in the language she was most comfortable with. She verbalized that Chamorro was easier, but that she would use both English and Chamorro. The quotes of Manuela's interview below were not translated from Chamorro to English. For most of the interview, Manuela's responses were in English; however, she did incorporate Chamorro when, in my opinion, she could not explain an idea, feeling, or concept in English. With that said, she was ready to begin.

The oldest of four children, Manuela had many responsibilities in the home in addition to daily chores and helping care for her siblings. Her mother passed away when Manuela was nine years old. It was then that she quit school to stay home to help her father and care for her siblings.

Prior to her educational departure, Manuela shared that she loved school. "I was so smart in school. I was good at doing my work. My teacher, she was a Chamorro. She was nice and let me take my book home sometimes" (January 9, 2007).

When asked what kinds of books she had as a young student, Manuela replied, "Oh. I have the pre-primer book…Like Dick and Jane" (January 9, 2009).

In Chamorro, she explained that as a kindergarten student in 1931, Manuela had her first taste of the U.S. run schools. Manuela shared that she loved going to school and that during the two short years of matriculation, she studied reading, writing, and math. Each day Manuela and her peers jump started the day's lessons with the pledge of allegiance. At the time, the Guam Hymn was not a part of allegiance. The absence of the recognition of Guam, as native homeland, while pledging allegiance to the United States is telling of the position Guam and her people were in. That is, students were not taught to honor Guam, but rather, were taught to honor a country that did not recognize Guam and her people as full participants in the United States.

I asked Manuela to recall and describe her experiences in her youth with specific attention paid to language and literacy. She responded in English:

> Growing up I only speak Chamorro. That's what my parents know, so they talk to to me in Chamorro. Only when I went to school I speak English. If the students get caught talking Chamorro they will be punish. Sometimes like five cents or a paddle. It was hard at first to speak English, but I learn and practice. But still it is hard. In school we practice the alphabets and learn the addition and subtraction. We don't really have books to take home, only sometimes when I ask the teacher. (January 9, 2007)

Manuela shared that only in the school domain did she speak English; otherwise, all other communication was done in Chamorro.

> At home we only speak Chamorro. My dad doesn't really speak English that well. He don't help me with my homework or give me lessons at home. Only he show me how to do certain things around the house and ranch. My dad is so strict. But when my mother passed away, I had to quit school. My dad don't tell me to quit. I just knew that I have to stay home to take care of him and my younger brother sisters. I don't mind. That was the end of my school. I never go back to the school until my kids' turn to go to school. (January 9, 2007)

While discussing language use and literacy practices in her childhood, Manuela shares:

> There's no newspaper at home not like now. Before it's only from the neighbors or friends that my dad gets news. He never really told me and my sisters and brothers what is going on. When he is talking to adults us kids know that we have to move away from them. It is how we were taught. So no books, only when we bring them home from school. (January 9, 2007)

Literacy acts like reading and writing were not necessary for daily life and survival in Manuela's home. Her father managed to keep his family safe, sheltered and fed with the literacy skills he did possess. Manuela's observance of her father's way of life translated to her that while English literacy was highly valued in school, it was not significant for home life. When asked about the types of literacy practices she observed at home while growing up, Manuela smiled and recalled:

> I don't really know. All I can remember is sometimes my dad will draw out pictures for what he is building. He build a outhouse for us to use. I remember this

> cause we don't really have paper so he draw on the box or empty sack. Really I think the reading and writing was only for school things. At home there's not much use at the time. Long time ago it's all about using your hands, only for praying or at church we read. Not really writing. Mostly reading what *påle'* (Parish Priest) hands out to us. (January 9, 2007)

The absence of paper in her childhood home may be attributed to the fact that Manuela's father did not have the financial means to purchase paper for home use. Another inference that can be made about the absence of paper in the home was that writing things down on paper for personal use was not valued within the domain of the home.

> Manuela shares fond memories of spiritual based memories and literacy practices: If we are not at home or helping relatives, we go to the church. Me and the other kids clean the church. I did this for many years. Not only the cleaning, but the church is like home too. We are always there helping and doing things for *pale'*, mass, or the village people. (January 9, 2007)

Manuela continued with a description of the types of activities associated with the religious domain:

> For *påle'* we clean the rectory and his living area. We also polish the pews and sweep and mop the church floors. When we're not cleaning, we prepare the prayer books, sing, pray the rosary, and organize sacks of food to give to the less fortunate. We help the Christian Mothers with their work and also pray with them. The church was like our playground. I was a good speller. The old ladies ask me how to spell things in English so they can give the list to *påle'*. It's funny now. At

> the time I was so proud to know how to spell things and the old ladies asking for my help. (January 9, 2007)

Manuela's sense of "pride" at being able to help her elders spell words in English fueled the necessity to learn English literacy. Although Chamorro language use in the church was not punishable, lists and other formal literacy tasks called for the use of English further demarcated the use of the two languages. Manuela did not perceive one language as more powerful or less significant than the other; however, she clearly understood that Chamorro was used in the home and in prayer and English for formal tasks.

Manuela's recollection of her childhood language and literacy practices allowed her to make connections to language and literacy practices in her own home with her children and husband.

> I got married in 1940. My husband was much older than me, 10 years. I start having babies soon after. I have 13 children altogether. Me and my husband speak Chamorro to each other. We both know how to speak English, but we use Chamorro to talk. (January 9, 2007)

I asked Maneula to describe situations in which she appropriated English and Chamorro.

> I speak Chamorro at home with family and friends. So I mostly use Chamorro. Back then I only use English if I have to…that's cause most people back then speak Chamorro. The people who work in the government are mostly people from here (Guam). But there are still Americans who are in charge. I remember when I have to go to the vital statistics for the birth certificate, I have to use English. I have to fill out forms so I have to use English. Lucky I know how to read and write English a little. Things like that I have to use English. What do you call

> that? Like the official business…I use English. I don't really have a choice you know. If I need something from the government I have to use English. So when my kids are old enough it gets better because they know more English reading and writing than me. (January 9, 2007)

Manuela's association of English with "official business" is evidence of the attitude or perception that English was deemed more significant than Chamorro and necessary, for example, to retrieve and receive an official birth certificate. This perception stems from the socialization of English in education and government; all official or legal documents and tasks were legitimized via English language and literacy.

Manuela continued with how she used English and Chamorro.

> There is nothing wrong with the English. But for me, I like to pray and talk in Chamorro. I don't know about you, but me it seems different. (January 9, 2007)

I asked Manuela to explain what she meant by different.

> *Kalan ginen I mas tadodong gi korason-hu* (It's like it is from the depths of my heart). I have plenty song books, prayer books. Some of them are in English. But I have more in Chamorro. I don't use them as much. Not like before. 'Cause you know I remember most of the songs and prayers. So my daughters are the ones who use it when they are here for the novena. (January 9, 2009)

As we transitioned from her own language and literacy practices to that of her children, Manuela shared that pre and post World War II was a different time from the present. There were many changes taking place and times were hard during and immediately after the war. Her first child was born right before the Japanese Occupation and her second

child was born during the Occupation. Manuela asserts that she made decisions regarding her children's upbringing that influenced their education and life.

> At home I speak to my kids in Chamorro. They can all understand Chamorro. Mostly my oldest ones are the ones that still use the Chamorro. My younger kids use it too, but mostly they mix the Chamorro with the English. I know that they have to know English for school, but we speak Chamorro at home. The English is very important 'cause if my kids don't learn it then they will not do good in school. But see I am not the best in English. Remember, I quit school when I was very young. But my kids are smart, they learn to read and write in English at school and from their friends in the school. I always tell my kids to listen to the teacher and do what she says 'cause she is the one in charge there. (January 9, 2007)

Manuela's own limited educational experience led her to recognize the teacher's authority and expertise and acknowledged the significance of English language and literacy in her children's education. A mother of 13 children, Manuela explains that over the years her children's education was very different from her own, and that she too, like her father, could not really help her children with their homework. She shared:

> They need the English because they need to work and finish school. I know that they cannot do that if they are not good in English. At first it was hard for them but later they learn and got better at it. Then my older kids help my younger kids with the homeworks. I don't really help them with the homework. I help my kids in other ways for school. (January 9, 2007)

I asked Manuela to share in what ways she helped her children with school. She answered:

> Just cause I don't help them with the homeworks don't mean I don't care about their school…maybe that's what some people think. Me I don't think so cause I love all my kids and I want them to do good. To have a better life than me. Even if I don't help with the homeworks I always tell them to complete their work. I never miss the parent teachers conference and I get all the supplies they need for school. The conference is important cause I get to find out from the teacher how my kids are doing. (January 9, 2007)

At the time of the interview, Manuela felt the need to express:

> I was very young when I quit school, but I know that education is important. I tried my best and now my kids are doing fine. I am blessed. God is good and has taken care of us. (January 9, 2007)

Manuela's story very much mirrors many stories of women of her generation. The time period and sociopolitical events that took place early in their lives shaped the English and Chamorro language and literacy practices and attitudes in their homes and with their children and family. While many stories are similar within generational cohorts, there are also significant differences that come to light in the proceeding narratives.

Engracia, 82

By making an immediate connection to where she was born and raised and my lineage, specifically my relationship with my grandfather, Engracia seemed at ease. Engracia was from the same southern village, Sumay, as my grandfather. What was once the village of Sumay is known today as COMNAVMAR, the U.S. Naval Base in

southern Guam. Engracia and her family, like all residents of Sumay, were forcibly relocated to the hills of Santa Rita as a result of Japanese attack. Following the "recapture" of Guam by U.S. forces, Sumay residents were not allowed to return home because the village was requisitioned by the U.S. government to be turned into a naval base (Viernes, 2008).

Her knowledge of who my grandfather was led her to trust my intentions. Her reaction, in my opinion, stems from the Chamorro values of interdependence and reciprocity, or *ina'fa'maolek*. *Ina'fa'maolek* is a core value in the Chamorro way of life. For Chamorros, interdependence is far more important than independence. *Ina'fa'maolek* signifies that people help each other in an "agreeable fashion" (Underwood, n.d., p. 17). Engracia's willingness to help me with my study, even without knowing me personally, points to her attitude toward *ina'fa'maolek*.

After Engracia and I engaged in talk about family relatives and shared acquaintances, we proceeded with the interview. She responded in English to my questions but also used Chamorro. The Chamorro she did use is quoted in the passages below with English translations in parenthesis. We began with her earliest memories of school. Engracia determined that it was the year 1932 that she began her formal education.

> I went to the American school. I was seven years old when I first started. The name of the school is Maxwell School. It was in Sumay. I walked to school with my sisters. We lived in Sumay so the walk was not so far for me. (November 29, 2006)

I asked Engracia about school and about her language and literacy learning. Without hesitating she replied:

> I only speak Chamorro when I went to school. My parents only spoke Chamorro.
>
> I learn English in school. The teachers only spoke English. (November 29, 2006)

I asked Engracia if she ever used Chamorro while at school and as if saying no by shaking her head she said:

> I'm so scared because we are in school. Only at the house can we use Chamorro.
>
> I'm so scared to get in trouble from the teachers. The Chamorro teachers, they speak English at school. (November 29, 2006)

Engracia further recalled why she was scared to speak Chamorro.

> If we get caught speaking Chamorro we will get in trouble. Sometimes 5 cents fine or paddling. I never got in trouble. I know other kids got in trouble but not me. (November 29, 2006)

Following her initial memories of language use in the school domain and home domain, Engracia shared that she did not complete high school, but completed her eighth grade year—which was just before the Japanese invaded Guam during World War II. Engracia further explained that she did not attend Japanese schools.

> I don't go to the Japanese school. My father said no. During the invasion of the Japanese only my older sister went to school. In the time of the Japanese, you know they [Japanese soldiers] are raping young girls. So I stay home.
>
> (November 29, 2006)

Staying home instead of attending Japanese school was not an uncommon occurrence. Many parents feared their daughters would be violated or beaten by Japanese soldiers, so

they chose to keep their young daughters at home. However, staying at home entailed daily chores to help the family survive the tough times. Engracia shared:

> Even if I stay home there is a lot to do. My job is to cook and grind on the *mitati* (a grinder carved out of stone). I learned by watching the old ladies do the grinding. I like using the *mitati* better than the *mulinu* (a commercially manufactured grinder made of metal). Sometimes I go out to pick *kamuti* (sweet potatoes), *lemai* (breadfruit). It was a hard time for the family during the Japanese Occupation. We did what we can. (November 29, 2006)

Despite the events of the Japanese Occupation, Engracia and her family remained devoted to their Catholic faith. She explained:

> We went to a small chapel. We walk there from our house to pray. Even if it's the Japanese times we always go there to pray. We always go to church.

Following the aftermath of the war, Engracia returned to school where she enrolled at Santa Rita School located in her adopted village of Santa Rita. Engracia continued:

> I did not finish high school. Maybe only 8th or 9th grade. When I stop school I stay home and maintain the house and yard until I get married. (November 29, 2006)

Curious about her literacy practices at home following her educational departure, I asked Engracia about the types of reading and writing she did at home. Chuckling Engracia said:

> Only the prayer books for the *nobena*. I don't feel like reading other books. I write letters to family and when my brother join the Navy that's when I write to him. (November 29, 2006)

Engracia explained that it was her choice to drop out of school and that there were factors that led her to such a decision, but ultimately her choice to stay home as a teenager was to help her father maintain the household and care for her siblings. Despite her mother's passing, Engracia had her mother's sisters around to teach her things. Her maternal aunts taught her how to manage a household to include cooking, cleaning, and about other female responsibilities around the house. In addition, her mother's sisters continued to nurture the Catholic faith in Engracia and her siblings' lives. Engracia's mother's sisters and family remained a big part of her and her siblings' lives.

Transitioning from adolescence to adulthood was a welcome change. Engracia recalled her father's strict and rigid rules and admitted that one of the main reasons she chose to get married was to "go out and do things." On February 1, 1947, Engracia married and began a new chapter in her life as a wife and mother.

As a homemaker, Engracia did not seek employment. She remained at home and cared for her 15 children. She often followed her husband to the ranch to feed the pigs, but ultimately her duties consisted of raising her children and maintaining her household. Part of raising her children and maintaining her household consisted of nurturing and exposing her children to the Catholic faith. Language and literacy practices in Engracia's home were rooted in religious and faith based activities. She recalled:

> We went to church every Sunday. Every morning and every night we pray the rosary as a family. Tuesday, Saturday, and Sunday I attend mass. Every procession in the village I take my kids. I encourage them to go to church. Only one Sunday. Need to have one day of the week not doing anything, only for the Lord. Even now I always tell them. I am a Christian Mother since 1948 until now.

> I have plenty children so I take them with me to clean the church. We also say *nobenas*, put flowers on the statues. Since I was young I attend *eskuelan påle'* before mass. My kids go to *eskuelan påle'*. (November 29, 2006)

Eskuelan påle' is literally "priest's school," and known in the U.S. mainland as Sunday school. Having a Catholic church in every village made it accessible for children to attend *eskuelan påle'* with their peers. Engracia perpetuated and nurtured their Catholic faith by sending her children to *eskuelan påle'*. Not only did she expect her children to attend *eskuelan påle'* she maintained active membership in the Christian Mother's organization. Engracia shared:

> There are many women all different ages. We all go to the [Christian Mothers] convention. We pray, talk and meet other Christian mothers. I am very active. Not so much now, but I am still in the Christian Mothers. (November 29, 2006)

Engracia went on to share an example of how she nurtured and perpetuated Chamorro language and literacy in her own home.

> Prayer is very good. When my daughter died I continue to pray. I pray for everybody. I pray in Chamorro. I don't like to pray in English. I pray with my children and grandchildren in Chamorro. I teach the kids to pray and sing [in Chamorro]. They can sing in Chamorro. I tell my kids to XEROX [photocopy] the prayers and songs in Chamorro. You know, how are they gonna learn or know if they are not writing it down or passing it out? (November 29, 2006)

She concluded:

> Every January I celebrate my Holy Family *nobena* (novena). Since 1949 I started my *nobena*. I never miss a year. *Guahu tumutucha' I nobena* (I lead the novena).

> We sing the *nobena* songs in Chamorro and pray in Chamorro. Only in Chamorro. *Ilekna I asagua-hu na ti Amerikano hit* (My husband said that we are not American). The kids' first language is Chamorro. In the house only Chamorro. (November 29, 2006)

Chamorro language and literacy practices in Engracia's home, particularly when paired with religious values and practices, is telling of her own attitude and beliefs about the Chamorro language. The statement she recalls her husband making about using Chamorro in the home because they are not American confirms that for Chamorros like Engracia and her husband, the use of the Chamorro language is a characteristic of Chamorro identity. Further, for Engracia and her husband being Chamorro and being American are not one in the same, regardless of citizenship. In other words, Chamorro-ness is separate from American-ness. Being adamant about her language of choice for prayer, religious celebrations, and communication in the home, reveals that the Chamorro language is a very personal and intimate language that has helped shape her attitude about the Chamorro language and her identity as a Chamorro woman of her generation.

Rosa, 75

I came to know Rosa through her grandson, a friend of mine. On several occasions when I stopped by the house, Rosa was welcoming. At our first visit, I asked my friend to sit with her because she was apprehensive about the interview process. More so, I believe Rosa was nervous about disclosing information about herself to a person she knew very little about. Tuhiwai (1999) suggests that "research" is a dirty word to many indigenous peoples because western researchers have twisted and have made unfair assumptions about indigenous peoples. In addition, in the Chamorro culture

we do not talk about our lives or experiences with people we are unfamiliar with. But because her grandson was willing to sit in on the discussion, she agreed to continue with the scheduled interview.

At the onset I asked Rosa if she preferred to use a pseudonym or her real name. She immediately responded, "My real name, Rosa. It's about me. It's only right to use my name" (August 26, 2006). With that said, Rosa was ready to begin. Following initial conversation, she asked me some questions. She wanted to know about me and where I came from. I wanted Rosa to get to know me and to trust my intentions so I told her about my family, where I lived, and what I was studying in graduate school. I also told Rosa about how I lived with my grandmother during my first year of school when I was four or five and that I was a middle child. My position in my immediate family led Rosa to talk about her own childhood.

> I am the youngest child. I didn't do anything in the house. My older siblings are the ones who did everything for me. That's how protective my family was and then when I was growing up I don't do anything it's just my sisters and brother and father and mother. (August 26, 2006)

Rosa emphasized that she was a child who had little worries. She had no house chores assigned to her, and her sole responsibility was to go to school and to do her best.

> I was kindergarten when I started school. I was at Padre Palomo School in Agana. After kindergarten I was promoted up to the second grade. Yeah, I didn't have first grade it was kindergarten to second grade. *Pues* (then) the war came. After the war ended I went to private school. (August 26, 2006)

I asked Rosa about her educational experiences during the Occupation.

> I didn't go to the Japanese school. My house is next to the public school [Japanese-run school for local children]. I always look out from the window and I saw my sister doing her exercise. I learn from watching from the window. But I learn other things during the war even if I didn't go to school at that time. (August 26, 2006)

Rosa shared she learned things from her mother and brother and sisters.

> I was eight years old when the war came. My mother teached me to dance. My brother Pete was a teacher during the war. I learn a little Japanese…to write some words. (August 26, 2006)

Without prompting, Rosa transitioned into a brief narrative of how women were treated at the time of the Japanese Occupation.

> Another thing again. During the war you know there was penalties. Being that women work as slaves. My two sisters what they were doing are digging. Not only them but other women are doing it too. Sometimes I go with them to pick *lemai* (breadfruit). We do our rounds and then sometimes we sat and rest for a while. Oh such hard work. I know it's so tiring and very hot to be in the sun. (August 26, 2006)

Rosa's memories of such laborious activities during the Japanese Occupation hold true for many Chamorros. Her use of the word "slaves" supports the consensus among many war victims that the Japanese Occupation was a brutal time in Guam's history. After the war ended, Rosa explained that she returned to public school specifically for local children. In her eighth grade year she moved to San Francisco, California to live with her uncle and enrolled in a private Catholic school. She stated:

> Private school in eighth grade was only a little. I left San Francisco and came back because my sister was getting married and one of my other sister was going into the convent. I don't want to go back to the States. But my mom said if I stay I have to go to George Washington and they don't want me to go to that school and they will ship me back to the states. I don't wanna go back there cause I don't have none of my family just only my uncle and my cousin that's it. It was gonna be pretty lonely you know? But Guam is my home. (August 26, 2006)

Further explaining her hope to stay on Guam to attend school and be with family, Rosa's faith in God surfaces.

> God is so good. The Academy just opened in 1949. I went in on Friday and the school is opening on Monday. So I went in on Friday to register and they accepted me, thank God. (August 26, 2006)

Rosa's matriculation in parochial school during the reconstruction years on Guam was a privilege most adolescents of her generation did not have. She stayed at the Academy of Our Lady of Guam (AOLG) until graduation in 1953. Rosa's memories of AOLG were positive. During a conversation we had, Rosa thought it funny to share a particular story about a homework assignment in her literature class.

> One day I was *malångu* (sick). I was sick for two days, so when I come back to the school I was asked for my homework. I don't know what homework. So what happened is that my teacher gave me somebody's work to copy. I copied the work and turned it in. This is the truth. It was the teacher that told me to do this. I did it and I passed. (August 26, 2006)

While copying another person's homework assignment was not Rosa's idea, she insisted that she was a good student.

> I was a good student. When I have homework I do my best to finish at school. Sometimes I have to bring it home, but most times I finish at school. No one at home help me with the homework. I did it on my own. I can't remember asking for help to complete assignments. (August 26, 2006)

Directing her attention to literacy materials, I asked Rosa if she had a lot of books as child. She answered:

> Only books from school. We had to read the book and then turn something in. I like to read but not really the work that have to be turn in. I didn't like the homework but I did it. Somehow I just think about it and write it down. I turn it in and then I get A's. That is what's happening to me all along. But you know as I grow older and I go forward I realize it was the Holy Spirit that was doing it not me because I don't know anything but I don't realize it at the time. (August 26, 2006)

In an attempt to further prompt Rosa's memory, I asked her if the Chamorro or English language posed problems with her school work. After a minute, she said:

> To be honest, I don't speak Chamorro 100 percent. I admit I really don't truly speak Chamorro. I mix Chamorro with English and English with Chamorro. This is weird. I was born here so I am suppose to know the Chamorro. My first language is Chamorro, but growing up it was always mixed, Chamorro and English. It's cause of the school. English in school. But at home my family

> speaks Chamorro. I am the youngest so no one really told me to speak one or the other. Only in school it is English. But even the English is not 100 percent. (August 26, 2006)

It is interesting to note Rosa's awareness of the position language plays. She believes she speaks neither language, Chamorro and English, fluently. While her reception of both languages is excellent, her conversational skills tell another story. That is, Rosa expresses herself in both languages bilingually, but her ability to do so in each is limited. According to Manuela and Engracia, they are able to express themselves with ease using the Chamorro language, something that is more difficult to do using English; whereas, Rosa consistently uses both languages in conversation and never really employs one language at a time. Rosa's simultaneous use of English and Chamorro in conversation is not an uncommon occurrence; however, a Chamorro-English pigeon or creole has yet to be formally identified. Interestingly, I asked Rosa what language she uses to pray. She quickly answered:

> I pray in both languages. I have a lot of prayer books and song books. Mostly in English. There's some songs in Chamorro that I have. (August 26, 2006)

She added:

> I am part of the Auxiliary of the Legion of Mary and I am a Christian Mother. God and the Holy Spirit guide me. I don't realize it until later, I was transformed. *Anai måtai yu* (when I die) I'll be judged and I have to answer. (August 26, 2006)

During one visit with Rosa, I asked her if I could take a look inside her bedroom. She happily agreed and was anxious to share her room with me. Upon entering her room, I was immediately drawn to the numerous religious relics, photos, and literature that filled

her room. Pictures of Jesus, the Virgin Mary, St. Francis of Assissi, Pope John Paul II, and others adorned her walls, closet, and the top bunk of her bed. Prayer cards were taped on the wall, palm fronds blessed from the most recent Palm Sunday celebration lay atop a chest of drawers, and Holy Water in a plastic bottle in the image of the Virgin Mother sat at arms reach from her bunk.

> This [her bedroom] is where I mostly pray. It's quiet. It's okay in here. (November 7, 2006)

Rosa revealed:

> I even watch TV. I like the EWTN channel. I even sometimes, when I get a chance look up something in the computer. *Ti todu tiempo* (Not all the time). Just sometimes on the computer. God is so good. (November 7, 2007)

Based on her willingness to share her bedroom with me and her excitement of pointing out certain religious items in her room, I sensed that Rosa's religious devotion was genuine. She even said a prayer for me before I left.

While Rosa's religious devotion is obvious, she also claims to have been a career woman for many years following high school graduation from the Academy of Our Lady of Guam in 1953.

> I didn't want to go to college. They [family] want me to go but I don't want. I want to get married. So I don't go to college after I graduate. When I graduate from high school I start to work at the Bank of America. That was 1953 to 1954. I gave birth in 1954 then I quit the bank and went to Government of Guam at accounting and data processing. I work for the Government from 1954 to 1958. After that I work for the Navy as data entry. Then I work at the hospital at the

> Navy as EM [electronic machine] operator. I was the only one doing this. It was hard I work late all the time. I get worried that I have to finish my work. During the Vietnam War I work a lot. Late all the time. Cause there is a lot of medical things that have to be accounted [for]. I was a programmer for the EM [electronic machine]. (August 26, 2006)

To clarify I asked Rosa, "So you were a computer programmer?" She answered:

> Yes for the EM. Back in that time and down in the states they call it computer specialist. I work in Oakland [California] too at the naval hospital. I did troubleshooter for the computers. (August 26, 2006)

Rosa's travel to and residence in California for over 20 years afforded her a chance at a career and a lifestyle different from island life. Because of U.S. citizenship, Chamorros are able to travel back and forth between Guam and the United States. Like her, many Chamorros relocated to the U.S. mainland in search of careers and stateside life. Michael Perez (2004) relays that there are thousands of diasporic Chamorros living all across the United States. Rosa's history corroborates her bicultural lived experiences.

Rosa continued:

> I even work for the private [sector] for a year as data entry. I never really have a supervisor. But there [private sector] I have one. I know how to do the computer and the data entry. But she [supervisor] keep telling me how to do computer things. I don't know maybe I think I know it all. But I know what I am doing. But you know? Thank God praise the King. She says to me you're not suppose to do this, you're not suppose to do that. And I say this is what it says in the procedure and I follow the procedure and it works out. Sometimes people want to

dump on you. That's not right that's selfish. (August 26, 2006)

Rosa's work experience with early computers and data entry was wholly immersed in English. All procedures and aspects of her job were communicated in English. Her knowledge and English literacy skills led her to obtain jobs and fulfill her employment duties in the local government and civil service. There was no use for Chamorro in the work domain; rather, being literate in English afforded her the opportunity to work on Guam and in the U.S. mainland. Further, her grasp of the English language allowed her to familiarize herself with standard operating procedures of her employer and defend her actions to her immediate supervisor.

On another visit with Rosa, I was able to sit with her at the kitchen table and eat lunch. She giggled and pulled out a box of herbal tea and then from that box pulled out a folded sheet of paper that listed and described various kinds of tea. She told me to "Read it. This is so funny. Tell me if you think it's funny" (November 7, 2006).

Of course I took the time to read the sheet of paper, searching for what Rosa found funny about herbal tea. After a couple of minutes she asked:

Did you find it? Don't you think it's funny? (November 7, 2006)

Still searching, I said:

Uh. No. What is so funny? (November 7, 2006)

Taking the sheet of paper from my hand and pointing with her index finger, she signaled me to read out loud, "Horny goat weed tea."

Rosa giggled and said, "See I told you it's funny. It's just a joke. I'm only joking. I just want to make you laugh" (November 7, 2007). She got a kick out of the tea, but I believe she enjoyed making me say the word "horny" out loud even more.

Rosa's lighthearted laugh confirmed for me that she was comfortable displaying her playful nature and that she understood language centered jokes. In turn, this comfort level afforded me the opportunity to ask Rosa, specifically what she believed she learned from her mother that has stayed with her all her life. She shared:

> My mother told me to always honor my mother in law…that I should accept them as if they [Rosa's husband's parents] are my own parents. My mother told me that if I love my husband then I must also love my mother in law…and to not say anything bad. (November 7, 2006)

At the onset one may not observe the impact of Rosa's response. That is, insights of language, literacy, identity, and the role of a woman can be extracted from her brief but meaningful statement. In terms of language, the English word *mother-in-law* is *konsogra* in Chamorro. Within the Chamorro language and culture it is frowned upon to speak ill of one's parents'-in-law. Not that it is acceptable in other cultures, but it is common to hear or observe "mother-in-law" jokes among U.S. mainlanders, on television, and even in literature. For example, in a poem entitled "Advice to my son" (Meinke, 1976), the speaker advises his son to meet his prospective mother-in-law in advance so as to get a picture of what his prospective bride will look like and be like in the future. Rosa used English and not Chamorro to express her sentiments about her mother-in-law. The English explanation is fitting in this particular instance because to use Chamorro to speak ill of her mother-in-law is doubly disrespectful.

Turning attention to literacy, particularly the concept of literacy as meaning-making (Gee, 2001; Perez, 1998; Heath, 1999), the knowledge Rosa's mother imparted simultaneously supports the intergenerational transmission of cultural literacy and more

specifically, cultural specific ways of knowing. Rosa's respect and love for her mother-in-law and her husband's family is rooted in values, attitudes, and the perceived role of the Chamorro woman taught to her by her mother. The attitude extended is respectful and loving; the roles observed are that the mother-in-law/daughter-in-law relationship is perceived as a mother/daughter relationship. Thus, the role of a woman in this particular case is that of bearer of cultural practices and beliefs. The perceived identity of the mother-in-law/daughter-in-law from the perspective of an individual who is not a part of the familial unit may merely be a relationship "in-law"; whereas for these Chamorro women, the real identity is divorced from the in-law concept and more of a mother/daughter relationship. More specifically, said daughter-in-law addresses her mother-in-law as "mom" and not by her first name. Within the Chamorro culture, for a daughter- in-law to address her mother/father in law by a first name is disrespectful or in Chamorro the child is *disatenta* (disrespectful) or *taimamalao* (to have no shame).

The literacy narratives of the G1 women presented in this chapter do not make reference to the influence of media in their perceptions of English or Chamorro literacy during their formative years. Exposure to media like television and popular magazines was not significant in the formation of their identities or attitudes about English and Chamorro literacy. It is possible, considering the time period that these women came of age (during or immediately following World War II) that such luxuries were not affordable. Rosa's work experience with early computers in the 1970s and early 1980s, more likely than not, provided her with some knowledge about or comfort with modern computers. Today, Rosa sometimes uses the internet to search the Global Catholic Network better known as Eternal World Television Network (EWTN).

The three women of Generation 1 have shared stories of their literate lives. Their stories provide details and insight about Chamorro and English language and literacy attitudes and practices within their generation and how their experiences have influenced their roles and identities. Each woman in the G1 cohort within this study identifies Chamorro as the language of the Chamorros of Guam. Each woman, directly or indirectly, expressed that English language literacy was for the domains of education, work, and official government business. And each woman attributed God and her faith to keeping her strong and alive. While the English language was the vehicle to academic and professional endeavors, they shared that the Chamorro language was used for spiritual and religious activities; and for two of the three women, Chamorro is the language of the home.

Generation 2: 1945-1965 *I Nanan-måmi*—Our Mothers

The Women of G2

The women of G2 were born between the years of 1945 and 1965. This time period is referred to in this study as the reconstruction period of Guam following World War II. The English-only policy continued in schools and in official business. Because the previous generation of Chamorros (G1) learned that English was the vehicle to academic and professional success, G2's knowledge and use of the Chamorro language lessened. That is, Chamorro was used everyday but only in the home or in social and religious domains. While two of the three women in this generation within this study identified Chamorro as their first language, they also acknowledged that they possessed the notion that Chamorro language and literacy had little use in domains or situations beyond religious and home domains. In addition, Chamorro language literacy, unlike

English language literacy, offered little benefit to academic and career advancement and success.

Teresita, 61, daughter to Manuela and mother to Colleen, was born on Guam in 1948. The fifth child of 13 siblings, Teresita has a strong maternal instinct and a very commanding presence. For the past five years, Teresita has been her mother Manuela's constant companion and caregiver.

Lina, 52, was born on Guam in 1956. Lina, her mother Engracia and her daughter Dolores, all have been fortunate to have had strong matrilineal female influences in their lives. A widow and survivor of her daughter's suicide, Lina's strong religious devotion and faith have guided her through challenging times. A mother of six and grandmother of two, Lina gives thanks everyday for all that she has and all who are in her life.

Lourdes, 54, was born on Guam in 1954. Her widowed mother Rosa lives with her, and her daughter Rozanne works for the same company that Lourdes does. She has worn many hats in her life. A daughter, mother, sister, wife, caregiver, and career woman, Lourdes has worked hard and this has given her a full life. Yet, despite the busyness of her day to day life, she maintains a strong and personal relationship with her faith.

During the late 1960s through the late 1970s, the women of G2 completed high school and entered the workforce. These women, along with managing their households, maintained careers and contributed to the financial stability of their families. Furthermore, these women confirmed the hierarchical relationship between English and Chamorro which in turn influenced the attitudes associated with each. To reiterate, according to the G2 women, English was perceived as the language of education,

opportunity, and financial gain; whereas, Chamorro was perceived as the language of the family and that of religious and faith based activities.

What was curious was that while English was perceived as the language that afforded entry into the academic and professional domains, very little reading and writing in the English language took place in the home during the women's formative years unless it was directly related to the academic or professional domains. As such, each G2 woman within this study made the conscious choice to make English the language of their own homes. More importantly, these particular women , much like my own mother and aunts, reified the value of English in the home by conversing with their children in English and using Chamorro only when upset or when they did not want their own children to understand adult conversation.

Teresita, 61

I met with Teresita at her mother's home in southern Guam. Several years earlier I came to know her through a mutual friend, but never had the opportunity to get to know her personally. Situated in her mother Manuela's outdoor kitchen, she and I immediately engaged in the topic of my research. She asked about the nature of my research project and what I intended to do with the information I was gathering. I briefly explained that I wanted to document how English and Chamorro language and literacy attitudes and practices have influenced the decisions Chamorro women have made in their lives and the impact they have had on their roles as Chamorro women in modern Guam. Teresita responded with surprise and questioned whether or not she would be helpful to the study.

She said, "Wow. And you want to include me in your work? I didn't go to college. Will I be any help" (January 4, 2007)? I assured Teresita that her history and

experiences were valuable and that I wanted to share them with others, if she agreed. As she gestured for me to proceed, she said, "Okay then. Let's get on with it. I want to help" (January 4, 2007).

Teresita's earliest memories of language and literacy are centered in the home she grew up in located in southern Guam.

> I was born in my parents' house and grew up there. I was number five of 13. There were many of us, but we all were treated the same. You know, no favorites. We didn't have much, but we survived. My first language is Chamorro. I never learned how to read or write Chamorro from school. As a matter of fact, I don't know how to write Chamorro. I can read a little bit of it, but it will take me a long time. Anyways, yeah Chamorro is the first language I learned. My mom, dad and older brothers and sisters spoke it all the time at home and in the village. It wasn't until I went to school that I really learned English. (January 4, 2007)

I asked Teresita to tell me about her use of Chamorro language and literacy at home. Without hesitation, she answered:

> We speak Chamorro at home. When my parents talk to us or when us kids talk to each other it is in Chamorro. We also always pray in Chamorro. Come to think of it, we never pray in English. It's weird 'cause I've always known praying to be in Chamorro, so before when people started to pray the rosary in English it's almost like it is not as meaningful. Maybe that's not true for some, but for me I feel better when I pray in Chamorro. Even when family and friends come to the house or when we see people at church we talk in Chamorro. It's only in school

that we speak English. Well we have to. We did not have a choice. But at home we talk in Chamorro. That's just how it was back then. (January 4, 2007)

I then asked Teresita if there were other times or situations in which she used Chamorro. After a minute, she said:

> Not really. Back then we use Chamorro with the people that we know. Friends, family…the nuns. Sometimes *pale'*. It depends on who is there and what we are doing you know. Even at parties or at the *lisayo'* (rosary) or at the *måtai* (funeral). I guess you can say we were kind of limited. But my parents, they always use Chamorro so of course we kids follow them. (January 4, 2007)

Intrigued by her use of the word "limited", I asked Teresita to explain what she meant by the word limited. She explained:

> Well, back then when I was in school us kids could not use Chamorro in school. Not anywhere in school. Not even on the playground. It was only English. So when I say limited I mean that we learned that Chamorro was to be used at home. (January 4, 2007)

She continued:

> When I first went to school I only spoke Chamorro. Maybe some English, but not very good. It was hard you know. If me or my classmates use Chamorro we were punished. I learned fast not to speak Chamorro at school 'cause once when I was playing jacks with my friends at recess I spoke Chamorro. I couldn't help it. I guess I got excited about the game and I was talking in Chamorro. But a teacher

> heard me and she pulled my ponytail really hard that I started to cry. I was so ashamed. I felt a lot of shame for what I did. And all I did was talk in Chamorro. (January 4, 2007)

Teresita's feelings of shame upon being physically punished for speaking in Chamorro prompted me to ask about the teacher who reprimanded her. She explained that she did not remember the teacher's name and that the teacher taught in another grade level. Although Teresita did not recall the teacher's name she said, "Boy, she taught me a lesson. I'll tell you, I learned real fast" (January 4, 2007).

Shifting to English language and literacy, I asked Teresita to talk about her experiences with learning and using the English language and literacy as a child and student. She recalled:

> It was hard for a while. I started school when I was five or six and most of the day's lessons was spent on reading, writing, and math. Everything was in English. I could understand good enough but when it came to writing it was much harder. Sometimes I feel bad inside if it [the lesson] was hard I couldn't get it. When that happened I just keep quiet. I don't even want to ask questions. But I got over it after a while when I learned more writing and reading. (January 4, 2007)

Print media on Guam during the reconstruction years was in English. Advertisements, the local newspaper and other environmental print were all in English. Public broadcasting was also in English. Chamorro is an oral language, and at that time an adopted or official Chamorro orthography was not in place and the use of Chamorro was still prohibited in schools and public agencies. Thus, it is safe to infer that exposure to English went beyond school and professional spaces. The English literacy in

advertisements, public broadcasting, and other media provided pictures and sounds that epitomized the U.S. mainland lifestyle. For example, females saw store advertisements for the latest dress patterns and fashions; Rock n' Roll drifted from the airwaves; and television shows portrayed "how Amercans lived". Although such things were far removed from island life, they were fun and exciting. Young Chamorros, like Teresita, wanted the things their U.S. counterpart had.

I prompted Teresita to talk about the English language literacy she learned in school at home:

> I did my homework in English at home. My parents couldn't really help me. I don't remember asking them for help with such things. I guess I just knew that they couldn't really help me with my lessons. Sometimes my older brothers and sister helped me, but most of the time I did it all by myself. As for using English at home….that was limited too. I know that everyone in the house can understand it [English] but there was little use I guess. Maybe for reading the mail or the newspaper. Sometimes my mom or dad will ask us kids to read something in the mail and tell them what it was about. But that wasn't very often. They could read and write in English, just not as well as we could. (January 4, 2007)

Teresita confirms that her parents were able to function in domains that necessitated English literacy. They could read and write in English and only called on their children to read or interpret a document that included English language that they were unfamiliar with. Yet, Teresita specifically notes that her parents were not as skilled at reading and writing in English as she and her siblings were. The difference between Teresita and her parents in terms of literacy skills was that Teresita received more formal education than

her parents and exposure to media was far greater than that of her parents' generation because magazines, radios, and television sets were more affordable. For example, Teresita's mother Manuela did not recall a television in her childhood home and she confirmed that her father did not get the newspaper at home. Yet, Teresita wrote letter to her brother and recalled her own parents reading the paper in her childhood home.

> When I got to junior high I wrote letters to my brother. He joined the army and left Guam. I wrote to him often. I wrote in English of course because I didn't know how to write in Chamorro. It's funny how I am so good at speaking Chamorro but cannot write it, but I am not so good in English but can write it.

Teresita wrote letter to her brother when he was abroad serving in the U.S. Army. G1 Engracia also wrote letters to her brother who joined the U.S. Navy and moved away. Because these women did not possess Chamorro literacy skills in writing, the English literacy skills they did possess allowed them to communicate with their brothers and other diasporic Chamorros in the United States and elsewhere.

She continued:

> We didn't really have books to read only the ones from school. My parents read the newspaper [in English] all the time and I did too sometimes when I got to high school. But at *eskuelan pale'* we use both English and Chamorro. When it's writing and reading it's English. When it's the rosary or novena it's Chamorro. We don't get in trouble for using Chamorro at church or *eskuelan pale'* only at school. What could I do? That's just how it is. I don't want to get in trouble or be embarrassed so I just do what I am supposed to do…do what I am told. That's

> what my parents taught me. To listen to my elders and to my teacher, so that's what I did. (January 4, 2007)

Teresita's assignment of English or Chamorro was strictly by domain. Acts that involved writing, whether professional, academic or social, called for English. Religious activities like praying the rosary and saying novenas, more often than not, were done in Chamorro. The church was the one public place that did not punish children when they spoke Chamorro.

Listening to Teresita share her language and literacy experiences prompted me to ask the question, "Did you enjoy school?" Smiling, she replied:

> I enjoyed going to school. I liked it very much. It was hard sometimes but I got through it. I mean I graduated from JFK [John F. Kennedy High School] in 1966. I was the first one of my brothers and sisters to graduate. My older brothers did not graduate, they finished their school in the military and my sister got married young so she did not graduate. My dad and mom were so proud of me. (January 4, 2007)

Because she enjoyed school and respected authority, her drive to do well academically proliferated. A keen sense of accomplishment of being the first of her siblings to graduate from high school surfaced. It was obvious, through a big smile, that she was pleased that her parents were proud of her. This sense of pride confirmed that her accomplishment was also her parents' accomplishment. Within the context of the Chamorro culture, the perception of the shared accomplishment (receiving a high school diploma) is indicative of close knit family values and intergenerational interconnectedness present in Chamorro culture. That is, an individual family member's

success is not singularly reflected in the individual's hard work or efforts, but inclusive of the family's support and encouragement. In this sense, not only Teresita but also her family achieved success when she graduated from high school and her English literacy skills afforded entry to pursue professional and academic endeavors.

Transitioning to adulthood, Teresita recalls life following high school graduation. She shared that she wanted to pursue a college education but her family did not possess the financial means for her to do so. Instead, to help her family financially, Teresita took a job in the Government of Guam at a utility agency in 1966. She was prepared to take on the job and eventually moved into the customer service department. Being a working woman and earning an income provided Teresita with a sense of independence and accomplishment. She was able to help her parents purchase clothes, food and school supplies. Her English literacy skills allowed her to perform her job with ease, but she also found that speaking to customers in Chamorro, despite the fact that employees were told not to use Chamorro, was a helpful strategy to assist customers with limited English skills. Because of her respect for authority, Teresita did not always believe that using Chamorro in the professional domain was useful. It was not until she encountered an elderly Chamorro couple who needed her assistance to resolve a problem.

> One time I was helping an elderly couple and I was speaking to them in English. They responded to me in Chamorro, but I continued to speak English. When we resolved whatever the issue was and they were getting up to leave, the old man told me that English was really good but that it was okay to speak Chamorro. Back then, I didn't know what to make of his comment. I guess by working in that kind of environment and learning from school I was led to believe that

> English was the best way to go…to avoid being confused or the possibility of being embarrassed. (January 4, 2007)

According the Teresita, the old man's comment was not one of reprimand. Rather, the old man's comment was one of reassurance. He reassured her that speaking Chamorro was fine. Teresita's recollection of her interaction with this elderly man points to a disconnect between Chamorro language and culture and professionalism within the G2 cohort and the value of English and Chamorro. That is, somehow Chamorro was not associated with being professional and that using English signified professionalism. The experience with the elderly man suggested to Teresita that using Chamorro in the workplace to settle issues or to converse was acceptable, professional and valuable. Although she acknowledged the value of Chamorro in her workplace, Teresita did not perpetuate the same value in her home with her children. She valued the Chamorro language for herself, but not necessarily for her children. Teresita disclosed:

> It was easier to use English because that's what they were learning in school. My kids' first language is English. My husband and I speak to them in English but we speak to each other in Chamorro. When the kids are around my husband and I speak both languages to each other. This is not to say that I did not use Chamorro at all with my kids, because I did. I mean they all understand the language very well, they just can't speak it fluently. Now, I know it's our [Teresita and husband] fault that our kids don't speak Chamorro like we do. But we learned early in life that in order to move up in the world education is the most important. And at school the English language is used for all lessons. My kids all did well in school. (January 4, 2007)

I asked, "In what ways or when was Chamorro used around your children?"

She said:

> My kids always tell me that they didn't learn to speak Chamorro because we never had conversations with them in Chamorro. They said the only time we speak to them in Chamorro is when we are mad at them or yelling at them. Other than singing *nobena* songs and some prayers in Chamorro, it [Chamorro] wasn't used with my kids. Like I said, I spoke to my husband and other relatives, older or my age, in Chamorro. That's it. I didn't push my kids to learn our language. At the time I did not admit it, but it was probably because it was easier to just use one language. (January 4, 2007)

Teresita's response reminded me much of my own parents in that learning and using the Chamorro language in the home were not a priority. Thus I had to ask the question, "Do you have any regrets about not teaching your children the language?" She answered:

> Honestly, yes I do. I do feel bad because my kids blame their father and me. And we are to blame. But at the time, what we practiced in our home was what we knew. My kids understand [Chamorro] very well though. But even if my kids can't speak Chamorro fluently I did teach them other things. (January 4, 2007)

It is significant to note the shared responsibility between Teresita and her husband. She acknowledges that she and her husband made the decision about language in the home together.

After a brief pause, as if anticipating my next question and without prompting, Teresita resumed her explanation.

> I may not have taught them Chamorro as much as I should have but they are respectful, they honor the Lord, and they know how to take care of their families. I do regret it though because we are Chamorro and we should all be able to speak it. (January 4, 2007)

Interacting with Teresita reminded me of having a conversation with my maternal aunt. Teresita and I were comfortable, at ease. She was honest and forthcoming with the information she shared. At the same time, I sensed that she wanted to "do well" in the interview because I was working on a "project for school"—this dissertation. I acknowledge that because she inquired and clarified with me, at the onset, the purpose of my project, she was able to stay on task and focus our conversation on the subject matter.

The lived experiences of language and literacy that Teresita shared are quite different from that of her mother. Teresita's generation, formal education and completion of high school sets her apart from her mother; however, her English and Chamorro language and literacy experiences, practices, and attitude, too, are similar to that of the women of G1. That is, her values of Chamorro are clearly and directly related to religious activities and familial relationships. Teresita's mother, Manuela, exposed her children to and encouraged religious devotion through family prayer, songs, and worship. Family togetherness and interconnectedness were nurtured and transmitted through the generations and much of this family strength is attributed to their faith.

Lina, 52

Lina shares her experiences and substantiates the relationship between Chamorro language and the home and English and the professional or business space. Born in 1956, Lina is the seventh child of 15 children and the second daughter. Now as a

daughter, mother, grandmother and widow, Lina's contributes to this project and sheds light on the language practices and attitudes during the reconstruction and enforcement period on Guam.

> I was raised by my three aunties, my mom's sisters. They never married. I was sent to live with them when I was a baby. I was raised by them. I don't know why my mom sent me there, I never asked her. I didn't question her. In retrospect I think my mom was a very unselfish mother for giving me to her sisters. I was fortunate to have been able to live with the three old ladies. I felt very special and I was a spoiled brat. (October 27, 2006)

Reared by three maternal aunts during her formative years, Lina received much attention and encouragement in the home.

> I remember going into kindergarten at JP Torres Elementary School already knowing how to read and write. My aunts were always encouraging me about school. I distinctly remember sitting at a bench writing in my tablet. This is probably my earliest memory about learning [English]. After kinder I attended Mount Carmel up to seventh grade. After seventh I went to St. Francis. I was very lucky to have been able to go to a private school. Back then you pay what you could. (October 27, 2006)

Intersecting learning and language, Lina recollected and honed in on her Chamorro and English language experiences.

> My first language is Chamorro. It's what was used in the home. My aunts, parents, siblings we spoke to each other in Chamorro. I learned English before entering kinder. I picked it up from my uncle and cousins. See my uncle was in

the military and he and his family visited from the states. They spoke English, so I picked a lot up from them. I know the pledge of allegiance. I mean I did it in school. But I don't know the Fanogi Chamorro (Guam anthem). I learned it much later. I didn't learn that in school. We did the pledge. I find that wrong. It's just wrong I also learned from when I followed my aunt who was a maid for military wives. I would go with her. She ironed clothes. I remember being amazed…I mean, wow the concrete homes were like a palace to me. It was like another world. There was air con (air conditioning). They had all the luxuries we did not have. I had a comfortable life but the military life was very attractive. Indoor plumbing, homes on base in Apra Heights and Naval Station. Everything seemed so wonderful on base. I had some military kids as friends, so I learned a lot of English from them too growing up. (October 27, 2006)

Lina went on to talk about language.

It's funny because, well among my family, brothers, sisters, anyone above me I speak in Chamorro. Anyone below me [younger] I speak in English. As for living with the old ladies, I was returned to my parents when I was 12 years old. I was returned because I disobeyed. I wanted to go to a school picnic. My aunts said I couldn't go. I didn't have permission to go to the picnic, but I went anyway and when I got home after all my clothes and things were packed up in a box and they told me to go home to parents because I disobeyed. And so, I went back to my parents. My history was perfect. I can't complain about anything. (October 27, 2006)

Shifting to the time period when Lina returned to her parents' home, she continued with her language and learning experiences.

> I had many military kids for classmates and I learned to speak from them. At St. Francis all instruction was in English. This is what really gets to me. I went to St. Francis. This was back in 1969. We were fined if we were caught speaking Chamorro. It was something like 25 cents. So we had to try hard to remember especially when we were playing to remember to only use English. I wish I was more fluent in Chamorro. I'm not as fluent as I wish I was. I don't believe that I'm fluent in both languages. The homework or school work my parents did not play a role in that. I never asked them for help. I guess I wanted to do things on my own. I mean I was not at the top nor was I at the bottom. I think I am a very intelligent woman though. I mean I was able to figure things out. You know my mom only had an 8th grade education and my dad 5th grade. In my parents home it's Chamorro. Anywhere outside the home is English because if you know how to speak English you were more educated. We had to learn English. I'm glad I did but I wish I had both. I feel a sense of loss about that. (October 27, 2006)

Lina continued her story focusing on prayer:

> Prayer was very important in my parents' home. It still is. We prayed together as a family every morning at 5:30. We prayed the rosary. Before school or work we prayed before we left the house. Even the day my dad died. Before he went in to surgery we all prayed the rosary together. Growing up we went to church every Sunday. We did it all, morning mass in Latin, novenas for the Niño, December 8 Santa Maria, Our Lady of Fatima. If wedidn't go to church you can forget about

> asking to go anywhere. My aunt was a techa' (usually a female who leads a group in prayer, specifically the Holy Rosary). That was my life. Prayer is very important. It always was and it continues to be. (October 27, 2006)

Lina completed her secondary education at Notre Dame High School, a private, all girl Catholic school and made the decision to enroll in university and enter the workforce. She explained:

> I chose to work 'cause I wanted to help my parents. I was obligated to my parents. We lived in a tin house and being that my father provided the bare necessities I wanted them to have more. Because I saw things and luxuries I wanted them to have them to have such things too. I bought furniture and other things. So I worked right after high school. I got a summer job and had a taste of the workforce. Then after that summer I worked for Bank of America full time and worked part time at the Navy Exchange and then I was a full time college student. That was the best time of my life--those years after high school. I share that with my children. I had so much energy. I had a lot of fun. I had too much fun and missed some night classes. I messed around. I mean two years after high school I got pregnant. I have no regrets, but that was the end of college. (October 27, 2006)

Lina transitioned to life outside of her parents' home and explained that initially it was tough to learn to be a wife and mother. She had little knowledge about the challenges of marriage and family life, but through time and faith she learned to deal and cope with stresses and challenges in her home. Lina disclosed that she was very driven and worked all the time. Much of her professional focus revolved around money, and this she

explained, was what made her modern. Lina confessed that not being home with her children because of her professional endeavors was a choice she regretted.

> I can't say that I raised my kids alone. They had the old ladies, the same women who raised me. My kids were very fortunate to have them in their lives. Maybe that compensates for me not being around. I can never forget what my son said in a joking way, 'Yeah, Mom. You abandoned us and the old ladies took care of us.' I know he was joking but in many ways it's true. Even my mom told me that I worked too much. For me when I was growing up, I mean I enjoyed having my mom there when I got home from school. Even if we only had *biskuchu* and *kafe'* (biscuits and coffee) I enjoyed my mom being there. I wish I was more like my mom. I didn't do that for my kids. I really wish I was around more for them. Like I said, I was too modern. I was trying to be someone I was not. I wanted to be *haole'*, to be a westerner. And that is so wrong. I should have just been myself. But because of my military experiences, I saw things that I did not have and I wanted that. I wanted my children to go out and have an adventure. Who says you have to be married to move out? Such ideas are not typically Chamorro. That was my thinking. I mean it's good to be independent, but it's also important not forget where you come from. (October 27, 2006)

Lina's recollection of life and the people who lived within the gated U.S. naval base is akin to G2 Manuela's utterances of the school for military children. That is, most structures and conveniences were nicer and better within the confines of the military's base in contrast to the "civilian" areas on Guam. Material wealth and the modern conveniences that the military had were desirable.

Lina shared that she saw her daughter, Dolores, repeating what she did when she [Lina] was a young mother.

> My daughter Dolores is repeating what I did. She's working and is very independent. She has to work, she is a single mom. But if she had a husband I would encourage her to slow down or to not work and to be home and be there for her child. It is so important to be there for the children. I see that now. I mean I may not have children to teach this to at this point cause they are all grown, but I can practice this with my grandchildren. The idea that what you have is a sign of success…this is so wrong. So, so wrong. And I realized this much later in life. I mean I am a widow and a suicide survivor. I see how God is so important. God gives life and takes it away. (October 27, 2006)

Keeping her own family in the conversation, Lina connected how her actions impacted her children.

> Back then I was not enlightened. I was lazy. I mean with six children, working full time, and my husband…I thought back then that I did not have the time to teach them Chamorro in our own home. I mean now I wish I did. My husband and I spoke Chamorro. He's even from Rota! (October 27, 2006)

Rota is an island in the Marianas and is a part of the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands (CNMI). Natives of the CNMI also recognize a Chamorro heritage. It is a common belief among Chamorros of Guam that the Chamorros of the CNMI use the language more than it is used on modern Guam because historically Guam has had far more U.S. influence and control than that of the CNMI.

Lina continued:

> But my children picked up Chamorro from the old ladies. They understand Chamorro very much. And I'm glad that they can do that. But they don't speak it in their own homes or with me. That's my fault. I know this. But they also got some Chamorro at M.U. Lujan (an elementary school located in the village of Yona) when they went there for a little bit. They went to private school for the most part and Chamorro isn't taught in private schools. I never questioned it. It wasn't something that I really thought about then. I mean at the time, at least for me, English was better. (October 27, 2006)

For Lina, English was better because education was the foundation of success and security; and, formal education was delivered in English. Chamorro did not offer the same advantages as English. In response to this, G2s like Lina privileged English in the home.

> English provided many advantages. I never rode on an airplane or traveled until 1980. It's funny cause the people I met up with were surprised of the way I spoke English. I guess I didn't have a thick accent or whatever. But that's what was pointed out to me. You know this goes back to the more English you know the more educated one is and if you speak English with little or no accent that's probably even better. (October 27, 2006)

Speaking English without a Chamorro accent was believed to be a marker of educational status and quite possibly, social class. Lina's mother, Engracia, did not place emphasis on *how* English was spoken nor did she make mention that English literacy proved one's educational status, only that being literate in English was necessary for school and

official business. Later, Dolores, Lina's daughter, confirms that English with an accent is not *proper*.

Lina makes reference to her father and his steadfast belief that Chamorro is the language of the Chamorro people.

> My father, I'll never forget what he said to my sister. He didn't say it me 'cause I spoke to him in Chamorro. But my younger sister, she's gone now, she passed away. Anyway my sister was probably 16 at the time this happened. I guess she spoke to him in English. You know it really bothered him and he said to her, '*Munga kumentusi hu yanggen ti pon kuentusi yu gi fino' Chamoru*.' Basically he told her not to talk to him if she wasn't gonna speak to him in Chamorro. What he meant and what we understand now is that language is important to the identity of people. (October 27, 2006)

One Saturday during the holidays in 2007, Lina asked me if I wanted to go with her to the Seminary in Yona. Seminarians were putting on a show and she wanted to go. I went along. It was at this time that I was able to witness Lina's genuine and sincere faith. Her attention was markedly captivated by the singing and music. Seminarians showcased songs English, Chamorro, and Latin. We took our seats and throughout the show, I noted that she knew all the songs, even the few in Latin. With much emotion and moved by the moment, she said to me:

> God is really watching over us. Everything is my faith. My whole life, where I am today, what I have been through, I am the happiest woman in the world because I found my strength in my faith. And the women in my life have taught me the significance of God. I am a human being. A wife, mother, and a Christian.

(December 22, 2007)

Lina's statements about her faith confirm that her religious devotion helps to keep her grounded and that if nothing else her faith makes her strong. More importantly, Lina's words speak to the concept of meaning making, specifically Gee's (2001) identity kit. The literacy practices that Lina employs in devotion has helped shape her beliefs and values. By reading the Bible, attending mass and Bible study, and engaging in family and group prayer and song, is evidence that her faith is strong and intact; she employs her literacy knowledge and skills to perpetuate faith. Her faith is at the center of how she perceives life and her identity as a Chamorro woman. She recalled an interaction she had with Guam's Archbishop:

> You know I had a conversation with the Archbishop and I told him that I am lucky to have grown up in a time that had many changes. I mean I used to have outdoor plumbing. Then there was the man on the moon and 8-tracks. Now there's mp3 players. But you know what I told the Archbishop? I said I don't know if we're getting any better [morally]. (October 27, 2006)

Despite such advancements in material culture, Lina questions human behaviors. Specifically, it appears that she questions the morals and values present in modern society. Such questions of morality may stem from the religious endeavors she has become heavily involved in, but at the same time it is a part of how Lina makes meaning for herself. Conscious that her faith is at the core of her identity, Lina's indoctrination of Catholicism, via language and literacy, does not remain within the religious domain but rather moves with her into different domains, private or public. The "movement" between spaces and the language and literacy knowledge Lina appropriates parallels

Orellana's (2007) argument that "participants shape contexts as much as contexts shape participation" (p. 135).

With religion and faith in context, she continued:

> Even with my catechist we discussed how all the money in the world can't stop cancer. It doesn't matter who you are or where you are what's meant to be is meant to be. We have to appreciate everything that's in our life. We must have understanding. (October 27, 2006)

Lourdes, 54

When I first met Lourdes, I was immediately drawn to her because she reminded me of my maternal aunt. She was hip, spiritual, and did not sugar coat words. She spoke her mind but was always respectful of others. Lourdes emphasized that her work, endeavors, and plans were for her children and grandchildren.

Lourdes was educated within the Catholic school system and was the only college graduate among her seven siblings. She graduated from Notre Dame High School and received her undergraduate degree from the University of Guam (UOG). Later, after establishing a family and a successful career in computer programming, she returned to UOG to complete an MBA.

I was introduced to Lourdes by her son, a colleague of mine. She agreed to take part in the study without hesitation. I met Lourdes for our first interview; I noted that she was prepared for our meeting with a folder that contained various email correspondence and documents related to her profession as a computer programmer. She said:

> I put together some samples of my writing for you. I don't know if you want to use them, but this is what I have. (August 26, 2006)

I opened the file and reviewed the documents. They were all work related and provided details of projects completed or in progress. I asked Lourdes if she had other examples of written literacy from her childhood or from her children's formative years. She quickly answered:

> Uh, no. I don't keep those things. I got rid of a lot of stuff, so no. But I think Rozanne keeps her kids' things like that. I have the important family records though. I keep that stuff in the bookshelf. (August 26, 2006)

Although Lourdes does not have artifacts or mementos from her children's formative years, she does display numerous photos of her children and grandchildren throughout her home. The walls, curio cabinet, and shelves are a testament to her growing and close knit family through the years. And while her children have physically left their childhood home, she remains surrounded by them and feels their presence through the photos.

Seated in the living room of her home, Lourdes appeared at ease and ready to begin. I initiated the interview, "What is your first language?" Without hesitation, she responded:

> English. My first language is English, but I can speak and understand Chamorro. My parents spoke to us (siblings) primarily in English, but my grandmother would speak to me in Chamorro. I can speak and understand both, but my brothers speak fluently. (August 26, 2006)

I asked Lourdes why she believes her brothers are able to speak Chamorro fluently and she does not. After a minute, she answered:

> I think because my brothers grew up in the streets, so they had to survive talking

> to others who spoke Chamorro. You know, they worked outside a lot and hung out at the store a lot with other Chamorro speaking people. Their friends spoke Chamorro too. (August 26, 2006)

There is a clear distinction in language use between Lourdes and her brothers. While Lourdes does not label herself as fluent, she acknowledges that her brothers were exposed to the Chamorro language outside the home. Because Lourdes and her brothers were primarily spoken to in English at home and at school, there was little need for Lourdes to use Chamorro with friends. Conversely, her brothers' social circle was comprised of individuals who used the Chamorro language to communicate in the "streets" while Lourdes's was not. In addition, Lourdes shared that she was educated in the Catholic private school system and that her brothers dropped out of school. It is also important to note that women as bearers-of-culture-and-language pass on values of the home to their children. It is likely that because Lourdes's mother Rosa was bilingual and used English in the home, Lourdes internalized the idea that English and not Chamorro could be used in public and private spaces. And because Lourdes did not spend much time in the "streets" with her brothers, Chamorro was not a priority in her own life.

She continued:

> My friends didn't speak Chamorro. Speaking Chamorro was not allowed. If you were caught speaking you would get a demerit. You know I am the oldest and I don't use Chamorro like the way my brothers did. I am the one who went to college, but they can speak it (Chamorro). (August 26, 2006)

The private school curriculum on Guam did not mandate Chamorro language instruction. Thus, the opportunity for Lourdes to use Chamorro in school was not present. Akin to

her mother Rosa's G1 cohort, the use of the Chamorro language in school was prohibited. As a result, the value she placed on Chamorro was secondary to English; whereas her brothers' language use was significantly influenced by their friends. Concomitantly, because her brothers did not pursue their education and spent time with their friends "on the streets," it is more likely than not that the value placed on Chamorro was greater than that of English because in the "streets" Chamorro was the language of power; whereas, English was the language of power in school and government. Lourdes and her brothers consciously or unconsciously saw favor in the language that afforded them entry into their specific communities of practice (Wenger, 1998) so as to fit in and not to be excluded.

Lourdes found success in school but she received little help at home to complete assignments. Not being read to as a child was not a hindrance to her academic success nor did the lack of observing her parents read or write at home negate her perceptions of school and learning. She shared:

> I do believe that education is important. And I like to have the MBA title under my belt. It was a great experience. I was kind of late in life. I realize that if I were to go back to school, there's so much to learn today. I do think that the kids should have at least their bachelor's degree. (August 26, 2006)

While formal literacy education placed high on Lourdes's list of values, so did religion. Attending mass regularly, praying the rosary daily, and perpetuating and practicing a shared faith with her family, Lourdes finds strength in prayer. However, beyond religion and faith Lourdes highlights what she wants her daughter and grand daughters to learn from her own life:

> I would like to impart the wisdom of learning to compromise, in learning to be more financially savvy, and in appreciating the power of prayer. This list can be long. My daughter, grand daughters and great-grand daughters should not smoke, understand that marriage is for the long haul. And for the modern day woman, I believe that she adapts to survive. (August 26, 2006)

She continued:

> I hope that the kids can fend for themselves. And pray and thank God that they don't get into trouble financially or spiritually. The whole works. (August 26, 2006)

Turning attention to Americanization and education, Lourdes was compelled to recall some of the choices she made during her children's formative years.

> You know, the Americans coming here has really influenced our culture as far as English. I did not speak to the kids in Chamorro. Not that it was not important, it's just that it wasn't a priority. The first five years my children went to public school, but then I put them in private school. Financially it was hard, but the good part about it is that it [private Catholic school] was very influential on our faith. (August 26, 2006)

The G2 cohort was educated solely in the English language. All communication in school was in English, including textbooks. Written communication, English or Chamorro, did not have a connection to the home because English had little value in the home for many families. Writing letters or notes in Chamorro did not take place because G2 did not receive formal instruction in doing so, and Chamorro is traditionally an oral language. For example, if students were learning U.S. state capitals and presidents, such

information has little place in a home whose inhabitants are not full citizens of the country itself. Yet, on Guam, geography and history lessons focused on the United States, and English was necessary to receive "good grades." G2's investment, as Norton (2000) posits, in English literacy nurtured and fostered further professional and academic opportunities. However, Chamorro remained present in the home and for religious practices because its use was not the basis to measure "success" or "ambition" or "wealth"; English was used to measure such benchmarks of social status. Benchmarks reference the levels of perceived social status. Essentially, the more English a person knew and used the "more educated" and "successful" the individual was perceived to be.

Generation 3: 1965-1985 *I Hagan Guahan*—The Daughters of Guam

The Women of G3

The women of Generation 3 are the youngest participants within the study, and possess characteristics of their mothers' and grandmothers' generations. That is, for these modern Chamorro women, their educational and professional accomplishments have been influenced by their mothers' beliefs and practices. Their grandmothers' influences are evident within the private, religious, and social beliefs and practices in their own lives.

The existence of dual influences relative to language and literacy can be attributed to the G2 women having entered the workforce and maintaining employment during their daughters' formative and adolescent years and thereafter. Thus, while the women of G2 were at work for at least eight hours a day, G1 grandmothers took care of their G3 grandchildren. While this practice is common on Guam, it does substantiate what Bengston et al (2002) posit—that beliefs, practices, values, and attitudes are shaped by

multiple generations, particularly the influence of grandparents. More importantly it highlights and reconfirms the Chamorro concept of *ina'fa'maolek*, interdependence and reciprocity, and the significance of the family.

Each woman within the G3 cohort acknowledged English as the first language spoken at home and that Chamorro was not the primary language used between parents and children. Each participant attended a private, Catholic school and a public school for some period during their formative years. Mandatory Chamorro language instruction was in place by the time G3 entered their first year of school. This means that the G3 women received formal Chamorro language and literacy instruction when they attended public school. In addition, the G3 women had more access than their mothers to television during childhood and adolescence. Exposure to television created another dimension to the identity of the women within the G3 cohort during their adolescent years. The television shows that these G3 women tuned in to during their adolescent years impacted their perceptions of teen life.

The teenage characters of *Beverly Hills 90210* and *Who's the Boss?* deal with social issues that many adolescents encounter. More importantly, the characters in these shows were the teenagers that these G3 women wanted to mimic. In a teenager's eyes, beautiful faces, trendy clothes, handsome boyfriends, and cool cars led to peer popularity and teenage bliss. Unfortunately, such characters and television shows were far removed from island identity and life, but adolescent girls still desired the stateside lifestyle and identity portrayed on television.

Colleen, 33

A mother, daughter, wife, and professional, Colleen's experiences growing up on Guam and with strong women as her role models have shaped her values as a modern Chamorro woman. Her love for her family, her sense of duty to her parents, and her genuine love for her job are what kept Colleen ambitious and determined.

Much like her grandmother, Manuela, and her mother, Teresita, Colleen felt comfortable and at ease in her grandmother's back kitchen, "I like it out here. It's breezy. Besides I can have a ciggie while we talk" (January 6, 2007).

Eager to get to know Colleen, I prompted her to talk about her childhood and growing up with a large extended family. Smiling, she said:

> My maternal side of the family is huge. I mean, my mom has 12 siblings. Including her makes 13 of them. Check this out there's 33 of us first cousins. Can you imagine a full blown family reunion? (January 6, 2007)

Colleen continued talking about her family and how they spent much time together growing up. Colleen referred to her first cousins as her brothers and sisters and her maternal aunts and uncles as surrogate parents. She further recollected that she, her siblings and her cousins used English to communicate with each other, but that they also used Chamorro words in conversation that were specific to Chamorro culture or island life. For example, Colleen identified some Chamorro words (and what she understood them to mean) that she used with her family: *nobena* instead of novena; *yori* (flip flops or slippers); *kådu* (soup); *toka* (infers trouble); *chenchule'* (lend help through "helping hands" or monetary gifts); *ika'* (monetary gift at a funeral or wake); and *åmen* (to respectfully greet an individual who is older or in authority).

Colleen's close knit extended family ties are common on Guam. The Chamorro family includes grandparents, aunts, uncles, and cousins and not just parents and siblings. Like Colleen's family, many Chamorro families extend responsibilities and respect to family members outside of their immediate family. Collective identities are developed and maintained because families spend much time together beyond holidays and special occasions. Many families live in clan-like properties. That is, multiple homes or dwellings are built within a family's property and inhabited by individual families, all of whom are related to one another.

Because Colleen only referred to her maternal side of the family, I asked her to talk about her interactions with the paternal side of her family. She answered:

> My dad's side of the family is large too, but most of them live in the states. We're close too, we just don't get to see each other much because we live so far apart. Whenever we visit my dad's family they get so excited to see their family who live in Guam. My cousins get a kick out of hearing us speak [English or Chamorro]…I guess it's the accent. Not that they make fun or anything, they actually often try to mimic how we pronounce certain things. As an adult, whenever I'm out there I cook a lot. They ask me to cook Chamorro food because according to them whenever they prepare Chamorro food it doesn't taste the same as the food on Guam. I don't know maybe the California air is different. (January 6, 2007)

Colleen did not realize that her "accent", Chamorro cooking skills, and living on Guam served as her paternal family's connection and recollection of Guam. Unknowingly,

when on vacation in the mainland, she became the "expert" in Chamorro culture and way of life.

To connect home literacy to Colleen's cooking endeavors, I asked her to share how she learned to cook and do other things around the house. Colleen articulated that she did not learn about domesticity from a book; she learned such things by observing and helping her mother and grandmother. According to Colleen, her mother and grandmother did not make To Do Lists or use cookbooks nor did they write recipes down; "They just knew what to do, like I do now, by the way the mixture feels" (January 6, 2007).

In this instance, Colleen confirms that written literacy, in the form of To Do Lists and recipes, was not necessary or employed in the home. Their ways of knowing or "culture specific ways of knowing" (Perez, 1998, p. 24) stem from observing elders and other family members complete daily chores, cooking, and basic day to day events. Keeping in context the concept of home literacy, I prompted Colleen to recollect print materials and media use in the home by her family members. She recalled:

> Oh we had lots of that. My parents really pushed education. Anything that was necessary for school or to help us do better in school my parents made the effort to provide us. We had three sets of the Encyclopedia Britannica. But other than the encyclopedias, we had all kinds of reference books. We had a bookshelf that housed the books. I remember sitting with my younger sister in front of the shelf during the summer looking up things. I think I enjoyed that more than she did, but she followed me anyway. I do know that the medical encyclopedia got a lot of use, especially when we started to hit puberty and our bodies were changing.

We looked things up all the time. (January 6, 2007)

Colleen and her siblings had access to literacy materials in her childhood home. Colleen's parents were able to provide their children with materials that helped them with their school work and personal enrichment. Colleen and her siblings' literacy skills and their knowledge of how to retrieve information from books were learned in school, and they used such skills in their own home not only to complete school assignments but also to learn about their bodies. This accessibility to educational print materials in the home proved useful as Colleen and her siblings excelled academically. Conversely, the lack of Chamorro language literacy materials compounded by the limited use Chamorro language in the home led to the devaluation of the Chamorro language. Colleen shared:

> My parents received the newspaper at home. They read it all the time and discussed the stories in the news. My sisters and I read the cartoons and horoscope. My older sister liked the Dear Abby column…I think she still does. Other than the newspaper and encyclopedias, we also had books from school. School books were for homework. But we also brought home books from the school library to read at home. My parents didn't tell us to check books out from the library, they were more about the school books and they told us to read our books so we could be ahead of the class. The Bible too…We read that a lot. I mean, me and my sisters didn't take it into our room to read before going to bed or anything. We actually read passages together with my parents. We read them out loud. Sometimes we talked about it so we could better understand the Lord's words. I actually read a few passages before I go to bed now. I try to do it every night, but I can say that I do it at least three or four times a week. There were

other prayer books too like novena and rosary song books. (January 6, 2007)

Like her mother Teresita and grandmother Manuela, Colleen maintains a faith-based spiritual connection and supplements this connection with reading scripture in English and singing religious songs in both English and Chamorro. These activities, while learned and passed on between generations, are practices that lend themselves to not only intergenerational transmission theory but also community of practice. In other words, if community of practice aims to label activities and practices that are shared among a group or community of people to accomplish a task or goal, then Colleen, her mother Teresita and her grandmother Manuela are active participants in the community as it is their goal to keep their faith strong and intact. At the same time, a shared language, whether English or Chamorro, is used so all will be able to engage and take part.

Drawing Colleen's attention to language and the print material she had access to, she explained:

> Yeah, everything was written in English. Except for the prayer books and rosary songs books…those were in Chamorro. We didn't have a Bible written in Chamorro. Even if we did have stuff written in Chamorro, we would not have been very good at reading them. I know for sure my parents would not have. Maybe my sisters and I would have been able to read them, but not my parents. Come to think of it, other than the religious material I don't think we were exposed to print material in Chamorro. There was and still is a cartoon in the PDN [*Pacific Daily Newspaper*], "Juan Malamangga." We used to read that too. My mom often asked me or my sisters to read it out loud. They're pretty funny. Chamorro humor…I think you gotta be from here to get it. (January 6, 2007)

Colleen continued:

> Other than printed material we also watched a lot of television. We had all the cable channels. But we only had one television for a long time. Then my parents got a TV for their room when I was in high school. But we shared that TV. I don't think we had many disagreements about which program to watch. My sisters and I did our TV watching after school or early on the weekends. But the summers were the best 'cause we could watch all we wanted. We liked reruns of *Little House on the Prairie, The Facts of Life, Three's Company*. When we got older my younger sister and I loved *Who's the Boss?* and *Beverly Hills 90210*. I really believe those shows had a huge impact on me as a teenager. I mean, I wanted to dress, talk, and look like the characters on those shows. Hey, Samantha Micelli [Alyssa Milano] from *Who's the Boss?* had great style and was really smart. But the girls of *90210* were it for me. They had everything. They were rich, beautiful, had cute boyfriends, nice cars, and were pretty good in school…it was even a public school. So that show was really appealing. Now that I think back, I can't believe how much me and my friends picked up from that show. Sometimes I think, 'God, I was such a stupid girl.' (January 6, 2007)

Following her recollection of print material and media, Colleen prompted and directed the conversation to language and literacy.

> I know what you're trying to do. I spoke to my mom about her interview…I think it's great what you're doing. (January 6, 2007)

I was a bit surprised at her comment, but I acknowledged her support and thanked her again for agreeing to participate in my study. Then I said, "Okay, let's talk about language use" (January 6, 2007). Without hesitation, she answered:

> As for language, English is my first language. I learned Chamorro at home by listening to my elders speak it. Chamorro was never really used to talk to us kids…only when we were getting scolded. It wasn't until I entered college that I really took an interest in learning the language. It's kinda embarrassing but I had to take a class in college to improve my Chamorro. English was never a problem. I always did well in that subject. I recall learning Chamorro in elementary and middle school, but we didn't learn how to converse with people. It was more about colors, the days of the week. You know? Like everyday stuff. We also played games like Chamorro bingo, sang songs, and danced. In retrospect, those Chamorro classes did not help much. (January 6, 2007)

Formal Chamorro language instruction was first introduced into the Guam public school system in 1972 and in 1983 the *Kumision I Fino' Chamorro* adopted a Chamorro orthography (Taitano, 2009). The way in which Chamorro language was taught in public schools to Generation 3, at least for the participants in this study, treated Chamorro as a foreign language. Second language researcher, Vivian Cook writes:

> Teachers should be clear in their minds that they are usually teaching people how to use two languages, not how to use one in isolation. The person who can speak two languages has the special ability to communicate in two ways. The aim is not to produce L2 (second language) speakers who can only use the language when speaking to each other […] Rather, the aim is people who can stand between two

viewpoints and between two cultures. (2001, p. 179)

G3 students, at least G3 Chamorro students, were already exposed to Chamorro at home or in social and religious domains that included extended family and close friends. Nonetheless, Chamorro language lessons did not provide adequate speaking, reading and writing tasks that mirrored authentic Chamorro language use. That is, students were not engaged in lessons that taught them how to use the language outside the classroom for practical purposes. Rather, the lessons focused on specific skills like the identification of colors, days of the week, and numbers. In essence, while Chamorro language was taught in public schools, students perceived little value in the language itself because it was disconnected from life beyond the classroom walls.

Colleen continued:

> I learned most of my Chamorro from home. Honestly, I appreciated the college Chamorro class because we focused more on reading and conversation. We did some writing. Between English and Chamorro, of course I'll be honest…I'm better at English. My uhm…as you call it, English language literacy skills, has really helped me to do well in my education. I have an MBA now. Thank goodness I can read and write well. I can travel to the mainland easily and not worry about misunderstanding the language. I can hold my own. But you know, even though I can understand Chamorro very well and speak it okay I wish I was just as good in Chamorro as I am at English. I guess we just didn't have…I know my parents didn't use Chamorro a lot around us because of their experiences. I guess they just didn't know that we would like to learn it [Chamorro language]. (January 6, 2007).

Extending her thoughts and feelings of language to her own perceptions of her roles as a modern Chamorro woman, Colleen remained silent for a minute and then responded:

> Well…The thing is, I try to incorporate traditional practices and beliefs in my life. Traditional in that they were passed on from generation to generation, like religion. Prayers, *nobena*, rosaries…they are all very much a big part of my life as a mother and woman…even as a wife. I teach my kids this. I use certain Chamorro words with them and they know what I am referring to…like I'd say something like *chiku fan* if I want a kiss or *do'do* (fart) or *mannge' neni* (good/sweet baby). I mean, I'm not traditional like my grandma or the old ladies in my family. No, not at all. But there are many things that I learned from them that I do in my life. (January 6, 2007)

From her grandmother, mother and maternal aunts Colleen learned to maneuver her way through the kitchen and to organize large events like rosaries, fiestas and other social gatherings. Organizing such events included cooking, decorating and making contact with people. In essence, this sociocultural aspect of her home learning and ways of knowing personified *inafa'maolek*. More importantly it is evidence that women are the bearers of culture and language.

Advanced education and being critical of certain situations, according to Colleen, makes her a modern woman.

> I guess my advanced education makes me modern. And also my decisions that I make. I mean, for example, if I don't agree with something, and that something is a traditional practice, I won't do it just because it's always been done that way without questions. Unlike my grandma…she's been known to do some things

> even if she disagreed because that's just how it is. She didn't ever want to hurt anyone's feelings or make anyone feel bad. She will just keep quiet and do what needs to be done to get through and be done. (January 6, 2007)

Colleen's language and literacy experiences, both in English and Chamorro, during her formative years have impressed upon her the value of both languages. The difference between Colleen and her mother and grandmother is that she values both Chamorro and English language literacy. That is, her G1 grandmother acknowledged the value of English for academic success but did not see its value in the home. Her G2 mother, on the other hand, made the conscious choice to not use Chamorro with Colleen and her siblings. This choice was Teresita's (and her husband) way to ensure that her children excelled academically, but at the same time the implicit message was that Chamorro had little to no value both in the public and private spaces. Colleen, within the context of the G3 time frame, values both languages and acknowledges the advantages of each in the public and private space; English for public (academic and professional) and Chamorro for the private (home, cultural, social). What is interesting, however, is that Colleen possesses a sense of language loss for Chamorro because while her reception is exceptional her spoken Chamorro is not. Thus, the sense of loss exists for a language that was not primarily used but present in the home she grew up in.

Dolores, 24

A single mother, young professional and independent woman, Dolores continues to make strides towards improving her quality of life and that of her daughter's. Her devotion to her immediate family and her bond with her extended family make it difficult for an unknowing observer to differentiate between immediate and extended family.

The fourth child of six and born in April 1984, Dolores has much to share about life on Guam. She is the youngest of all the participants in this study and despite her youth her perceptions and understandings of what is expected of her and what is not expected are invaluable. Her mother Lina and her grandmother Engracia, whom her daughter is named after, get together every Saturday afternoon with other family members at Engracia's house for lunch and the occasional Bingo game.

Educated in both public and private schools and exposed to English and Chamorro during her formative years, Dolores recollected her educational and language experiences.

> My first language is English. My parents spoke to us in English. Sometimes my mom used Chamorro, but mostly it was English. They spoke to each other in Chamorro too, but when we were around it was English. I was exposed to Chamorro by my grandma and my grandma's sisters. They pretty much raised us. When my mom went to work my grandma's sisters took care of us. It was through them that I learned Chamorro. They spoke to us in Chamorro. And even one of the sisters, she does not speak English at all. So we had to speak to her in Chamorro. So if I knew how to respond in Chamorro then I would. If I didn't know how to answer then I would ask someone and then say it. (October 15, 2006)

Bringing home and school language experiences together, Dolores continues:

> I started school in Pre-K at St. Francis through third. I then went to M.U. Lujan Elementary School for fourth through fifth grade. I went to M.U. because tuition was so high and there were six of us kids that my parents had to pay tuition for.

So I went there for two years. I had Chamorro at the public school [M.U. Lujan]. I even remember my teachers. At St. Francis, we didn't have Chamorro, but I remember Chamorro Week at St. Francis. I stayed at St. Frances for middle school. For high school I went to Notre Dame. In high school we did not have Chamorro. We actually only had one semester of Guam History. So I didn't get much Chamorro language instruction in school. I got it from my family. My mom not so much the Chamorro. You know, I don't know why she didn't use Chamorro with us. She's sometimes our *techa'* [prayer leader for novenas or rosaries]. It was probably easier for her to use English. Really, her spoken Chamorro is not as good as it should be. But her Chamorro is definitely better than mine.I don't speak Chamorro like in conversation. But I do use some Chamorro words in conversation with family and friends. I don't speak Chamorro because I sound *haolie* [this term, sometimes used in a derogatory context, is used to describe or refer to a Caucasian individual]. I'm embarrassed. I try to speak to my daughter as much as I can. But my aunties and her babysitter speak to her in Chamorro. She understands a lot. I encourage it. I am keeping her at the babysitter longer instead of her going to a daycare. (October 15, 2006)

I asked Dolores when she came to value the Chamorro language. She said:

I realized the significance of the Chamorro language when I was in high school. I mean, it was used a lot in my family but it wasn't until later that I really understood how important it is. I was fortunate to understand and speak a little. I have family in Saipan [a nearby island] and they'd laugh when I tried to speak Chamorro. They speak Chamorro so well. I really admire that they speak

> Chamorro fluently. I was shamed into learning the importance of my language. I mean don't get me wrong, I am very proud of being from Guam. Especially when I go to the states. I like to share my home with others. But if someone asked me to say something in Chamorro I'd really have to think about it. (October 15, 2006)

Continuing focus on Chamorro language, Dolores shared the stigma often attached to Chamorro language or speaking English with a Chamorro accent.

> Now that I am older I see things different. But to be honest speaking English with with a Chamorro accent is associated with not being educated. It's not proper. I mean who wants to be seen as uneducated or not proper? Maybe that's why some people try so hard to not have an accent. (October 15, 2006)

Dolores's perceptions of speaking English with a Chamorro accent parallel her mother Lina's perceptions of knowing and using English. For Lina's G2 time frame, to know and use English well signifies being educated. Whereas within Dolores's G3 time frame speaking English the Chamorro way, with an accent, is embarrassing. It is possible that Dolores's perceptions of English and Chamorro are indicative of the impact and influences of G2 attitudes and beliefs. Dolores's feelings and perceptions are not uncommon among Chamorros of her generation. Monnig (2007) suggests that speaking English with a Chamorro accent provides a sense of closeness to the culture. While this may be for some Chamorros, these G3 women do not share the same sentiments. Speaking English with a Chamorro accent does not necessarily imply that the individual is Chamorro; rather, it merely implies that the speaker grew up in or has lived in Guam for a long period of time. Further, English with an accent is not indicative of "proper" or "correct" English. For example, individuals who speak English with a Chamorro accent

are able to communicate and function socially and professionally; however, the Chamorro accent becomes a marker of how educated or intelligent individuals may be. This example is mirrored in Hawaii as individuals who speak pidgin are marginalized and often barred from job opportunities (Williams, 1996).

Such negative feelings about speaking English with a Chamorro accent also point to the idea that, knowingly or unknowingly, individuals like Dolores also harbored ill concepts and feelings about Chamorro people. That is, to speak English with an accent was a marker of how smart and educated a person was and also stereotyped Chamorros who spoke with an accent to be from a low social class. It is not that Dolores did not want to be Chamorro or that she did not like Chamorros. Rather, Dolores believed that she would be perceived as less intelligent, uneducated or even poor if she spoke English with a Chamorro accent. Dolores's sentiments parallel that of the participants in Lanehart's (2002) study, where the women believe that their stigmatized dialect leads outsiders to perceive them as uneducated and lazy.

In addition, it must be noted that technology, specifically television, to a great extent, influenced how adolescents of the G3 time frame, as illustrated in Colleen's narrative, viewed or perceived what it meant to be modern and educated. More so, television influenced adolescents and children what English should sound like and how it should be spoken.

Pointing Dolores's attention to English, I asked her what her thoughts were about how English has influenced her life and how she uses English daily. She answered:

> English is universal. If I go somewhere I can communicate with others and not be seen as different. It may seem contradictory to what I said earlier, but English

> allows me to function outside the home. Chamorro language is the home language and language of the culture. English is more so for outside the home. Professionally, English reading and writing will help me get where I want to be. It's expected from others to be good at it [English] more so than Chamorro because English is used everywhere. Schools, work. Not Chamorro. The disadvantage of a U.S. based education is the dying of our language, the Chamorro language. The language is a big part of the culture and in school students get like 20 minutes or something. I don't even know if it's everyday. I just wish I was fluent. (October 15, 2006)

Dolores provides specific examples of how English and Chamorro language literacy are used in her life.

> Everything is in English. Finances, email, school, work, everything. Here and there my aunt will send me an email in Chamorro, but for the most part all is in English. Honestly in elementary school I was not really good at English. I did not like to read. I had a hard time. Up to now I have a hard time. My pronunciation, spelling were not that good. I was not read to as a child. I read to my daughter though. I don't remember having a lot of books. What I do remember are Chamorro prayer, novena, and song books. That's the only time I would see Chamorro in text. Well my girl's books, she has a few in Chamorro. But again most of the text in Chamorro is religious. Everything else, English. (October 15, 2006)

Without prompting, Dolores explains why she believes there was little literacy practices, specifically reading and writing, in her home while she was growing up.

> I come from a big family. I mean among my mom and her siblings there's 15 of them. So the extended family is very close. We were always at my grandma's house. When we were there it was more about being together barbequing, playing with my cousins, playing in the yard, even playing bingo. It wasn't about studies. Really at least in my family, home was family time and school time was school time. The two are separated. Not that school wasn't important, 'cause it was. It is important. I guess in our family that's just how we do things. (October 15, 2006)

Dolores shares that because she was cared for by her grandmother's sisters who told her stories of days long gone, she believes that Americanization and modernization has forced the culture to evolve in positive ways, but has also pushed many traditional beliefs and practices into the periphery, and that people have forgotten the meanings behind them. Her observations and perceptions of what it means to be traditional and/or modern have been shaped by her grandmother, mother and maternal aunts as well as by her exposure to media and travel. Dolores shared her thoughts about U.S. influences on Guam:

> U.S. influence is great. We have a lot of things, technology, education that have been shared with us here on Guam. But I see the deterioration of our traditions and beliefs as well. My grandma still tries to hold on to a lot of the traditions. But it's up to each family to keep the Chamorro language and traditions going. My maternal grandma and aunties try to hold the culture together and they really believe in preservation. (October 15, 2006)

Intergenerational transmission of the values of cultural traditions and language are essential to Dolores's family. Dolores shared that although she is fairly young, her

mother, grandmother and aunts talk about the significance of Chamorro culture and faith in their life. Her grandmother Engracia, as matriarch of the family, continues to shape her children, grandchildren, and great-granchildren's values and perceptions of the Chamorro culture in the home and through faith. Thoughtfully, Dolores responded:

> I could say that my grandmother is a traditional Chamorro woman. Everything she did and does is focused in the home. I mean prayers in the morning, afternoon, and evening. She has a lot of influence on the family. Her opinions are the family's opinions. A modern woman is educated, strong, and dependent on no one but herself. A modern Chamorro woman is all those things and she tries to instill Chamorro cultural values and beliefs and the language in her own family as well. A modern Chamorro woman is very culturally aware to include faith and continues to practice and teach it. And at the same time she is able to adapt to modern times without losing what is Chamorro. Me, I'm not traditional. I'm not even a modern Chamorro woman. I say this because I am an unwed mother. To me, I was raised Catholic and being an unwed mother is negative, I know this. To be a single mother is not Chamorro. To have a child before wedlock or not marrying afterward or even living with your boyfriend is not the Chamorro or even the Catholic way. (October 15, 2006)

It is interesting to note Dolores's perception that having a child out of wedlock and cohabitation before marriage are neither Chamorro nor Catholic. Her statement speaks to the idea that Catholicism is heavily embedded in Chamorro identity. Because the Spanish clergy wanted to indoctrinate the Chamorros of Guam in Catholicism, priest and missionaries adopted practices to gain access into the Chamorro way of life. Thus, the

merging of Catholic identity and Chamorro identity birthed a new identity that is "two halves of the same whole" (Underwood, n.d., p. 111). Nonetheless, specific beliefs and practices can be traced to be Chamorro or Catholic. Dolores talks about various roles she has in her life.

> I have so many roles. I am a mother, student, employee, niece to many demanding aunties, granddaughter, I'm my mother's daughter. I guess I kind of pull apart what I like for how it fits me. Yes, my mother influenced me, she's very strong. I know why my mom and the other women in my family are the way they are. Growing up at that time was very different to now or when I was growing up. I mean my mom tells me all the time to stop working, not quit school just to stop working. But she has also taught me to deal with what we have and to make it work, to do what we need to do. This is just the process. I will get to spend more time with my daughter. It being modern times it's hard. I want my daughter to grow up with her father, but we are not living together. Then again, my mom and family discourage living together. Going back to what I learned from my mom about being a Chamorro woman. I've learned that it's hard. She has to conform to what my grandma wants. My mom is Catholic, but she is a part of the Neocatechumenal Way [a movement in the Catholic Church that focuses on the Christian formation of adults, also known as The Way]. She is really into this Neo. My grandma doesn't approve, but she continues to be active. She finds her strength in the Lord. I've learned from her (Mom) that a woman can do anything as long as she has faith in God. Also that we have to make allowances for changes in life. God is very important. (October 15, 2006)

Laughing, Dolores concluded:

> Don't tell her what I said. She will probably be like, 'Oh thank you Lord!'
>
> (October 16, 2006)

Rozanne, 34

Rozanne has a commanding presence and welcoming demeanor, and one cannot help but be drawn to her confidence and maybe ask, "Can I have some of that?" That is, her self confidence is contagious. A mother, wife, daughter, and professional, Rozanne readily acknowledges her disappointment at not being able to converse in the Chamorro language, but maintains her desire to do so.

In her mother Lourdes's house, Rozanne and I sat in the living room. At the start of the interview, Rozanne shared that she was apprehensive about the end product of this project.

> I'm a little worried about this because I don't want to be or I don't want my family to be the example of what not to be. Do you know what I am saying?
>
> (August 26, 2006)

I knew exactly what Rozanne was saying. Her feelings of apprehension were understandable. That is, Rozanne knew that her family's experiences and practices of Chamorro language literacy did not necessarily nurture the acquisition of the island's native tongue. The best I could do was assure Rozanne that her experiences were not uncommon and that the study was not meant to highlight what not to do but rather shed light on the events that influenced perceptions and attitudes of language and literacy among Chamorro women on Guam.

Satisfied with my assurance, Rozanne was ready to begin the conversation. We immediately began a conversation about Chamorro language use and she was quick to point out that English was the primary language used in the home when she was a child.

> Our primary language is English. She [Lourdes] didn't speak Chamorro. What I did know was *toka* (A Chamorro word that translates to "trouble", and is commonly used to imply that someone is in trouble). I think, if anything, it was my grandparents that introduced me to the Chamorro language. My dad's mom would use it. She's a Chamorro expert and I would hang around her during the summer and I sometimes would go with her to her job. She worked for the Chamorro language commission and this was at LBJ (Lyndon B. Johnson Elementary School in Tamuning, Guam). She did a lot of Chamorro language stuff. I'd hear her talk and wanted to know what she was saying but I never asked her. I don't know why I never asked her. (August 26, 2006)

Shifting to her parents' Chamorro language use, Rozanne shared:

> My parents, when we were in trouble or when they were trying to discuss something they would speak to each other in Chamorro so we wouldn't understand. (August 26, 2006)

I asked Rozanne if she ever used the Chamorro language as a child or teenager. She said:

> Yeah. It was just between me and the boys (Rozanne's three younger brothers). You know like *toka*. And one phrase I learned is *malago' mumu* (Want to fight?). I think I learned that in elementary school at M.U. Lujan (a public elementary school located in the village of Yona). I think really it was when I went to M.U. Lujan that I learned Chamorro language. For two years I went there and we had

> Chamorro language, it was mandated or required. We learned the alphabets, colors, songs, dancing. But that ended when I went to St. Francis from fourth to sixth [grade]. We didn't have Chamorro class there. But if we were in trouble the teachers would often say things in Chamorro to us. You know like 'What were you thinking or doing' but they'd say it in Chamorro. Yeah, we already knew what they were saying, even if it was in Chamorro. (August 26, 2006)

Here, Rozanne's statements point to how adults used Chamorro to reprimand children. Despite the fact that Rozanne was not fluent in Chamorro, she understood that Chamorro was used to "scold" or "get mad at" a child. In the classroom, lessons in Chamorro were disconnected from home or community literacies. Chamorro was used to reprimand or correct inappropriate behaviors, and not used to praise, converse, or in other positive ways in the classroom or in the home.

Not only do Rozanne's memories of being reprimanded in Chamorro fuel her insecurity about the language, but the description of her learning experiences points out that Chamorro language curriculum was delivered within an English as a Foreign Language (EFL) context. Interestingly, Chamorro may be a second language on Guam but it is definitely not a foreign language to Chamorros or life long residents; Chamorro is one of the two official languages of *Guåhan*.

Staying with the topic of Chamorro language instruction, Rozanne recollects a college experience.

> I went back to school [university] in 2002 and I took Chamorro 101 and I barely passed. I can't remember the second time I took [subsequent or level II course] it but I took it with Onedera. He is good friends with my grandma and they talk to

> each other and I was afraid to take him. Well, he [Onedera] doesn't like us talking to him in English but I was trying to tell him in Chamorro that I was embarrassed because she [grandma] is so up there in the Chamorro language that I am so ashamed. She's probably ashamed too 'cause none of her grandchildren speak the language. So in his class I was determined to pick up more of the language and to really know the language. With the class only lasting a semester it's hard to know a lot of Chamorro, but in his class I increased my vocabulary. I was definitely in every class. But on the first day of class we had to say the *Inifresi* (Offering). I didn't know it so I had to ask a classmate for a copy and I took it home and studied it every day. I was really trying to learn Chamorro and have it stick with me. I practiced I think every day that summer, but it takes a lot more than just class time. (August 26, 2006)

Learning a second language takes time and using Chamorro in class was not sufficient to learn all she wanted learn. The amount of exposure to the second language was limited and Rozanne did not make learning and speaking Chamorro a priority in her private life. English was easier to use in the home, with her children, and family.

The word *Inifresi* translates in English to *offering.* The *Inifresi* is the Guam pledge and it is taught and recited in public schools and in Chamorro language classes at the University of Guam. The pledge was written by Bernadita Dungca in 1997 and has since then been incorporated into the Guam Public School System's Chamorro language curriculum. The *Inifresi* reads:

> *Ginen i mas takhelo' gi Hinasso-ku, i mas takhalom gi Kurason-hu, yan i mas figo' na Nina'siñå-hu, Hu ufresen maisa yu' para bai hu Prutehi, yan hu Difende*

> *i Hinengge, i Kottura, i Lengguahi, i Aire, i Hanom yan i tano' Chamoru, ni'Irensiå-ku Direchu ginen as Yu'os Tåta. Este hu Afitma gi hilo' i bipblia yan i banderå-hu, i banderan Guåhan.* (as cited in Beatty & Cunningham, 2001, p. 1)
>
> (From the highest of my thoughts, from the deepest of my heart, and with the utmost of my strength, I offer myself to protect and to defend the beliefs, the culture, the language, the air, the water and the land of the Chamoru, which are our inherent God-given rights. This I will affirm by the holy words and our banner, the flag of Guåhan!)

It is significant to note here that this pledge is not common knowledge among any of the generations within this study. That is, the generations present in this study were not exposed to the Guam pledge during their formative years, and if it was introduced it was done so after the completion of compulsory education. This, of course, is evident in Rozanne's previous statement and the absence of the Guam pledge in the G1 and G2 narratives. In addition, while the *Inifresi* is an oath to Chamorro ideology it is easy to see that within the pledge God is present in the Chamorro way of life. That is, in my opinion, faith is wholly significant in Chamorro identity and ideology.

Rozanne's lack of immersion in the Chamorro language, save for her Chamorro language class at the University of Guam, has limited her comprehension of the language. Because she has not achieved fluency in Chamorro, she often finds herself ashamed or *mamåhlao* when someone speaks to her in Chamorro and she has little idea of what is being said or how to respond. She admitted:

> When my grandma speaks to me or other Chamorro ladies are talking to me I try to pick up the key words. I respond sometimes with '*Hafa*' (what) but still it's

hard. But most of the time I just nod my head and say 'Oh yeah. Yeah.'

(August 26, 2006)

Her response of feelings of shame are common among people who know very little or no Chamorro. It is interesting to note that the feelings of shame that often accompany not knowing the Chamorro language within the G3 cohort mimic the feelings of shame or embarrassment that the G2 cohort felt about speaking Chamorro or not being fluent in the English language.

I asked Rozanne about the kinds of literacy materials and activities present in the home during her formative years. Laughing and with a quick response, Rozanne said:

> Four-wheel drive magazines! We also had the newspaper delivered. The newspaper was more for my parents. We [children] didn't look at the newspaper much. There was mail lying around. We also had encyclopedias. Back then we didn't have the internet so we had to go to the library and do our research so it was cool that we had our own encyclopedias. I was 6 when my mom brought home Speak and Spell. It was my mom's idea to give me that, but I liked it. My mom even created a computer program for me to learn math. (August 26, 2006)

It is worthwhile to note here that Rozanne, her mother Lourdes, and grandmother Rosa share a similar occupation. All are computer programmers. In this particular family, computer literacy is high and access was never an issue. Lourdes nurtured Rozanne's English literacy learning via computer games and software.

Rozanne recalls how her mother assisted her with homework and other school assignments. Based on the statement below, it is obvious that she acknowledged her mother's knowledge and sought her help to complete school work. While the other G2

and G3 females, for the most part, did not seek help from their parents, Rozanne did. This may be attributed to the fact that Lourdes is the only individual within the G1 and G2 cohorts who obtained a college degree and whose first language is English. Rozanne disclosed:

> My mom helped me with the hard math problems. Writing is not my forte and my mom really helped me with my term paper my senior year. She wrote it for me. (August 26, 2006)

Access to computers and computer literacy was present in the home, but access to the Chamorro language during her formative years was limited not just in the home but at school as well. In hopes of addressing the disparity within her own family, Rozanne and her husband enrolled their children into a full immersion Chamorro language summer camp. She reflected,

> That's what is lacking in the private school. They don't teach Chamorro. They should teach Chamorro in the private schools. My kids go to St. Francis and I like them going to school there 'cause of the values and the faith based education. But my husband and I did send them to Hurao Summer Camp. My son was unsure about the camp 'cause he doesn't like to do things he doesn't really know. But he ended up enjoying himself. They learned a lot about Chamorro dancing, singing, cooking. They were even selected to be a part of a small film. Not a movie or anything just something that shows what they do at Hurao. We wanted to send them again but the price went up. It's hard. Especially with two kids. We hope to send them again when we can. (August 26, 2006)

While making the effort to expose her children to Chamorro culture and language is important to Rozanne, practicing their Catholic faith is significant as well. She explained:

> Growing up we [brothers and parents] always prayed as a family. We prayed the rosary every morning before we left for school or to go anywhere. That was every morning. With my own kids, well we don't do the rosary in the morning. But as as soon as the tires hit the pavement we start praying in the car. We go to church and try very hard to keep our values together. (August 26, 2006)

Rozanne's religious beliefs were shaped by both her home and academic life and she continues to perpetuate these traditions and beliefs with her children. While her practices may not be exactly the way she practiced them as an adolescent, she and her own family have created their own practices that are meaningful them.

Drawing her attention to the traditional Chamorro woman and the modern Chamorro woman, I asked Rozanne to describe what her idea of each was and she answered:

> Traditional Chamorro women? Uhm, immediately I think of the old ladies. They speak Chamorro, pray, go to church. The modern Chamorro woman doesn't necessarily have to speak Chamorro, maybe bits and pieces. But they [modern Chamorro] are proud of being from Guam. Me, if anyone were to say anything bad about Chamorros or try to put Chamorros down, I'd turn around and tell them to go back where they fucking came from because Guam and Chamorros are unique. I'm from Guam and proud to be Chamorro. It's about understanding what it means to be Chamorro, you know the idea of helping each other out and about

> family and faith. I just wish for myself that I knew the language more. Chamorro is definitely more personal…it reflects who we are. (August 26, 2006)

Her words lead me to acknowledge that, for Rozanne, knowing some Chamorro language is important to her identity as a Chamorro woman. Rozanne also makes it clear that passing judgment on Chamorro people without understanding and practicing the culture is unacceptable. She has a strong sense of Chamorro pride.

Rozanne's narrative here ends with what she believes she has learned from her mother and the significant women in her own life.

> What I have learned is to do everything, all that I can do for my children. Everything I do and all that I can do is all for them. Whatever it takes. (August 26, 2006).

CHAPTER 6

LET US PRAY: *TAFANMANÅYUYUT*

This chapter focuses on how each generation of Chamorro women in this study use Chamorro and English literacy as social practice and as meaning making and how literacy has influenced their life and shaped their identity. The chapter also includes critical commentary on why the Generational Interview component of this research design did not take place.

I entitled this chapter, Let Us Pray: *Tafanmanåyuyut*, because at the heart of the Chamorro family is faith. Regardless of which faith a family subscribes to, strength, love and the will to survive are fueled by prayer. Each woman in each generation within this study acknowledges that it is her faith that keeps themselves and their families resilient, strong, and close.

At the beginning, I demarcate the use and application of literacy within the context of this study in two ways. First, literacy is used to describe people's ability to read and write and as "a set of social activities involving written language in terms of its function and context, that is, the ways people use literacy to achieve their goals in a variety of sociocultural contexts" (Perez, 1998, p. 22). In this sense, literacy as social practice implies that literacy is knowing how and when to use written language (reading or writing) to accomplish certain tasks like completing school or work assignments, applying for a job, reading a newspaper, reading the Bible or other religious literature, sending email, or applying for a bank loan.

Second, literacy is used to elucidate the ways people making meaning. Gee's (2001) argument that literacy is more than just reading and writing coupled with

Gramsci's (1972) position that problems emerge when language and literacy are politicized are key to analyzing how these women make meaning for themselves. Literacy is a way to understand the socially constructed nature of experience and how "knowledge, power, and social practice can be forged in the service of making decisions instrumental" (Giroux, 1987, p. 11) to the construction and application of agency. Gee posits that literacy is embedded in, shaped, and reshaped by life experiences and a larger communicative society and sociopolitical entities. Literacy, as meaning making, is informed by "integrate[d] words, acts, values, beliefs, attitudes, and social identities" (Gee, 2001, p. 526). With that said, literacy and literacy uses are also "culture-specific ways of knowing" (Perez, 1998, p. 24).

Literacy as Social Practice

Generation 1

The women of G1 are Chamorro and English speakers; however, their first language is Chamorro; English is second. Manuela, Engracia and Rosa shared that English was acquired at school and was, for the most part, used only in school when they were children. All three women received formal instruction in reading and writing English, but not in Chamorro. G1 did not notably value reading, English or Chamorro, for entertainment or pleasure. Reading was primarily for "official" and formal occasions like school and the workplace and for prayer. Other than school books, prayer and song books, and mail, G1 participants had little exposure to other forms of print. It is likely that their perception of reading stems from limited access to various forms of text or literacy materials during their formative years and the practice that Chamorro culture and practices were passed on orally or through storytelling. Yet, despite the absence of

formal Chamorro language literacy instruction, they are able to read Chamorro. The ability to read Chamorro is a result of exposure to early versions of written Chamorro in Catholic prayer and song books. Specifically, Generation 1 applied their second language knowledge and skills (English) to written Chamorro.

I would be remiss if I did not acknowledge that the significance of the Catholic faith in their childhood homes and communities directly impacted their abilities to read Chamorro. As a community of practice, the Catholic Church, through religious devotion and prayer, did not ban the use of Chamorro but rather utilized it to reach out to and maintain ties with parishioners. The irony of the Catholic Church's role in preserving and using the Chamorro language in religious practices is that it was the Catholic missionaries' establishment of the Catholic Church that abolished many ancient Chamorro traditions. Nonetheless, because Chamorro was the language of the home and prayer, Engracia, Manuela and Rosa learned to read early versions of Chamorro in song and prayer books so as to participate in religious practices and traditions. They taught themselves or used their English literacy skills to decode Chamorro song and prayer texts. Today, they all possess various forms of religious materials in both Chamorro and English, but books of religious songs, novenas and prayers in Chamorro are noticeably more worn and handled than those in English. These Chamorro prayer and song books are used not only by the G1 women but also by their children and grandchildren. Engracia even has her children photocopy pages from her books so that her grandchildren and great-grandchildren can learn and take part in family prayers in Chamorro.

Unlike the women in Clark's (2005) literacy study of Appalachian women whose literacy practices included recipes, journal writing and quilting, these Chamorro women

did not perceive value in such practices. Rather, what comes to light is that their oral culture is dependent on storytelling and learning through observation and practice. Recipes were shared and passed down by cooking together and values and customs were discussed and carried out in daily life. Now that there is an adopted Chamorro orthography and the move to document Chamorro culture and language, it is important to write such things down so that Chamorro culture, family recipes and traditions do not get lost or forgotten. Chamorro and English literacy are important for cultural preservation.

Notably, Engracia, Manuela and Rosa can read English and Chamorro, write in English, but cannot write in Chamorro. For example, Engracia (and G2 Teresita) shares that when she was a teenager, she wrote letters to her brother who joined the military. The letters, written in English, allowed her to stay in touch with her brother and to keep him informed about what was happening on Guam. Although Engracia did not possess the ability to write in Chamorro, the language she is most comfortable speaking, she was still able to communicate in writing because of her English literacy skills.

Another example is with Rosa. Rosa, the youngest in Generation 1, was able to move between the United States and Guam with ease. That is, because Rosa was able to read and write in English, she was able to secure employment both on Guam and in the Bay Area of California. Her bicultural experience sets her apart from her G1 counterparts in addition to the fact that Rosa is the only participant in G1 to complete a high school education. Manuela and Engracia completed their middle school education and did not pursue high school educations.

Despite Engracia and Manuela's limited education, the English literacy skills they do have allowed them to stay abreast of their children's education and religious activities.

They may not have helped their children with their academic assignments, but they did demand their children focus on their studies. G1 acknowledged that English was necessary for their G2 children to continue their education and obtain employment. The acknowledgement that English was necessary flourished following World War II and the "liberation" campaign to retake Guam. That is, because people were forced into the "new" cash economy, one of the best ways to obtain employment and get ahead was to be able to communicate in English. Those who spoke and wrote English well received better jobs and better pay.

What is interesting about Generation 1 is that they did not purposefully exclude Chamorro from the home despite the English-only policy that was in place for decades. They did not discourage Chamorro or English. Rather, the women of G1 bifurcated and valued each language for different purposes. The diglossic situation perpetuated the practice that English was for academics and professional endeavors; Chamorro was for spiritual, personal and social events. Chamorro was valuable in the home as it was an identifier of who they were as a people. Chamorro language, through conversation, prayer and song, remained significant in the Chamorro home. While Chamorro was publicly rendered useless in the domains of government, education and professional contexts by the makers and enforcers of the English-only policy, these women of G1 did not question the value of their first language or their identity as Chamorro women.

Generation 2

When the women of Generation 2 entered the school system they were bilingual. Lina, Teresita and Lourdes spoke Chamorro and English prior to enrolling in school. At home with family and friends Chamorro was used to communicate. It was not until they

entered school that Chamorro language use was questionable and punishable. Lina and Teresita, whose first language is Chamorro, were exposed to English prior to entering school by family members who visited from the mainland and interacted with military families stationed on island. Lourdes, whose first language is English and second language Chamorro used English and Chamorro at home; Chamorro was particularly used with her grandmother and older relatives. Similarly, Lina explained that she appropriated Chamorro to communicate with individuals who here older than she and English with those her junior.

These women of G2 were born and grew up during the reconstruction and enforcement period following World War II. The years following World War II was a time of change and the stories that these G2 women shared about their education and early learning experiences are analogous to other Chamorros from their generation. That is, they learned to read and write in English in school, were forbidden to communicate in Chamorro on school grounds, and internalized the idea that English literacy provided access to opportunity. G2 felt the direct consequences of an economy that their G1 parents were forced into immediately following World War II. Specifically, Generation 2 championed the acquisition and use of English literacy, and without thoughts of consequence, placed the acquisition of Chamorro literacy in the periphery.

Teresita, Lourdes and Lina completed their high school education on Guam and entered the work force. These women, like many Chamorro women of their generation, were literate in English and applied their skills and knowledge in the workplace. Lourdes, who uses Chamorro the least among the G2 cohort, has an MBA. Lourdes reveals that her limited use of Chamorro in professional spaces or social occasions was

because many of her friends did not speak or use Chamorro; whereas her brothers were fluent speakers and that their friends too used Chamorro to converse. While reading and writing were significant to their education and profession, they did not do much of either in their personal time as children or adolescents. Other than religious or spiritual based reading, aesthetic reading was not necessarily a significant practice in their home. Like their mothers, the books that they did bring home were school books.

Today, they are all computer literate and such technology is a part of their life. Lourdes, Teresita and Lina speak and read Chamorro, but cannot write in Chamorro. Of course, they did not receive Chamorro language literacy instruction while in school, so their reading skills too were a result of exposure to Chamorro prayer and song books.

Generation 3

Colleen, Dolores and Rozanne attended public and private Catholic school during their formative years. Because their mothers entered the workforce following high school, they were primarily looked after by their grandparents and grand aunts during their early childhood and early adolescent years. The time spent with their grandparents and grand aunts afforded Generation 3 to learn and observe Chamorro practices and traditions that they otherwise may not have learned if they were in day care or extended after school care.

English was the first language for these three women, so they did not experience the second language anxiety that their mothers and grandmothers experienced. Rather, Colleen, Dolores and Rozanne performed very well academically. Academics, social interaction, Sunday religious services, daily prayer, home communication and other acts of literacy were carried out in English. English literacy materials were accessible to the

G3 cohort as their G2 parents, who prioritized English literacy, ensured they had supplies and materials to be successful in school. Encyclopedias, reference books, newspapers and magazines, and other academic related forms of print were present in the home and used to complete homework assignments. Later, during their adolescent years when personal computers became affordable, their household had at least one computer.

Although such literacy materials were accessible, no one in the G3 cohort recalls having been read to as children. Their G2 parents encouraged academic excellence, but they did not read to their children during their formative years. Dolores stated, "Really at least in my family, home was family time and school time was school time. The two are separated" (October 15, 2006). Thus, the act of reading was perceived as academic and not perceived as something that was done for entertainment or fun at home.

In spite of the prevalence of English in their life, Chamorro remained present via their grandparents, parents, extended family and religious activities. In addition, when they attended public school on Guam during their elementary years, they all received Chamorro language instruction. At the time that these G3 women received Chamorro language instruction, their recollection of learning Chamorro included lessons of games, days of the week, colors, cultural arts, etc. They also received instruction in the Chamorro alphabet which was necessary to learn to read and write in the language. G3 recalled lessons in reading and writing Chamorro, but disclosed that recognizing and pronouncing the letters of the alphabet in order to spell and memorize words was the extent of what they remembered. None recalled role playing or lessons in conversation. According to the Guam Department of Education Office of Chamorro Studies (2009),

students in grades K through 3 receive 20 minutes of Chamorro language instruction five days a week, while fourth and fifth graders get 30 minutes.

The Chamorro language curriculum and instruction delivered at the time these women were in elementary school proved unsuccessful as Colleen shared, "In retrospect, those Chamorro classes did not help much" (January 6, 2007). Most of the Chamorro language that these women know and understand was acquired at home with family and in religious and social situations. The difference between what was taught and what was actually learned can be conceptualized by understanding how the second language, Chamorro, acquisition transpired. To be specific, Rozanne, Colleen and Dolores learned Chamorro by being around their parents, grandparents, and extended family that used the language at home, social gatherings and religious activities. Whereas, the Chamorro taught at school was arbitrary and had little to do with their daily life. Acquisition, although limited, occurred as a result of meaningful and authentic use of the second language. Furthermore, because G3 observed their elders use the language amongst themselves and sometimes with them, they came to realize later that Chamorro was the language of the family and of the Chamorro people.

Literacy as Meaning Making

Generation 1

When asked why she only prayed in Chamorro, Manuela said, *"Kalan ginen I mas tadodong gi korason-hu"* (It's like it is from the depths of my heart) (January 9, 2007). Her words embody the same sentiments as that of her G1 counterparts. That is, praying in Chamorro somehow provides greater spiritual and emotional fulfillment than praying in English. Because religion is highly valued among these women, the acts of

prayer and other religious devotions are more meaningful when done so in Chamorro. Their life experiences paired with the Chamorro core value of *inafa'maolek* and their religious beliefs are telling of their identity as Chamorro women. That is, in large part, their identity centers faith, family and the maintenance of Chamorro language and values.

Specific to language use, these women's experiences during their formative years influenced when and in what situations to use either English or Chamorro. When, where and how these women appropriated either language is known as *diglossia*. "A diglossic situation exists in a society when it has two distinct codes which show clear functional separation; that is one code is employed in one set of circumstances and the other in an entirely different set" (Wardhaugh, 1998, p. 87). This diglossic situation between English and Chamorro, as a result of U.S. governance and English-only policies, forced Chamorros, as suggested by Generation 1, to identify each language for different purposes. Thus, because Chamorro language use in school was physically and monetarily punishable and not utilized in the operations and services of government, the meaning created was that Chamorro was for personal and spiritual contexts; whereas, English was understood to be the language of education, profession and opportunity. Nevertheless, Chamorro continued to be the language of the home and faith. Chamorro language use or knowledge signified belonging or being a part of the collective identity and community of the Chamorro people of Guam.

Generation 2

Generation 2 attended school during the reconstruction and enforcement period on Guam following World War II. English, more than ever, was key to education and opportunity, be it professional or social. It is sad but apparent that it was Generation 2, as

confirmed by Lina, Teresita and Lourdes, who perceived English as the priority language. Following liberation from the Japanese Occupation in 1944 and the signing of the Organic Act of Guam in 1950, Chamorros of the G2 time period assisted in the diminishing of Chamorro by not teaching their children to speak the native language of Guam. Many people, like the women of G2, made the conscious choice to exempt Chamorro from the home, often only using the language to correct or admonish their children, without thoughts of consequence. G2 parents did not consider that by not using Chamorro to converse, their children would grow up and be disappointed and ashamed of not being able to speak their native language. Never was Chamorro used to tell stories or talk about the day's events. English quickly surpassed Chamorro as the language of the home.

G2 participants acknowledged that English became the language of possibility and opportunity. Exposed to the comforts and luxuries of modern life as observed in Navy families stationed on Guam and in various forms of media, it is not surprising that Chamorros of this generation desired a similar way of life—the mainland or stateside lifestyle. Thus, if English was the vehicle to achieve such a life, then Chamorro language and literacy acquisition was not a priority or necessary to academic, social and professional mobility. The perception of the quantity and quality in which English was used signified how educated a person was and quite possibly social status.

While English (and not Chamorro) language and literacy acquisition was publicly encouraged, Chamorro cultural values and traditions continued to be passed on to their children. For Generation 2, the significance of Chamorro was eclipsed by the notions of U.S. American ideology. The stateside way of life was desired, and so G2 made

decisions to nurture such desires in their own children. Chamorros' perception of the stateside way of life included material wealth, and material wealth was attainable via American education and literacy. G2's actions ultimately led to the perpetuation of the idea that English was superior to Chamorro which in turn led their children to internalize the idea that being Chamorro or speaking Chamorro was embarrassing.

The realization that their decision to primarily use English to communicate with their children was not the best decision they made came to light when their children were adolescents and young adults. G2 did not realize or consider the impact of their decision until their children questioned them. Specifically, their children were the ones who questioned why their parents did not teach them or use the Chamorro language to communicate in the home. It was then that the G2 women realized that the absence of Chamorro language use in the home was not the best decision they made.

G2's decision to exclude or limit Chamorro in the home was not without reason. Much like their mothers in G1, Lina, Teresita and Lourdes, were victims of cultural and linguistic imperialism (Pennycook, 1994; Phillipson, 1992). That is, the enforcement of the English-only policy included that students who were caught using Chamorro in school were punished physically or through a demerit system. To illustrate such punishment, Teresita recalled a childhood incident that occurred on the playground while she played jacks with her schoolmates. Out of excitement, she spoke Chamorro and was overheard by a teacher, "But a teacher heard me and she pulled my ponytail really hard that I started to cry. I was so ashamed. I felt a lot of shame for what I did. And all I did was talk in Chamorro….Boy, she taught me a lesson. I'll tell you, I learned real fast"

(January 4, 2007). Consequence, physical or demerit, devalued the significance of Chamorro in their own lives.

Unlike their G1 mothers who valued English and Chamorro for different contexts, the women of G2 perceived Chamorro as a hindrance to academic, social and professional mobility; whereas English granted access or entry to such pursuits. After liberation from the Japanese Occupation and the signing of the Organic Act of Guam, Chamorros from Generation 2 made decisions influenced by education and language policies, patriotism toward the United States, U.S. citizenship, and desires for a stateside lifestyle led to the present diminished state of the Chamorro language on Guam. For this generation, Chamorro language use was limited to peers and family members from their own generation or older. Although English became the preferred language of the home, Chamorro language use remained constant in the religious domain.

The ways in which these women of G2 made meaning for themselves and their family encompassed the push toward education and English language literacy, the significance of the family, and faith at the center of all that they do and plan for. Not to dismiss their own knowledge of what it means to be Chamorro, these women did teach their children cultural practices, beliefs and traditions, but did so primarily in English. Most significantly, their identity and home life are rooted in prayer and family connectedness.

Generation 3

Generation 3's literacy history informs us that they place high value on English literacy for their professional, academic and social lives. Yet, Chamorro language literacy and culture remain a part of their life. Having been exposed to Chamorro

language by their parents, grandparents and extended family, they still did not acquire the ability to speak Chamorro with ease. While their understanding of Chamorro is satisfactory, they are not confident in their ability to converse in the language. G3 women possess a sense of loss and longing for the language of their people. They also realize that Chamorro language and literacy is personal and important to maintaining Chamorro culture and identity.

The women of G3 disclose that English dominates their life and that they use English with their children because they are better at English than Chamorro. However, they do use Chamorro phrases and words in conversation with family members and close knit social circles. In addition, their children are engaged in intergenerational relationships with Chamorro speaking relatives. Rozanne even enrolled her children in Hurao Summer Camp, a full-immersion Chamorro language camp, and Dolores made the decision to keep her daughter longer at a sitter (instead of a daycare center) because the sitter uses Chamorro in the home.

The language and literacy choices they have made in their home lives are different from the choices of their mothers. Their attitudes too about English and Chamorro literacy are very different from their G2 mothers, but similar to their G1 grandmothers. That is, they see the value in both languages; however, unlike their grandmothers, they are not confident in their own Chamorro language skills which prevent them from using the language in their home life more often.

G3's literacy histories also reveal the attitude they had about Chamorro during their adolescent years. G3 sought to emulate certain teenage characters on television, were embarrassed to speak English with an accent, and did not want to speak Chamorro

for fear of humiliation. They were also indirectly taught by their parents and teachers that Chamorro had little value in their lives. A combination of these factors led G3 to develop the attitude that to be or speak Chamorro was embarrassing. What may seem worse than harboring feelings of embarrassment was that their feelings did not just apply to Chamorro language itself; it included negative feelings about Chamorros themselves. They did not wish to identify themselves with being Chamorro which included speaking English with a Chamorro accent. Of course, this attitude changed as they matured, but the attitude itself was a hindrance to their acquisition of Chamorro literacy. Conversely, the negative attitude about Chamorro during their early teenage years pushed them to learn and use English well. Their knowledge of English has afforded them opportunities to pursue endeavors academically and professionally beyond the shores of Guam. They are able to travel with ease and confidence to the mainland United States with little worries of miscommunication or feeling out of place.

These G3 women embody characteristics of hybridity (Bhabha, 1994) in that they experience intense clashes and differences in perceptions of hierarchy between English and Chamorro language and literacy. English literacy is representative of the dominant culture, the academic and professional lives that afford financial stability and social mobility. Chamorro language represents the private, religious life that does not necessarily intersect with the values and expectations of the dominant culture.

These G3 women shared concepts of what it means to be Chamorro and practice Chamorro-ness in their own lives. Like their mothers and grandmothers, their home lives and identities are rooted in family connectedness and faith.

Generational Interviews

The Generational Interviews as described in Chapter 4: Methodology, called for an informal meeting or "talking" session with the nine participants in the study. In Chapter 4, I explained that attempts were made to organize this meeting, but my requests were indirectly denied. There is something to be said about how the women denied my requests and why they chose not to take part in this portion of the study. *Mamåhlao*, a Chamorro core value, is often translated as shame. Robert Underwood (n.d) shares that the concept of *mamåhlao* is much more than shame.

> Mamahlao is a kind of intuitive measure which tells you when your behavior is proper and decent. It also guides you in certain social situations and tells you never to be too obvious in your dealings with others…Always be reticent or non-directive in your dealings with others or you will make them lose their shame. (p. 17)

When I made contact with some of the participants to organize the meeting, their response was "We'll see." Having been told this on multiple occasions, I decided not to pursue this aspect of data collection any further because I feared that if I pushed too hard to organize the meeting the participants might pull out of the project all together or feel put out by my "pushiness". I did not want them to feel *mamåhlao* to have to tell me that they preferred not to take part in the meeting.

In terms of participating in the meeting, I believe that they did not feel comfortable taking part in such an activity because in the Chamorro culture one does not share personal information and experiences with individuals with whom they are not familiar and these women were not related to or acquainted with each other's families.

The idea of talking about past experiences, education and learning, home life, and relationships with individuals outside one's family or close social circle is not common practice as it is often perceived as *åpbla'* (gossip) or that one is *banidosa* or *banidosu* (boastful). For one to *åpbla* or for one to be *banidosa/u* will likely cause others to label such individual as being *taimamåhlao* (to have no shame). Despite the absence of the generational interview in the data collection phase of this study, the women disclosed important information in order to fully understand their English and Chamorro language histories.

CHAPTER 7

THIS IS WHERE WE ARE TODAY: *ESTAGUE' HIT PÅ'GO NA MAN GAIGE*

The nine women in this study have shared their experiences of Chamorro and English language and literacy over a time span of 80 years. More importantly, their voices are heard through the stories they have shared, stories and experiences that emulate the experiences of many Chamorro women in modern Guam. Because of their willingness to be a part of documenting history, I have been honored with the privilege to share with the rest of the world their perceptions of what it means to be a Chamorro woman. These women allowed access to their literacy and language histories which in turn afforded me the opportunity to provide insight about the advantages and disadvantages of English and Chamorro literacy and how they have influenced these women's identities and roles as Chamorro women in modern Guam.

As a native of Guam, coupled with the responsibility of representing the indigenous perspective within the context of scholarly, academic work, I have found this process to be difficult. Yet, after four years of reviewing transcripts, email correspondence, telephone calls, and home visits, I have come to the opinion that these Chamorro women in modern Guam are very much aware of their heritage, they acknowledge a sense of language loss, they desire to be fluent Chamorro language speakers, and they recognize the values of both English and Chamorro literacy.

The research questions posed at the beginning of the study are:

1. How has becoming literate in English shaped Chamorro women's understandings (ideas/perceptions) of being a Chamorro woman in modern Guam?

2. What advantages and/or disadvantages did/does becoming literate in English have in the lives of Chamorro women?

In response to the first research question, the Chamorro women in my study acknowledge and value English literacy for modern life on Guam. English literacy has allowed these women to seek employment opportunities, pursue higher education, and function and survive in and outside of Guam. The modern Chamorro woman uses Chamorro literacy in the religious and home domains with her children and grandchildren to perpetuate Chamorro cultural values and traditions. Familiarity and knowledge of Chamorro language is necessary to propagate Chamorro cultural values, traditions, and identity. Faith and family connectedness are at the center of these women's identities as Chamorro women in modern Guam.

The advantages of becoming literate in English are many. The knowledge and acquisition of English literacy was necessary for school, work, government, and business domains. The better a person was at speaking and using English the greater the opportunities for academic and professional advancement. English literacy became the key to "success", material wealth, and ultimately, social status. Conversely, the disadvantage of prioritizing English literacy and pushing Chamorro literacy into the periphery diminished the value and use of Chamorro language. English literacy, at the expense of Chamorro literacy, forced Chamorros to suppress our cultural heritage so as to be successful and complicit within the U.S. dominant culture. Yet despite the suppression of our indigenous language and culture, we Chamorros remain as second class citizens.

These questions guided my inquiry and forced me to think about my literacy history and language attitudes. More importantly, it provided insight and answers to my own questions about being a Chamorro woman in modern Guam. Although I was born and raised on the island, I often wondered if I really knew what it meant to be a Chamorro woman or if my advanced education and elementary Chamorro speaking ability would be a hindrance to my claim of being a Chamorro woman in modern Guam. More importantly, I wondered if other women of my generation and that of my mother and grandmother had similar experiences and struggles. As a result of this project, I now know that I am not alone in my wonderings and that my family's language experiences very much mirror the experiences of the women in this study.

Chamorro Women in Modern Guam: *Famalao'an Chamoru gi Nuebu na islan Guåhan*

The three generations of Chamorro women in this study are the bearers of culture and language in their respective families. These women acknowledge that colonization, Americanization, and modernization have influenced life and Chamorro culture on Guam. And although life today may be quite different from our ancient Chamorro ancestors, these stories coupled with what is documented in Guam history tells us that these Chamorro women embody the same values like *inafa'maolek* and *mamåhlao* as our ancestors did.

Traditionally, Chamorro women, within a matrilineal society, are highly regarded and equal to their male counterparts. This view of Chamorro women remains intact; the only difference is that women's roles have evolved since earlier times. Specific to this study, English literacy has afforded these women opportunities for higher education, travel, and careers beyond teaching and nursing. The cash based economy that required

English literacy created avenues for women to pursue careers, and they often entrusted the care of their children to their own mothers and aunts. Because women sought opportunities in the workforce and entrusted the care of their children to their G1 mothers and aunts, their children acquired, negotiated and made meaning for themselves about Chamorro culture and language as observed in an intergenerational context.

In terms of the traditional and modern Chamorro woman, my subjects did not necessarily perceive a clear dichotomy, but did acknowledge that advanced or higher education separated them from their traditional grandmothers. My analysis shows that the Chamorro woman in modern Guam is family oriented and practices *inafa'maolek*, is devoted to her faith, acknowledges a Chamorro heritage and U.S. citizenship, and values and perpetuates Chamorro language and culture with her children, grandchildren, and extended family. The Chamorro language is a significant component to perpetuating a sense of what it means to be a Chamorro woman. While Chamorro language loss is present in modern Guam, it is not extinct.

English or Chamorro: *Ingles pat Chamoru*

Chamorros in modern Guam come from an oral culture and live in a modern literate society. These women, including myself, value English for academic and professional endeavors. English literacy, within the context of modern Guam, is a major factor to survival in the Guam community as it fosters global partnerships, advanced education and professional pursuits. English literacy, without a doubt, will remain significant to the modern Chamorro woman and the people of Guam.

English is still very much associated with being educated and professional. However, being educated and professional does not necessarily make a Chamorro

woman, nor does it suggest that English is superior to Chamorro. Rather, knowing and using Chamorro suggests a sense of closeness to the culture. While no one in the study specifically stated that identity is rooted in language, a commonality among all participants is that the Chamorro language is significant to maintaining the traditions and culture of the Chamorro people of Guam.

A disadvantage of English literacy in modern Guam is the sense of language loss and the lack of association of Chamorro with learning. That is, formal learning or education is associated with English. Although disheartening and even detrimental to the survival of the culture, Chamorro language is not perceived as a language associated with academics or scholarship. For these women, learning, academic or professional, is solely done in English. Chamorro is personal, intimate, and it is used to nurture and practice faith; Chamorro also signifies the identity of the Chamorro people. The diglossic situation between English and Chamorro is hierarchical in that English is necessary to work and live, and Chamorro is for the heart. Thus if Chamorro ceases to exist, the personal and intimate connection to the culture will also die. Unless both languages are valued equitably, the Chamorro language will eventually be a language of the past, and the heart will weaken and be no more.

Generation 1 is applauded for keeping the Chamorro language current as they continue to perpetuate Chamorro language use in the home and in religious settings. However, Generation 2 bears some of the responsibility of the current state of Chamorro and English language attitudes. It was Generation 2, as a result of their negative language learning experiences during their formative and adolescent years following World War II and the economic challenges their parents endured before and after the war,

who made the conscious choice to exempt Chamorro language use in their homes. This decision, without thoughts of consequence, pushed the value and use of Chamorro language into the periphery and prioritized English language literacy.

The women of Generation 3 share the desire to restore the language in their lives and to build on what they do know. G3 uses various Chamorro words and phrases when conversing in English. The incorporation of Chamorro words in everyday home language (English) with peers and family members points to the practice or belief that Chamorro language is a marker of Chamorro identity. The responsibility of the perpetuation of the Chamorro language lies in the hands of Generation 3. Finally, it behooves me to say that if Chamorro preservation and restoration are quintessential to the survival of the Chamorro culture and language, then G3 must incorporate more Chamorro language in their daily lives. If steps to improve Chamorro language curriculum or the perpetuation of Chamorro culture and language are not made or cease to be a priority, then the death of the Chamorro language is inevitable.

Connecting the Past to the Present: *Manatotchen Åntes yan På'go*

The legacy of past policies lives on in modern Chamorro life in people's experiences, attitudes, values, and ways of perceiving. Because Guam's history is filled with violence and foreign presence, the hurt and trauma of decades and centuries past continues to live on in modern Guam. Much like the Aboriginal people of Australia, native Hawaiians, and the indigenous people of Taiwan, Chamoros were made to feel unwelcome in their own home and Chamorro language and cultural practices had little to no bearing on progress and modern life. Historical trauma is very real and the Chamorros

of today, although not present during the Spanish and first U.S. government, have been impacted by what transpired in Guam's history.

Historical events in Guam like World War II, liberation, and the signing of the Organic Act set in motion the birth of the hybrid Chamorro. Cultural hybridity emerges following historical transformation (Bhabha, 1994). For Generation 1 it was the end of World War II and liberation coupled with English education that led G1 to place value in English for the professional and academic; for Generation 2 it was the signing of the Organic Act and U.S. citizenship that influenced G2 to prioritize English in the home. G2's attitudes and perceptions of English and Chamorro literacy coupled with prioritization, had the greatest influence on G3's attitudes and perceptions of either language. In turn, G3 (and I) grew up with limited knowledge of the native language. G3's values and aspirations embody Chamorro cultural values and we attempt to live our lives according to such values. The cultural values we embody were taught to us by our grandmothers, mothers, aunts, and other family members; yet, were done so, for the most part, in English. There is no denying that much of the meanings behind such Chamorro values and practices have eroded as a result of the limited use of Chamorro. Chamorro language knowledge and recognition are necessary to prevent further cultural erosion. However, English language and literacy sustains and fuels our academic and professional survival. Nonetheless, G3 struggles with the contradictoriness of our identity as Chamorro women.

Implications for Teachers and Educators

Through this research project, compounded by my K-12 and college teaching experiences, my perceptions of Guam's sociocultural, historical and political history, and

the belief that language and literacy take shape in the everyday lives of families, it is my opinion as a Chamorro woman and researcher, that what needs to be done is to heal the wounds of the past. No longer should we Chamorros view ourselves as victims of circumstance or remain silent. Rather, we must continue to move forward, preserve and protect our language and culture, and maintain our collective identity. Gramsci (1972), Freire (1987), and Macedo (1994) voice and encourage a citizenry to utilize literacy to take part in the transformation of society. In order to do this, culturally appropriate education that nurtures local, regional, national, and global education is necessary to promote more effective and enhanced literacy teaching and learning in Chamorro and English.

As expressed by G3, Chamorro language and literacy lessons were decontextualized and there was no connection between school literacy and home literacies. Vivian Cook (2001) emphasizes that teachers must first identify educational goals for both the student and the education system. More importantly, the teacher must comprehend how and in what contexts learning a second language takes place (Cook, 2001). Further, by informing students about second language acquisition research and how second language research informs learning and how they can use such information in their own learning (Lewis, 1999; Rubin & Thompson, 1982). Students will benefit from Chamorro language instruction that emphasizes practical and social use of the language (Heath, 1983 & 1999). Lessons in conversation, letter or email correspondence, creative writing, and prose provide students with authentic situations that mimic different domains or contexts to utilize the language (Torres-Guzman, 1998). In addition, the development and use of a Chamorro language proficiency exam, much like an English

proficiency exam, will provide data that can be used to inform Chamorro curriculum development and revision. The incorporation of texts, media and other forms of literacy from the indigenous perspective in the classroom will afford students the opportunity to develop an informed and critical understanding of Chamorro culture and how the Chamorro way of life impacts acts of progress locally and globally; essentially, the development of agency (Joseph, 2004; Norton, 2000). Doing so will instill value in both languages and maintain and preserve Chamorro culture.

It is not my intention to devalue the U.S. education, English language, or the fruits of modernity that Guam has; rather, it is my intention, as a researcher and native of Guam, to make a call to strengthen bilingualism and biculturalism. It behooves me, as a researcher, and my responsibility to the people of Guam to debunk the idea that the English language or the Chamorro language is superior to the other. Instead, it is my responsibility to bring public awareness that Chamorro language and literacy should be embraced as much as English, a step toward self-determination. The product of this research is not to persuade the people of Guam to revert to a pre-American way of life, but rather to appreciate, know, understand, and value Chamorro language, literacy, and culture (Brandt, 1996). Before Chamorros can move forward and claim a Chamorro identity, or situate ourselves permanently in society, we must first recognize the need for critical consciousness and question the perpetuation of imposed ideology brought on by outside forces (i.e. political entities, systems of education). We Chamorros must take responsibility to take action so as to preserve and revitalize our culture and language. The use of various forms of media like television, radio, print, and the internet in tandem with curriculum and community outreach programs to spread cultural literacy and

awareness will enhance the state of Chamorro language and literacy in modern Guam. By utilizing the tools of education and literacy brought by the colonizers, Chamorros can take control of Guam's future and rejuvenate Chamorro culture and language.

Implications for the People of Guam:

A Call to the People of Guam: *Inagang para I Taotao Islan Guåhan*

As we, the people of Guam, continue to make strides toward progress in our ever changing island community through education, commerce and global partnerships, let us not underestimate the possibilities that lie ahead. Our children and grandchildren are the individuals we teach, prepare and shape to continue our work. In this instance, with the present state of Chamorro language use, it is possible to move toward teaching them the value of Chamorro language literacy for the professional and social spaces. The focus of acquiring Chamorro language literacy in the home and social spaces should not be what we don't know or that we lack fluency; rather, the focus should be on what we do know and build on that.

We need to continue or begin to use the language in ways that are meaningful and authentic. The Chamorro language should be used in the same ways we use English; we must invest in Chamorro literacy learning as much as we invest in English (Norton, 2000). Chamorro should be used to learn, pass on information, and to praise and entertain. We can use expressions and terms in everyday conversation so as to naturalize the use of Chamorro. We should use *dispensa yu* instead of excuse me or *maila hålom* instead of come inside. We can say *buenas* and *adios* in lieu of hello and goodbye or replace thank you with *Si Yu'us ma'ase* or *Saina ma'ase*. We must avoid laughing or poking fun at those who attempt to use Chamorro correctly or incorrectly. This leads to

negative feelings and more often than not shames a person and causes her to avoid using Chamorro. Rather, if we can, respond in Chamorro. This act alone presents opportunity to build and strengthen a sense of connectedness. Conscious choices such as these will eventually lead to increased use and perpetuation of the language of the people of Guam.

We are Chamorros with American citizenship, so English is valuable to our livelihood. Chamorro is valuable to our collective identity as a people. Let us not continue on the trajectory of grieving a language that is dying. The conscious choice to utilize the language of our people in conversation and in written form with our children, family and friends will teach the people of Guam that the Chamorro language is significant to the survival and legacy of Chamorro language and culture.

Implications and Timely Questions for Future Research

Although I did not research the roles of Chamorro men or their language and literacy attitudes, perceptions, and practices, G2 narratives revealed that Chamorro men influenced Chamorro language attitudes, perceptions, and practices that the G2 women possessed. The inference that I make here is drawn from Teresita's work related interaction with an elderly Chamorro man and the mutual agreement with her husband to exclude Chamorro in their home, Lina's father who refused to converse in English in his home and with his children, and Lourdes's recollection that her brothers used Chamorro language in the "streets". Chamorro men, too, must be acknowledged for their contributions to the perpetuation and transmission of Chamorro language and culture.

Another issue that was revealed over the course of the study was the suggestion by Generation 2 and 3 that there were class issues involved in the use and perpetuation of Chamorro and English. That is, it is possible that the perception among some Chamorros

is that higher class Chamorros speak English, while lower class Chamorros perpetuate the language. For example, Lina, Teresita, and Lourdes articulated that English literacy afforded them entry, success, and mobility in educational and professional domains. That is, the quality of English use became a marker of educational and professional status. Lourdes also revealed that her brothers used Chamorro in the "streets". The "streets" was a domain that did not necessitate formal education or professional affiliation. Rather, in the "streets", Chamorro was the language of access and power. Further research on language and literacy can investigate class consciousness and language within Chamorro society.

As this project comes to a close, it is imperative to note the impending boom that Guam is expecting within the next few years and how this study can be a marker in Guam's historical timeline.

At this point in time, Guam is preparing for a major change in social strata. The United States government, as part of a negotiation with the Japanese government, made the decision to relocate 9,000 U.S. Marines from Okinawa, Japan to Guam. In addition to the 9,000 soldiers, families, dependents, and military personnel are expected to relocate to the island as well. There is talk within the community that the number is more like 45,000 people and at the peak of the build up reports estimate that there will be approximately 80,000 additional people on island involved in the build up (Joint Guam Program Office, 2010). The first wave of soldiers, dependents, and civilians is expected in 2012. The reason I bring the Guam military build-up into the conversation is to parallel what is to come with what has already happened in Guam history. That is, following the Spanish-American War and the Treaty of Paris in 1898 and the events

during and after World War II, the people of Guam were forced to alter their way of life and adapt to a lifestyle and language not of their own choice. Much like the events of the past, the impending military build up will, without a doubt, impact the lives of Chamorros on Guam. The decision to relocate the U.S. Marines from Okinawa to Guam was made without consulting the people of Guam.

The U.S. Department of the Navy and the Joint Guam Program Office released the Draft Environmental Impact Statement in November 2009, hereafter referred to as DEIS, to the people of Guam. The report addresses how the island will be impacted by the military build up. The DEIS is 11,000 pages long and the Government of Guam and people were given 90 days to review and respond to the report. I include a direct quote from the DEIS report to highlight how U.S. decisions and plans continue to marginalize and colonize the people of Guam, inherently stripping the Chamorro people of our identity and way of life.

> Guam's indigenous population has strong concerns about whether incoming military populations would recognize them as both American by nationality and also as a unique ethnic culture worthy of respect and preservation. This could be mitigated by orientation programs designed in cooperation with the Department of Chamorro Affairs. However, an expansion in non-Chamorro voting population could eventually affect the proportion of Chamorro office-holders and government workers; thereby affecting the current government budgets and activities dedicated to cultural issues and practices. It could also affect outcomes of future plebiscites about Guam's political status. (Department of the Navy, 2009, p. 64)

Ultimately, the military build up will impact life on Guam culturally, socially and economically. This project, without intent, gauges where English and Chamorro language and literacy attitudes and practices are at this point in time, prior to another wave of U.S. military expansion. Because of this build up, it is important to pose the questions:

1. Traditionally, Chamorro men and women are perceived as equals. While Chamorro mothers are understood to be the bearers of culture and language, Chamorro fathers help shape their children's identities as well. What roles do Chamorro men fulfill in shaping cultural literacy and identity among their children?
2. How and in what ways do Chamorro and English language and literacy use perpetuate concepts of social class in Chamorro society?
3. Exclusive of marketing Guam as a tourist destination, what have the Chamorros of Guam officially done (e.g. curriculum revision; cultural programs; cultural media) to preserve and promote Chamorro language and culture on Guam?

Conclusion

This study was born from my curiosity about other Chamorro women's experiences, struggles and shameful feelings about being literate in English and not in the language of our people. It is ironic that pursuing a Ph.D. in English has afforded me the opportunity to seek answers and provide insight to the research of language, literacy and identity from an indigenous perspective.

The women in this study have confirmed certain beliefs. They have confirmed for me that a Chamorro woman strives to protect her children, family and people. She takes

on the challenges that God puts before her and she is not ashamed of her Chamorro heritage. She may have ambivalent feelings about the freedoms that make U.S. citizenship desirable and appreciated and pursues endeavors to sustain, maintain, or enhance her livelihood, but at the same time she resents colonization and second class citizenship. The belief about the significance of the female as a strong and powerful figure in the Chamorro home comes to life in the stories shared and that faith, above all else, provides strength. A modern Chamorro woman maintains the traditions of the past in her home and life and creates new traditions for generations to come.

References

Aguon, K. (1977). Changing patterns due to urbanization. In C. Bamba, L. Souder & J. Tompkins (Eds.), *Women of Guam* (pp. 15-19). Guam: The Guam Women's Conference.

Agoun, K.B. (1993). The Guam dilemma: The need for a Pacific island education perspective. In *Hale;-ta Hinasso': Tinige' put Chamorro, Insights: The Chamorro Identity* (pp. 95). Agana, Guam: Political Status Education Coordinating Commission.

Akinasso, F.N. (2001). Literacy and individual consciousness. In E. Cushman et. al, (Eds.), *Literacy a critical sourcebook* (pp. 138-155). Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's.

Anderson, G. (1989). Critical ethnography in education: Origins, current status, and new directions. *Review of Educational Research, 59,* 249-270.

Anzaldua, G. (1987). *Borderlands/La frontera: The new mestiza.* San Francisco, CA: Lute Books.

Ashcroft, B., Griffiths, G., & Tiffin, H. (1989). *The empire writes back: Theory and practice in post-colonial literatures*. New York: Routledge.

Ashcroft, B., Griffiths, G., & Tiffin, H. (1998). *Post-colonial studies: The key concepts.* New York: Routledge.

Atkinson, R. (1998). *The life story interview*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Banks-Wallace, J. (2002). Talk that talk: Storytelling and analysis rooted in African American oral tradition. *Qualitative Health Research, 12,* 410-426.

Barton, D. (1991). The social nature of writing. In D. Barton & R. Ivanic (Eds.),

Writing in the community (pp. 1-13). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Barton, D. (1994). *Literacy: An introduction to the ecology of written language*. Oxford, England: Blackwell Publishers.

Beatty, J., & Cunningham, L. (2001). *Guam: A natural history.* Honolulu: Bess Press.

Belenky, M., Clinchy, B., Goldberger, N., & Tarule, J. (1997). *Women's ways of knowing: The development of self, voice, and mind*. New York: Basic Books.

Bengston, V., Biblarz, T., & Roberts, R. (2002). *How families still matter: A longitudinal study of youth in two generations.* New York: Cambridge.

Bergvall, V. (1999). A comprehensive theory of language and gender. *Language in Society, 28*, 273-293.

Berlin, J. (1996). *Rhetorics, poetics, and cultures.* Urbana, IL: NCTE.

Bhabha, H. (1996). The other question. In P. Mongia (Ed.), *Contemporary postcolonial theory* (pp. 37-54). New York: Oxford University Press.

Bhabha, H. (1994). *The location of culture.* New York: Routledge.

Bhatt, R.M. (2008). In other words: Language mixing, identity representations, and third Space. *Journal of Sociolinguistics, 12*, 177-200.

Brandt, D. (1996). Literacy. In T. Enos (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of rhetoric and composition* (pp. 392-394). New York: Garland.

Bressler, C. (2003). *Literary criticism*, 3rd ed. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Bruner, J. (1996). *The culture of education*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Carano, P. & Sanchez, P. (1964). *A complete history of Guam.* Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Company.

Carter, R. (1998). Education in Guam to 1950: Island and personal history. In L.Carter, W. Wuerch, & R. Carter (Eds.), *Guam history: Perspectives* (pp. 181-218). Mangilao, Guam: Micronesian Area Research Center, University of Guam.

Clark, A. (2005). *We are our mothers' words: Vernacular literacy practices of three generations of Central Appalachian women.* Unpublished dissertation, Indiana University of Pennsylvania.

Cook, V. (2001). *Second language learning and language teaching.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Cruz, K. (1989). *The pattera of Guam: Their story and legacy.* Guam: Guam Humanities Council.

Delisle, C. (2000). *Delivering the body: Narratives of family, childbirth, and prewar pattera*. Unpublished master's thesis, University of Guam.

Department of the Navy. (2009). *Draft: Environmental impact statement/Overseas environmental impact statement. Guam and CNMI military relocation: Relocating Marines from Okinawa, visiting aircraft carrier berthing, and Army Air missile defense task force. Volume 7: Potential mitigation, preferred alternatives' impacts, and cumulative impacts.* Pearl Harbor, HI: Naval Facilities Engineering Command, Pacific. Retrieved January 18, 2009, from http://www.guambuildupeis.us/documents .

Dexter, L.A. (1970). *Elite and specialized interviewing.* Chicago, IL: Northwestern University Press.

Dobson, M. (1993). Annual report of the Aboriginal and Torres Straight Islander Justice Commissioner. In *Going forward: Social justice for the first Australians*. Australia: Council for Aboriginal Reconciliation.

Dorian, N.C. (1982). Language loss and maintenance in language contact situations. In R. Lambert & B. Freed (Eds.), *The loss of language skills* (pp.44-59). Rowley, MA: Newbury.

Duff, P., & Uchida, Y. (1997). The negotiation of teachers' sociocultural identities and Practices in postsecondary EFL classrooms. *TESOL Quarterly, 31*, 451-486.

Erlandson, D., Harris, E., Skipper, B., & Allen, S. (1993). *Doing naturalistic inquiry: A guide to methods.* Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Faigley, L. (1986). Competing theories of process: A critique and proposal. *College English, 48,* 527-541.

Fallon, J. (1991). Federal policy and U.S. territories: The political restructuring of the United States of America. *Pacific Affairs, 1*, 23-41.

Ferdman, B. (1990). Literacy and cultural identity. *Harvard Educational Review, 60,* 181-284.

Ferdman, B. (1999). Ethnic minority issues in literacy. In D. Wagner, R. Venezky, & B. Street (Eds.), *Literacy: An international handbook.* (pp. 95-101). Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Fox, H. (1994). *Listening to the world*. Urbana, IL: NCTE.

Franklin, C., & Lyons, L. (2004). Remixing hybridity: Globalization, native resistance, and cultural production in Hawaii. *American Studies, 45,* 49-80.

Freire, P. (1970). *Pedagogy of the oppressed.* New York: Continuum.

Fullinwider, R. (1996). *Public education in a multicultural society.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Galindo, D.L., & Gonzales, M. (1999). *Speaking chicana: Voice, power, and identity*. Tuscon, AZ: University of Arizona Press.

Gee, J. (2001). Literacy, discourse, and linguistics: Introduction and what is literacy? In E. Cushman, E. Kintgen, B. Kroll, & M. Rose (Eds.), *Literacy: A critical sourcebook* (pp. 525-544). Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's.

Giroux, H.A. (1987). Introduction: Literacy and the pedagogy of political empowerment. In H. Giroux & D. Macedo, *Literacy: Reading the word and the world* (pp. 1-27). South Hadley, MA: Bergin & Garvey Publishers.

Giroux, H.A. (1992). Literacy, pedagogy, and the politics of difference. *College Literature, 19,* 1-11.

Giroux, H.A. (1988). *Teachers as transformative intellectuals.* New York: Bergin & Garvey.

Glazier, J.A. (2007). Tinkering towards socially just teaching: Moving from critical theory to practice. *Changing English, 14,* 375-382.

Goodman, K.S. (1992). Why whole language is today's agenda in education. *Language Arts, 69,* 188-199.

Gramsci, A. (1972). *Selections from prison notebooks* (Q. Hoare & G. Smith, Eds., Trans.). New York: International Publishers.

Hall, S. (1994). Cultural identity and diaspora. In P. Williams & L. Chrisman (Eds.), *Colonial discourse and postcolonial theory* (pp. 392-403). New York: Columbia University Press.

Harris, J. (1997). *A teaching subject: Composition since 1966.* Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Hattori, A.P. (2004). *Colonial dis-ease.* Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press.

Heath, S.B. (1983). *Ways with words.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

Heath, S.B. (1999). Literacy as social practice. In D. Wagner, R. Venezky, & B. Street (Eds.), *Literacy: An international handbook*. (pp. 102-106). Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Higuchi, W. (2001). The Japanisation policy for the Chamorros of Guam, 1941-1944. *The Journal of Pacific History, 36,* 19-35.

Hooks, B. (1994). *Teaching to transgress: Education as the practice of freedom.* New York: Routledge.

Howard, M. (1989). *Ethnicity and nation-building in the Pacific.* Tokyo: The United Nations University.

Huang, S. (2000). Language, identity and conflict: A Taiwanese study. *The Journal of the Sociology of Language, 143,* 139-149.

Hudson, R.A. (2001). *Sociolinguistics* (2nd ed.). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Hurlbert, C.M., & Blitz, M. (1991). *Composition and resistance.* Portsmouth: Boynton/Cook.

Joint Guam Program Office. (2010). *EIS/OEIS*. Retrieved from http://www.guambuildupeis.us/documents

Joseph, J.E. (2004). *Language and identity: National, ethnic, and religious*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Kirsch, G. (1993). *Women writing the academy: Audience, authority, and transformation.* Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press.

Kyvig, D., & Marty, M. (2000). *Nearby history: Exploring the past behind you.* (2nd ed.) Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira.

Lanehart, S. (2002). *Sista speak!* Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.

LeBlanc, J. (2002). Camus, Said, and the dilemma of home: Space, identity, and the limits of postcolonial political theory. *Strategies, 15,* 239-258.

Lewis, C., Enciso, P., & Moje, E. (2007). *Reframing sociocultural research on literacy: Identity, agency, and power.* Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Lewis, M. (1999). *How to study foreign languages.* Basingstoke, UK: Macmillan.

Linnekin, J. (1997). Contending approaches. In D. Denoon (Ed.), *Cambridge history of the Pacific islanders* (pp. 20-36). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Linnekin, J., & L. Poyer. (1990). *Cultural identity and ethnicity in the Pacific.* Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Lundsford, A. (1999). Toward a mestiza rhetoric: Gloria Anzaldúa on composition and postcoloniality. In G. Olson & L. Worsham (Eds.), *Race, rhetoric, and the postcolonial* (pp. 43-78). Albany, NY: SUNY Press.

Macedo, D. (1994). *Literacies of power.* Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Maxwell, J. (1996). *Qualitative research design.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

McCarty, T., & Watahomigie, L. (1998). Language and literacy in American Indian and Alaska Native communities. In B. Perez (Ed.), *Sociocultural contexts of language and literacy* (pp. 69-98). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Memmi, A. (1965). *The colonizer and the colonized.* Boston: Beacon Press.

Menard-Warwick, J. (2005). Intergenerational trajectories and sociopolitical context: Latina immigrants in adult ESL. *TESOL Quarterly, 39*, 165-185.

Moayeri, M., & Smith, J. (2010). The unfinished stories of two First Nation mothers. *Journal of Adolescent & Adult Literacy, 53*, 408-417.

Monnig, L. (2007). Proving Chamorro: Narratives of race, identity, and decolonization on Guam (Doctoral dissertation, University of Illinois-Urbana-Champaign, 2007). *Dissertation Abstracts International*, 69, 02.

Moore, D.W., Monoghan, E.J., & Hartman, D.K. (1997). Values of literacy history. *Reading Research Quarterly, 32*, 90-102.

Morgan, B. (1997). Identity and intonation: Linking dynamic processes in an ESL classroom. *TESOL Quarterly, 31*, 431-450.

Morrell, E. (2009). Critical research and the future of literacy education. *Journal of Adolescent & Adult Literacy, 53*, 96-104.

Moss, B.J. (1992). Ethnography and composition: Studying language at home. In G. Kirsch & P. Sullivan (Eds.), *Methods and methodology in composition research* (pp. 153-171). Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press.

Murphy, J. (1966, October 9). The language barrier on Guam is serious [Editorial]. *The Territorial Sun*, p. 4.

Ngũgĩ, W.T. (2003). *Decolonising the mind: The politics of language in African literature.* Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann.

Norton, B. (2000). *Identity and language learning.* London, England: Pearson.

Ogulnick, K. (2005). Learning language/learning self. In S. Kiesling & C. Paulston (Eds.), *Intercultural discourse and communication* (pp. 250-254). Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.

Olson, G., & Worsham, L. (Eds.). (1999). Staging the politics of difference: Homi Bhabha's critical literacy. In G. Olson & L. Worsham (Eds.), *Race, rhetoric, and the postcolonial* (pp. 3-39). Albany, NY: SUNY Press.

Omoniyi, T. (2000). Islands and identity in sociolinguistics: A theoretical perspective. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language, 143*, 1-13.

Palomo, R.S. (1987). American policies and practices affecting language shift on Guam. In M. Spencer (Ed.), *Chamorro language issues and research on Guam* (pp. 19-37). Mangilao, Guam: University of Guam.

Pavelenko, A., & Blackledge, A. (Eds.). (2001). Negotiation of identities in multilingual contexts: Special Issue. *The International Journal of Bilingualism*, *5*, 3.

Pennycook, A. (2002). The concept of method, interested knowledge, and the politics of language teaching. In V. Zamel & R. Spack (Eds.), *Enriching ESOL pedagogy* (pp. 45-71). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Pennycook, A. (1994). *The cultural politics of English as an international language*. New York: Longman.

Perez, B. (1998). Language, literacy, and biliteracy. In B. Perez (Ed.), *Sociocultural contexts of language and literacy* (pp. 21-48). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Perez, M. (2004). Insiders without, outsiders within: Chamorro ambiguity and diasporic identities on the U.S. mainland. In L. Chiang, J. Lidstone, & S. Stephenson (Eds.),

The challenges of globalization (pp. 47-72). Lanham, MD: University Press of America.

Perez, M. (2002). Pacific identities beyond racial formations: The case of Chamorro ambivalence and flux. *Social Identities, 8,* 457-479.

Perez-Iyechad, L. (2001). *An historical perspective of helping practices associated with birth, marriage and death among Chamorros in Guam.* New York: The Edwin Mellen Press.

Petersen, G. (2004). Lessons learned: The Micronesian quest for independence in the context of American imperial history. *Micronesian Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences, 3,* 45-63.

Phillipson, R. (1992). *Linguistic imperialism.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Political Status Education Coordinating Commission. (1993). *Hale'ta: Hinasso': Tinige' put Chamorro. Insights: The Chamorro identity.* Hagatña, Guam.

Political Status Education Coordinating Commission. (1996). *Kinalamten pulitikåt: Siñenten I Chamorro. Issues in Guam's political development: The Chamorro perspective.* Hagatña, Guam.

Purcell-Gates, V. (1995). *Other people's words: The cycle of low literacy.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Reinharz, S. (1992). *Feminist methods in social research.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Rogers, R. (1995). *Destiny's landfall.* Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press.

Rose, M. (1988). *Lives on the boundary: The struggles of America's underprepared.* New York: Free Press.

Rubin, J. & Thompson, I. (1982). *How to be a more successful language learner.* Boston: Heinle.

Said, E. (1978). *Orientalism.* New York: Vintage Books.

Sanchez, P.C. (1989). *Guahan Guam: The history of our island.* Agana, Guam: Sanchez Publishing House.

Santos, S. (1998). *Intergenerational literacy and its relationship to educational attainment in a Chamorro family.* Unpublished master's thesis, Pacific Lutheran University.

Scribner, S., & Cole, M. (1981). *The psychology of literacy.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Smith, A.B. (1970). *Schools of Guam during the Japanese occupation.* Unpublished master's thesis, University of Guam.

Sohn, K. (1999). *Whistlin' and crowin' women of Appalachia: Literacy development since college*. Doctoral dissertation, Indiana University of Pennsylvania.

Sohn, K. (2003). Whistlin' and crowin' women of Appalachia: Literacy development since college. *CCC, 54*, 423-452.

Souder, L.M. (1991). Feminism and women's studies on Guam. *NWSA Journal, 3*, 90-102.

Souder, L.M. (1992). *Daughters of the island.* Boston: University Press of America.

Souder, L.M. (1992). Unveiling herstory: Chamorro women in historical perspective. In D.H. Rubenstein (Ed.), *Pacific history: Papers from the 8th Pacific history association conference* (pp. 143-149). Mangilao, Guam: University of Guam Press and Micronesian Area Research Center.

Souder-Jaffrey, L. (1987). Island metamorphosis: Guam's history of conflict and adaptation. *Asian Culture Quarterly, 15*, 55-64.

Street, B.V. (1984). *Literacy in theory and practice*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Street, B.V. (1999). The meanings of literacy. In D.A. Wagner, R.L. Venezky, & B.V. Street (Eds.), *Literacy: An international handbook.* (pp. 34-40). Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Tafjel, H. (1974). Social identity and intergroup behavior. *Social Science Information, 13*, 65-93.

Taitano, G.E. (2009). *'Kumision I Fino' Chamorro/Chamorro Language Commission*. Retrieved June 4, 2009, from http://www.guampedia.com/category/9-language/entry/122-kumision-i-fino-chamorro-chamorro-language-commission .

Taylor, D., & Dorsey-Gaines, C. (1988). *Growing up literate: Learning from inner city families.* Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann.

Teiawa, T.K. (1992). Microwomen: U.S. colonialism and Micronesian women activists. In D.H. Rubenstein (Ed.), *Pacific history: Papers from the 8th pacific history association conference* (pp. 125-141). Mangilao, Guam: University of Guam Press and Micronesian Area Research Center.

The Guam Recorder. (1924, September). *1* (7), 8-9.

Thesen, L. (1997). Voices, discourse and transition. *TESOL Quarterly, 31*, 487-496.

Thompson, L. (1946). Crisis on Guam. *Far Eastern Quarterly, 6*, 5-11.

Thompson, L. (1947). *Guam and its people.* New Jersey: Princeton.

Thompson, L. (1946). *Guam: Study in military government* (Document No. 52). CA:

Hoover Institute School of Naval Administration-Stanford University.

Torres-Guzman, M. (1998). Language, culture, and literacy in Puerto Rican communities. In B. Perez (Ed.), *Sociocultural contexts of language and literacy* (pp. 99-122). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Tuhiwai Smith, L. (1999). *Decolonizing methodologies: Research and indigenous peoples.* London, England: Zed Books.

Underwood, R.A. (1987). Language survival, the ideology of English and education in Guam. In M. Spencer (Ed.), *Chamorro language issues and research on Guam* (pp. 13-18). Mangilao, Guam: University of Guam.

Underwood, R. (1987). *American education and the acculturation of the Chamorros of Guam*. Unpublished dissertation, University of Southern California.

Underwood, R.A. (1989). English and Chamorro on Guam. *World Englishes, 8,* 73-82.

Underwood, R.A. (n.d.). *Hispanicization as a socio-historical process on Guam*. Unpublished manuscript.

U.S. Census Bureau. (2002). *Guam summary file.* Retrieved April 5, 2005 from http://www.census.gov/population/www/censusdata/sch_guam.html

U.S. Navy Department. (1905). *Guam: Brief extracts from publications, memoranda, furnished congress, general orders, and annual reports for 1901-1904, relative to the Island of Guam.* Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office.

Viernes, J.P. (2008). *Fanhasso i taotao Sumay: Displacement, dispossession, and survival in Guam.* Unpublished master's thesis, University of Hawaii-Manoa.

Villanueva, V. (1993). *Bootstaps: From an American academic of color.* Urbana, IL: NCTE.

Wardhaugh, R. (1998). *An introduction to sociolinguistics*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers Inc.

Wenger, E. (1998). *Communities of practice: Learning, meaning, and identity.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wenger, E. (2006). *Communities of practice a brief introduction*. Retrieved September 24, 2009 from http://www.ewenger.com/theory/ .

Whorf, B.L. (1956). The relation of habitual thought and behavior to language. In J. Carrol (Ed.), *Language, thought, and reality* (pp. 134-159). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Williams, D.J. (1996).*'Olelo huna: A rhetorical critique of literacy policies in Hawaii.* Unpublished Dissertation, University of Hawaii-Manoa.

Wogan, P. (2004). *Magical writing in Highland Ecuador*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Zentella, A.C. (1987). Language and the female identity in the Puerto Rican community. In J. Penfield (Ed.), *Women and language in transition* (pp. 167-179). Albany, NY: SUNY Press.

APPENDIX A

Informed Consent Form

Working Title: **The literate lives of Chamorro women in modern Guam**

You are invited to participate in this research study. The following information is provided in order to help you make an informed decision whether or not to participate. If you have any questions please do not hesitate to ask.

The purpose of this study is to research language and literacy practices and attitudes among three generations of Chamorro women. Participation in this study will involve: one individual interview, one interview with your family, and possibly one interview with other participants in your age group. Each interview will be no longer than 90 minutes. I will be asking for copies of documents of your choosing that are representative of your literacy practices. There are no known risks or discomforts associated with this research.

You may find participation in the study enjoyable, and you will be provided a documented narrative of your life as well as your relationships with the other women in your family.

Your participation in this study is **voluntary**. You are free to decide not to participate in this study or to withdraw at any time without adversely affecting your relationship with me or the institutions I am associated with. If you choose to withdraw from the study, please contact the Project Director, Dr. Nancy Hayward, or me. Upon your withdrawal notification, all information pertaining to you will be destroyed. If you choose to participate, all information will be held in strict confidence.

If you are willing to participate in this study, please sign the statement below.

Researcher: Sharleen Santos-Bamba, Ph.D. candidate, Indiana University of Pennsylvania
English Department, Leonard Hall
P.O. Box 2740
Hagatna, Guam 96932
(671) 472-1535
sjsantosbamba@hotmail.com

Project Director: Dr. Nancy Hayward
201J Leonard Hall
Indiana University of Pennsylvania
Indiana, PA 15701
(724) 357-2473

This project has been approved by the Indiana University of Pennsylvania Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects (phone: 724-357-7730)

Informed Consent Form

VOLUNTARY CONSENT FORM:

I have read and understand the information on the form and I consent to volunteer to be a subject in this study. I understand that my responses are completely confidential and that I have the right to withdraw at any time. I have received an unsigned copy of this informed consent form to keep in my possession.

NAME (please print): _____

Signature: _____

Date: _____ Phone where you can be reached: _____

Best days and times to reach you: _____

I certify that I have explained to the above individual the nature and purpose, the potential benefits, and possible risks associated with participating in this research study, have answered any questions that have been raised, and have witnessed the above signature.

Date: _____ **Investigator's Signature**:_____

APPENDIX B

Interview Questions

1. How do you describe the roles you "play" in your life?
2. Have education and literacy influenced the decisions you have made within the various roles you "play" (e.g. woman, mother, professional, student)?
3. What is your idea of a traditional Chamorro woman? Modern Chamorro woman?
4. How do you think/feel that modernity or westernization has influenced your traditional beliefs? Why or why not?
5. What are your feelings about Americanization in relation to your cultural and personal beliefs and practices?
6. How has your life or that of your family benefited from American education? What, if any, have been the disadvantages?
7. How has becoming literate in English affected your life?
8. What are your thoughts or opinions on the movement to become literate in the Chamorro language?
9. With regard to the Chamorro and English languages, describe your education from kindergarten through high school. Did Chamorro and/or English influence your educational experience?