Rhetorical Dance of Belonging: Chamaole Narratives of Race, Indigeneity, and Identity from Guam

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Abstract: This article is based on an investigation of identity formations of a mixed-race mestisa/mestisu group from Guam, locally known as Chamaole, who are descendants of both native Chamorros and White Americans (*haole*). Using a hybrid research methodology, the author analyzes Chamaole encounters with ambiguity in interviews with three Chamaole authors and poets: Jessica Perez-Jackson ("Half Caste"), Lehua M. Taitano (excerpts from *A Bell Made of Stones*), and Corey Santos ("Chamaoli"). An analysis of their works and their interviews reveals patterns of cultural, genealogical, racial, linguistic, and political conflicts between Chamorros and White Americans since the US occupation of Guam. The article articulates how Chamaoles overcome race-based prejudices, celebrate Chamorro resistance, and reckon with White supremacy, showing that tensions resulting from US colonialism in Guam are magnified in Chamaole experiences. Applying a Pacific studies model of abundance, it illustrates that Chamaoles embody a repository of genealogical *kåna* in which each ancestral line adds power to their lived experiences and offers legitimacy to their Chamorro belonging. Chamaoles are Indigenous Chamorro people; if they claim their genealogy and their families/communities claim them, they belong to the Chamorro community. This Pacific studies model of abundance directly challenges racist, White supremacist, anti-Indigenous deficit models of blood quantum and fractional composition.

Keywords: Chamaole, autoethnography, mixed race, Chamorro, Chamoru, Guam, identity

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Chamaole/Chamorro Identity(ies) from Guam: Questions of Belonging

I was ten years old, finishing elementary school in the heart of Sinajana, Guam, when my identity as a Chamorro girl first came into question.[1] I was a fifth grader, new transfer student, a bit socially awkward, and ill-prepared to have my Chamorro identity challenged in the hallways of Carlos L. Taitano Elementary School, home of the Deerlings. At 4 feet, 9 inches tall, 140 pounds, I was overweight and therefore taking up more hallway space than most of the other kids. I'm light-skinned for someone from Guam (my cousin says I'm "tan," not fair or pale, but not brown), with a freckled nose, hazel green-and-brown eyes, and light brown hair with sun-bleached, golden streaks. During this regular morning recess, I was carrying my overstuffed book bag through the hall and suddenly two palms pushed hard against my body, shoving me sideways across the hall with full force. A boy's loud voice boomed in my ear: "Get off my island, you *fucking haole*!" Gathering myself, I saw that it was Joseph, a boy in my grade, giving me the *atan båba*, our most hateful stare in Guam: a glare that means you are ready to throw fists in a split-second's notice. Like most of the island boys I knew, Joseph was

[1] The current Guam orthography uses the capital "CH" to spell "CHamoru." Here I use "Chamorro," which I grew up with and was taught to use as the English spelling. In my own educational history, I use "Chamoru" when spelling the word *gi fino' Chamoru*, or in the Chamorro language. Currently, the Northern Mariana Islands use "Chamoru" or "Chamorro." See Commission on CHamoru Language, *UtugrafihanCHamoru*.

lanky, had short black hair and deep dark brown (almost black) eyes, and could give the kind of atan båba that felt like a punch in the gut. He probably felt the need to show how tough he thought he was. Ironically, I thought his skin was a bit pasty for someone who hated *haoles* (White Americans). I guess he still looked more Chamorro than me because his eyes were dark and his hair was black.

My encounter with Joseph was not the first time I heard the phrase "Get off my island, you fucking haole!" My mom, dad, and papa (grandfather) said the phrase often. However, it was the first time I heard someone use the phrase toward *me.* My encounter with Joseph was the first of many such incidents that have led to the writing of this project.

This encounter and the countless that followed are snapshots of my lived experience as an Indigenous Chamorro woman whose White American genealogy and genetic lottery has given me a racial fluidity between the Chamorro and haole binary. On Guam, common reactions from local strangers I encounter range from ones similar to Joseph's to some as curious and assuming as older Chamorro men in McDonald's asking me, "Ma'am, are you in the military? You look like it."

My research inquiry into race, Indigeneity, and identity in Chamaole lives has given me answers to questions from my developing years. From the fifth grade and into my college years, I'd ask: What am I? Why do I feel like an outsider when my family is Chamorro? Am I a colonizer? Am I White? Where do I belong? Through my research, I now understand these as questions of belonging. To answer them, I have traced the historical, political, and familial conditions that have shaped my lived experience.

Growing up in a strong Chamorro household, being a dutiful daughter in an extended Chamorro family, listening to my grandmother's stories of Chamorro childhood, soaking up the phrases and words they used with me in the Chamorro language, I did not realize I was White until I was about nineteen years old. Or rather, as I have grown to learn and articulate, I did not realize that many, if not most, local strangers in Guam perceive me to be White American at first glance. There were many moments, before then, when peers in Guam called me "White girl," but I could not identify with the term. At the age of nineteen my response developed to say, "Yes, I am White, and I am also Chamorro." Yet it wasn't until age twenty-four that my racial self-awareness turned into an intellectual and analytical muscle. My middle school, high school, and even college years are still filled with reminders that my familial and self-identity as a Chamorro woman remains visually vague, even unrecognizable, to many people from Guam. Between the ages of twenty-five and twenty-seven, while pursuing my PhD in English at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, I continued to use this analytical muscle, to discover that my racial identity in Hawai'i is different compared to Guam. In Hawai'i, I am most often racialized as Brown; Chamorro takes the front seat when I tell people I'm from Guam; and if not mentioned, I inhabit a generally *recognized* mixed-race identity.

As I grew older, encounters with my identity ambiguity in Guam became less aggressive but remained present. Abrasive phrases from middle school included "Fuck you, White shit!" and gradually lightened in high school and college to ones like "OMG I thought you were a military kid," "Where in the States did you come from?," or even "Wow, I didn't know you are Chamorro!" These encounters in adulthood, although less startling, echoed the stamp of otherness that I experienced in my first encounter with Joseph.

While I chose to use "Chamaole" as the identifying term for my inquiry's participants—poets Lehua M. Taitano, Jessica Perez-Jackson, and Corey Santos—I note with great importance that they identify as Chamorro. Much like myself, they used Chamaole as a marker of both Chamorro and haole descendancy only in the context of race-making and when needed in an ambiguous situation in Guam. They, identifying primarily as Chamorro, articulate that Chamaole has been used by Chamorros to identify them in certain situations. Chamaole is used by people from Guam as either a descriptive, pejorative, or empowering marker, depending on context.

To be Chamaole is to be socially and self-identified, at simultaneous or separate instances, as a descendant of both Chamorro and haole parents. Chamaoles are often dominantly perceived by Chamorros as haole and are often perceived by White Americans as Brown, mixed, Hispanic, or exotic. Because Chamaoles on Guam are often racialized as haole, they usually face assumptions that they must be "in the military," "from the States," or "probably … from a higher socioeconomic status." While my operating definitions are susceptible to change due to the evolving and shifting nature of race-making and cultural literacy, my attempt to provide clear understanding aims to document how American Whiteness is perceived on Guam and how Chamaoles are racialized in both Guam and US settings.

Defining "Chamorro": Chamorro People in the Twenty-First Century

To better understand the context of Chamaole identity, race, and Indigeneity, I offer a review of relevant terminology in the complex discussion of Chamorro identity. Since Chamaole is the blending of the genealogy between Chamorros and haoles, I begin with a comprehensive yet concise overview of Chamorro identity, race, and Indigeneity, the key identity involved in my study. Discussion of Chamorro identity is incomplete without an outline of Chamorro resistance to genocide, cultural imperialism, and White supremacy, which have attempted to and still strive to erase us.

When I was twenty-three years old, my Chamorro partner's dad, an older Chamorro man, said to his son in the kitchen, "Boy, there's no more real Chamorros. We all mixed with the Spanish. Even look at our language. The Chamorro language is dead. It's all Spanish now. There's not even such a thing as full or pure Chamorro. They all died out when the Spanish invaded."[2] As members of the native Chamorro community, Chamaoles must grapple with the same identity questions that all Chamorros face. Chamorros, including those of various mixed-race descendancy, must often negotiate and quantify their Chamorro existence in conversations on Indigeneity. Chamorro scholar Mary Cruz explains how "identity is socially constructed, carried in language, expressed in mundane routine, liable to revision and routinely contested."[3] Chamorro identity, like many Indigenous and Native Nations identities, is situated within an entanglement of histories, genealogies, and cultural practices. Today, many Chamorros battle against the arguments that Spanish colonization killed all of the Chamorros or

[2] Partner's father, conversation with author, May 2015, Maite, Guam.
[3] Cruz, "(Re)Searching Identity," 29.

that the Chamorro bloodline is so diluted with the blood of colonizers that there are no *real* Chamorros left.

In her dissertation, anthropologist Laurel Anne Monnig investigates what she calls "proving narratives" and argues that colonization has created an identity atmosphere that frequently challenges the authenticity of Chamorro identity and subsequently the existence of Chamorro people.[4] A review of Chamorro studies literature demonstrates that Chamorros have collectively and individually developed "proving" processes: proving the genetic and cultural existence of Chamorro people as an Indigenous group and proving the inalienable native rights of the Chamorro people in their homelands.

Addressing these proving processes simultaneously, Monnig writes: "The concept of 'who is Chamorro' is infused with a complex racial tapestry; one woven through three periods of colonization and corresponding racialization (Spain 1565–1898, Japan 1941–1944, United States 1898–present)."[5] Monnig's work discusses how authenticity can be weaponized by a colonizing power to disenfranchise native people. More than any other research, Monnig's work has helped me problematize issues of Chamorro "blood quantum" authenticity in a colonial context. Her work helped me craft the questions I used in my interviews regarding sense of belonging to Chamorro community and investigative narratives that resist Chamorro erasure. Further, those completed interviews then offer a way to revisit and expand Monnig's theories.

Layered with the popular argument that Chamorros either all died or have been diluted into a state of inauthenticity from Spanish intermixing is another assumption: that Chamorros from Guam are too Americanized and that Chamorro cultural identity has been saturated by American popular culture and national identity. While many Chamorros subscribe to this ideology, other Chamorros have undergone and fought against these narratives with Monnig's "proving" process. Not only do Chamorros need to prove their biological and historical Indigeneity, but now many must also prove their cultural Indigeneity in the age of Americanization. Monnig and many other Chamorro scholars, such as Michael Lujan Bevacqua, Craig Santos Perez, and Anne Perez Hattori, discuss how American assimilation on Guam has often brought Chamorro authenticity into question.

Some explanations for these modern-day conflicts regarding Chamorro identity can be observed through Derrick Bell's theory of material determinism/interest convergence. Material determinism argues that racism advances the "interests of both white elites (materially) and working-class whites (psychically)" and that "large segments of society have little incentive to eradicate it."[6] Material determinism theory invites us to look at reasons for Guam's marginalization in US and global discourse and for the minimal incentive for the US to elevate the rights of Guam's people, especially the native Chamorros. Fully recognizing Chamorro people emphasizes their rights to decolonization, giving Chamorros power over land use, immigration, language policies, economic policies, and assertion of Chamorro identity. Chamorro empowerment and sovereignty undermines how the US government benefits from and takes advantage of Guam's status as an unincorporated territory.

[4] Monnig, "Proving Chamorro," ii.
[5] Ibid.
[6] Delgado and Stefancic, *Critical Race Theory*, 8.

Applying Bell's interest convergence theory implies that if Chamorros do not exist, the island of Guam, including all of its natural resources, becomes readily available to militarization, foreign investors, and settlers. Aggressively negotiating Chamorro identity occurs as a reflex to the intentional US project of Indigenous erasure. Looking at Guam's native/outsider binary, racialized tension between Chamorro and White Americans on Guam are one of the effects of American colonization. I explore Chamorro identity in my project as the central identity of my project's Chamaole participants, and I illustrate how Chamaoles with some White American, or haole, physical features are facing unique and magnified Chamorro versus White American confrontations.

Creating the "Semi-American" Chamorro: Effects of American Assimilation on Chamorro Identity

Chamorros on Guam are born as US citizens, and many identify as American and feel patriotic to the United States, while others remain critical of Guam's relationship to the US as an unincorporated territory. Historian Anne Perez Hattori describes the assimilationist policies and outcomes of the US naval administration of Guam, outlining the gendered, economic, educational, and linguistic shifts in Chamorro lives.[7] Pulling information from such documents as the *US Navy Report on Guam, 1899–1950*, Hattori lists various executive and general orders from several US naval governors of Guam to demonstrate how "benevolent American assimilation" was and remains a vehicle for race-based prejudice and disenfranchisement. Loss of land, loss of language, loss of population majority, loss of ancestral sites, and a hyper-militarized environment are some results of the shift to US power.[8]

During this shift in administration, most military personnel were White American men, and a new education system was implemented, taught by predominantly White American women. The content of the new education system, along with the introduction of mainstream American media (newspapers, television, radio), contained mostly White American narratives and representation, and for several decades the US administration enacted an English-only policy.[9] These experiences shaped Chamorro consciousness in the American era (1898 to present), a process of associating White bodies with power.

In the broader Chamorro consciousness, these White American bodies represented structural, economic, and linguistic losses. Somewhere along the linguistic mapping, Chamorros from Guam borrowed the word "haole," used commonly in Hawai'i to refer specifically to White American identity, appearance, and behavior. This is where haole identity on Guam began and remains commonly associated today. While American Whiteness represented power in federal government and formal educational structures, many Chamorros fought back (both figuratively and literally) in Guam's social spheres (the school playground, the village, night life) and through activist endeavors

[7] Hattori, "Navy Blues," 13–14.
[8] Ibid., 17–19.
[9] Clement, "English and Chamorro Language Policies"; Murphy, "Guam's US Naval Era Historical Overview"; Hattori, "Navy Blues," 20.

(establishing a local government, implementing mandatory Chamorro language and Guam history courses, and representing Chamorro identity through art and media). As a result, Chamorro identity and White American identities collide in Guam's everyday social world. For individuals like myself, who have parents or grandparents from both Chamorro and White American communities, the collision between these two identities can feel especially magnified and oppressive on racial, political, linguistic, and gendered levels.

Guam's Haole Archetypes

On Guam, "haole" refers to White American bodies. "Haole," the second part of the blended word "Chamaole," represents the White-coded identity that Chamaoles inhabit. Monnig describes how "haole" is used on Guam: "As with any racial and ethnic category, being 'white' and 'American' is culturally and contextually defined—and being 'white' and 'American' on Guam is about being *haole*.... The term *haole* is borrowed from Hawaiian, and although there is some dispute about the actual etymology of the word, it means 'foreigner.'... [However] on Guam, the term is exclusively tied to white Americans.[10] She argues that haole identity on Guam is limited to White Americans. Since my closest non-Chamorro ancestors are White Americans, and since I am visually read as White American in many Guam settings, I was often curious about other visibly White bodies, such as visiting Russian tourists, and whether they were considered haole. Monnig's argument establishes that despite the Anglo features inherited from shared European ancestors, White Americans are socially separated from other White European ethnic groups, such as German, Irish, Italian, or Russian groups, and as a result these non-American, Anglo-featured ethnicities are generally not attached to the haole identity in Guam. In Guam's communities, haole and White American are synonymous. As a descendant of individuals who either self-identify or have been socially identified as White American, it took me twenty-three years of my life, up until the beginning of this study, to clearly understand haole as referring exclusively to Americans.

To expand more on Monnig's claim that haole is "culturally and contextually defined," Judy Rohrer argues that beyond a visual marker, the label "haole" is "also a marker of a certain set of attitudes and behaviors that are distinctly not local, reminding us that racial constructions always include more than skin color."[11] She points out that haole is not just appearance but also a set of cultural behaviors that at times clash with local islander culture. Using both Monnig's and Rohrer's arguments, I have looked into the behaviors commonly performed by and associated with White Americans that grate against Guam's local culture. Both Monnig and Rohrer indicate that being White or haole on an island is being assigned an "outsider" status. This outsider status refers not only to skin color but also to language, values, and practices that are deemed nonlocal.

Additionally, Monnig claims that to be haole on Guam comes with certain socioeconomic powers: "despite their relatively small numbers, *haoles* tend to have a disproportionate amount of hegemonic control over the local power structures. They are the most literal agents of colonial power

[10] Monnig, "Proving Chamorro," 377.
[11] Rohrer, "'Eh, Haole,'" 59.

on Guam, whether knowingly or unknowingly."[12] Therefore, socially and culturally, the outsider positionality of haole identity usually comes with a package of privileges associated with being from the United States. According to the US Human Resources and Services Administration's overview of Guam in 2020, about 37.2 percent of Guam's population are Chamorro, followed by Filipinos at 26.3 percent. With more than half of Guam's population being Chamorros and Filipinos, Whiteness is a numerical minority. Other Pacific Islanders comprise 11.5 percent, and Whites make up 6.8 percent.[13] These demographics suggest that local encounters with White bodies can be jarring and different in a dominantly Chamorro and Pacific Islander community. These numbers demonstrate Monnig's claim of haoles comprising a small percentage of the population yet holding disproportionate power.

Monnig further describes the perception that haoles believe in their superiority over locals, reject or dismiss US colonization of Guam, flaunt and argue for blind patriotism to America, and demand gratitude from locals for the gift of American influence and assistance.[14] She asserts that White American bodies on Guam are assigned a simultaneous "outsider" and "economically elevated" status. From my observations and experiences within Guam's context, calling somebody "White" or "haole" can be intended as descriptive, light-hearted, or pejorative, depending on the speaker's use and intention. Of the possible Guam haole archetypes of the colonizer, the military member, the bourgeois, the Californian, and the hippy, I have observed "White" and "haole" used as physical and geographical descriptors; however, I have also observed "you *fucking* haole" as a pejorative dominantly asserted toward the colonizer, the military member, and the bourgeois who display misinformed, privileged, and culturally insensitive attitudes toward locals. I have, in my own experience, been called this pejorative despite only *looking* the part in certain contexts in Guam but not *performing* the list of mentioned negative actions. While obviously not all White Americans on Guam strictly belong to these listed identities and not all perform these negatively associated behaviors, it would be interesting for future scholarship to comprehensively investigate these attitudes, associations, and perceptions, along with the inciting environments for Chamorro versus haole identity conflict. Further studies are needed to quantify and triangulate the history, perception, and empirical evidence of White supremacy on the micro and meso levels of the community of Guam and display correlations between Whiteness and the acquisition of wealth, power, and resources. I leave this valuable inquiry for economic data surrounding White privilege in Guam, the compilation and checking for corroboration with local narratives of White supremacy, for future research.

Finding Chamaole Narratives in Published Text: No Longer Alone

As a teenager, I often forgot that I was not alone in facing the challenges of a Chamaole identity. My parents, maternal grandparents, eight of my immediate aunts and uncles, and a handful of classmates shared their stories about being *mestisu*, or mixed race, from Guam. Despite these rich and informative narratives, something special happened the first time I read a *mestisa* account

[12] Monnig, "Proving Chamorro," 377.
[13] US Department of Health and Human Services, "Overview of the State."
[14] Monning, "Proving Chamorro," 382.

published in a book. I was nineteen years old when I read author and painter Jessica Perez-Jackson's poem "Half Caste." In the following year, I read another published text that relayed a story I recognized. This time, however, it was a mestiza Chicana narrative by author and theorist Gloria Anzaldúa assigned by my American literature professor, Evelyn Flores, in 2015. With formations of borderlands and mestiza consciousness theory, Anzaldúa's organic and theoretical essay "La Conciencia de la Mestiza" opened my mind to the idea of embracing both identities that I floated between.[15] Despite our different ethnic backgrounds, Anzaldúa's personal narrative and poetry resonated with me through our shared mixed-race, White and Indigenous, experience. Anzaldúa's idea of straddling opposing identities opened for me a path of inquiry, fueling my search for more scholarship on mixed-race experiences. Though I have stumbled upon scholars beyond Anzaldúa, I continue dominantly to use mestiza consciousness theory in my Chamaole identity politics research. The same year I encountered Anzaldúa, I found Lehua M. Taitano's *A Bell Made of Stones*, a collection of poetry on Chamaole, queer, and diaspora identity. Most recently, I read the poem "Chamaoli" by Corey Santos, published in *Local Voices: An Anthology*, which also shared his struggles with navigating identity ambiguity and the differences between Chamorro and White American cultures.

Reading the works by Anzaldúa, Monnig, and these Chamaole poets showed me that I was not alone in my identity ambiguity journey. I discovered a community to lean on, whose company alleviated my own painful echoes of ambiguity encounters. Having discovered written and published Chamaole stories, along with the works of mixed-race scholars, I asked myself: What can I do to bring these stories together? What is the value of placing these voices side by side? Using a mestisa rhetoric lens, in this project I examine the poems and oral narratives of Perez-Jackson, Santos, and Taitano to deconstruct Chamaole identity ambiguity. My project is the first of its kind to compile and analyze Chamaole narratives, providing a nuanced examination of Chamaole experiences from Guam. While I wish I had found this literary community and understanding of Chamaole identity earlier in my life, I hope my project can help other mixed-race Chamorros discover these communities and ideas earlier rather than later.

Critical Lenses for Mestisa Analysis: Combining Critical Race Theory, Critical Mixed Race Studies, Traditional Literary Analysis, and Autoethnography

I chose multiple theories within critical race theory (CRT) and critical mixed race studies (CMRS) to shape my thinking and interpret the three primary texts written by my participants: Perez-Jackson's "Half Caste," Santos's "Chamaoli," and excerpts from Taitano's *A Bell Made of Stones.* In US critical race studies, scholars have predominantly focused the lens of the CRT microscope on the sociopolitical climate and conflicts that create and inform racial identity categories in the contiguous states, especially between White and Black race-based identity categories. While emerging studies on Hispanic and Asian race categorical construction in the US have emerged and established their narratives within race and ethnicity scholarship, racialized experiences of Indigenous minority groups

[15] Anzaldúa, *Borderlands/La Frontera*, esp. "La Conciencia de la Mestiza," 77–101.

remain omitted from, are on the periphery of, or are just beginning to enter canonical and anthologized bodies of literature and scholarship.[16] While Chamorro studies has erupted in the ethnic studies field within the past twenty-to-forty years, there has yet to be a comprehensive study on the construction of race in Guam's context, especially with a focus on multiraciality, mixed-race narratives, and critical White studies.

The theoretical synthesis of ethnic studies, racial formation, and Indigenous cultural epistemologies on identity in my research is aligned with and builds on tenets of CMRS. G. Reginald Daniel, Laura Kina, Wei Ming Dariotis, and Camilla Fojas describe CMRS as an intellectual framework and trace its genealogical ties to CRT and critical legal studies. They write: "the word 'critical' is taken from the fields of critical race theory and critical legal studies.... Critical race theory borrows from critical legal studies as well as conventional civil rights scholarship but interrogates both fields."[17] Similar to how CRT interrogates both civil rights scholarship and critical legal studies, CMRS interrogates ethnic studies and CRT simultaneously. In line with this intellectual genealogical practice, I apply this equation of ethnic studies and CRT to make sense of Chamaole experiences using tools available from both CRT and Chamorro ethnic studies. Daniel, King, Dariotis, and Fojas suggest that "despite the perceived tension between black studies and critical mixed race studies, the former has in many ways been an ally rather than a foe. If one considers including the aforementioned and similar subsequent literary works, as well as analyses of these texts, it is apparent that black studies has played an important role in uplifting this new field."[18] Just as ethnic studies "played an important role in uplifting" the field of CMRS, so too does Chamorro studies collaborate with and uplift my analysis of race, identity, and Indigeneity in Chamaole experiences. What makes CMRS particularly helpful as a field is that CMRS "places mixed race at the critical center of focus."[19] And so, moving into the methodological framework of my study, I build on and integrate these multiple fields of Chamorro studies, literary studies, CRT, autoethnography, CMRS, and Anzaldúa's borderlands theory or mestiza consciousness. In my closing analysis, I build on these foundations further and both analyze and situate my findings and recommendations within Indigenous Pacific Islander philosophies and politics of inclusion.

I began my wider study by analyzing published poems on Chamaole identity in Guam: "Half-Caste" by Perez-Jackson, "Chamaoli" by Santos, and excerpts of "Maps, "Sisters," and "Hyphenation" by Taitano. I conducted this first layer of analysis in the literary tradition: close reading, theoretical analysis, and personal reflections.[20] As a Chamaole reader and poet, I made connections between myself and the poems and across the poets' stories, corroborating Chamaole experiences through a literary ethnography. More than any other scholarly work, I found Anzaldúa's essay "La Conciencia de la Mestiza" and her broader theory of mestiza consciousness, or borderlands theory, most helpful in understanding the conflicts and complexities of Chamaole experiences.

[16] See Mora, *Making Hispanics*; Wu and Chen, *Asian American Studies Now*.
[17] Daniel et al., "Emerging Paradigms," 7.
[18] Ibid.
[19] Ibid., 8.
[20] Lowe, "Pakaka i Pachot-mu! Chamoru Yu'!"

Weaving together a tapestry of Chamaole narratives, I further interpreted these poems through Andrea Lunsford's "mestiza rhetoric" and applied Anzaldúa's borderlands theory to the composition process. This second layer of analysis allowed me to focus on the role of rhetoric, writing, and language in the formations of Chamaole identities.

After my literary and rhetorical analyses of the poems, I excavated "culture," "race," "nationality," and "language" formations as shared categories of ambiguity experienced by all three Chamaole poets. I analyzed "race," the most slippery variable of Chamaole ambiguity encounters, using CRT, especially Michael Omi and Howard Winant's theory of race formation.[21]

Informed by a mixed-methods approach, after excavating themes using a mestiza rhetoric analysis of their poems, I conducted autoethnographically informed interviews with Perez-Jackson, Santos, and Taitano. Individual interviews with Perez-Jackson and Santos took place in Hagåtña, Guam, on February 28 and March 30, 2019. A telephone interview with Taitano took place while I was in Guam and she was residing in Santa Rosa, California, on March 3, 2019. Information from these interviews is provided in the tables below. Informed by Linda Tuhiwai Smith, the researcher-participant relations process of my interview methods was guided by pro-Indigenous methodology.[22] As Chamorros, these poets and I come from a culture rich with oral narratives, an Indigenous literary tradition older than published text. While designing this project, I considered the content of the poems I selected and, based on my experiences and observations, assumed there would be more to these stories than the poetic tradition, even one as flexible as free verse could cover. While I initially desired to collect narratives from participants throughout Guam's community, considering age, gender, and socioeconomic status, even considering Chamaole narratives from the Northern Marianas, I decided to leave such an expanded qualitative inquiry for future scholarship.

Prior to the interviews, the three poets were sent a list of possible questions; however, I designed a semi-structured interview that invited an open format for most of the interview, foregrounding an environment that allowed interviewees the freedom to talk story and share knowledge in a more conversational format. The qualitative design in this research is modeled after Carolyn Ellis, Tony E. Adams, and Arthur P. Bochner, and Stephen Murphy-Shigematsu.[23] The questions I formulated for my interviews sought to gain insight into the context of the conflicts mentioned in participants' poems and capture experiences omitted from their poems. My positionality as a Chamaole from Guam allowed autoethnographic insights, in which I was able to align many of my experiences with those of my participants, and reciprocate stories.

Narratives of Being Chamaole

Identity Ambiguity Encounters

The three interviewees shared with me their first encounters with identity ambiguity and racial othering by Chamorros. The responses listed in table 1 were facilitated by the question "What

[21] Omi and Winant, *Racial Formation in the United States*.

[22] Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*.

[23] Ellis, Adams, and Bochner, "Autoethnography"; Murphy-Shigematsu, *When Half Is Whole*.

challenges have you experienced with being mestisa/mestisu Chamaole?" Each participant encountered an experience of being "othered" on the basis of race from their Chamorro communities.

Perez-Jackson	**Santos**	**Taitano**
That was seriously my nickname for high school basketball when I was at Oceanview. 75 cents. Because my coach was like, "Ay, haole! Haole! Haole!"	In fifth grade ... I first realized, wow. I'm different. I look different ... this guy ... one day during class, he called me a "White boy."	The way my family used haole was a way of saying "other than us."... He was my favorite uncle. But he said it like, oh, that's how he sees us.... My mom would use the word "half-caste." I'm not gonna call myself half-caste.

Table 1: "Othered" by Chamorros

Perez-Jackson explained that her mother's father was Irish American, which prompted her to reply to those who called her haole with the response, "I'm only a quarter!" She relayed that her basketball team's nickname for her was "75 cents" or only three-fourths Chamorro. While many Chamaole stories conventionally share perceptions of being fifty-fifty, Perez-Jackson's story illuminates that Chamaole identity can be assigned to individuals of varying ancestral lines. Neil Gotanda calls this phenomenon where people quantify their ethnicity in halves, thirds, fourths, eighths, and so forth "fractional composition."[24] Gotanda challenges the notion of being a fraction of an identity, what could be described as the opposite of the "one-drop rule" of blood quantum politics. The concept of fractional composition as a social construct to be challenged is one that this project considers throughout and especially illuminates in the next section.

Santos noted that his father is Chamorro and his mother is haole. His parents supported his use of the Chamorro language and sent him to Chief Hurao Academy immersion school for summer camp. Santos emphasized that his fifth to eight grade years were the peak of his encounters with race-based conflict. Shortly after enrollment in the academy the summer after fourth grade, a classmate gave an unsolicited remark, calling Santos a "White boy" in a confrontational way.

Taitano explained that her mother, who is Chamorro, married a Dutch Irish American man, who was stationed on Guam as a US airman. Taitano was first called Chamaole by an uncle on her mother's side, while at a family party in the United States when she was twenty years old. Contrary to some accounts that perceive the use of "Chamaole" as an endearment or joke, Taitano noted that her uncle emphasized "haole" as a way to "other" Taitano from her Chamorro cousins.

[24] Gotanda, "Critique of 'Our Constitution Is Colorblind,'" 258.

Perez-Jackson	Santos	Taitano
I know it was a term of endearment. They loved me and we got along. But one day I was just annoyed and said, "I'm not even full haole! I'm only a quarter!" And they were like, "nah you're 75 cents."... And so that stuck and that was my nickname. "75 cents! Get the rebound!" It's like come on man.	And that was the first time I heard "White boy" used in a derogatory kind of way. I had always heard it descriptively. And when he did, something in me just snapped. I was really angry. I jumped up.... I almost tore his ear off. Looking back, it wasn't until that moment that I realized I was seen differently, and that, really, was the hidden knife in that comment he made.	I felt really insulted by it.... It hurt because he was my favorite uncle. My uncles ... to me, they represented my Chamorro family.... It was the first time I felt I wasn't Chamorro.... I think deep down it's something that hurts.... It is a word of othering, and then when it's used on you, you're like, "that's not me." And that's serious. That did something to me.

Table 2: Incongruence and Pain Threshold

My participants were solemn as they described feelings of being told by members of their communities that they do not belong. It is especially clear in Santos's and Taitano's accounts that being called "haole" or "White" felt offensive and insulting. In these stages of their personal development, each participant described it as a painful experience, as they were made to feel they were not Chamorro or not Chamorro enough.

In her work, Anzaldúa describes pain threshold and explains that for a variety of multiracial individuals, mislabeling has different effects on the psyche for each individual. Each participant expressed their reactions to being assigned "othering" labels, such as "75 cents," "White boy," "haole," and "Chamaole." The deep connections to their Chamorro identities through their family ties played a role in the amount of pain they felt in being labeled "haole." Seeing this shared experience across all three narratives is significant. I also endured this experience in my own moments of being "othered" as White by Chamorros.

Each participant, however, qualified their experiences in different ways. Perez-Jackson expressed that she did not feel that her coach and teammates necessarily intended to make her feel alienated. Likewise, Taitano considered how her uncle may have intended to use the term descriptively, not with the intent to make her feel like an outsider. Santos, in contrast, explicitly described the heated physical exchange with his classmate as race-based. These accounts bring attention to the role of Whiteness on Guam and spark curiosity about the suspicion Chamorros have about the White bodies in the room. As Omi and Winant describe race formation as a process of othering, I investigate what makes being coded as "haole" a deeply disturbing and othering experience for Chamaoles from Guam.

Representations of Whiteness, Incompatible Identities, and Racially Comfortable Labels

When asked about haole identities in Guam and what they represent, participants shared the descriptions outlined in table 3. These data sets reveal narratives about White American presence in Guam and, to some extent, the perceptions of White American assimilation and culture. Each participant described haole identities in a variety of ways.

Perez-Jackson	**Santos**	**Taitano**
I will admit that sometimes I benefit from the haole side.... My son's and daughter's babysitter ... old school Chamorro lady ... I tell people ... I may be Chamaole or whatever, but here on Guam I have benefited from that White privilege.... if I walk into the same establishment as my babysitter, and I ask the same question ... they will treat me differently than how they treat her.... We may get teased, sometimes in a loving way, sometimes people judge you, but, ultimately, because you have that bit of White in you, you will always be treated, either with a little bit more fear or respect or something different than, you know like my babysitter.... I've witnessed this.	A moment I'm remembering from Hurao Academy: a teacher we had, he was an activist, a really angry guy ... he was telling us about Fena Lake and saying, "Yeah you know those military there? I know how to shoot an M-16. If I knew I was going to die, I would go there and shoot all those fucking haoles for stealing my lake." And this is where I learned that "I don't want to be associated with that." And my peers around me, there were a couple of other boys, and we were all White. You know. And when we all went home we were telling our parents, "yeah the teacher, he cussed in class."	The way my family used haole was a way of saying "other than us."... My experience with that word is that you don't want to be associated with it. My cousins are much darker than me. They look like the "quintessential" Chamorro, whatever that means.

Table 3: Representations of Haole Identity

For Taitano, "haole is a way of saying 'other.'" Haole is meant to describe someone who is different from Chamorros because of their Whiteness (whether that be appearance, ancestry, nationality, or a combination within the White American context). For Santos, haole is explicitly tied to White American military identity. Significantly, Santos and I had a conversation about the distinctions in vernacular between being "haole" in a descriptive way and being a "fucking haole" in a manner of behavior and attitude. Tone and qualifiers often make the distinction between calling someone haole as a descriptive terminology versus an inciting act of aggression or defensiveness. Perhaps loosely related, Perez-Jackson described her haole identity as one that grants her access to

privilege. This perception inferred haole as more educated, serious, and a symbol of authoritative power.

Simultaneous Identities of Mixed Race, Mestisa Amerikanu/Chamaoles

Perez-Jackson	**Santos**	**Taitano**
I call myself Chamorro, and I know that's my dominant culture.... I definitely identify more with being Chamorro, but at the same time ... I understand the haole side and that perspective to an extent, just because ultimately I will always say I'm Chamorro.	I'm Chamaole by blood, but culture is what makes you, you. It's your values and your beliefs. It makes up who you are. In that regard, I'm Chamorro. I'm 100 percent. It took a lot to get there.	I am Chamorro. A Chamorro from mixed ancestry, yes. But always Chamorro.... Even if I've had the revelation that other Chamorros might not see me as being Chamorro, that's OK.... That's not on me. The argument of blood quantum serves to divide us. Culturally, I am Chamorro. A person raised with Chamorro cultural values and beliefs. No one can invalidate that.

Table 4: Self-Identification

The most conclusive pattern I observed across the three narratives was their shared primary cultural "self-identification" as Chamorro. Along with Chamorro as their dominant identity, all three participants claimed haole or White as their secondary racial identity. Most clearly expressed by Taitano, this haole or White racial identity formed later in their adolescent and adult years as a result of numerous encounters of being "othered" as White from their Chamorro peers.

Similarly, all three participants described going through a Chamorro cultural training in their families that instilled the word "haole" to mean "those who are different from us." All three accounts of the definition of "haole" in their interviews and their poems share alignment with Monnig's definition of haole as "White American" with a specific appearance and set of behaviors. In spite of the perceptions of others around them who may label them differently, each poet asserted their sense of belonging to Chamorro identity and cultural values.

Language Recovery as a Method of Healing Ambiguity

When asked about ways to reframe the mixed-race Chamaole experience in a positive way, participants shared methods of healing. They described accepting their haole racial identity as a part of their process of navigating their ambiguity. Beyond just their racial categories, they shared ways that

Chamorro and haole cultures differ and described possible ways for both worlds to come together. These connections are clearly seen in Perez-Jackson's and Taitano's interview accounts. Significantly, Santos touched on similar ideas in his poem "Chamaoli," and his self-identification indicates a balanced understanding of his dual ancestral lines yet dominant Chamorro cultural identity.

Woven into their experiences as Chamorros of the twenty-first century, the three participants described their loss of the Chamorro language as a location of culture conflict between their American education and Chamorro heritage. In this culturally specific vein, what makes Chamaole identity uniquely challenging to Chamaole individuals from Chamorro communities is perceiving a genealogical connection to assimilationist violence and White settler colonialism: being a descendant of both Indigenous Chamorro and colonizing haole. In Taitano's story especially, we see one documented case (of what I hypothesize to be many) about Chamaoles having a White American parent or grandparent asserting English-only worldviews on their Chamorro children. Despite the various reasons to reject their White American lineage, participants expressed reclaiming their ancestral lines as a way to heal. Neither Santos nor Perez-Jackson described an encounter with assimilationist violence from their immediate haole family and instead described deep love for their respective parents or grandparents. Taitano's decision to learn Chamorro even after her father forced her to stop speaking the language as a child is an integral part of her healing; eventually, she learned to be okay with holding space for the White identity her body also inhabits.

Perez-Jackson	**Santos**	**Taitano**
I'd still like to be fluent before I die, working on it.... I asked that question, "Can I even call myself Chamorro if I can't speak the language?" I have come to terms with it that I can, because there's so much more to our culture than just the language, even though I think it is an extremely important aspect. And I don't ever want it to go extinct and die out.... I love that this younger generation is embracing it and running with it and they're becoming fluent and teaching their kids. And I love Hurao, and we send our kids there every summer. It's like they	I went to Hurao Academy for summer camp for two years, fourth and fifth grade. My parents enrolled me. I didn't really say, "Oh I want to go to Hurao." My parents were pretty much like, "You're going to summer camp at Hurao," and I was like, "OK."... It's funny when you're the "White boy" in the room, but you're speaking Chamorro better than everyone else there. It's pretty fun time.	My father, who was White, he really pushed for assimilation. He would tell my mom, "Don't speak Chamorro to the kids." As a five-year-old, I lost it. And these are the consequences of being half. It was a very violent decision. That's a violent act to take someone's language away from them. The loss of language is not just words, it's access to ideology. It's access to Indigenous ways of thinking. Access to stories who tell us who we are, words where there's no translation. If you cut off language, you cut off a shared path from the past. Across the world colonizers used it to erase. An empire doing that to our people,

teach us.		my father doing that to our family.... Maybe the way of healing is to push myself through.

Table 5: Chamorro Language-Speaking Identity

In the aspect of their linguistic ambiguity, all three incorporate the Chamorro language into their poems as a way of healing the wounds of what they had lost linguistically. Beyond their poems, Perez-Jackson and Taitano explicitly mentioned their process of regaining fluency in Chamorro. While Santos did not mention this particular goal in his interview, his linguistic identity played a strong role in his identity rhetoric. The role of Chamorro language in Chamaole identity development also serves as a possible topic for future research.

Conflict Negotiation Strategies and Learning from the Chamaole Experience

Each participant shared how they balance, juggle, or oscillate between their cultural, racial, ancestral, and linguistic identities. Their responses were facilitated by the question, "Between Chamorro, haole, and Chamaole, is there an identity that you most strongly identify with?" They described a third space to the Chamorro versus haole binary; they sought to adjust to each identity according to the environment in which they are placed. Inhabiting a third space allows them to see their mixed heritage as a positive phenomenon, instead of a lose-lose situation. They use this rhetoric of the third space to heal the wounds caused by ambiguity and to empower them to view themselves as whole, rather than fractional parts, of existing identity communities.[25]

Perez-Jackson	**Santos**	**Taitano**
I think there's benefits to it. Because I occupy that space I can see both perspectives of all these interactions.... It's a big responsibility too, because if you have that perspective and advantage, use it to help others who don't have that ... cultures evolve and change, and the only way to survive as a culture is, yes, keep those strong components ... the *nginge*, the respect, those	I'm a haole, 50 percent of me, but I'm not a "fucking haole." I'm not "one of those fucking haoles."... My mom is haole, but she's not a "fucking haole." I mean even she wonders "why do these haoles act this way."	We shouldn't have to question "Where do I fit in?" "What do we call ourselves?"... It's some serious work on identity when you're looking at the space in between. It is a space of yearning.... The people I work with and enjoy talking to are the people who say, "I recognize this story. This is my story." And there is a lot of us. And we are just talking about ethnicity.... I don't exist without intersectionality, without

[25] See Bhabha, "The Third Space," 207–21, for an interesting conceptualization of the third space and identity.

things that inherently define Chamorro culture.... If we want to survive in the future we need to know how to adapt and move forward while still holding on to our identity ... doesn't mean forget about it, it just means don't be so rigid that you can't learn how to work together and get the best of both worlds.		the multiplicity of identities and factors that make up my understanding of myself and the world.... We often define ourselves in relation to dominant paradigms and structures of power ... embracing all the ways that I am me, I am not just existing in spite of. I am allowing myself to exist as I am.

Table 6: The Third Space

Isolating descriptive haole racial features from the antagonistic behavior seen in colonizer haole archetypes helped Santos to navigate his position in the space in between. He recognized his Chamaole ancestry and physical features but also recognized that his worldview rests dominantly in his Chamorro cultural ways of being. In this sense, he demonstrated Taitano's idea of "allowing myself to exist as I am." These excerpts allow me to view how participants, as described by Perez-Jackson, "adapt and move forward" from the rigid social world to one that picks and chooses aspects of each identity to inhabit.

New Pathways: CMRS and Reclaiming Genealogy

While studies of Chamorro identity in an increasingly multiracial community should continue beyond this work here, I offer recommendations for future inquiry into this work from an Indigenous Pacific Islander perspective and summarize where my study is situated in the national discourse of CMRS. Daniel, Kina, Dariotis, and Fojas maintain that "CMRS underscores the mutability of race and the porosity of racial boundaries and categories in order to critically examine local and global systemic injustices grounded in social processes of racialization and social stratification based on race."[26] My study outlines the dual complexities of race-based prejudice experienced by Chamaoles in their homeland from their own Chamorro communities and Chamorro suspicions of White bodies as a direct response to the White supremacy enacted in Chamorro communities by the US state, the US military complex, and select settler White American elites who benefit from their White American privileges. While White American settler colonialism does not justify the race-based aggression and prejudice enacted on Chamaoles by their own Chamorro community members, there is a significant pattern and recurrence from Chamorros expressing the oppression of native peoples of Guam by the White supremacy embedded in American assimilation that begs further investigation.

[26] Daniel et al., "Emerging Paradigms," 8.

My priority in this study is to assert the necessary healing processes in our Chamorro community to remember our multiracial relatives through a politics of inclusion, wholeness, and abundance, a genealogical epistemology rooted in our own Indigenous cultural practices, as opposed to subscribing to a colonial legacy of blood quantum. CMRS scholarship lends assistance in this endeavor by teaching us the importance of building a sense of comfort and understanding that Chamorros are increasingly becoming multiracial, not at the expense of Chamorro identity but for the benefit of our community's expansion and alignment with our cultural values.

CMRS scholar Murphy-Shigematsu propels a multiethnic and multiracial consciousness that views individuals of mixed backgrounds as double, dual, and whole rather than "less than" their counterparts. Murphy-Shigematsu, of Japanese and Irish American ancestry, synthesized and analyzed multiple mixed-race narratives in an autoethnographic collection. He writes, "I present these narratives as a way of combating a pervasive feature of life for many people—being 'Othered,' seen as different, marginalized, and isolated."[27] In this shared vein of thought, my project joins the voices of such scholars as Anzaldúa and Murphy-Shigematsu and the emerging field of CMRS, all seeking to increase familiarity with multiracial experiences. Murphy-Shigematsu's work, much like the work of Anzaldúa, and the perspectives of Perez-Jackson, Santos, and Taitano articulate a need for mixed ancestry individuals to feel a complete sense of belonging to their communities.

Pasifika Values, Oceanic Kinship, and Genealogies of Abundance[28]

"Unlike a lot of mixed kids I meet, I never felt I was less than or not enough. My family made sure that I knew I am equally German, Chinese, and Hawaiian, fully. I have an abundance of cultures that I get to appreciate." – Kamaka'ike Bruecher, Kānaka 'Ōiwi educator

I have recently turned to Pacific Island studies scholars to further understand the healing process of being mixed race in the Indigenous Pacific. I depart this text with final thoughts and musing on the possibilities for healing our Chamorro community when we observe ourselves and our values in relation to kinfolk across Oceania. In exploring poetry in the Pacific diaspora, Karin Louise Hermes describes an "oceanic kinship" that connects cultures and values of Pasifika, while maintaining cultural specificities and distinctions.[29] In this vein of "oceanic kinship," I argue that the primary fabric of identity woven across Pasifika, and among many Indigenous peoples, is the cultural values and identity formations rooted in genealogy. To reclaim and maintain Indigenous identity in an increasingly multiracial world is to return to genealogical practice and cast aside colonial constructs of blood quantum and racial purity.

As I turn to these "oceanic kinships" to corroborate a value system of identity that precedes colonial policies of blood quantum and reduction, I honor the "cultural specificities" of these poets across our island homes, while recognizing the importance of reflecting on how that genealogy

[27] Murphy-Shigematsu, *When Half Is Whole*, 4.
[28] Fujikane, *Mapping Abundance for a Planetary Future*, 30.
[29] Hermes, "Female Voice in Pasifika Poetry," 657.

connects us. In this vein, Hermes evokes one of the most cited scholars in Pacific studies, Epeli Hauofa, and the pivotal essay "Our Sea of Islands."[30] These connections have facilitated my own healing since the beginning of this project.

Finding my connection back to my own Chamorro genealogical values would not have been possible without my exposure to the uniquely Kānaka ʻŌiwi philosophy, ethic, and methodology, encapsulated as "moʻokūʻauhau." Kānaka ʻŌiwi scholar Noenoe K. Silva describes "moʻokūʻauhau consciousness" as "an ethic and orientation to the world."[31] Upon moving to Oʻahu to start my PhD in August 2020, I enrolled in a Hawaiian literature course taught by Kānaka ʻŌiwi scholar kuʻualoha hoʻomanawanui. In this course, we studied the Kumulipo, a Hawaiian cosmogonic genealogy, over the course of an entire semester.[32] As someone who is not Hawaiian, I hold space for my appreciation for moʻokūʻauhau as relational practice while deeply understanding that my proximity to moʻokūʻauhau as someone outside of the Hawaiian culture will always limit my knowledge and understanding of the concept. And so humbly, I embark here on moments of connection in genealogical practice, while emphasizing the uniquely Kānaka ʻŌiwi applications of genealogy beyond the biological and land-based realm.

In "E Hoʻi i ka Piko (Returning to the Center): Theorizing Moʻokūʻauhau as Methodology in an Indigenous Literary Context," hoʻomanawanui opens with the epigraph: "'O ka moʻokūʻauhau nō ia. (The genealogy. Always, the genealogy.) Sarah Rebekah Daniels."[33] In this article, hoʻomanawanui orients moʻokūʻauhau as "a critical, culturally based Indigenous methodology" and continues to argue that "Indigenous, culturally located and derived methodologies, such as moʻokūʻauhau, are valid within the academy and our home communities. They are also long-standing analytical and intellectual tools ... within the context of Indigenous education."[34] Hoʻomanawanui maintains that moʻokūʻauhau is a valid practice within and beyond academic settings that stems from Indigenous orality and the importance of using genealogy as a method to communicate knowledge and ties.

In the *The Past before Us: Moʻokūʻauhau as Methodology*, Marie Alohalani Brown writes:

> concepts of continuity and relationality go together in ʻŌiwi thought: together they form thekuamoʻo (backbone) of Hawaiian culture, and are fully encapsulated in the term *moʻokūʻauhau.* In its narrowest sense, moʻokūʻauhau, often translated as *genealogy*, refers to a biological continuity.... Significantly, ʻŌiwi perceive the world genealogically.... Everything in our native island world (land, sea, and sky, and all therein) are kin.... Moʻokūʻauhau is a philosophical construct for understanding other kinds of genealogies: conceptual; intellectual; and aesthetic. These different kinds of moʻokūʻauhau—physical, intellectual, and spiritual—are necessary to our survival.[35]

[30] Ibid., 664.
[31] Silva, *Power of the Steel-Tipped Pen*, 4.
[32] Queen Liliʻuokalani, *Kumulipo*.
[33] Hoʻomanawanui, "E Hoʻi i ka Piko," 50.
[34] Ibid., 51.
[35] Brown, foreword to *Past before Us*, vii–viii.

Approaching various aspects of my identity through the lens of moʻokūʻauhau enabled me to see and articulate my genealogy of identity, resistance, and healing. When taking a look at the structure of my study, a visible intellectual moʻokūʻauhau can be traced to various scholars of the fields I reference. Through this framework I am able to see and validate my choice to include my literary moʻokūʻauhau of Taitano's, Santos's, and Perez-Jackson's words. And most important, moʻokūʻauhau as an orientation to the continuity of Indigenous knowledge has enabled me to see the importance of my reconnecting to all lineages I descend from via education, geographic ties, and ancestral lines.

In this vein, I embody a (re)membering process akin to genealogy and intimacy outlined by Kānaka ʻŌiwi poet and scholar Jamaica Heolimeleikalani Osorio in *Remembering Our Intimacies: Moʻolelo, Aloha ʻĀina, and Ea.* Osorio writes that "our insistence on the primacy of ancestry and the significance of moʻokūʻauhau is one major way that we as Kānaka have continued to sustain pilina to this day."[36] Once again, here I draw moments of connection to Osorio's theorizing of (re)membering pilina or (re)membering intimacies through genealogy.

Further reading into these bodies of Kānaka ʻŌiwi culture and scholarship is necessary to more deeply understand the Kānaka ʻŌiwi concepts listed here. As a Chamorro woman and non-Kānaka, I claim no authority over these concepts and instead draw humble connections to them and express appreciation for the impact of Kānaka ʻŌiwi brilliance in genealogical theory on my own acceptance and understanding of relations to identity and belonging in Guam. Sustaining intimacies with my ancestral lines and my community in my own life and within my body is found by returning to my genealogical connections.

A source of Anzaldúa's incongruence and pain for me as a Chamorro woman was being raised with a firm genealogical grounding in my Chamorro ancestry, while little to no knowledge from my White American family lines were passed down to me. All I could trace in my haole lineage were my White American grandfathers who were stationed on Guam as a US marine and a US airman, evidencing the consequences of post-ethnic ideologies of White American assimilation. Part of my own healing, and perhaps a call to healing for the White American community at large, is a genuine reconnection to ethnic ties and ancestral lines preceding the colonization of Native American tribal lands and our own pre-Christian origins. These are our responsibilities as descendants and beneficiaries of White privilege in the American settler project. While every mixed-race individual has their own journey of identity, moʻokūʻauhau as a methodology makes me confident in this next step of reclaiming my ethnic ties and ancestral lines beyond the White American settler ideologies.

To round out my acknowledgment of how Pacific studies has further evolved my engagement with CMRS and Chamorro studies, I reflect on a practice noted by Hermes on "oceanic kinship," which states that "Pasifika poets pay homage to their contemporaries, by referencing their works or accomplishments or by writing about them ... clearly evoking an Oceanic kinship or sisterhood across the Pacific."[37] In line with this ethic of oceanic kinship, I both celebrate and thank my lineage of Pasifika scholars who have paved pathways for continued healing and development as Indigenous

[36] Osorio, *Remembering Our Intimacies*, 91.
[37] Hermes, "Female Voice in Pasifika Poetry," 657.

Pacific peoples. Incorporating Chamorro studies, CMRS, Indigenous studies, and Pacific Island studies, this closing section is the culmination of integrated perspectives on mixed-race identity and is just the beginning of building CMRS in Guam, the Marianas, and Micronesia, in connection with our relatives across Pasifika.

To further foster this intimacy and familiarity with the mixed-race Chamorro community, I plan to develop lesson plans and writing workshops on (re)membering Indigenous identities and ways to share our rhetorical dance of belonging. I expect to share my work with the University of Guam Press, which has piloted the teaching of literature from Guam in Guam's Department of Education tenth grade literature classes. An additional, and vital, call to action for mixed-race work and engagement with community is to prioritize the representation of non-White mixed-race narratives in our bodies of CMRS literature. I hypothesize that Chamaole proximity to White privilege correlates to the dominance of Chamaole mixed-race discourse in Guam compared to non-White mixed-race inquiries. Chamoru Filipino, Chamoru Palaoan, Chamoru Chuukese, and additional mixed-race narratives, such as a recent study conducted by Black+Chamoru scholar Kiana Brown, "'Where My People At?': Reclamations of Belonging in Three Black + Chamoru Narratives," are critical inquiries in the process to decenter Whiteness in the Marianas.[38] Beyond the Chamoru experience, mixed race in Micronesia, especially one that decenters the Chamoru experience in Micronesia, is a future topic of CMRS exploration. I maintain that these inquiries, however, ought to be done in responsible ways, with the permissions of and by members of those communities.

Ultimately, our collective goal as a community should be to dismantle the reduction model of fractional composition, that is, seeing oneself or others in parts (half, quarter, less than). In doing so, we continue the anticolonial practice of casting aside blood quantum, recognizing racist notions of reduction and exclusion as the antithesis of Indigenous kinship systems. Reclaiming our families in our Indigenous communities of different physical characteristics and appearance is critical to reclaiming our identities.

This project aims to enliven Taitano's vision: this is for those who can read this and say "This is my story." Perez-Jackson's "Half Caste," Santos's "Chamaole," and Taitano's *A Bell Made of Stones* each tells a story of standalone literary merit; however, bringing their poems and oral narratives together demonstrates how questions about identity are shared across a community of people. This corroboration of experiences alleviates the sense of isolation that many mixed-race individuals in Guam experience. For individuals and communities who have come into an abundance of ancestry like those described here, and especially those identities beyond this study, I hope this work helps to discover that mixed-race journeys of reclaiming identity are underway, and we are ready to welcome you into our canoe.

[38] Brown, "'Where My People At?'"

Epilogue

"Guam? Is that some kind of a fruit?"

"So where are you FROM from? When did you move to Guam?"

"My teacher in the States tried to tell my class that Guam is part of Asia and that I'm Asian. I told her in front of everyone that she was wrong. I'm a Pacific islander. I am Chamorro. I am from the Marianas. I'm not Asian. She told me I was wrong. Who the hell is she to know."

"My father didn't let us speak Chamorro at the dinner table. He didn't like it. He told us he needs to understand what we are saying, so we were only allowed to use English. My mother still used Chamorro with us when he wasn't around."

"Even though I'm both Chamoru and White,
the other kids never really picked on me
because I was taller than the rest of them."

"My friend calls your people Guambodians."

"Haoles are so fucking gross. Oh, I'm sorry."

"Oh really you graduated from GW?
You look like you went to academy."

"When I lived on Coronado with your grandpa, a White lady assumed that I as a Brown woman could not have been the mother to my blond and fair-skinned baby girl. She grabbed your auntie, and took her to the police station as a missing child. I ran all over the island, crying and looking for Miriam. Soon as I walked into the station, there she was with the 'good samaritan.' Her mouth dropped to the floor when she found out I was the mother the whole time."

"The dental hygienist holds my mouth open with instruments
and says 'Oh boy, I'm sorry I'm getting kitan.
Have you been living here long enough
to know what that means?'"

"The Honolulu airport gate agent scans my boarding pass
for flight to San Francisco, then looks at me,
and says with a smile, 'Oh good you're going back home.'"

"When I first saw you while doing my presentation on anti-militarism,
I was like ohhh man, this White girl is probably a military kid and
she is going to go off on me."

"The Olive Garden waiter in San Diego cards me for the wine tasting he just offered.
I hand him my REAL ID compliant Guam driver's license and he says, 'Oh I'm sorry we can't take an out of country ID.'"

"Hi ma'am! Good morning. Where are you from? Really you're Chamoru?
Wow, I really thought you were military or something."

"You should've just started
speaking to him
in Chamorro
that way he'd feel embarrassed
for thinking
you're a haole."

"'Wow! I forgot the KFC here in California doesn't have red rice.
The KFC here doesn't have any rice at all? Not even white rice?'
He interrupts me with a raised voice,
'our KFC doesn't have all that weird shit.
No I don't mean it like that,
it would just be abnormal to have those things here.'"

"White settler bitch."

"I went up to him and he asked if I was Portuguese. I said 'No.' He asked if I was Mexican. I said 'No. Is that all you know?'"

"This kid called me white trash. That's the one thing I can't stand to be called.
I said I'll show you white trash, diablu mutherfucker."

"You know what's the point of this whole thing of
'What are you, Are you haole or are you Chamorro...?'
'Why ask? Why do they care?'
'Does it even matter?'"

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