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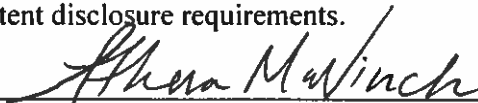
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Moving Forward: Wisdom and Insights from Three Guam Governors

BY

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

SUPERVISORY COMMITTEE

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Abstract

This study of three former Guam governors sought to discover common obstacles that elected Guam Governors face while they were in office. Every elected governor runs a political campaign based on what they intend to do. After their terms are over, many governors discover that they were unable to meet their goals. This study looks at why many goals are not fulfilled. The three major obstacles governors appeared to struggle with were federal relations, working with the Guam Legislature and funding related concerns. Each governor provided unique insights and views that may be used by future leaders to move Guam forward in these areas.

A second major finding in this study was the value of elite interviews and oral histories of Guam elites. Former elected leaders have excellent insights on how government really works and this study found that former governors are excellent sources of wisdom. Other government leaders such as former senators and former directors may be good to study in the future.

Keywords: *Governors, elite interviews, oral history, leadership*

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Chapter One

Introduction

This research sought to gain wisdom and insights from three former Governors of Guam. By looking at their common experiences and struggles, future governors and leaders can look to past governor experiences and learn from them. In order to get elected to office, every governor has to show that they are different from other governors or candidates. This means that new approaches or views must be taken. On the other hand, this creates a tension with incremental progress. Under incrementalism, leaders take a series of small steps to reach a larger goal. Change is promoted by moving up a policy staircase. Because of political pressures or campaign pressures, governors have to show change has happened more rapidly than is practical. For the public, they have to show a “political elevator” or *deus ex machina* policy approach was taken. Under this view, change occurred because the new leader pushed the right buttons or simply appeared on the scene. Therefore, many governors have to appear to create rapid lasting change on the one hand while maintaining existing systems on the other.

This study found that former leaders are an excellent source of information regarding government. Free from media scrutiny or office duties, these leaders can reflect on important experiences they had in office. This study found that many of the comments from the governors were consistent. All leaders struggle against political inertia and each leader can use unique strategies to best address challenges. The data responses show a rich set of real views. Students in the future may greatly benefit by speaking to former leaders using a single interview or survey instrument.

This study focuses on former Governors of Guam, but the same approach can be used with former legislators, agency directors, or judges. In order to more fully understand the boundaries of a Governor of Guam, this section will briefly covers aspects of Guam's government and other factors.

Guam and US Island Territories

Guam is a pacific island territory and one of five island territories of the United States. The two other pacific island territories include American Samoa and the CNMI or the Commonwealth of the Northern Marianas Islands. The two US island territories in the Carribbean include PR or Puerto Rico and the USVI or the US Virgin Islands. Guam and Puerto Rico were colonized by the United States following the Spanish American War in 1898.

The political status of each island in relation to the United States includes, two commonwealths (PR and CNMI) two organized territories (Guam and the USVI) and a treaty territory relationship with American Samoa. Guam, the USVI and American Samoa remain on the United Nations list of colonized areas.

Guam has a land mass of about 212 square miles or is about one sixth the size of Rhode Island, the smallest state in the United States. The average county in the United States is also about 1200 square miles. In addition to it small size, Guam is geographically remote from the mainland United States. Hawaii, the closest US states is over seven hours by air to the Northeast of Guam.

Between 1898 and 1950, Guam existed as a military colony under the United States and for two and a half years under military rule by the Japanese in the Second World War. After the war, the Guam Congress requested US citizenship and an Organic Act from the US Congress in 1947. The request was stuck in committee and then renewed

in 1949. Following the second formal request, the Guam Congress walked out over a dispute with the Navy Governor in protest. President Truman then appointed a new Governor and the US Congress approved an Organic Act for Guam in 1950. The government created by this act included an elected legislature and a governor appointed by the President. This transferred the government of Guam from the US military to civilian control.

Since 1950, a number of important amendments were made to the Guam Organic Act. Major changes included an elected governor (1968), a delegate to the US House of Representatives (1972), authority to write a Guam Constitution (1976), a Guam Supreme Court (1995) and an elected attorney general option (1998.) Guam had a major successful attempt to submit a Guam Constitution to the US Congress in 1977. The document was approved by the Congress in 1978 but was later defeated by Guam voters in 1979 largely due to concerns over political status.

Following the defeat of the Guam Constitution effort, Guam began to focus on an effort to develop a commonwealth status with the United States. The effort to obtain commonwealth status continued until 1997 when the US Congress rejected Guam's Commonwealth proposal.

As this study indicates, political status and federal relations are a dominant theme for the three governors studied. It is likely that political status concerns will continue to be discussed by governors in the future.

Guam Elected Governors

Following changes to the Guam Organic Act, Guam has held popular elections for governor since 1970. The following is a list of elected Governors of Guam.

The Honorable Carlos Camacho 1971-1975
The Honorable Ricardo Bordallo 1975-1979
The Honorable Paul Calvo 1979-1983
The Honorable Ricardo Bordallo 1983-1987
The Honorable Joseph Ada 1987-1995
The Honorable Carl Gutierrez 1995-2003
The Honorable Felix Camacho 2003-2011
The Honorable Eduardo Calvo 2011-2019
The Honorable Lou Leon Guerrero 2019-present

Governor Ada, Governor Gutierrez and Governor Calvo were interviewed for this study. Each governor discusses in very good detail the high pressures of public service at elite levels. The span of years covered by this group of governors is 1987 to 2019. This was a time of a lot of changes for Guam and this study highlights executive leadership during this timeframe with a view to move Guam forward.

Chapter Two

Literature Review

This literature review covers major aspects of policy change to include incrementalism, punctuated equilibrium and the subject of unfinished public work of elected leaders. A separate literature review of appropriate research methods is in Chapter Three.

For the purposes of this study, the primary literature review will reflect on policy change, particularly incrementalism and punctuated equilibrium. The study of policy change has a long history in government.

Incrementalism

One of the major or dominant theories in public administration for government change is generally referred to as incrementalism. This theory was initially widely promoted in the 1950s by Charles Lindblom (1949, 1958.) Incrementalism promotes the idea of a “stairway of progress.” Small moves are made step by step progressing forward to a goal. This small step approach is very safe and decisions can be reversed if needed to better adjust to circumstances (Lindblom 1965.) For many years, Lindblom refined and adjusted his theory of incrementalism, even jokingly referring to it in 1959 as the “science of muddling through.” Lindblom continued to apply his theories to general policy (1968), and economics (1968, 1968.) Lindblom focused on incrementalism throughout his career (1979) and he applied his theories to a wide range of social problems (Lindblom and Cohen, 1979.)

Using a budget view, Anderson and Harbridge (2010) describe incrementalism as expedient, simple, gradual, flexible, and minimizing conflict. Because incremental changes are often considered minor, they are easier to implement. Because many incremental decisions are simple, most are viewed as easy to implement.

Incrementalism is viewed as a gradual change method, which is easier for stakeholders to accept. Because incremental changes can be easier to reverse, this method is considered more flexible. Finally, these factors combine to allow change to occur with minimal conflict.

Incrementalism has had a strong level of criticism over the years. Dror (1964) claimed that incrementalism slowed down change rather than focusing on improvement.

After nearly forty years serving as a major paradigm for policy, other voices began to develop other views. Nevertheless, incrementalism remains a major element of policy planning (Bendor, 1995.)

Punctuated Equilibrium

Government theories will often borrow ideas from traditional sciences. For example, systems theory in government was introduced to government studies in 1953 by David Easton. Easton borrowed this concept from biology. Beginning in the early 1990s, another biological theory, punctuated equilibrium (Eldredge and Gould, 1972) began to compete with incrementalism as a major theory of policy. Punctuated equilibrium suggests that changes can happen very quickly and then there is stability. Frank Baumgartner and Bryan D. Jones (1993) introduced this area of theory as an alternative to simple incremental change. Under punctuated change, the change happens very quickly, which better suits political purposes.

Politics and Drama

In order to engage and maintain public support, elected leaders often have to engage in forms of political drama. Suvin (1972) states that “defining drama is an exercise basically in defining politics.” In classic drama deus ex machina or the god out of the machine was often used to resolve conflicts. Elected leaders often have to serve as problem solvers and drama or showmanship is often used to be successful. In the 1930s, Dale Carnegie (2009) began emphasizing the role of dramatizing ideas to win support. “Dramatize your ideas,” was his mantra.

Political Memoirs and Biographies

There is a very rich literature of political memoirs and biographies of former elected leaders at the national level. There are also good examples of memoirs and biographies of Guam governors. For example, David Gracy (2001) wrote a biography of Governor Bill Daniel covering his years as Guam’s governor between 1961 and 1963. Joseph Dizon (1987) wrote an insightful overview of the 1986 election from the side of the Ada campaign. Dr. Katherine Aguon and Antonio M. Palomo (1998) wrote a very detailed biography of Governor Gutierrez. Memoirs and biographies are important sources to better understand challenges governors faced.

This literature review was not exhaustive but just covered the major ideas covered in the discussion chapter. In the future, biographies of key leaders might be good research projects. There is a second literature review in the methods chapter.

Chapter Three

Research Method

This study of three governors used a paper based structured interview as a primary research method. The advantage of this technique is that each governor was able to control precisely the responses without inherent bias that occurs with recorded or transcribed interviews. This technique also allowed each governor a lot of time to answer the questions. In effect, the answers reflect a direct first person narration of each governor.

Elite Interviews and Survey Methods

Elite interviews and surveys have a lot in common with methods used in journalism. The key difference is that researchers conducting these interviews use different types of analysis to gain knowledge. This method type also shares traits in common with oral histories. Therefore this literature review contains a wide range of views and elements.

An interesting aspect of conducting elite interviews with former government officials regarding their government work is that this type of research is nearly always exempted from institutional review boards for human subject research. Both oral histories and public official methods related to their work is considered normal democratic practices. The current federal regulations for these types of human research studies is contained in US Code Title 45, Section 46.

Elite interviews and surveys are considered both valid and reliable (Aguinis, 2019). Depending on how well the elites are known, a snowball sampling method

may be needed to locate subjects (Bailey, 2019). Since this Guam study uses a known and limited sample group, snowball sampling was required. In interviews and surveys, elites may mention possible other sources, so an indirect snowball contact method could be used. Since this study solely relied on a set group of elites, a second contact method would complicate the human subjects research approval. Only the named elites were interviewed.

The use of interviews to determine and discover management and policy practices is well known in the literature and it is not a new or untested data collection method (Bjorkman 1997, Boyacigiller 1991, Cavusgil et al, 1997). The information elites can provide are rich and detailed. They also often reflect the realities leaders are faced with. For example, obstacles that leaders face can be directly identified and stated using elite interviews. Local leaders often face unique challenges that can be discovered in elite interviews (Cochrane, 1998).

Persons from different cultures may require additional training or care in elite interviews. This can be complicated by language and social concerns (Czudnowski, 1987). Elite from one country may act differently from elites of another country. The location or setting of the elite may also affect elite interviews and other methods (Fitz, 1995.) This point can affect how reliable the information gathered can be.

Elite interviews are a form of qualitative research. As such additional reliability and validity care needs to be taken (Flick, 1998). This study will include depth in person interviews and this should be a rare opportunity to record history. Additional sources give more broad views of this point (Hertz, 1995).

One part of this study will use email surveys to former Guam senators. Generally, mass mailed surveys have limited use. Since this group is both small and known, it is not anticipated that problems will occur (Harzing, 1997).

A key part of learning how to do elite interviews is to read accounts from other researchers on how to conduct these studies (Hirsch 1995). Elites are different and require a particular skill set to interview. Elites interviews can also provide insights that normal research methods may miss. Since the subjects are first person sources, they can be very direct in their views (Hunter 1993).

The use of interviews can provide rich data and information. This method can also allow the researcher to use their senses in the research process. (Kvale 1996).

Interviews can allow subjects to engage in a conversation that can all positive exchanges of information and insight (Macdonald, 1998). Elites may try to distort or shape experiences to fit a better view of history. This is a possible bias with this method (Mason-Bish 2018). Interviews are a mainstay of qualitative methods. They can be very useful along a number of dimensions (Mason 1996). Long open-ended interviews can be a powerful technique. Allowing a subject to choose the direction of the exchange can be very powerful (McCracken, 1988). Former or out of cycle elites may provide good insight on current contexts and realities. This can add great insight to a study (McDowell, 1998).

Interview transcripts can be studied using content analysis across cases to better understand common themes. This can be very useful in elite studies (Miles 1994).

In many organizations, gatekeepers inhibit the free flow of information and it is hard to tell what is going on. Therefore, talking to elites directly can overcome this bias (Morrill 1999).

Sometimes elite interviews can provide surprising results and elites themselves are surprised others do not know the reality of the point they are making (Ostrander 1993).

Elite interviews can be messy and unstructured because elites tend to ramble. Nevertheless, the things they say may better reflect the reality of what is really going on. (Parkhe, 1993)

Elite interviews can greatly assist in the evaluation process. Former leaders in particular can provide insights that can detail success or failure (Patton, 1990).

Politicians may view the researcher in the same light as a journalist. This may skew the results somewhat due to the guarded nature of the exchange (Peabody, 1990).

Elite political leaders in other countries can often hold insights the media or the public do not see. This is a common thematic point in elite studies (Pridham 1987). Some researchers studying political elites can be awed by meeting them. This can create a bias (Richards 1996).

Elite interviews are very useful in studying members of the legislature. In the example of the US Congress, access to the elites is often the strongest obstacle (Sinclair, 1997).

Elite interviews can help researchers to overcome a “narrow vision” bias. That is to say, non-elites can often see the world differently from elites (Sullivan 1998).

As a qualitative method, interviews can require additional care to ensure the points are understood properly and placed in the correct context (Taylor 1998).

Interviews with elites can help to explain and understand complex organizational dynamics. These dynamics are often hidden under layers of bureaucracy (Thomas 1993).

As a qualitative method, interviews can be extremely useful and contribute to hidden meaning. (Wright, 1996).

Elite interviews can be an excellent method to explore ethics of the subjects (Yeager, 1995). Since this study will be studies political leaders, this point is very important. Interviews can provide cross cultural insights (Yeung, 1995). In international studies, this is very important. Elite interviews can also greatly add depth and color to case studies (Yin 1994). Since cases tell a story, direct narration from sources is very useful.

Survey Instrument/Interview Questions and Explanations

After discussion with former elite leaders and research methods faculty, it was decided that the interview format would be brief or less than ten questions. It was further determined that leaving the questions open ended best fit the elite research subject method. The former leaders were allowed to say as much or as little as they wanted on each question. The questions were also written in a direct and easy to understand format to ensure clarity.

The following is the interview question set with the basic reasoning behind each question.

1. What did you want to do as a Governor, but were never able to do?

Explanation: This question was asked to address the important question of an unfinished work by each governor. The format allows each subject to describe these points in their own terms.

2. What were your obstacles, or what prevented you from getting (this/these) things done?

Explanation: Every governor is prevented from attaining their goals for a number of reasons. Each governor was allowed to share their own individual views on these obstacles.

3. What do you feel was your greatest achievement in office?

Explanation: Each governor was allowed to judge themselves in terms of what they were most proud of. This is a common self reflection technique and provides very important information.

4. What was the greatest challenge you faced while in office?

Explanation: Unlike obstacles and achievements, this question sought to identify crisis moments each governor had to address while in office.

5. What was your biggest mistake you feel you made?

Explanation: As a point of self reflection, this question allows each governor to share openly their common errors. No one is perfect and mistakes are made along the way.

6. What advice do you have for future leaders of Guam?

Explanation: This question allowed the governors to provide sage advice to future leaders of Guam.

7. Is there any other thing you would like to say?

Explanation: this question allowed the governors provide any information that normal question might have missed.

It was suggested that the governors provide about 100 words per answer and each governor was given from October 3, 2019 to November 15, 2019 to complete the instrument. Of the five governors requested, three completed the interview. The cover letter and instrument are attached in the appendix. The two governors who did not participate had good reasons to do so and it is hoped this study can be updated in the future to include their responses.

Overall, the elite interview and survey method works very well on Guam. This method should be considered by future graduate students.

Chapter Four

Analysis

Following data collection, each set of answers were examined and key words or themes were identified in each answer set. All of the questions were answered for the most part and the data is very rich and informative. The raw data on each of the three governors is included in the appendix. This will allow others to use the data for secondary analysis.

The key goal of the analysis is to identify common areas or answer sets as well as contrasting points. In this section, the basic data from the interview is processed and the discussion section will go into more detail on how each theme translates into future knowledge. Given that the data set is limited and the language is clear, content analysis was not needed. The data from the governors speaks for itself.

Questions and Answers of Each Governor by Major Theme

In this section, the major coding of each response will be provided. The coding was reduced to the core theme of each answer. This allows for a uniform discussion of these items in Chapter Five. The raw data is provided in the appendix.

Question One

What did you want to do as a Governor, but were never able to do?

Governor Joseph Ada: Guam Commonwealth and Helping Youth

Governor Carl Gutierrez: Improving Federal Relations

Governor Eduardo Calvo: Self determination, GMH, Sustainability

It is clear that each governor wanted very much to improve political relations with the US federal government. Through commonwealth, improving federal relations or self-determination, this was a major theme.

Question Two

What were your obstacles, or what prevented you from getting (this/these) things done?

Governor Joseph Ada: Limited Time

Governor Carl Gutierrez: National Lobbyists and the Guam Legislature

Governor Eduardo Calvo: Democrat Legislature and the Davis Case

While Governor Ada had good relations with the Guam Legislature, legislative relations was a major factor for Governor Gutierrez and Governor Calvo.

Question Three

What do you feel was your greatest achievement in office?

Governor Joseph Ada: Economy, New Schools and Healthcare Improvements

Governor Carl Gutierrez: 23 Noted; GTA, Military Affairs, Airport and power

Governor Eduardo Calvo: Fiscal Stability and Tax Refunds

Each governor had differing views of achievement in this question set. But all reflected policy goals of their administrations.

Question Four

What was the greatest challenge you faced while in office?

Governor Joseph Ada: The Guam Commonwealth Effort

Governor Carl Gutierrez: US Lobbyists; Local Politics; 4 Typhoons

Governor Eduardo Calvo: Federal Government lacked cooperation

All three governors directly and indirectly mentioned federal relations as the major challenge. In the case of Governor Gutierrez, the role of major US lobbyists was identified as the major obstacle.

Question Five

What was your biggest mistake you feel you made?

Governor Joseph Ada: None; Did the very best possible

Governor Carl Gutierrez: Too trusting; could not win over opponents

Governor Eduardo Calvo: Failing to work with Democrats

While Governor Ada did not note any mistakes, both Governor Calvo and Governor Gutierrez discuss soft skill concerns. Working with senators or avoiding certain people is a possible key mistake according to these views.

Question Six

What advice do you have for future leaders of Guam?

Governor Joseph Ada: Do what is right; Honesty and Integrity

Governor Carl Gutierrez: Have vision; Keep Priorities

Governor Eduardo Calvo: Serve the people; they are the boss

All three governors gave very insightful advice in this answer.

Question Seven

Is there any other thing you would like to say?

Governor Joseph Ada: It was humbling to serve the people of Guam

Governor Carl Gutierrez: A good start (9 pages provided)

Governor Eduardo Calvo: Aspire to do great things

All three governors reflect on the role of their service.

In Chapter Five, further discussion of these answers will be addressed.

Chapter Five

Discussion

In this section, the answers from these elite interviews will be discussed in more depth. In chapter six, the conclusion will contain a number of recommendations for future work.

Question One

What did you want to do as a Governor, but were never able to do?

All three governors talked about the federal government in their answers.

In the case of Governor Ada, the Commonwealth proposal was considered not subject to change. This may have hurt the chances to succeed. Governor Gutierrez inherited the commonwealth effort and faced new challenges at the federal level. Governor Calvo focused on self-determination and the difficulties he faced with this effort. All

three governors have keen insights in these areas. It seems that communications with the federal government is a key to success. Also, there was no give and take or bargaining in the political status efforts.

Question Two

What were your obstacles, or what prevented you from getting (this/these) things done?

Under Governor Ada's terms, Guam was fortunate to have a very strong economy. This may have helped with relationships with the legislature. When there is a lot of available funds, a lot of good work can be done. Governor Ada did a lot of good work and his comment about limited time is very true.

Governor Gutierrez on the other hand was elected at the beginning of an economic downturn. The legislature had fewer funds to work with and this may have caused some of the tensions. For his first two years in office, democrats were in control of the legislature, but there were still problems. On the federal side, Governor Gutierrez mentioned the problems he had with Jack Abramoff, a powerful lobbyist. This may have limited Guam's opportunities with the federal government.

Governor Calvo struggled with a democrat legislature for both of his terms. The Davis Case interfered with his hopes to improve political status.

In general, all three governors had to contend with challenges beyond their control.

Question Three

What do you feel was your greatest achievement in office?

All three governors had very good policy achievements to be proud of. All three reflected in part their campaign goals. Every elected leader is mindful of the promises

they make during campaigns. Keeping those promises as much as possible becomes a point of pride for elected leaders.

Question Four

What was the greatest challenge you faced while in office?

Similar to the answers in question one, all three governors struggled with the federal government while in office. Governor Ada struggled with the Guam Commonwealth efforts. Governor Gutierrez battled with US mainland lobbyists who were also linked to local politics. Governor Calvo detailed his struggles the federal bureaucracy in a number of areas. Each governor had unique challenges, but they all centered on the national government directly or indirectly.

Question Five

What was your biggest mistake you feel you made?

While Governor Ada did not directly address this question, he gave very good input on the other questions. Governor Gutierrez and Governor Calvo both talked about working with people. Governor Gutierrez mentions that he trusted the wrong people in some cases. Governor Calvo in retrospect felt that he could have worked better with the democrats. This suggests that soft skills are important after taking office.

Question Six

What advice do you have for future leaders of Guam?

All of the governors answered this question with practical advice. All three answers reflect a form of ethics or purpose. Governor Ada emphasized personal values of honesty and integrity. Governor Gutierrez suggested focus and vision. And Governor Calvo emphasized the public servant view.

Question Seven

Is there any other thing you would like to say?

Governor Joseph Ada: It was humbling to serve the people of Guam

Governor Carl Gutierrez: A good start (9 pages provided)

Governor Eduardo Calvo: Aspire to do great things

All of the governors had positive endpoints and were encouraging in their views. It is often difficult for governors to leave office and there is a point where they can provide positive reflection.

Chapter Six

Conclusion

This study of three former governors suggests some ideas or approaches that may be taken in the near future. These points include:

1) Each of the governors struggled with the federal government. All mentioned political status or self-determination as a key focus of this struggle. Improving communications with the federal government may be an important goal in the future

for leaders. The current federal administration has a reputation for making deals. If Guam leaders approached improving political relations as a bargaining process, rather than take it or leave it, more success may be made. This is an opportunity for punctuated equilibrium for change. In the last 30 years, there has been very little incremental change on political status for Guam. Governor Gutierrez discussed at length many of the incremental and positive changes he was able to make with the federal government in a number of important government areas. Current Guam leaders may look at how to incrementally work with the federal government to make a set of gradual improvements.

2) In their own way, each of the governors reflected a deep heart for the people of Guam. We live on a small island and every leader is directly connected to our community. Future leaders will need to remember that face to face politics is still very important. A reflection of this deep heart is that three governors took the time to share their opinions in this study. This is very rare in a student thesis.

3) There is a need for politicians to use drama to rally public support. Voters have to be motivated to support and vote for leaders. All leaders inherit existing government operations. If elected leaders only use incremental change efforts, the dramatic side of their efforts is downplayed. Guam leaders are a part of the drama of daily life for Guam. They are expected to solve problems quickly. Tax refunds are an example of this drama. Every month the media will report that tax refunds have been released. In order to promote lasting change, elected leaders have to commit to taking long range efforts. This means there has to be an agreement or vision.

4) Governor Gutierrez mentions the importance of vision for leaders. He also wanted to create better federal relations with a special federal commission for Guam. This is a very important idea that should be further discussed and promoted by current leaders.

Governor Ada discussed the importance of mutual consent for federal policy for Guam. This commission may provide Guam a version of input similar to mutual consent.

5) Governor Ada started a Guam Commonwealth process. Governor Gutierrez was chair of the Guam Constitution effort and he also worked on the commonwealth effort as governor. Governor Calvo viewed self-determination as a step that Guam needed to take. It may be helpful for leaders of Guam to take another look at an internal constitution and an intermediate commonwealth. Otherwise, Guam will simply wait while the federal government will probably not do very much. These would be incremental steps forward while waiting.

6) The reason the Guam Commonwealth failed at the US Congress was that it was not flexible. The voter approved document was viewed as set in stone. In the future, Guam should consider a process that allows give and take or bargaining. This would probably work better to pass this type of legislation. The CNMI took several years to finalize its commonwealth status. The previous document may be viewed as a starting point to improve political status.

7) Having a female governor may help with improving Guam's political status. Women are used to working with stubborn men.

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Laws

US Code Title 45, Section 46. Human Subjects Research

US Code Title 48, Section 1421. Guam Organic Act

Appendix One

IRB Approval
(will be updated)

IRB Applications: September 23 - 24, 2019

7 messages

Institutional Review Board <irb@triton.uog.edu>

Tue, Sep 24, 2019 at 4:15 PM

To: "govguam@gmail.com" <govguam@gmail.com>, PETER R BARCINAS <pbarcina@triton.uog.edu>, "Eloise R. Sanchez" <esanchez@gdoe.net>, Yoshito Kawabata <kawabatay@triton.uog.edu>, Francis Dalisay <fdalisay@gmail.com>, KATHRYN M WOOD <kwood@triton.uog.edu>, Andrea Blas <abras@triton.uog.edu>, Mary Jane Miller <mjmiller@triton.uog.edu>, "Ambrale, Samir" <Samir.Ambrale@fhphealth.com>

Good Afternoon All,

Below are application that have been uploaded into Moodle for Sept. 23 - 24, 2019

19-113	College Students' Perceptions of the Relationship of Culture	Hassan Rosell
19-114	PEACE Partnerships for Success - Needs Assessment (Adults)	Linda Flynn
19-115	PEACE Partnerships for Success - Needs Assessment (Youth)	Linda Flynn
19-116	U54 Accessible Breast Cancer Screening in the Pacific - A Pre-pilot Research Study – Modification to CHRS# 19-81	Teofila Cruz
19-117	The Unfinished Work of Guam Elected Governors	Athena McNinch

PS: Dr. Miller, I have received your applications for your ED-617 class. These will be uploaded for review tomorrow.

Regards,

Bruce San Nicolas

University of Guam

Office of Research and Sponsored Programs

Tel: 735-2672

Fax: 734 -3676

Email: brucesn@triton.uog.edu

Appendix Two

Survey Instrument

Athena McNinch
PO Box 5224
Mangilao, Guam 96923
Cell phone: 482-3424
Email: athenamcninch28@gmail.com

Request for Participation in Research Project

Dear Governor (insert name),

My name is Athena McNinch and I am a graduate student at the University of Guam. I am conducting research on "The Unfinished Work of Elected Governors of Guam." My goal is to provide the public and future students a glimpse into the goals and aspirations of elected governors. I also want to look at common unfinished works of elected Guam governors.

Participation in my study is voluntary but highly valued. Attached are the questions and they can be emailed to me or I can pick up the results at a time and place you choose. There are seven questions and each can likely be answered in 100 words or less. The results will be directly quoted in my study and will be a part of history.

I would also like to discuss your views with other UOG students on campus or by phone in late November or early December. (Or an earlier date if needed.) This will provide my peers a great opportunity to have a frank discussion with a former governor.

Please note I will be off island October 3 to November 15 2019. I will be representing Guam in the Miss International Pageant on November 12, 2019 in Tokyo. Therefore, my communications may be difficult at these times. You may email me these results or I can arrange to have one of my parents pick them up.

My survey questions are attached.

Sincerely,

Athena McNinch

Survey Instrument/Interview Questions

1. What did you want to do as a Governor, but were never able to do?
2. What were your obstacles, or what prevented you from getting

(this/these) things done?
3. What do you feel was your greatest achievement in office?
4. What was the greatest challenge you faced while in office?
5. What was your biggest mistake you feel you made?
6. What advice do you have for future leaders of Guam?
7. Is there any other thing you would like to say?

List of Elites to be Interviewed

Former Governors of Guam

Appendix Three

Raw Data

Appendix Three

Raw Data
Governor Ada

1. What did you want to do as a Governor, but were never able to do?

In a tremendous bipartisan environment, I presided over spectacular economic expansion and educational and health care advancements on Guam, however, a major disappointment of my tenure as Governor was not achieving the peoples' desire to improve our political status to a Commonwealth of Guam. Team Guam came very close, but time simply ran out as my term ended just after convincing the federal government's chief negotiator to accept the much-debated Commonwealth mutual consent clause. We fought hard and never gave up, but time was just not on our side.

The other concern I wish I had more time to work on was finding a comprehensive program to address Guam's troubled youth by strengthening the family. The stories told by our troubled youth, especially those at the Department of Youth Affairs, always touched me as they cried out for more love and attention. I was very blessed to have so many family members and mentors who guided me during my formulative years, and I only wish the same for every child on Guam.

2. What were your obstacles, or what prevented you from getting (this/these) things done?

It was simply a race against time for both the Commonwealth quest and strengthening the youth-family dynamics, major unresolved issues when my second term as Governor ended. Throughout my tenure, I was able to work well with members of the Legislature, Republicans and Democrats, and other stakeholders to meet the challenges of our time, from the failing economy, inadequate infrastructure, dilapidating schools and hospitals, and some devastating natural disasters. It was not always easy, but it was the only way that we could deliver for the people who put their trust in us to build a better Guam.

3. What do you feel was your greatest achievement in office?

I like to think of myself as a builder, including a consensus builder among decision-makers who walked with me in turning around Guam's economy, and investing that wealth in building new schools and health clinics, and improved new roads, reliable power and water. The economic boom resulted in a flourishing tourism industry that helped create 25,000 new jobs in the private sector, overtaking the number of government employees in the workforce for the first time ever. It enabled us to greatly improve our transportation systems at the airport and the port. We were able to build new elementary schools and the Southern High School and construct new facilities at the University of Guam. We renovated the Catholic Medical Center (now GMH) to meet accreditation standards and built the Skilled Nursing Unit and a state-of-the-art Mental Health facility. Boosted by the economic surge, we were even able to return some of the wealth to Guam's taxpayers in the form a rebate. Overall, we built a better Guam and improved the quality of life for our people who deserved it.

4. What was the greatest challenge you faced while in office?

My greatest challenge was also my greatest disappointment in not being able to achieve a Commonwealth of Guam. Despite the fact that the federal government is mandated by the Treaty of Paris to offer Guam an improved political integration status and the fact that the people of Guam voted for Commonwealth Act, they just did not want to engage in negotiations with us. They especially wanted us to change the Commonwealth Act's mutual consent clause which would have guaranteed that with a Commonwealth agreement, nothing could be changed without both sides agreeing to it. Team Guam fought hard to preserve the mutual consent clause which at the end of my term was accepted by their chief negotiator, but we ran out of time on the greater Commonwealth quest.

5 What was your biggest mistake you feel you made?

I'm sure some people would like to share what they think I did wrong during my administration. I can say that I did my best in doing what I believe was the right thing to do and in keeping with what the people of Guam elected me to do. I am proud of the many achievements during my time as Governor, which was made possible with the hard work of my cabinet and staff, and the support of other stakeholders. I especially cherish the love and support of my family throughout my political career.

6. What advice do you have for future leaders of Guam?

Do what is right and what is in the best interest of the people of Guam. And in the process, learn to listen so you can draw on the necessary knowledge and resources to lead. Honesty and integrity are required virtues for leaders. Just be honest with yourself and with the people of Guam who are understanding and very forgiving. Have the courage and temperament to deal with those who may disagree with you for there will always be plenty of those. But if you know what to do, by listening and learning, and work with others to do what is right for the people, you would be able to lead our island to greater prosperity.

7. Is there any other thing you would like to say?

I will always treasure the honor of being able to serve the people of Guam. I am humbled and very grateful to the people of Guam for having given me the opportunity to serve you. Si Yu'os Ma'ase and God Bless us all.

Appendix Three

Raw Data
Governor Gutierrez

Survey Instrument/Interview Questions

1. What did you want to do as Governor, but were never able to do?

My administration and I were well on our way to creating a special federal commission to formally vet national legislation affecting Guam before it was passed by the US House of Representatives and the Senate and made its way to the President's desk. I actually earned President Clinton's backing on this initiative. We were going to explore ways of allowing Guam more direct participation in the consideration of legislation affecting our island. Being so small and so far away from our nation's capital, Guam is often lumped in or left out, but one size does not fit all.

Under the system we devised, the president would appoint commissioners from the Departments of State and Defense, and the current governor would recommend a third commissioner from Guam for appointment by the president.

These commissioners and their staff would monitor the ever-evolving flow of congressional legislation and red flag any bills that could hurt or help Guam. Then the commission would continuously undertake studies, publish informed reports on legislation that concern Guam, and send those reports to the White House and Congress. Such a commission would give Guam more meaningful participation in the creation of laws that govern our lives and would serve as a template or teaming strategy for other US territories and insular areas.

2. What were your obstacles, or what prevented you from getting (this/these) things done?

Here's part of what prevented me from completing everything I set out to accomplish within eight years. First of all, I had to contend with the selfish personal interests of a powerful combination of political assailants. They included federal officials working and residing in Guam and powerful national lobbyists based in major US cities and Washington, DC.

Secondly, I had to endure the wasteful intrigues of a hostile local legislature and the baseless claims of attack-journalism foisted upon me, my family, and my administration. While these destructive elements made it difficult to achieve my vision efficiently, my team and I dug our heels in and found ways of performing as effectively as we could, in spite of the formidable obstacles.

3. What do you feel was your greatest achievement in office?

There are many, but here's a good starter list.

- Meeting GovGuam payroll after discovering a severe cash deficit on my first day at Adelup, then cash-managing our way out of that crisis into an extension of the prosperity we had experienced as a result of the speculative property boom of the mid-80s and early '90s.
- Engaging and empowering Guam's business community to help the new Gutierrez Bordallo Administration refine and execute Vision 2001.
- Uplifting people from all walks of life and of all political persuasions so they felt deeply appreciated, rediscovered their value, and found inspiration to do more for themselves, their families, and their island.
- Raising more than \$2 million to help pay for off-island medical referrals through First Lady Geri's People Helping People nonprofit. This mission-critical healthcare effort was organized for those who had fallen through the cracks and couldn't otherwise get government help.
- Bringing the modern conveniences of the 20th century to thousands of people before that century ended by opening new roads, paving others, erecting streetlights and bus shelters, installing power, and pipelining freshwater and sewer service to areas where those basic necessities of modern life had never been before.

- Ending decades of electrical power load shedding. When my administration began, Guam's power stations were juggling a loose collection of decrepit generators that were too small to handle the territory's electrical demands. Parts of the grid were powered down twice daily in order to share limited electrical generation resources islandwide. To bridge the gap, in 1996 I signed an emergency proclamation to build three new power plants featuring baseload generators. This was after Guam Power Authority General Manager Rick Unpingco had obtained a board recommendation for fast-tracking the generators and the legislature had approved emergency procurement.

Working with third party bid-solicitation consultant Sinclair Knight Merz (SKM) to develop the requisite specifications, the GPA board issued a general request for proposals which attracted interest from around the world. Negotiating with the three most qualified private power companies, we entered into separate public-private partnerships with Enron, Taiwan Electrical and Mechanical Engineering Services (TEMES), and Hawaiian Electric. Together we financed the construction of two power plants housing three 40-megawatt generators at Piti and the rehabilitation of the Tanguisson power plant, including the installation of a 50-megawatt generator. This amounted to a grand total of 170 megawatts of power to meet the needs of the island's baseloads. By 1999 the old power plants were retired and the new ones were online.

We signed an energy conversion agreement with each private partner, wherein every company agreed to generate power and wholesale it to GPA, which then retailed it to end users. To help GPA meet the island's outsized baseload demands, the Navy deeded suitable property near Cabras Island in Piti to the Government of Guam, and our private partners agreed to transfer the plants to GPA after 20 years.

- Clinching the lowest long distance telephone rates in the nation for Guam by getting our territory designated as a rural community in the

Telecommunications Act of 1996. Securing the full and seamless integration of Guam and the CNMI into the North American Numbering Plan for the purposes of dialing and connecting efficiency, regulatory compliance, and unimpeded participation in system-wide governance.

- Privatizing Guam Telephone Authority (GTA).
- Sparked the endeavor to bring undersea fiber optic cables to Guam. Today Guam is among the world's denser fiber hubs.
- Getting Guam federally approved for the attachment of a unique Customs, Agriculture and Quarantine Inspection Service Charge (CAQISC) Program on air passengers in 1996, with support from the Federal Aviation Administration, Department of Transportation. Designed as a safeguard against operational dependency on the government of Guam general fund, this program was predicated upon the determination that such would not violate the Anti-Head Tax Act. Insofar as revenues collected by Guam International Airport Authority were to be remitted to Guam Customs & Quarantine Agency for its services, and inasmuch as over-collections were to be returned to the airlines, the CAQISC Program was sanctioned. CQA is now funded by these fees, which are charged by commercial airlines serving Guam. Approval for this program was unprecedented in the nation.
- Getting Guam and the CNMI approved for a unique exemption that allows for the use of federal highway funds at ports of entry.
- Completing the construction and operational opening of A.B. Won Pat International Airport without spending an additional \$53 million in unwarranted but requested change orders.
- Extending A.B. Won Pat International's runway from 10,000 to 12,000 feet in order to make way for nonstop flights between Guam and the US

mainland. This capacity has yet to be commercialized, but it's already in place for the island's advantage one day very soon. If a US air carrier is unwilling to fly any such Guam-US mainland route, perhaps we are now poised to seek an exemption for a foreign carrier to fly this pattern.

- Completing the island's only underpass/overpass, at the intersection of Airport Road (Route 10A) and Route 16.
- Completing Southern High School without expensive change orders.
- Reaching 1.41 million annual visitors in 1997, a significant milestone. Following that achievement, it took about two decades to break this record, even without the constant disasters and political witch hunts facing my administration.
- Me personally flying with First Lady Hillary Clinton on a presidential jet to Guam in 1995 and President Bill Clinton flying to Guam on Air Force One in 1998. As a result of my administration and my family's close relationship with the Clinton White House, our island benefitted from an unprecedented level of post-typhoon emergency support and other special considerations.
- Surviving the 1993 and 1995 rounds of BRAC (Base Realignment and Closure) and the 1995 closure of Naval Air Station in Tiyan.
- Building a great working relationship with the US military that resulted in the efficient, shared use of island infrastructures and resources for local and military populations.
- Redeveloping Tumon with various new and refurbished hotels, resorts, infrastructures, and amenities. New hotels that opened during my administration included Hyatt Regency Guam, the Park Hotel, Outrigger

Guam Resort, Royal Orchid Hotel, and the Sherwood Hotel. The Pleasure Island concept encompassed the construction of the Outrigger Guam Resort and The Plaza Shopping Center, plus the reconcepting and expansion of DFS Galleria. Under the policies and priorities of my administration, we had the Guam Economic Development Authority float a \$53 million bond to underwrite the cost of the requisite infrastructure to support redevelopment in this attraction zone.

- Establishing the Crimes Against Tumon Tourists (CATT) program, teaming the Guam Police Department and private security personnel. Business security offices in this “visitor central” village were tuned to a police radio frequency and interacted closely with visitor-friendly police officers. Uniformed law enforcers dressed in shorts and safety helmets and rode bicycles on non-threatening, high-visibility patrols throughout Tumon.
- Establishing early outbound flight check-in facilities on the ground floor of the indoor bus depot at DFS Galleria.
- Making Guam’s streets and neighborhoods safer through the installation of modern infrastructure, by growing our pool of professionally trained and sustainably equipped law enforcement personnel, and by fully funding CQA, the Guam Fire Department, and the Guam Police Department.

4. What was the greatest challenge you faced while in office?

My biggest challenge was being forced to fight Jack Abramoff, of the Preston Gates law firm’s powerful lobbying arm. I had refused to grant this company a \$13 million lobbying contract, and I paid dearly for this refusal at the cost of rabid, destructive political interference into my administration. Abramoff, his minions, and various Republican agents at that time devised and executed a game plan to defeat me in 1998. I was attacked mercilessly in the courts and ceaselessly in local and national

media. Not a single solitary one of the 57 indictments stacked against me stuck, because the charges were all false and malicious.

Approaching my second term, even some fellow Democrats had turned against my administration. Many of them believed or encouraged the lies and innuendo spread by my detractors and published far and wide in the media. Facing two challenging tickets in the Democratic primary, our Gutierrez Bordallo gubernatorial team reemerged for the general election and won the 1998 gubernatorial by 3,050 votes.

Our successful reelection efforts had actually been boosted by the help of friendly Republicans who had learned my true character as a tough, honest public servant and business-friendly Democrat. But my remaining foes in the GOP sued the Guam Election Commission because they didn't like the results of the general. The case reached the US Supreme Court and in the year 2000 Gutierrez Bordallo finally won the nefarious legal case brought against us. The august body of justices seated in our nation's highest tribunal ruled in our favor by a vote of 9-0.

Still bitter, my detractors then tried to recall me from Adelup. My desperate enemies' last hope was to call for a vote in the local legislature to unseat me from my duly elected office as Governor. Democratic and even a few Republican senators rallied to my defense and I survived this baseless assault on my legacy and character.

Another challenge was the unrelenting series of disasters my administration faced—first and foremost with the aftereffects of Guam's 8.1-magnitude 1993 earthquake. That quake had weakened infrastructure before I became governor. And with the constant, islandwide use of these compromised systems, damaged power, water and sewage facilities and torn up roadways became my administration's problems to fix.

Additionally, throughout my two terms in office, my team and I crisis-managed four typhoons, various earthquakes and aftershocks, and the visitor industry shortages caused by the crash of Korean Airlines Flight 801. This aviation disaster in Guam's Sasa Valley was followed in later years by the travel-crippling 9/11 terrorism episode in the mainland. Towards the very end of my administration, the avian influenza (bird flu) struck East Asia and the resulting SARS (severe acute respiratory syndrome) epidemic in our region severely damaged our visitor market all over again.

5. What was your biggest mistake you feel you made?

I was too trusting with people who didn't deserve my confidence, and they took advantage of my administration. Worse, I kept faith that my blood-oath enemies would redeem themselves and join me in uplifting Guam after I won the 1994 gubernatorial election. A former FBI supervisor who was living on Guam at the time told me that I was the most honest politician he'd ever met. Yet he reflected that my biggest mistake was that I had only wounded my enemies but had failed to finish them off politically. In other words, I had foolishly believed that I could win them over to our side in victory. How true it is that one can lead a horse to water but cannot make him drink!

6. What advice do you have for future leaders of Guam?

The King James Bible says, "Where there is no vision, the people perish." (Proverbs 29:18). And, it's true. In fact, you cannot lead without a vision involving the entire community. Even with all of the constant challenges dogging us day in and day out, my administration and I enjoyed great success. That's because we kept our priorities in order and had a clear vision and plans of attack mapped out on the campaign trail before our administration started. We followed our own flexible instructions, engaged the whole community, and kept track of our accomplishments. We had measured the magnitude of the most necessary repairs and reforms and had spelled out in detail how to meet those challenges head on while learning quickly and adapting along the way of execution. By the end of my second term, we had completed 85% of what we had set out to accomplish.

Appendix Three

Raw Data
Governor E. Calvo

1. What did you want to do as a Governor, but were never able to do?

There were a varied number of goals that our Administration had set out to accomplish that had short term or limited success, yet the desire was to build long-term success and sustainability.

* One such objective was to transform the Guam Memorial Hospital into a “center of excellence.” The first phase of this transformation process was to identify and commit an annual funding source required to subsidize services mandated by law for the hospital to provide, whether the patient had the ability to pay or not. There were two particular categories where this shortfall cropped up on an annual basis:

- The self-pay category of patient. Many were immigrants from the other islands or low income/unemployed residents of Guam
- Medicaid/Medicare rate structure that reimbursed GMH at \$0.50 on the dollar for medical billings.

The annual shortfall totaled between \$30-35 million.

* Another unrealized goal was in regard to Guam’s quest on Political self determination. As Chair of the Commission on Self Determination, it was my sincere desire to “kick start” forward progress in an area where there had been same stagnation over the past few years.

I had called for setting a definite date to hold the plebiscite. With financial resources secured for the education plan to be implemented, I had hoped that by setting a “date specific” period to hold the election that would give the differing option advocates an opportunity to plan and execute this education effort to the electorate.

2. What were your obstacles, or what prevented you from getting (this/these) things done?

The main obstacle towards stabilizing the hospital and building it as a center of excellence was our inability to convince the Democratic leadership of the Legislature of the need to commit to an annual funding subsidy of over \$30 million. Though we were able to pass legislation for one year in 2018 to subsidize the shortfall, we were not able to get that same commitment moving forward. The subsidy has once again fallen far short this year. We did not convince enough legislators that a funding commitment was required to bring stability and improve services at GMH.

As for Decolonization, the main hurdles were not getting an agreement by the commission or the legislature on a confirmed date to hold the election. But more importantly, the single largest factor for not moving forward was the suit filed by Dave Davis at Federal Court that put into limbo, Guam’s quest for Self-Determination as provided by local statute.

3. What do you feel was your greatest achievement in office?

Coming into office in 2011, the Government of Guam's finances were in a dire condition. The government had an accumulated deficit of over \$300 million. There were several shortages in ambulances, police cruisers, fire trucks and other critical equipment necessary for public safety and health.

The fiscal stability plan were instituted upon being elected into office included; a hiring freeze, delayed implementation of the Hay Plan, streamlining of agencies starting with appointed leadership positions, and re-structuring of debt.

The after effects of the fiscal stability plan are readily apparent. The deficit has shrunk from \$325 million to under \$60 million. Tax refunds are being paid in months, rather than years. Vendor payables in my last year were at 60 days. Unlike in the past where it took 6 months to a year for a vendor to be paid.

In a nutshell, our greatest achievement was to bring stability to a government that was on the brink of a total financial collapse.

4. What was the greatest challenge you faced while in office?

Aside from the major financial duress we were faced with at the beginning of our Administration, our greatest continuous challenges came from decisions made by the federal government in it's over expansive role in our territory.

It was only upon assuming the role of Governor that I fully realized the weight of burden placed upon Guam through numerous federal statues, regulations, unfunded mandates and treaties. Here are but a few of those burdens:

- Compliance of Clean Air & Water Act regulations;
Cost: \$1.4 billion
- Unreimbursed Compact Treaty impact costs;
Cost: \$1.0 billion
- Medicaid rates inequitable with the 50 states;
Cost: \$500 million
- EITC paid out by Calvo Administration;
Cost: \$300 million

The unilateral and abrupt change to the H-2b work visa program forced almost all foreign workers to leave Guam two years ago. This lone act by the federal government caused a major economic crisis

in Guam that is still being felt today. The average cost of building has gone up by \$100 per square foot. For someone trying to build or purchase a home, the price has inflated by an average \$100,000.00.

5. What was your biggest mistake you feel you made?

If there is any major regret that I may have when reflecting on my eight years in office; it would have been in not succeeding in building a better bipartisan relationship with the Democratic Party leadership of the legislature. With the Democratic Party in control of the majority, I do believe too much time and effort was spend in partisan politics rather than progress through cooperation and consensus building.

6. What advice do you have for future leaders of Guam?

For elected Public leaders – “Always remember where your paycheck comes from. It comes from the taxpayers. You serve them. The people of Guam are the Bosses!”

7. Is there any other thing you would like to say?

Also take heed on advice given by the late radio personality Kasey Kassem. He ended every show with this statement to his listening audience, “*Keep your feet on the ground...And keep reaching for the Stars!*”

Appendix Four

A Note to Future Student

A Note to Future Students

By Athena McNinch

As a final note to future students, I wanted to share how this study idea was formed. In May 2017, I had the honor of attending the Truman Scholar Leadership Week in Liberty, Missouri. At this event, I was able to hear from several national leaders on what public service is like and many expressed thoughts on things they wished they had done. In the summer of 2018, I attended the Congressional Internship with Congresswoman Bordallo's Office in Washington, DC. During this time, I also heard many prominent leaders talk about what they would have liked to have done.

Due to a number of practical reasons, I decided to write a thesis as a part of my degree program. Governor Ansito Walter was my mentor and I learned a lot from him. I then decided that no one had studied Guam governors and the reflections they had about serving in office.

I am writing this note to encourage future students to take the time and opportunity to talk to elite leaders. They have a lot to offer and they are a part of history.