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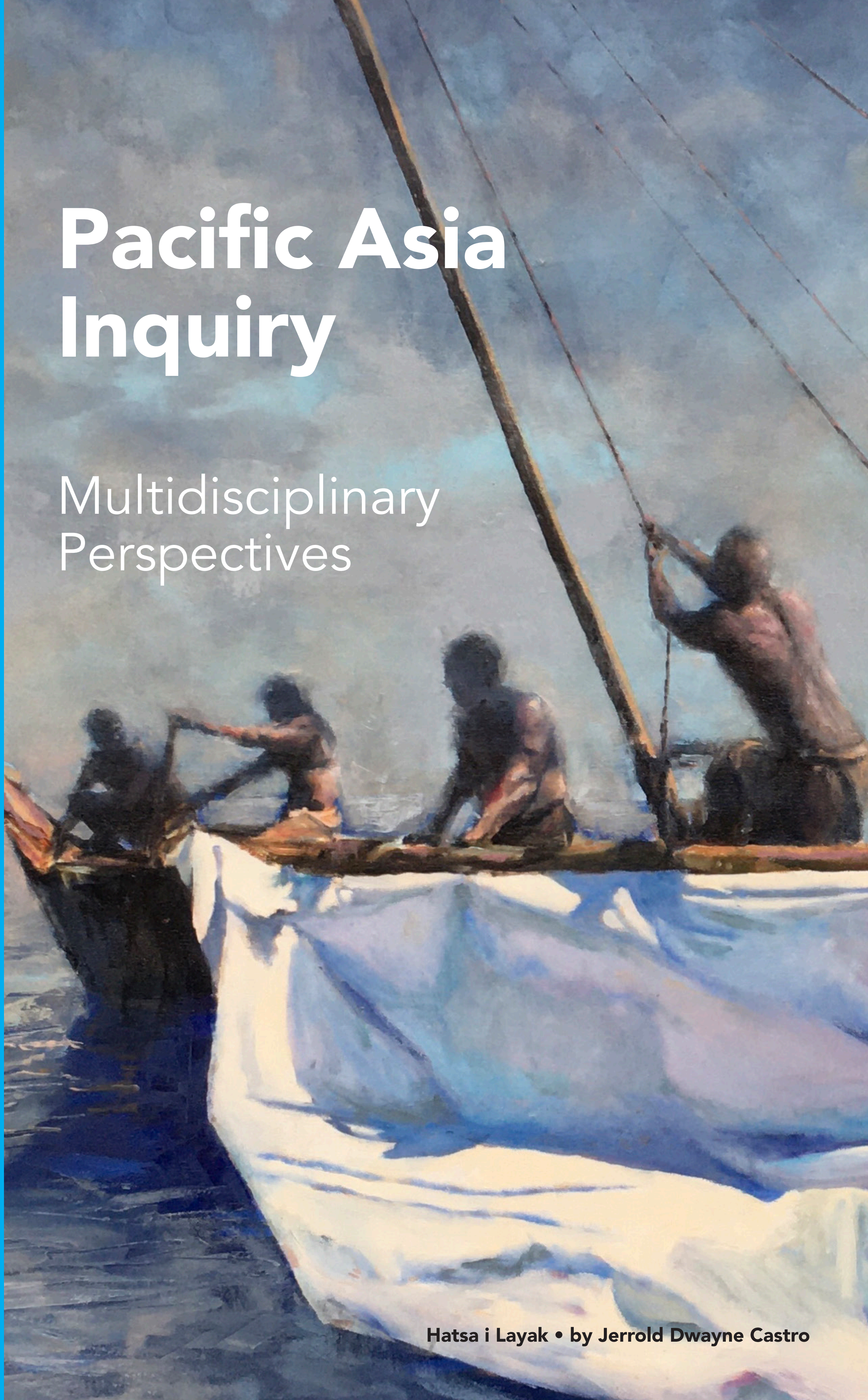

Hatsa i Layak • by Jerrold Dwayne Castro

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Pacific Asia Inquiry

Multidisciplinary Perspectives
Volume 13, 2022

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Editor’s Note

James D. Sellmann

The ongoing trials and tribulations of the pandemic, and an editorial issue with the journal made the production of volume 13 challenging.

The contributors to *Pacific Asia Inquiry* volume 13 are commended for their diligence and their ability to continue to do research, write, submit papers, and edit them in a timely manner, while facing the stresses of a pandemic turned tripledemic. The anonymous referees must be acknowledged for their due diligence in returning edited manuscripts with their insightful comments so that the scholarly peer-review process could be completed in a timely manner. The Editorial Board and especially Leiana Naholowaa, the layout and design editor, continue to provide valuable insights and efforts to improve the journal. Mary L. Spencer, the journal’s founding Dean and Editorial Board Member, was especially helpful in producing this issue. Mary also arranged for Laura Warner to prepare the cover design. Artist Jerrold Dwayne Castro donated his painting, entitled “Hatsa i Layak” for the cover. The Editor is extremely grateful to everyone for their assistance in producing this issue.

The issue comprises four articles and four book reviews.

In the Cultural Studies section, we open with Francis X. Hezel’s review of his ongoing work entitled **Deep in the Bloodstream: Historical Ties of the Marianas with the Philippines.** I should note that this article is not a piece of analytical historical analysis, rather it is an expanded reflection and review of Hezel’s previous research in this area of investigation. In the paper, Hezel explicates the historical connections between the Philippines and the Mariana Islands. Beginning with the archaeological and linguistic evidence and advancing to the historical documented connections, Hezel discusses in detail the history of Guam as Spanish and American colonies in relation to the Philippines. Hezel argues that based on the early genetic, linguistic, and cultural ties there are ongoing connections that run deep.

In the second article, William Jeffery and James D. Sellmann collaborate on a **Yapese Environmental Philosophy and Food Sustainability** by discussing the traditional practice of building and using *aech* (fish weirs). In the first part of the article, Jeffery analyzes the Yap

aech, showing that the old practice of building fish weirs is being revitalized. In the second part of the paper, Sellmann attempts to explicate the underlying philosophical ideas of Yapese environmental philosophy expressed as an "existential commitment" to live in environmental and social harmony. The fish weirs and a sound environmental philosophy are important practices required to promote food sustainability for future generations.

In the Health Disparities section, Troy McVey, Thaddeus Herzog, Kathleen Plaza, Jade Ching, Justin Legaspi, Victoria Mak, Ariel Orasud, Gino Quintal, and Gertraud Maskarinec provide their study of the **Cancer Health Disparities Research Training: A Qualitative Report**. They show that, despite the small sample size of their study, the cancer research training program is effective. The participant students enjoyed the weekly seminar meetings. The results show that the program helps students improve professional skills, provides opportunities for more research funding, inspires research, and expands social networks and giving back to the community. Students discovered that cancer disparities research is complex, diverse, and requires cultural sensitivity, that there are different areas of cancer research and education, and the importance of mentor and peer relationships. The authors recommend further studies be conducted.

In the Cultural Reviews section, Pauline Chryselyza Alvarez provides her insights on **Being Pilipina/Pilipina-American: A Familial Being Passed Down from My Lola and Nanay**. Alvarez deploys oral history and autoethnography in this highly personal reflection piece. She discloses personal and family insights and values regarding Filipino/Pilipina cultural identity. Alvarez shows how Pilipinas and Pilipina-Americans are challenged through phenotype, generational language ability, financial independence, economic stability, and stereotypical perspectives and how these factors influence individual and community identity.

In the Suicide Literature Review section, Paulette Coulter offers her assessment of **Adolescent Suicide in the Federated States of Micronesia: A Preliminary Literature Review in the History of a Theory**. In this review of the literature, Coulter focuses on the respective work of Francis X. Hezel and Donald H. Rubinstein. Coulter proposes that Edward Lowe's study confirms Hezel and Rubinstein's respective theories about the causes of suicide. She encourages further study of their findings.

We have three very interesting Book Reviews. Paulette Coulter offers a detailed reading of Craig Santos Perez's **Navigating CHamoru Poetry: Indigeneity, Aesthetics, and Decolonization**. Perez's work is the first book to discuss and analyze CHamoru poetry. Christopher Schreiner prepared two book reviews. He provides an analysis of Yuko Tsushima's **Woman Running in the Mountains**, proposing that she offers gentile insights on childrearing before their time. In the second review, Schreiner discusses Max Fisher's **The Chaos Machine: The Inside Story of How Social Media Rewired Our Minds and Our World**, arguing the early claims that "social media is dead" were premature.

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CALL FOR PAPERS

Pacific Asia Inquiry: Multidisciplinary Perspectives
Volume 14, Fall 2023

DEADLINE FOR SUBMISSIONS: August 1, 2023

The Editorial Board of *Pacific Asia Inquiry* invites the submission of articles, critical essays, and case studies, as well as book, film, and other reviews for possible publication in Volume 14. Submissions from across the liberal arts and social sciences are welcome. *Pacific Asia Inquiry* is a peer-reviewed, multidisciplinary journal published online by the University of Guam, College of Liberal Arts and Social Sciences. It features scholarly research relating to the Mariana Islands, Micronesia, and the wider Pacific; as well as Asia-oriented studies that make connections with Pacific Islands.

Submission Procedures

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

1. A cover page, including authors' names, titles, affiliations, and addresses, including street and e-mail addresses;

2. The main text, with the title of the article, an abstract of the paper (the abstract should be no more than 150 words), including photos, tables, figures, media, and references.

Our blind peer review process requires that authors' names and addresses appear only on the cover page. No identifying information may appear in the abstract or text itself. Relevant publications, including those written by the author(s), may appear in the reference section, but nothing should be said to connect the reference with the author(s) of the submitted manuscript.

General Submission Guidelines

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

Please forward inquiries and submissions electronically to:

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Full text downloads of ***Pacific Asia Inquiry*** volumes 1-13 are available for free and may be examined at www.uog.edu/pai.

Deep in the Bloodstream: Historical Ties of the Marianas with the Philippines

Francis X. Hezel, SJ

This article is a review of the close sociocultural relationship between the Philippines and the Marianas Islands from earliest settlement to the present day. Whether this relationship is openly acknowledged or not, it has had significant genetic and other impacts on the much smaller population of the Marianas, as the material summarized here suggests.

The Mariana Islands and the Philippine Islands are next-door neighbors, as Pacific distances go. The two archipelagoes are just 2,000 kilometers (about 1,200 miles) distant, lying at roughly the same latitude in the western Pacific. The Marianas archipelago, consisting of about a dozen islands is now divided into two political entities: Guam and the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands (CNMI). Even when Guam and CNMI are combined, the mass is much smaller and far less populous than the Philippines. Guam, at the southern end of the archipelago, has an area of 200 square miles and a population of 165,000; while CNMI has about 50,000 people distributed over three major islands in the chain. Yet, the relationship between the Philippines and the Marianas has been a long and continuing one, punctuated from time to time by certain key events.

Although their relationship has been testy and even controversial at times, the Philippines have undeniably played a key role in the development of the Marianas from the very earliest times to the present. This article makes no claim to breaking new ground in historical or social research. It simply attempts to review the ways in which the Philippines have repeatedly impacted – over several centuries - their neighbor to the east. Following that analysis, some obvious conclusions will be drawn.

First Settlement

The first settlement of the Marianas occurred about 3,500 years ago. We know this from the relatively strong evidence found in several

archaeological sites. The island group was settled by sea people who came from somewhere in Southeast Asia, almost certainly members of the Austronesian linguistic and cultural family that originated in Taiwan and eventually spread throughout the area. The point of departure for the settlement was once considered uncertain, but many thought that the first settlers in the Marianas may have come from Sulawesi, an island to the east of Java. In recent years, however, archaeological, and linguistic evidence has mounted for assigning one early point of departure to northern Luzon in the Philippines. Excavation of new sites has produced samples of distinctive red pottery very similar to those that have been found in Luzon–right down to the design patterns on the lip of the pots. Shell and bead ornamentation, too, show striking similarities to material from pits in the Philippines.[1]

The archaeological evidence uncovered in recent years is paralleled by linguistic data. The Austronesian language family shows an early split between two different branches, with most of the Oceanic languages stemming from the eastern branch. The other, older branch includes Chamorro, the language spoken in the Marianas, and all the major languages spoken in the Philippines. Ties between Chamorro and the Filipino tongues are certainly closer than with other island groups in the region. "Most linguists currently favor the Philippines as the most likely source for Chamorro," one research article concluded (Hung, 2011). Two linguists suggested the central or northern Philippines, while another claimed that the closest relatives to the Chamorro language are Ilokano and Tagalog (Hung, 2011; Russell, 1998).

Mitochondrial DNA analysis indicates a genetic relationship between the Marianas and the Philippines, even if it does not demonstrate stronger ties with the Philippines than with Indonesia. The DNA studies support the strong ties between the two archipelagoes suggested in the archaeological and linguistic evidence, but they are not conclusive (Carson, 2014).

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[1] In recent years, numerous publications have appeared on the archaeological work done in the Marianas and the conclusions derived from it. For an overview of this, see Carson, 2014.

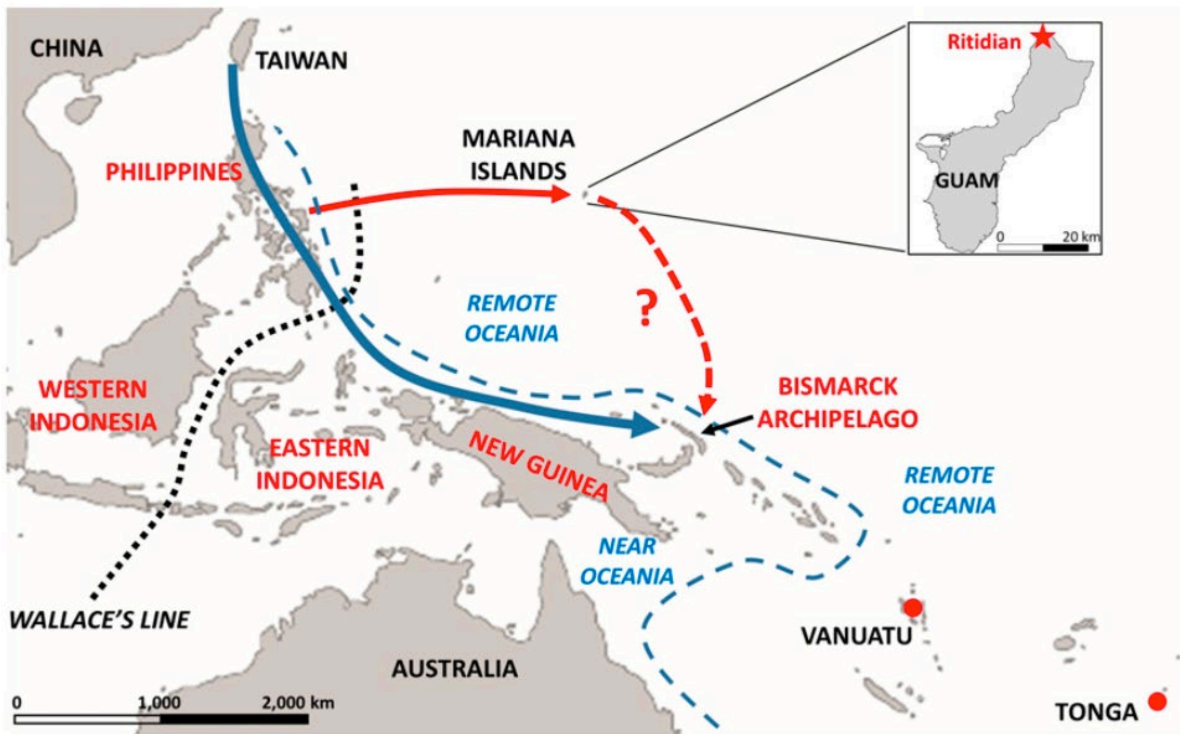

Figure 1. Streams of migration into Micronesia (Irina Pugach, Alexander Hübner, Hsiao-chun Hung, Matthias Meyer, Mike T. Carson, and Mark Stoneking, 2021.) (Courtesy of M. Carson.)

Migration from the northern Philippines to the Marianas would have represented the longest ocean voyage made up to that time–a sea journey over the open ocean of about 1,200 miles without any stopover islands on the way (Rainbird, 2004). This voyage would have been in the face of the prevailing winds but assisted by the Kurashio Current. It would have resulted in the first settlement in that broad Pacific expanse that is known as Remote Oceania.

The assumption is that this first settlement was made not just by way of a single voyage, but through repeated contact over the early years. Evidence of settlement of shoreline villages was found on Saipan, Tinian, and Guam. The sea people who arrived in the Marianas settled along the shoreline, lived in wooden houses mounted on stilts, and depended heavily on shellfish, pelagic fish species, and other maritime resources for food. They possessed elaborately decorated pottery, shell and stone tools, and various types of ornaments that were worn by the living and buried

with the dead, as has been found in later prehistoric burial sites (e.g., Carson, 2014).

These first settlers in the Marianas, the sea people who initially hugged the coastline of the islands they settled, brought the original cultural elements to their new home. These cultural elements would be greatly modified over the centuries, of course, and there would be other, much later visits from elsewhere. Especially consequential was the influx of another wave of settlers just a thousand years ago who have become associated with the latte culture they developed in the Marianas. Even so, those initial settlers 2,500 years earlier represented an early type of seafarer society and lifestyle–one that became foundational in the islands–which they brought to the shores of the Marianas by way of the Philippines and island southeast Asia.

Early Castaways on European Ships

In the intervening centuries we have very few documented cases of Filipino castaways reaching the Marianas, although there is a record of a number of persons from other places washing up on those shores. Choco, a Chinese from Ternate who was in Guam when the first missionaries arrived, was one. There were also some Malabarese.

It is possible that a few Filipinos may have been on one or another of the Manila galleons that were wrecked off the Marianas; e.g., *San Pablo* in 1596, *Santa Margarita* in 1601, and *Concepcion* in 1639. A Franciscan priest and several soldiers from the *San Pablo* left the ship and lived ashore until the arrival of the galleon the following year. We know from the Friar Juan Pobre that the survivors of the *Santa Margarita*, wrecked off Rota, were distributed to various islands, and some may have remained after the priest was taken off by another ship seven months later. (For summaries of contacts and impacts, see Russell, 1998 and Barratt, 2003). A number of crewmen survived the wreck of the *Concepcion* off Tinian and spent some time in the Marianas. One of them, a Filipino by the name of Pedro Ximenez who had been on the island for 30 years, met the missionaries upon their arrival and soon afterwards had his two-year-old son baptized. Two others, both of whom had lived in the Marianas for years, would offer special assistance to the leader of the first Christian

mission in preparation for his evangelizing work in those islands.

Participants in the First Mission

Contact between the Philippines and the Marianas resumed with the arrival of the Jesuit priest Diego Luis de San Vitores in 1668 with the purpose of founding the first Catholic mission there. San Vitores, who had spent the previous six years engaged in missionary work in the Philippines, had already learned the basics of the Chamorro language through the services of two Filipinos who had lived as castaways in the Marianas for 20 years (Hung et al, 2011, 923; Russell, 1998, 75). Besides his five Spanish Jesuit companions, San Vitores brought 19 Filipinos as well as a dozen creoles from Mexico. These lay assistants were a significant presence in the Marianas at the threshold of its first continuing contact with the West. They accompanied San Vitores and the other priests, serving as catechists and as part of what San Vitores termed his *Escuadrón Mariano,* or "militia." From the outset, San Vitores recognized that if the mission was to be effective, "others ... must be added to our company by way of an escort, or better said, to serve as examples of Christian living, which is the only defense among these poor peoples."

These catechists did more than accompany the priests to the villages, offering them protection and assistance in gathering the people for services. They often went about the island by themselves, instructing converts and teaching the children prayers and religious hymns. They baptized those in danger of death, especially infants, even when the rumor began circulating that the baptismal water poured on their heads was poisonous.

When violence erupted not long after the mission began, these catechists were among the first victims. In all, 26 of the original 31 catechists died a violent death during those early years. A few of these are named: Hippolito de la Cruz (+1670), Damian Bernal and Nicolas de Figueroa (+1671), and Pedro Calungsod (+1672). In the three months between December 1674 and February 1675 alone, seven Filipino assistants lost their lives (Hung, et al, 2011, p. 923; Russell, 1998, p. 75).

The original team of catechists was all but wiped out by the mid-1670s, victims of the intermittent fighting that broke out between the

missionary party and those local people who had reason to resent the foreigners. The Filipinos and creoles, whom San Vitores designated his "militia," were unable to protect him and themselves from a violent death; but they made a singular contribution to the founding of the church in the Marianas. These men who formed the *Escuadrón Mariano* and had given their lives in service to the mission were not replaced. Instead, Filipino catechists gave place to Filipino troops.

Filipino Troops

In 1675, just a year after the arrival of Damian Esplana, who would soon become their commander and then civilian governor of the new colony, the first soldiers came to reinforce the garrison (Garcia, 2004, p. 435). By this time the missionary compound and the Spanish center in Hagatna, the main village on Guam, had been surrounded by hostile Chamorro forces; a number of skirmishes had taken place throughout Guam and other islands in the Marianas; and two Jesuits and several mission helpers had been killed. The mission compound in Hagatna had subsequently been fortified with a wooden stockade to protect against further attacks. Clearly, in the eyes of the Spanish, the time had come to provide more than the nominal "militia" that San Vitores had gathered to assist him in his work. It was time for real troops, under the leadership of a trained Spanish commander with 20 years of military experience, to protect the gains that had been made (Hezel, 2015, p. 34).

If anything, violence in the islands only intensified over the next few years. As the military force moved around Guam in an effort to capture hostile ring leaders and open villages to the missionaries, new conflicts were bred and new cause for resentment was offered to those islanders already opposed to the Spanish. Within a two-year period, four more Jesuit priests were killed. In retaliation the troops marched on villages regarded as hostile and burned down houses and canoes. Soon island people sympathetic to the missionaries were taking it upon themselves to kill those regarded as rebels and present their heads to the Spanish (e.g., Hezel, 2015, p. 37-44).

Every year or two, the Spanish galleon would drop off new military troops to bolster the garrison: In 1675, 20 recruits; in 1676, 14; in 1678,

30; and in 1680, 20 Filipinos and an unspecified number from Mexico (Garcia, 2004: pages 435; 453; 479; and 497). By 1681 there were reportedly 115 soldiers in the Marianas. But the number of troops kept increasing, even as the local population fell off because of infectious disease brought to the islands by the Spanish. By 1698, the year that signaled the end of hostilities, the garrison numbered 160 troops (AGI Philipinas, 95, f27). The size of the garrison never grew much larger.

Most of the troops were probably recruits from Mexico, but some were undoubtedly from the Philippines. Indeed, we are told that there were three companies of troops in Guam, two of them "Spanish" troops (drawn mostly from Mexico), and one company from the Philippines (most likely Pampangos, who were the favorite recruits for soldiery in the Marianas). We may presume, then, that one-third of the total garrison was Filipino, between 50 and 60 (e.g., Fr. Bustillo's 1668 letter, Levesque, 1992-2002).

These troops were a ragtag bunch, poorly paid since the yearly allotment provided for salaries for no more than 60 men. In effect, the soldiers were receiving only a third of the salary they should have been paid. But the early governors managed to bilk the men out of even this money. Many of the troops married local women, afterwards withdrawing from military service since they could not afford to support families on the little salary they received from the government (Hung et al., 2011; Russell, 1998).

The number of soldiers who married into Chamorro society increased over the years. According to Spanish reports, there were six married soldiers in 1677; but two decades later, by 1698, there were 60 married troops out of the total garrison of 160 men (Levesque, 1992-2002, p. 319). Although there is no breakdown of this number by ethnic origin, we can assume that 20 or 30 of these married soldiers were from the Philippines.

The retired soldiers who married local women would have quickly established themselves in their local communities–perhaps not in their wives' own villages, as was the custom in the Marianas, but certainly in the growing and increasingly complex society of Hagatna, the capital of the colony. In time some of these former troops returned to the smaller villages, where they were named as *alcaldes (mayors),* tax collectors and

overall enforcers of Spanish colonial policy in the village. They were given the responsibility of managing the *Hacienda Real*, or the royal land parcels that were designated for the use of the Crown in each of the villages. Village authority was meant to remain in the hands of the traditional chiefs, according to Spanish colonial law. But, more often than not, the Chamorros who should have held the chiefly title found that they were subject to so much local pressure that it was difficult to discharge these responsibilities effectively. Hence, foreigners were picked to do the work; and in many instances those foreigners were retired military from the Philippines (Hezel & Driver, 1988).

Measuring the Influence by Numbers

As the Filipinos - most of whom were once soldiers - married and settled into village society. Their number and influence grew over the years. In 1710, the year in which the first census was taken in the Marianas, 417 foreign-born persons were counted in the island group (Hung et al, 2011, p.923; Russell, 1998, p.75). Although not specified, the number of Filipinos might have numbered between 60 and 80. By 1727, the date of the next full census, the number of Filipinos might not have increased; but their relative influence did, if only because the total population had dropped from 3,500 to 2,800 (Lévesque, 1992-2002: 13 17-45).

The next census, taken in 1758, breaks out the population by ethnic group (Chamorro, Spanish, Filipino) for the first time. The figure for Filipinos is given as 431, a number that includes not just the foreign-born soldiers (about 100 males), but their wives and their descendants as well. This number compares with the other tallies: 504 "Spanish" (largely creoles from Mexico) and 1,776 Chamorros.[2] If we are to use this system of counting–and it represents a significant change from the traditional matrilineal way of reckoning–the Filipino segment of the population would have been 16 percent.

The size of what is called the Filipino population grew by the same standards over the decades and into the 19th century (Levesque, 1992-2002 (19), 347-367). In 1800, the 1,234 persons designated Filipinos

[2] See AGI FIL 480; also, in Lévesque 1992-2002: (14) 183ff.

represented 30 percent of the total population (4,060). By 1830, the Filipino percentage of the total population of 6.490 was 40 percent.

Thus, over a period of 70 years, the Filipino portion of the Marianas population grew from 16 percent to 40 percent of the whole. During the same period, the Spanish/mestizo percentage increased and held steady at about 20 percent; while the Chamorro share dropped from about 65 percent to 40 percent. Such figures were sometimes used by early 19th Century naval visitors to the Mariana Islands to demonstrate the loss of the pure-blooded Chamorro; but to expect to find a "pure" population in any island group after more than a century of intensive contact is fatuous. Instead, these figures reveal the effect of intermarriage, especially the percentage of the total population affected by it. The figures also provide a measure of the extent to which Filipinos had merged with the island population, blending with it rather than replacing it.

Dilemma of Development

What was Spain to do with the Marianas in view of the drastic reduction in the islands' populations and their limited economic prospects? Francisco Medrano, one of the earlier governors, suggested that the populations of the Mariana Islands be transported to the Philippines where the people could receive better care at much less cost to the Crown. After all, any hope that the Marianas might serve as the gateway to the rest of the Pacific was being proven baseless. It was too small to count. It had no riches to speak of. It was unnecessary even as a reprovisioning stop for galleons (Hezel & Driver, 1988, 151). Madrano's proposal to ship off the population elsewhere and close down the Marianas altogether met with loud opposition from the Jesuits and was never acted upon. Yet, the problem of the imbalance of costs and benefits of retaining the islands was unsolved.

From time to time the governors of the Marianas turned to the Philippines for help in making their island economy more productive. Filipinos were sought to help build a stronger economy–not by taking over production, but by modeling agricultural practices that could be adopted by Chamorros. Beginning in 1722, the governors would periodically write to Manila requesting that 100 Filipino families be brought to the Marianas,

given land, and encouraged to help improve agricultural production; and so, turn around the economy. Finally, in 1748, the request was acted upon. The Filipino families were selected and set sail for the Marianas, but they never arrived. The ship sank and all aboard were lost. After this, the plan was quietly dropped once and for all (Hezel and Driver, 1988, p. 155).

Shift in Orientation

By the early 19th Century, the people of the Marianas found themselves pivoting even more sharply westward, due to the force of circumstances. Spain's colonial empire was rapidly shrinking. With the independence movements among the former Spanish colonies in Latin America, the yearly galleon visit to Guam was discontinued in 1825. The yearly subsidy from Spain had been halted for several years even before that; and when the subsidy was restored, its amount was greatly reduced. With the termination of the galleon run - the annual event that had been celebrated in Guam for the last two and a half centuries - all Spanish contact with the Marianas would now go through the Philippines rather than Acapulco. This would remain true through the end of the century and the termination of Spanish rule (summarized by Rogers, 1995, p.86).

The ship traffic from the Philippines was limited, and there was no massive migration from those islands to the Marianas. The shift did, however, provide an opportunity to take stock of cultural similarities. Later historians such as Florentino Rodao (1998, pp. 31; 38) noted many cultural features shared at that time by the two island groups: The favorite pastime of cockfighting, the ubiquity of bolos or machetes, dress styles - especially among women, and the common custom of possessing two homes (one in town and the other a ranch).[1] The author also noted the similarities in political and organizational models, especially the unit known as the *barangay* in the Philippines (e.g., Rainbird, 2004, p. 85). The suggestion that these cultural features were direct imports into the Marianas from the Philippines during this era might have been dubious. But Rodao's observations did underscore the shared features of the two groups—some of which were undoubtedly products of the Spanish colonization, while others may have been rooted in a far deeper past.

Temporary Guests

During the first half of the 19th Century, Guam entertained a steady flow of visitors from other parts of the worlds. There were *beche-de-mer* traders and whaleship visits even before the arrival of the copra traders later in the century. European naval explorers from different nations - especially France, Britain, and Russia - made their way to the Marianas during the same period. With the termination of the galleon run and the need to find other means of support, the Marianas could not remain as sealed off from the outside world as it had been during the previous century.

The Philippines, meanwhile, were beginning to reassess their colonial status and to rally support for the independence that nearly all of the Spanish colonies in Latin America had already attained. Throughout the world the clamor for national freedom was resonating. As the independence movement picked up in the Philippines, Spanish authorities seemed determined to hold on to what little remained of their global empire.

In 1858, the Governor of the Philippines, under royal order to establish a prison in the Marianas, sent 63 convicts to Guam to convert an old barracks building into a prison. The convicts were soon sent back to Manila, but the Marianas was to become a penal colony during the final decades of Spanish rule (Rogers, 2011, p. 95).

After the Cavite Mutiny of 1872, the avalanche started. Numerous Filipinos accused of siding with the leaders of the uprising were sentenced to exile and shipped to Guam. Over the next five years, 1,200 *deportados* landed in Guam; so many that some 500 had to be sent to Saipan for settlement. Since there was no prison large enough to contain this many men, and it would have been difficult for them to find a way off the island in any case, the *deportados* were allowed to live among the island people (Rogers, 2011, p. 96).

Most of the *deportados* were repatriated after the Spanish monarch pardoned them in 1876, but a small number of the military convicts from the Philippines remained on island upon completion of their sentences. As so many had done before them, they married local women and assimilated into the local Chamorro community. But they did not settle in quite as quietly as others had done in the past. Some shared with others their

radical notions of "native rights." Such ideas were put into action when, in 1884, the local militia assassinated the governor as the first step in a plan to free themselves from Spanish rule. This insurrection was put down quickly. Several members of the local militia were tried for the murder, with 31 sentenced to prison, while 4 others were executed for their roles in the assassination (Rogers, 1995, p.96).

Once again, in 1896, after another insurrection against the Spanish in the Philippines was put down, over a hundred of those involved in the uprising were banished to Guam. Many of them had spent time on the island before and were confident they could easily escape from the old barracks that served as the prison. When they tried, though, they were met by volley after volley of rifle fire from the local militia. In the end, 80 were killed and 40 more severely wounded in what was the worst instance of bloodshed in three centuries (Rogers, 1995, p. 100).

Even as Spain was surrendering its islands to the US after its defeat in the Spanish-American War, one last encounter was taking place between Chamorros and their Philippine neighbors. In 1899, the Macabebes-Pampangos troops, known for their loyalty to Spain, were sent to Saipan to pursue the Filipino revolutionaries who had remained in the Marianas after exile from their homeland. The several hundred troops never found the revolutionaries they were chasing, but they put an enormous strain on the resources of Saipan for the several months they remained on the island. The residents of Saipan must have been relieved when the force and their commander were obliged to leave the island as Germany assumed control of the Northern Marianas (Farrell, 2011, p. 321).

After the Exit of Spain

After the Spanish-American War, Spain was forced to surrender its colonies in the Philippines and the Mariana Islands as prizes of war; thus, ending more than three centuries of colonial rule in the former, and over two centuries of rule in the latter. Guam was handed over to the US to become the newest in its recent acquisitions, nearly all of them acquired

within the previous ten years.[3] The Northern Marianas, along with Spain's colonies in the Caroline Islands, were sold to Germany for 25 million pesetas (Hezel, 1995, p. 95). In later years, the Northern Marianas would be passed on to Japan, and then to the US; both times as conquests of war. The end of the Spanish-American War, therefore, marked not just the conclusion of Spanish colonial rule in the Pacific but also the partition of the Marianas into two political entities. This split has lasted up to the present day.

Since the end of Spanish rule in the Philippines and the Marianas, the interaction between the two island groups has continued; but the US has replaced Spain as the intermediary between them. For a while, America continued the Spanish government's practice of exiling Filipinos, especially political prisoners, to Guam. The most notable of these was Apolinario Mabini, who lived on Guam from 1901 to 1903 before returning to the Philippines. Others followed from time to time, along with a small number of laborers and skilled workers (Quan, 2010). All in all, however, the flow from the Philippines to Guam during the prewar years was modest, while it was nonexistent in the Northern Marianas (Underwood, 1973, Table 7 population figures, 33-34).

The real boom began at the end of World War II. Guam's population doubled between 1945 and 1950 as US forces engaged in an island cleanup and expanded the island's military bases. The Philippines, the major source of labor for this effort, sent 8,000 engineers and construction workers to Guam. The influx of workers from the Philippines was stemmed within a few years because of local protests against cheap foreign labor. However, it was not long before the flow from the Philippines resumed. Between 1970 and 1990, the number of migrants in Guam nearly doubled–from 37,000 to 70,000; so that by the end of that period, migrants outnumbered local islanders (Quan, 2010). Not all of these migrants were from the Philippines, of course, but many were.

Afterwards, the demand for skilled labor (such as accountants, tradesmen, doctors, and nurses) continued to grow as the island population exploded. This was true even as young Guamanians were leaving in large numbers to find work in the US. With the explosion of the

[3] American Samoa would be added to the list of American colonies within a few years.

new tourist industry and the opening of several new hotels in Guam and the Northern Marianas during the 1970s and 1980s, thousands were recruited from the Philippines to fill new positions. Today, the 50,000 Filipinos living on Guam make up about 30 percent of the total population (Rainbird, 2004, p. 85). This represents yet another population infusion into an island society that has absorbed Filipinos into its own population many times before.

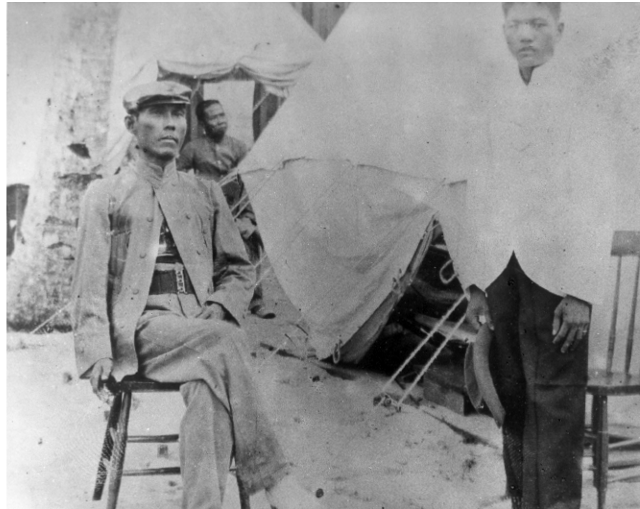

Figure 2. Apolonario Mabini (left), the famous Filipino leader, during his exile on Guam about 1900.

The productive relationship between the Marianas and the Philippines persists right up to the present, despite the tensions that may surface from time to time in Guam and in the Northern Marianas toward the Philippines. The particular forms in which this relationship is manifested might change from one era to another. US military bases may be enlarged on Guam, depending on what happens to existing bases in the Philippines. The request for trained workers from the Philippines might shift from one skill set to another depending on the economic conditions and labor needs in the Marianas Islands. Yet, the intertwining between these former Spanish colonies persists.

Conclusion

The persistence of this interaction over time is due to more than simple geographical proximity. The cultural proximity between the two

island groups – the Marianas and the Philippines - has also played an important, although generally unstated, part in this long relationship. In this article we have tried to explore the different dimensions of this relationship as it has played out over the centuries.

We have seen that the Marianas have been closely linked to the Philippines from the very beginning; that is, from the earliest settlement of the island group three and a half millennia ago. Soon after the Austronesian arrival in the Philippines, these seafarers set off to establish the first population in the Marianas as well as other places throughout southeast Asia. Hence, the culture, language, and genes of the two archipelagoes have been intimately related from the earliest times. Traces of the relationship can be readily detected in the social and cultural features of both places.

At the outset of the first intense contact between the Marianas and the West in the late 17th Century, people from the Philippines played a significant role in mediating and facilitating this encounter. Filipinos comprised about half of the mission team that accompanied the early Jesuits in the late 1600s while they established the church in the Marianas. As these catechists were killed off during the early hostile encounters with island forces, the military was expanded to protect the endangered mission. Eventually, many Filipinos – perhaps a hundred or so who had served in the military – married Chamorro women and settled into village life with their Chamorro wives. Thus, Filipinos were a strong presence at the very time that the people of the Marianas were just beginning to assimilate Spanish culture. We can assume, of course, that the interaction produced a social and cultural current in the opposite direction as well.

At other times during the latter 18th Century and early 19th Century, the governors of the Marianas turned to the Philippines for help in developing a viable model for agricultural production on the islands. This did not always produce the intended results, but still the size and influence of the Filipino segment of the Marianas population grew steadily throughout this period. By the middle of the 19th Century, Filipino-Chamorro marriages and their progeny accounted for nearly half of the island population. We can only assume that this would have had its own impact on the lifestyle of the local people.

Then, during the late 1800s, as the revolutionary spirit was growing

in the Philippines, unprecedented numbers of Filipinos were being shipped to the Marianas as *deportados*. These deportations triggered some of the most notable incidents of that period, including a failed jail-break that resulted in more killings than the island had seen in two centuries. Most of those who had been exiled were permitted to return to the Philippines, but many others remained to settle on Guam and increase the Filipino presence there.

The last half of the 20th century has seen another major influx of Filipinos to Guam and the Northern Marianas to assist in the rebuilding of the islands after the war, to provide the labor needed for the rapid growth of the tourist industry, and to help the island rebuild after the frequent typhoons that have ravaged Guam and Saipan.

We can conclude, then, that this relationship between the Philippine and Mariana island groups, founded in very early genetic and cultural ties, was reinforced over time by the contacts between the two peoples. As we have seen, this was particularly visible in the Marianas, where at critical times during its post-contact history, people from the Philippines played an influential role in precipitating and mediating cultural forces. Yet, for all that, the Marianas has retained its cultural and linguistic distinctiveness. Despite the impact that Philippine society has had on the Marianas over the years, it has not eroded this distinctiveness. Then again, the relationship between the two island groups need not be highly visible today, if only because the ties between them are buried deep in the bloodstream.

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Yapese Environmental Philosophy and Food Sustainability[1]

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Abstract

This paper explores traditional Yapese fishing techniques, especially the tidal stone-wall fish weirs, called *aech*. These fish weirs provide a classic example of a traditional sustainable fishing practice that promotes food sustainability. To study Yapese environmental philosophy is to examine Yapese sustainable food practices. The aim of this paper is to illustrate how Yapese maintain balance and harmony in acquiring their major staple, fish. The paper extracts a food-sustainability virtue ethics from Yapese traditional ecological knowledge, fishing practices, and agroforestry.

Key words: Micronesia, Yap, food sustainability, virtue food ethics, existential commitment; environmental philosophy.

Introduction

Environmental philosophy provides a gateway to develop a heuristic model to understand Yapese cultural philosophy. Because Yapese philosophy is contained in oral traditions and various practices expressed in cultural rituals, forms of life, mores, habits, attitudes, beliefs, and thoughts, we attempt to explicate Yapese philosophical values from rituals, beliefs, agroforestry, and especially fishing techniques, regarding the environment as they relate to sustainable food practices. We present the use of fishing techniques especially the tidal stone-wall fish weirs,

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called *aech*, as a classic example of a traditional sustainable fishing practice that is being rejuvenated. To study Yapese environmental philosophy is in large part to examine Yapese sustainable food practices. The aim of this paper is to illustrate how Yapese maintain balance and harmony in acquiring their major staple fish, and implement agroforestry techniques, in association with their traditional ecological knowledge, and the spiritual world. The contemporary challenge is that when the cash economy replaced subsistence living in the Twentieth Century Yapese thinking about the environment shifted to an anthropocentric or practical approach to exploit the environment in unsustainable ways, for economic gain (John Runman, personal communication, 2008) Hence, the need to return to traditional sustainable environmental practices is even more urgent.

Location of Yap

In Western Micronesia, the arch of islands extending from just North of Indonesia to South of Japan, that is the Palau-Yap-Mariana island chains share important material goods and spiritual values. Through the spiritual (magical) power and natural resources of Yap, some of its shared values and trade goods moved eastward through the Caroline atolls. Yap, or Waab, the traditional name, is located 840 km south-west of Guam, and 1,850 km east-south-east of Manila in the Philippines. It comprises four high volcanic islands, Maap, Rumung, Marbaa, and Gagil-Tomil. Combined, the islands are 24 km in length, north-south orientation, and 10km at its broadest, east-west, with a total land area of about 95 square km and the highest elevation is 174 meters above sea level. The high islands are referred to as "Yap Proper" and together with seven small coralline islands and about 130 atolls that form the "Outer Islands," they comprise Yap State, one of the four States of the Federated States of Micronesia (FSM), the other three states are Chuuk, Pohnpei and Kosrae (Fig. 1).

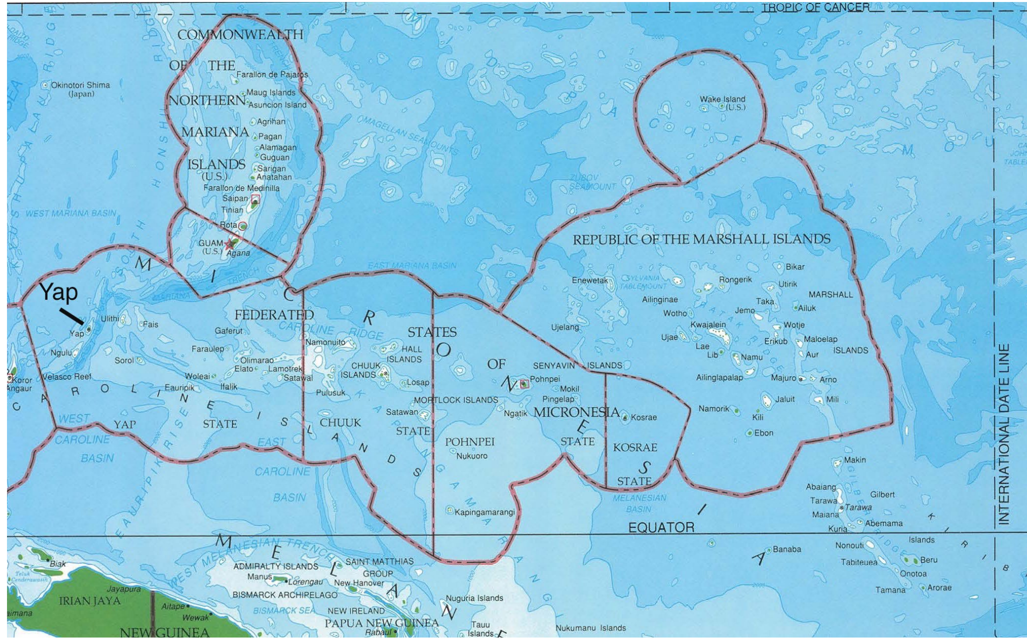

Figure 1: Yap Locality Map (USDA-NRCS National Cartography & Geospatial Center, *Pacific Basin Area*, 1:20,000,000, Fort Worth Texas, 1999)

The population of Yap today is about 11,700, immediately after the World War II it was estimated to be 2,400 (Takeda 1999: 4), and before western contact the population was estimated to be in the range of 20,000 (Hunter-Anderson 1981) to 40,000 (Takeda 1999: 3). Yap is divided into ten municipalities and 134 village communities that are ranked into nine classes under three paramount chiefs from Gagil (Gachpar village), Tomil (Teb village), and Rull (Ngolog village). While there are complexities, variations and alliances that influence the ranking of many villages, what this established was a system of higher-class and lower-class villages, i.e., lower-class villagers that served the higher-class Yapese, and higher-class villages that supported lower-class villagers at certain times, especially at seasonal rituals (Dobbin 2011: 160-61). Land, and the adjoining submerged land "sea-plots" (and in some cases, beyond the reef flat) was owned by various family estates from within the village. Lower-class villagers could not own land, it was owned by a "landlord" from a higher-class village. These villagers sought access to food grown on the land and within the sea where they could be granted limited access to certain types of food and fish.

Traditional Fishing Methods

Fish were and continue to be a major source of protein for the Yapese and they developed several fishing techniques incorporating cultural and social practices (see Falanruw 1992; Hunter-Anderson 1983; Suriura 1939; Takeda 1999). The types of fishing practices include the use of various types of nets, line fishing, spear fishing, fish traps, bamboo, and stone weirs on the reef flat, using a bamboo raft or canoe. The various fishing practices can involve just a few men or many men working together. Rites and magic are used in many practices, as when fishing outside the reef, and where villagers of the lower class are prohibited from fishing (Suriura 1939: 2; Pitmag 2008 personal communication). In some practices, men would gather beforehand in the *faluw* (men's meeting house) at the times of the year that is conducive for catching the fish sought after. Group fishing provides for the sharing of the catch with participants and others in accordance with local customs, and if just a few people carry out the fishing, contributions, gifts, and tribute need to be made to others in accordance with local customs (Suriura 1939: 4).

There were several traditional fishing methods used on the reef flat, and the most lasting example is the tidal stone-walled fish weirs (*aech*), of which it is estimated there were a total of 700-800, and they are all privately owned (Fig. 2). Yapese talk about the first seven *aech* being built by spirits. In an interview conducted by the Historic Preservation Office in 2002, a relative of an owner of an *aech* in Gagil, stated that this *aech*, being one of the initial seven was built by the ghost of a man named Mer many years before European contact, to "learn from and for catching fish…in a sustainable manner" (Jeffery and Pitmag 2010). Fish were caught at prescribed times, for a few days only, then the *aech* was opened up, "to let fish come and go, so as to make them feel at home" (James Lukan, personal communication, 2008). Those around seagrass beds caught rabbit fish, goat fish, emperor, or needle fish; while those built further out on the reef flat caught parrot fish, surgeon fish, trigger fish, giant trevally, barracuda, shark, grouper, stingray, and turtle (Jeffery and Pitmag 2010:116-117) (Figs. 3 & 4).

Figure 2: Yap Proper, the reef flat and location of about 450 *aech* (www.islands.fm/atlas)

Figure 3: The arrow-shaped *aech* adjacent to the coastline (Bill Jeffery)

Figure 4: An *aech* placed adjacent to a blue-hole, located away from the coastline (Bill Jeffery)

Results

As a result of a 2008-2009 project that documented 432 *aech*, it found an overwhelming cultural landscape created by the *aech* and the associated cultural practices, which reflected Yapese cultural identity. The cultural landscape highlights Yapese ingenuity and the harmonious, spiritual, and sustainable relationship they had with the marine environment. The traditional council of chiefs, the Council of Pilung, regard *aech* fishing as "sustainable fishing methods utilizing traditional ecological knowledge and practices." (James Lukan, personal communication, 2008). Today, they want to revive the use of the *aech*, revitalizing the cultural practices, and to reduce the number of fish taken by unsustainable, so-called modern, fishing practices (Jeffery, 2013).

Discussion

In this section we explicate Yapese philosophical values from rituals, beliefs, agroforestry, and especially fishing techniques, regarding the environment as they relate to sustainable food practices based on our study of Yap culture and environmental ethics (Sellmann 2012, 2020a, 2020b). The subsistence life-style, as affluent as it was, keeps people in contact with the natural environment. Indigenous Pacific islanders

recognized that the islands are alive, developing and growing either by volcanic activity on the high islands or the growth of coral on the atolls. As such Yapese describe their world in dynamic, living terms. Pacific myths describe the islands as the remains of a primordial ancestor-giant, or other narratives describe how culture heroes fished the island out of the sea or build the island on top of a submerged reef (Lessa, 1987, and Poignant 1967: 70-82) The hylozoistic world is abounding with creative energy, life power, spirit power, and the ancestors' spirits. Micronesian languages have their respective terms, denoting a concept like the Polynesian concept of *mana* (the ontological life force permeating the universe and linking people to their ancestors and the land). In Yap, the power is called *kael*. In Pohnpei and Chuuk it is called *manaman*. Ancestor spirits carry on the creative life force. The creative, life sustaining power of nature, consists of a balance of two opposing yet interrelated energies, such as the sky-above/island-ocean-below, male/female, upper-caste/lower-caste, light/dark, right/left, life/death, and so on. The interpenetration of the forces or correlative pairs generates the creatures, plants, and things of the world. Depending on the amount of life power (*kael* or *manaman*) perceived or believed to be dwelling in the person, creature, plant, or thing establishes that person or thing in a hierarchical order, granting it a superior or inferior position. In human society the life power dictates the social, economic (land-ownership), political power, authority, and status of the upper caste (chiefs, land-owners, navigators, warriors) over the commoners and lower castes.

Yap environmental philosophy is derived from peoples' experience of both living in harmony with and living in conflict with the forces of nature. Ideally the totems, taboos, and the medicine practiced maintain a balance among the forces of nature, and a balance between those forces of nature and the people. Storm magic, the alleged ability to summon or divert storms, was especially valued, and used for any number of reasons, such as broken taboos, the healer's lack of skill, or for no apparent reason at all. Yapese people find themselves trying to live-well, while at the same time they perceive or believe that they are being threatened by the forces of nature, a nature spirit, or an ancestor. They need fish but do not catch any. They seek a certain current, wind, or star for navigation but cannot find it. Their crops need rain, but drought persists. They are threatened by

storms, typhoons, waves, relentless wind and rain, thunder and lightening and so on. Trying to balance between harmony and conflict with the natural environment, Yapese shape their lives and their worldviews. Their cosmology is value laden. There are no bare *facts*. Things always have value built into them. Ideally, they want to live in harmony with the forces of nature to enjoy eating and cohabitating at leisure, but they may find themselves struggling to stay alive—starving without fish or fruit, drowning in the ocean, being blown off course or adrift without a breeze, and so on. When the forces of nature are in balance with each other and when humans abide by the taboos, then harmony prevails. When the forces of nature are out of balance or when human needs or desires are out of balance with the forces of nature, then conflict is apt to arise.

Philosophy at the Edge

Pacific island environmental philosophy can be further explicated by employing the Permaculture model. The environmental and ecological philosophy known as Permaculture developed the concept of living on the edge. Permaculture is based on the notion of sustainable agriculture (permanent agriculture) that is sustainable food production. It was transformed and expanded to become a model and philosophy for promoting permanent culture. Employing Bill Mollison's (1988) work, Louie Hena, and Kurt F. Anschuetz (2000: 40) discuss how the concept of permaculture developed from an agricultural value to become cultural practices. In permaculture the concept of the edge denotes the environmental power that creates productive energy and unique opportunities for human life on the edge, that is, the edge is found at the zone of contact between ecological niches (Hena and Anschuetz 2000: 38). The concept of the edge also caries various interesting connotations. Hena and Anschuetz define the edge in permaculture:

> Edge is a key idea used in this discipline to convey how interfaces between unlike niches enhance the concentration of productive energy through the interaction of diverse but complementary parts. Such interactions are essential for creating and sustaining the healthy functioning of a system (2000: 38).

Yap is a vibrant and productive place because it maintains productive energy on the edge of the ocean and the island, the edge of the atmosphere and the mountain top.

Beach Philosophy

Living on an island, the first edge a person encounters is the edge that exists between the ocean and the island itself. The reef and beach provide a dynamic ecosystem for island life. We observed that the area above the reef is an abundant fishing area, especially with the *aech*. Just behind the beach the island forest or agroforest takes root. The trees provide shelter for other plants, crops, and for humans to find refuge from the sun and elements. Island cultures typically distinguish between the ocean side or beach, versus the inland or mountain side location. The inland villages are responsible for harvesting the resources of the land, forest, or agroforest, and the villages along the coast are responsible for harvesting the resources from the ocean. Fishing is a challenging endeavor. Fishing in the ocean is both difficult and life threatening. Fishing on the reef is not very dangerous, but it is still difficult to get the fish on the hook, in the net or basket. The difficulty of fishing puts people in conflict with nature. Building the *aech* makes it much easier to find and catch the fish--reestablishing harmony with nature. Conflicts in the community can be resolved by giving people fish, especially turtle or turtle shell. There is a ritual-custom in the outer islands of Yap, in Woleai atoll, in which the women are given the head of the fish. Usually, the fish head is given to the male chief. That kind of reversal ritual helps maintain balance and harmony in the community (Maluwelmeng 2002: 67).

Mountain Philosophy

All high islands, that is those islands that are not low-lying coral atolls, have some elevation. Land is one of the most valued possessions in Yap. The island mountain ecosystem is a vibrant place where the wind, rain, trees, and the ascent of the mountain create fertile niches for life to thrive. The island mountain valleys provide very fertile habitats for crops

to grow and where people can live-well. The traditional practice of food and plant cultivation is a type of agroforestry, allowing cultivation of multiple food crops in a limited land area. Such crops include but are not limited to fruit-bearing plants such as breadfruit, coconut, papaya, banana, and root crop cultivars such as yam and dry-land taro. Such farming techniques existed before modern agriculture came to name them agroforestry (Manner 2008).

The growing of crops served the fundamental human physical need for nourishment. Subsistence farming, being the basic source of the peoples' livelihood, promotes not only healthy living practices by way of appropriate nutritional eating habits, but also requires extensive hours of physical work. The efforts involved in planting, nourishing, and propagating crops are so intensive, requiring patience, perseverance, and dedication, that such crops both reflect and determine one's manhood in recognizing the maturation of boys becoming adult men due to their farming or fishing success.

Parity and the Existential Commitment

To reclaim a sustainable agricultural relationship with nature, what is needed is a food virtue ethics in which self-interest and other-interests are mutually determined and co-terminus. The organismic elements in traditional Yapese philosophy coupled with Kantian and Rawlsian considerations of justice could provide such a virtue ethics. When each particular object or creature is placed on a continuum of existential parity with every other thing and parity is understood to be a temporal concept, changing over time, then we can better protect biodiversity. Particular things and creatures as different as they are, because of their temporal interaction with each other, ameliorate those differences, and simultaneously enhance those differences in a dynamic, dialectic harmony. Parity does not mean identical sameness; it means that each creature or object contributes its uniqueness, but the particulars are not mathematically equivalent. Parity is not an equal opportunity; some people will naturally take advantage of opportunities more skillfully than others, and they should be the leaders, if and only if they overcome self-interests and act with the spirit of public-interest, especially assisting

those who are least well-off, the poor. Parity provides an existential perspective from which equal consideration of interests could be reconceived and defended.

This concept of existential parity develops a moral corollary—the **existential commitment**. The existential commitment is the moral attitude of responsibility and obligation to show concern and provide care for the life of others. The ontological and cosmological understanding of the interrelatedness of particulars leads people to acknowledge their moral obligation to promote the interests of other people, animals, and even things. Within the perspective of existential parity, the value of others must be understood as having significance for oneself. This notion of existential commitment is like many traditional religio-philosophical positions, claiming that people have a basic responsibility for others. For example, consider the Hindu, Jain, and Buddhist concept of d*harma* (social responsibility), or the Judeo-Christian-Islamic concept of the brother's keeper. The existential commitment is informed by the respect for persons concept developed from Immanuel Kant through Ronald Dworkin—one of the most basic forms of social responsibility is to respect others (Kant 1965; Dworkin 1986). The existential commitment is a stronger position. It is not merely a Kantian social contract or convention, nor is it a Dworkinian theoretical starting point. It is a fundamental characteristic of existing in a world of interrelationships.

Conclusions

The aim of this paper is to open a gateway to understand how the Yapese maintain balance, harmony, and sustainable food practices in acquiring fish in association with their ecological and spiritual knowledge. Traditional Yapese environmental philosophy under the subsistence economy was based on a way of life that entails an environmental ethics, promoting sustainable food production in fishing and agroforestry. Catching fish on the tidal reef flat employing the *aech* was implemented using Yapese ecological knowledge of the marine environment, in association with ancient cultural practices, as shown to them by their ancestors or the spirit world. These practices contributed to achieving a sustainable food source in balanced harmony with the natural and the

spiritual world. Modern fishing techniques have created social conflict, and they are proven not to be sustainable. In recent years, Marine Protected Areas have been declared at the village level, with state and federal government support to incorporate traditional ecological knowledge for their management. These protected areas provide a relatively new approach for conservation with community collaboration, that is now expanding across Oceania. In living on the edge between harmony and conflict, a person can move in either direction. There is an ethical concern to promote human balance and harmony with the forces of nature and within human society. This might be called the ideal Yapese environmental ethics. However, there is also what can be called the practical or anthropocentric Yapese environmental ethics that is exhibited when people find the forces of nature or the human interaction with nature are out of sorts such that imbalance and conflict arise. This practical ethics pits humans against nature. It may well explain why some contemporary Yapese embrace an anthropocentric view of environmental ethics, and they accept the self-interest benefits of capitalism. When environmentally minded people or eco-tourists discover that some Yapese property holders want to build hotels, oil refineries, or develop a fishing industry on the islands despite the environmental degradation that will result, then they may be mystified because they simply think that the only cultural value is harmony with nature. The experience of conflict, however, gives an alleged credence to another value of domination and exploitation. Yapese living on the edge between harmony and conflict with nature are currently shaping and re-shaping their cultural ocean-scape and landscape.

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Cancer Health Disparities Research Training: A Qualitative Report

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Abstract

The Research Education Core of the Pacific Islands Partnership for Cancer Health Equity (PIPCHE) conducted a systematic review of participant learning. All students from both the University of Guam and the University of Hawai'i who have completed the program were asked two open-ended questions, which were then thematically analyzed. (1) What impact did the training have on your career? (2) What did you learn about cancer health disparities? Findings include themes such as expanding social networks, building professional skills, providing opportunities and funding, inspiring a future career in research, and giving back to the community. The results also indicate that students learned that cancer disparities research was complex and diverse, required cultural sensitivity, different areas of cancer research and education, the importance of mentor and peer relationships. Trainees spoke very favorably about the weekly seminar format. These findings are consistent with studies in other similar programs. The authors recommend future educational outcome research.

Keywords: cancer cealth disparities, research, equity, mentorship, opportunities, training

Introduction and Background

The Pacific Island Partnership for Cancer Health Equity (PIPCHE) is a collaboration between the University of Guam (UOG) and the University of Hawaiʻi Cancer Center (UHCC) with the goal to advance cancer health

equity, increase the cancer research and education capacity, and decrease significant cancer health disparities in Pacific Islands (PI) Populations. This partnership is funded by the National Institute of Health U54 cooperative agreement grant program. Americans of PI ancestry are a highly underserved and vulnerable minority with a disparate cancer burden and underrepresented among researchers and healthcare providers. The continuing shortage of investigators with Asian American (AA)/Native Hawaiian Pacific Islander (NHPI) ancestry was shown in a review of NIH funded clinical research for the years 1992-2018 (Đoàn, Takata, Sakura, and Irvin, 2019) Although funding for AA/NHPI projects has significantly increased over time, the proportion of the total NIH budget remained small (0.12% before 2000 to 0.18% after 2000). The need for more research in AA/NHPI communities is shown by an excessive burden of lethal cancers primarily due to health-care disparities and advanced stage disease at diagnosis (Kiely, Lord, and Ambs, 2022) although inflammation and immune response dissimilarities among population groups may contribute to these disparities. To address this lack of equity, the National Cancer Institute (NCI) established the Center to Reduce Cancer Health Disparities (CRCHD) in 2001 (Springfield and others, 2020) and funded Partnerships to Advance Cancer Health Equity (PACHE) over the last two decades. PIPCHE has the goal to train a new generation of researchers with PI ancestry who will be able to contribute to a reduction of cancer health disparities. Researchers could focus on topics such as lack of cervical and colorectal cancer screening, betel nut chewing as a risk factor for oral cancer, and liver cancer (Hernandez, Zhu, Sotto and Paulino, 2021; Pokhrel, Herzog, Kawamoto and Fagan, 2021; Pokhrel, Kawamoto, Pagano and Herzog, 2022). During the past 10 years, an infrastructure for research training in Guam and Micronesia has been built and has given trainees the opportunity to be involved in areas relevant to cancer health disparities, e.g., Public Health, Nutrition, Biology, and related disciplines. Given the small size of the population in Hawaii and Guam, the total number of trainees is limited. Therefore, the success of the training programs is difficult to evaluate by survey and we decided on a qualitative report to summarize training experiences of current trainees on PIPCHE.

Methods

Study Setting. This study was conducted at the University of Guam and the University of Hawaii Cancer Center in Honolulu, Hawai'I, with students from the Research and Education Core of PIPCHE, which trains college seniors, graduate students, and early-stage investigators from Guam and Hawaii to address cancer health disparities. The students work directly with mentors, either on individual projects or as part of a team in ongoing program projects (Palafox and Leon Guerrero, 2022).

Study Design. In this qualitative study, responses to the following questions were collected from previous and current trainees. All current students and those who had completed the program were invited to participate in an email interview to explore the impacts the U54 have on their career. The study was approved by the Institutional Review Board of the University of Guam.

Data Collection. An email questionnaire was developed, as informed by students' suggestions. The interview questions were as follows:

1. What impact did the training from U54 have on your career?
2. During your time on the U54, what did you learn about cancer health disparities?

Responses were submitted to a staff member, with no authority over the students, who collated and de-identified responses.

Data Analysis. Mentors and students independently reviewed and coded the de-identified responses following a qualitative data analysis process in the social sciences (Creswell, 2014) The reviewers discussed the survey responses with the aim of producing a concise summary of emergent themes, resulting in a qualitative codebook (Guest, Namey and Mitchell, 2013).The themes that arose during the coding process were coded and streamlined to remove superfluous comments unrelated to the primary study questions Coding and analysis were performed manually, by a group of four student researchers under the guidance of a faculty mentor, without the use of specialized software. They communicated primarily via shared google drive.

Results

Findings to Research Question #1: What impact is your training from the UH4 having on your career?

There were eight responses submitted to this question, from current U54 trainees. In the qualitative codebook, six themes were identified, with two of those themes having identified subcategories. These themes and subcategories are presented in Figure 1.

Figure 1. *Thematic codes for Research Question 1.*

1. Expanding Social Networks
   Subcategory 1: Mentors
   Subcategory 2: Peers
2. Building Professional Skills
3. Providing Opportunities
   Subcategory 1: General Opportunities
   Subcategory 2: Training
   Subcategory 3: U54 Weekly Meetings
4. Providing Funding
5. Future Career in Research
6. Giving Back to the Community

Responses are presented below to each theme and subcategory. First, a definition of the theme is presented, followed by examples of responses related to the theme, and concluding with an analysis of what these responses implied.

Theme: Expanding Social Networks

Subcategory 1: Mentors. All eight U54 trainees made comments regarding the subcategory of “Mentors,” which includes academic professionals and other established researchers. The trainees spoke highly of their mentors. A common theme cited by trainees was that they felt supported as junior researchers both informationally and

emotionally. Mentors provided informational support by actively listening and focusing on their trainees' research interests. Mentors supported trainees by connecting them to other research personnel, cancer-related databases, and other cancer research resources that were not available to the general public. Informational support was also given through mentor feedback to help facilitate, guide, and improve trainees' research projects. Emotional support was given to trainees as they drew inspiration and received guidance from their mentors, academic professionals, and other established researchers. All trainees had ample opportunities to network with researchers and academics who shared common interests, both virtually and in-person. However, due to COVID-19, one trainee mentioned that the shift in the communication domain from in-person to online presented challenges. Effective communication appeared to be the foundation of a strong mentor-trainee relationship. Mentors were considered exemplary of what comprised a "good" researcher by exhibiting clear communication and expertise in their field.

The PIPCHE program introduced trainees to vast amounts of resources through various professionals in the cancer research field. Listening to professionals' presentations supported the building of specific skill-sets for trainees, and thus strengthened their mindset regarding the pursuit of short- and long-term career goals. Collaborating not only helped trainees expand their social networks, but improved valuable professional skills such as oral communication. This theme will be expanded on in the next section.

Regarding their future careers in research, trainees commented that meeting distinguished professionals in the fields of research and medicine through the program inspired them to consider their own future careers in research. Overall, PIPCHE trainees appeared to be appreciative of working with, learning from, and building lasting relationships with mentors from both UOG and UHCC. Trainees noted that mentors instilled in them a newfound confidence and inspiration moving forward as they continue to establish their professional careers.

Subcategory 2: Peers. Along a similar vein to the subcategory of "Mentors," the subcategory of "Peers," mainly referred to the informational and emotional support U54 trainees received or gave to other trainees in their cohort. Informational support included advice-

giving and learning research skills from others. Trainees appreciated receiving advice from their peers on topics such as research-related technology and software. Trainees often learned and collaborated with peers who shared common research interests. Emotional support included lending an open ear and receiving verbal encouragement.

Many trainees emphasized the expansion of their social networks and connecting with other peers including fellow research assistants throughout the duration of their time with the PIPCHE Program. As a result of expanding their networks, they collaborated with their colleagues at both UHCC and UOG.

Working alongside their peers, trainees were inspired to further develop their own research and applied what they learned from their peers to their future careers. Trainees mentioned that no matter how far along one is in their academic journey, everyone has something valuable to share and learn from others' experiences. Being able to connect not only with other peers, but within their project's research team has been a "worthwhile" experience.

Theme: Building Professional Skills

"Building Professional Skills" refers to the valuable professional skills that U54 trainees cultivated as a result of training under the U54 program. Trainees felt they developed qualities of "competent" researchers including: (1) oral communication; (2) writing skills; (3) presentation skills, (4) teamwork; (5) proper goal setting; (6) taking initiative; (7) being open to new ideas and criticism; (8) being adaptive and responsive to changes/setbacks (e.g., in research project timelines); (9) efficiency and reliability; (10) strengthening and cultivating research/transferable skills; and (11) networking skills.

All eight trainees felt they learned valuable skill-sets as researchers. Trainees evinced significant improvements in their oral communication skills during their time with the program. The training helped trainees develop skills such as manuscript writing and biostatistics. These skills were considered useful for their future careers. Listening to various established professionals supported the building of certain skill-sets and also supported and strengthened their mindset with regards to pursuing both their short and long-term career goals. One current undergraduate

trainee indicated that the opportunities to conduct research have helped to strengthen skills that can be applied to their current studies. Trainees hope to continue cultivating and honing their research skills with the ultimate aim of conducting meaningful research.

Theme: Providing Opportunities

Subcategory 1: General Opportunities encompassed numerous opportunities to grow both personally and professionally that derived from the U54 Program. Almost all U54 trainees felt that the program provided valuable learning opportunities that would not have been available if they had not participated. General opportunities included both virtual and in-person poster presentations and conferences, which also allowed trainees to expand their social networks. Other general opportunities mentioned by trainees included scholarships, leadership, and speaking with the community. Not only were trainees given opportunities to meet and build relationships with mentors from both UOG and UHCC, but the program also introduced them to a plethora of resources they felt will be useful in their graduate and PhD track. Opportunities not only presented themselves to graduate trainees, but also to undergraduate trainees who were introduced to multiple resources and opportunities to conduct research, which was applicable to their studies.

Subcategory 2: "Training" encompassed training provided by the U54 Program such as manuscript writing. U54 trainees believed strongly that training was instrumental to their success and in their growth as researchers. Some trainees attributed pieces of training, namely manuscript writing, as imperative in helping them to achieve tasks more efficiently and reliably. Training sessions helped trainees to foster stronger networking skills and to decide where they would like to apply the skills gained through the program. Training opened more opportunities for trainees and helped them develop relevant research skills that they will be able to apply in their graduate or doctoral training.

Subcategory 3: U54 Weekly Meetings encompassed the weekly meetings provided by the U54 Program, which presented opportunities for U54 trainees to practice their professional skills including oral communication. These meetings were a source of inspiration for trainees

as they were able to hear research progress and updates from peers and professionals alike. The U54 weekly meetings revealed the vast scope of opportunities open to trainees that extend beyond schooling. Furthermore, trainees were introduced to many other departments and shared resources that play a role in generating impactful research.

Theme: Providing Funding

"Funding" referred to U54 trainees utilizing the U54 program's fellowship. Trainees were able to dedicate sufficient time to their research on cancer health disparities while getting paid simultaneously, alleviating mental and financial stressors. Funding was also provided for trainees to participate in in-person conferences. Thus, they improved oral communication skills and expanded their networks of other academic peers and researchers with similar interests.

Theme: Future Career in Research

"Future Career in Research" referred to the U54 program as a pathway for U54 trainees to a future in research. The program not only paved the way for their future work, but opened up avenues for trainees for further collaboration and career work. Trainees spoke to incorporating the skill-sets learned in the program to progress into their future academic/research career track. Furthermore, the program inspired and helped them plan for what is next, effectively establishing a newfound confidence in themselves for what is to come. Training from the program was perceived as having a beneficial impact on their future careers. For instance, one trainee feels confident that they can apply what they learned through the program to their prospective career in a biomedical setting after graduation. Some trainees also exhibit a desire to continue relationship-building with traditionally excluded Pacific Islander (PI) communities and providing cancer-based education and resources for the remainder of their career.

Since beginning the program, trainees were introduced to an array of resources and research opportunities through various peers and professionals in the field, acquired certain skill-sets, and strengthened their mindset in continuing to pursue their career goals. Trainees felt what

they learned through the program will stay with them as they continue their research, follow their short- and long-term career goals, pursue their graduate and doctoral careers, with the ultimate goal of generating meaningful research in the future.

Theme: Giving Back to the Community

"Giving Back to the Community" refers to the U54 Program as an avenue to work with and for the community. Some trainees showed ambition to build off of what they learned in the program to continue relationship-building and future collaboration especially with PI communities. Furthermore, trainees desired further involvement in traditionally excluded communities by providing cancer-based education and resources. Some trainees even became mentors and helped to train new staff in practicing cultural sensitivity when working with minority communities.

Findings to Research Question #2:
During your time on the U54, what did you learn about cancer health disparities?

There were eight responses from current U54 trainees submitted to this question. In the qualitative codebook, seven themes were identified and two of those themes identified subcategories. Two themes resonated with themes present in question 1 findings. Each of the themes and subcategories are presented in Figure 2.

Figure 2. *Thematic codes for Research Question 2.*

1. Complex and Diverse
   Subcategory 1: Multifactorial
2. Cultural Sensitivity
3. Cancer Health Disparities Research
   Subcategory 1: Different Areas of Research
   Subcategory 2: Need for Focused Research
4. Cancer Health Disparities Education
5. Working With Community Disparities
6. Expanding Social Networks (cont.)
   Subcategory 1: Mentors
   Subcategory 2: Peers
7. Providing Opportunities (cont.)
   Subcategory 1: General Opportunities
   Subcategory 2: U54 Weekly Meetings

Again, responses are presented below to each theme and subcategory. First, a definition of the theme is presented, followed by examples of responses related to the theme, and concluding with an analysis of what these responses implied.

Theme: Complex and Diverse

The most consistent theme that U54 trainees spoke to was that cancer health disparities and the approaches to mitigating them are resoundingly "Complex and Diverse." Cancer health disparities are "multifactorial" as exemplified by almost all trainees as, "one size does not fit all." Prior to the U54 Program, some trainees had a basic understanding of factors such as genetics that contributed to cancer health disparities. However, as they spent time under their assigned projects and learned from other U54 projects, much of their initial assumptions changed surrounding the complexity and severity of cancer health disparities.

Trainees realized that many more factors play a role in cancer health disparities.

Trainees found out that cancer health disparities including cancer incidence and cancer mortality differ variably by: (1) ethnicity; (2) sex; (3) anatomical location; (4) cancer stage; (5) community; (6) geographical region; (7) social factors; (8) behavioral factors (e.g., nutrition) and (9) environmental factors (e.g., pollution). The program taught them the importance of comparing incidence and survival rates among different ethnic groups to another to determine the differences of each. As part of the UOG research team working on the Full Project II, one trainee learned that there are different factors at play when dealing with cancer health disparities as shown by betel nut chewing as a contributing factor to liver cancer. In essence, cancer health disparities run deep in many factors including social factors and, thus, require a range of perspectives and interventions in improving outcomes.

As trainees experimented with the different ranges and types of studies and research that can be conducted, it solidified their understanding that there is not one appropriate intervention applicable across all individuals, strengthening the notion that cancer health disparities are multifactorial and that interventions that work for one population may not necessarily work for others. Trainees continue to learn that cancer health disparities have an "unmeasurable impact" on the health of different communities as exemplified by the exploration of disparities and inequalities in different areas of research, intervention, and prevention measures.

Theme: Cultural Sensitivity

One U54 trainee noted that working on their study revealed that disparities may be linked to, "certain practices rooted in the culture of a community." Thus, cultural sensitivity is essential and must be reinforced when researching in traditionally excluded populations and in developing interventions for these populations. Some trainees believe that cultural knowledge, social interactions, and behaviors all impact and influence each other, especially in regards to cancer health disparities. By providing resources that are beneficial to the community and demonstrating a

willingness to learn by asking questions, trainees believed that they could help communities feel empowered. By being culturally sensitive, communities may be more willing to take knowledge on cancer health disparities and resources and ideally educate others within their social groups

Theme: Cancer Health Disparities Research

Subcategory 1: "Different Areas of Cancer Health Disparities Research" spoke to the extensiveness of cancer health disparities research. U54 trainees realized the range of different types of studies and research that can be conducted when researching cancer health disparities. Cancer health disparities and inequalities have an "unmeasurable impact" on the health of different communities, thus warranting extensive research. There is a need to continue to explore these issues in different areas of research, intervention, and prevention measures as they can be applied to different communities.

Subcategory 2: "Need for Proper Research to Combat Cancer Health Disparities" referred to the importance of continuing to address challenges of cancer health disparities through research. To reduce or eliminate cancer health disparities, some trainees believe that not only is it essential to continue research, but there is a need for "proper" research and resources. Gaining community support is not only a major contributing factor to the overall success of a project but is needed to properly conduct research. A trainee from the UOG team wrote emphatically regarding this subcategory. According to the trainee, the novel research project is "just now scheduling participants for data collection," reinforcing the challenges that come with working, and even beginning, a project in an area that lacks established research facilities. Going firsthand through the logistical processes of establishing relationships with other research facilities and acquiring necessary supplies for the project, this trainee also spoke to the importance of pioneering projects at UOG. Trainees believe that proper training and quality research facilities are essential for diverse communities to make increased contributions to the scientific endeavor.

Theme: Cancer Health Disparities Education

"Cancer Health Disparities Education" referred to cancer health disparities being addressed by educating oneself, the community, and the general public. Through working with traditionally excluded communities, trainees continue to question their preconceived ideas surrounding cancer health disparities. Trainees mentioned the lack of awareness on cancer health disparities present within communities. Programs like U54 are playing a central role in combating these disparities and reducing high mortality rates in minority communities. One trainee who conducted research on cancer health disparities in Guam commented on its prevalence in the community, which needs to be tackled as early as possible. From their research, they identified a pressing need for youth and adults to be more educated on commonly-used substances (e.g., e-cigarettes, betel nut, and tobacco) affecting the health of the community. Trainees would like for others to challenge their existing assumptions surrounding cancer, cancer screenings, and cancer health disparities. In addition to education on cancer health disparities, continued learning on cancer in general, cancer risk factors, common cancers in different communities, cancer screening practices, nutrition, and the relationship between health and cancer is considered essential.

Theme: Working With Community

Under the U54 Program, some trainees had the opportunity to "talk-story" with members of Pacific Islander (PI) communities; thus, this category is referred to as "Working With Community." Through collaboration with particular PI communities, trainees gauged their existing knowledge of cancer health disparities, which allowed for a better understanding of how to facilitate future efforts to maximize benefits to the community. Some trainees mentioned that collaboration with community members is needed to better understand existing factors that contribute to cancer health disparities (e.g., behavioral, environmental, cultural, etc.). Trainees mentioned that garnering support from the community is imperative to a project's success and in conducting proper research. Not only involving the community in the beginnings of a

research project, but maintaining lasting relationships with community members long after the study finishes is essential. Interestingly, this theme may be correlated with the theme "Cultural Sensitivity" as many trainees emphasized cultural sensitivity as they worked with multiple PI communities. Trainees noted that the community generally lacks awareness about cancer health disparities and that programs like U54 are imperative for starting to combat and reduce the mortality rates seen in minority communities.

Subcategory 1: "Mentors" As a continuation of "Mentors" in the previous section, U54 trainees also spoke to U54 mentors directing them to databases and resources (e.g., SEER stats, CI5plus, and academic papers) when discussing what they learned about cancer health disparities. However, in contrast to the previous section, trainees mostly spoke to the informational support received by mentors in learning about cancer health disparities rather than emotional support.

Theme: Providing Opportunities (Cont.)

Subcategory 1: "General Opportunities" Along a similar vein to the previous section detailing U54 trainees' experiences, "General Opportunities" encompassed opportunities, mainly resources, to learn more about cancer health disparities. Trainees learned how to utilize resources to compare incidence and survival rates among different ethnic groups and graphically represent them for presentations.

Subcategory 2: "U54 Weekly Meetings". As a continuation of "U54 Weekly Meetings" in the previous section, U54 trainees continued to comment on how U54 weekly meetings in addition to working on their studies and research, helped them learn about other areas of cancer research simultaneously.

Discussion

This qualitative report identified several important themes expressed by trainees working in the area of PI cancer health disparities. A number of publications have illustrated the beneficial effects of training programs for students with diverse backgrounds. For example, North

Carolina Central University and Duke Cancer Institute implemented an NCI-funded Translational Cancer Disparities Research Partnership (Oldham and others, 2021) to provide training for graduate students and postdoctoral fellows at the two institutions. An innovative component of the program, the Translational Immersion Experience, enabled Scholars to gain knowledge across eight domains of clinical and translational research. When the program was evaluated according to specific metrics, statistically significant gains in knowledge across three broad domains of biomedical research and seven distinct areas were detected. A research-focused initiative at Johns Hopkins targeted trainees from high school to doctoral studies (Crews and others, 2020) and offered academic, research, professional, and social skills to meet the challenges of scholars from under-resourced backgrounds. Evaluation reports showed that 83% or more of high school students moved on to college and 73% chose science, technology, engineering, math, and biomedical majors. Among undergraduate participants, 42% entered medical or biomedical graduate programs and among post-baccalaureate scholars, 71% started graduate school. At the Huntsman Cancer Institute (López and others, 2021), a new program (PathMaker) initiated in 2016 has engaged 44 underrepresented trainees in cancer research labs, many of whom half graduated college, found employment in STEM-related programs, or pursued medical or doctoral studies. A new PACHE Partnership, Temple University/Fox Chase Cancer Center and Hunter College Regional Comprehensive Cancer Health Disparity Partnership provided preliminary data from monitoring the first six months of their program and described measures, indicators, and data sources to determine progress towards their objectives (Halpern and others, 2019).

The PIPCHE partnership between the University of Guam and the University of Hawaii Cancer center includes the education mission of increasing training for cancer research among Pacific Islanders. This is a vital mission given the dearth of cancer researchers of Pacific Islander descent. We solicited feedback from former and current participants in the PIPCHE Research Education Core training program to assess the perceived effectiveness of the program. The feedback we received was generally positive. Trainees and former trainees indicated that they had

learned much about cancer disparities research. Further, they appreciated the interactions with mentors, peers, and other cancer researchers.

Although our feedback was gratifying, we acknowledge several limitations to our study. The sample was small, and we did not collect information regarding future career choices. As more of the trainees graduate and start careers, we will have a better sense of the longer-term effects of our training program. Our program is modest in size compared to other PIPCHE partnerships on the mainland US, and our training program is commensurately modest in its size and scope. However, The PI population is growing rapidly, and it is important to provide PI students with the knowledge and mentoring that will ensure greater representation of PIs in cancer disparities research.

Recommendations and Future Research

The findings from this interview study are similar to the conclusions of a review of 963 publicly accessible NIH RePORT publications across the 16 funded U54 PACHE center programs (Behar-Horenstein and others, 2020). The authors emphasized the importance of more studies and publications related to cancer health disparities, in particular cancer diagnosis, screening, treatment, risk factors, and the impact of interventions on health promotion, prevention, and quality of life as well as educational outcome studies.

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Being Pilipina/Pilipina-American: A Familial *Being* Passed Down from My Lola and Nanay

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Abstract

The purpose of this paper is personal. My intent to write the paper was to focus on a familial experience to understand Pilipina/Pilipina-American identity. Theoretically, I rely on Pinayism and Peminism to unite and understand our individual experiences about being Pilipinas. Methodologically, I utilize autoethnography and oral history to combine, my Lola's (grandma), Mom's (nanay), and my own experiences, positionalities, and voices together to speak to a familial and generational flow of Pilipina/Pilipina-American identity within the context of the United States. Throughout my findings, I analyze how Pilipinas and Pilipina-Americans are challenged through phenotype, generational language ability, financial independence and stability, and stereotypical perspectives to understand ourselves and our communities. Lastly, I encourage more Pilipina/Pilipina-American research to strengthen our Peminist Power and investigate the notions of hyphenated identities to further interrogate in-betweenness.

Keywords: Pilipina, Pilipina-American, Identity, Peminism, Pinayism, Pilipina-ness

At Lola's Dinner Table

In 2018, Catriona Gray won the title for Miss Universe. While visiting my Lolo and Lola's (Tagalog for grandpa and grandma) house, we gathered around the small dining room table with my Mom and godsister for dinner. As The Filipino Channel (TFC) played in the background, loud enough for Lolo and Lola to hear as we ate dinner, the news reporter spoke about how Gray represented the Philippines well and slandered Steve Harvey for his previous wrong announcement from the 2015's Miss Universe win with Pia Wurtzbach. At first, we laughed, speaking to Harvey's embarrassment and how he was lucky that another Pilipina won,

so that he could "make up for his mistake," as Lola said. Then, we spoke about Gray's outfits, her pearl earrings and Pilipinx sun ear cuff were something that my Mom and I hoped to purchase before my Lolo and Lola's 60th wedding anniversary party in the beginning of 2019. In the midst of our conversation about Gray and how her presence in media would be beneficial for future Pilipinas, my Lola fiercely expressed, "you know, she's not even born in Philippines, she not true Pilipino." Immediately, my godsister and I made direct eye-contact, feeling the tension from our Lola's statement. As I looked over to my Mom, I realized she was also drawn back from my Lola's words. With a passive aggressive response, my godsister calmly responded, "well, she seems more Pilipino than me, and I wasn't born in PI either." In an awkward silence, we all continued to pass the food around the dinner table and filled our plates with food. When we began to eat, my Mom changed the conversation to the avoid the continued awkward silence.

After dinner, my Mom and I stayed a while longer to visit with my Lolo and Lola, as we often do. Hours later, as soon as we drove home, I looked at my Mom with a shocked face, and said, "Ma! Can you believe what Lola said at dinner?" My Mom and I laughed, as she uttered, "Right?!" We continued our conversation, and I asked, "what do you think Lola meant by Miss Universe not be 'Pilipina'?" My Mom explained how my Lola and Lolo are very old school, and believe in order to be "Pilipinx," we needed to practice "Pilipinx" traditions. While I understood what my Mom was telling me, I pushed the topic further, "but how can Lola say that when technically her blood isn't Pilipino?" Genetically, my Lola comes from a lineage of colonized Pilipinx blood, where her mother was the daughter of a Spaniard who historically colonized the Philippine Islands (PI), and her father was a U.S. American soldier who was deployed to PI (yet another colonial bloodline). As my Mom and I continued to theorize about what my Lola meant, nearly four years later (in 2021), I still think about what my Lola could have meant. Even more so now, as I question what *being* Pilipina-American means to me. As I learn more about who I am as a Pilipina, and what Pilipinx culture may or may not be, I stumble off my words to find a definitive answer. Therefore, I explore what *being Pilipina* means in the contexts of the United States to understand my own intersectional identity through a familial inheritance of identity. First, I

familiarize myself with the historical colonization of the Philippines and Feminist theories that led to Pilipina Feminisms (also known as Pinayism or Peminism). Then, I justify my methodological approach as an autoethnographic oral history to speak to how my family characterizes Pilipina/Pilipina-American identities. Lastly, in my analysis I attempt to answer my own question—providing myself and my family with a definitive answer of what it means to be Pilipina/Pilipina-American in the United States today.

A Point of Understanding

Pinayism aims to look at the complexity of the intersections where race/ethnicity, class, gender, sexuality, spirituality/religion, educational status, age, place of birth, Diasporic migration, citizenship, and love cross (Allyson Goce Tintiangco-Cubales).

In the establishment of feminist theories, practices, and scholarship, the original intent was to provide awareness, understanding, and platforms for women to fight against the marginalization of hegemonic, patriarchal, and colonial oppression (Littlejohn, & Foss, 2009). However, Carrillo Rowe (2010) critically, furthered feminist theories to critique the power dynamic within feminist work, reiterating that racial and ethnical realities created borders even amongst feminists. In looking to Ghabra and Calafell (2018) for hopeful allyship and mentorship, I also experienced and continue to experience the whiteness that perpetuates and marginalizes already existing oppression of women of color (Calvente, Calafell, & Chavez, 2020). Therefore, while I do not discredit feminist epistemologies, I specify my scope to utilize Pinayism, Pinay Power, Peminism, and Pinay-Mestiza consciousness, all of which takes bits and parts of feminism and women of color feminism to particularly validate Pilipina/Pilipina-American feminists, experiences, and identities. In doing so, I provide some historical and familial context to Pilipina/Pilipina-American identities to comprehend the importance of Pinayism. Then, define and elaborate the connection between my Lola's, Mom's, and my own experiences as Pilipina/Pilipina-American women to Pinayism.

Before the multi-layered history of colonization in the Philippines (PI), Torres (1987) disclosed that indigenous, "women [in PI] were regarded as equal to men and received protection from the laws of their society" (p. 312). Partnership, respectability, and collectivity were indigenous values in PI, which were tainted by Spanish colonization in the early 1500s (Paik, Choe, & Witenstein, 2016). In fact, as Tuck and Yang (2012) mentioned that, "*internal colonialism*, [refers to] the biopolitical and geopolitical management of people, land, flora and fauna with the 'domestic' borders of the imperial nation" (p. 4). More specifically, Aguila (2015) explained how, "there is barely any information about the pre-colonial [PI] past, [because] records do not go that far back…[since] Spanish colonizers burned all traces of the 'pagan' [specific pre-colonial traditions in PI] culture," echoing the impact of Spanish colonization (p. 72). For nearly three hundred years, Spanish colonization haunted PI and its indigeneity, also labelling PI's people as "Filipinos," which in itself creates complexities. In fact, the difference between "Filipina" and "Pilipina" is a linguistical difference between colonized and native language use. The term "Filipina" recognizes the letter "F", which Pilipinos do not. In Pilipino culture and language, our alphabet does not recognize the letter "F," instead we use "ph" or "p" to stimulate the Anglo-English "F" phonetic sound (Nadal, 2004; de Jesús, 2005). Thus, the difference between "Filipino" and "Pilipino" reiterates the impact of colonization in PI amongst people, language, and identity.

Unsurprisingly, Spanish blood runs through my Lola's veins and thus in mines, as well. The legend in Pilipina/Pilipina-American culture is that in order to recognize and trace familial connections paternally and maternally, the child carries both names—the maternal last name becomes the child's middle name, and the paternal last name becomes the child's last/surname (Posadas, 1999). Inevitably when my Lola married, she became Gloria Barnes Tolentino, but before marriage she was Gloria Cortez Barnes. Through names, then, Pilipina/Pilipina-Americans create their family trees and connections. My Lola's mother was a Dominga, her mother before her was Amador, and her mother's father was Phillipe. According to my Lola, Phillipe was the "original" Spaniard in her lineage that was asked to join the Spanish inquisition, because of his ability to speak Spanish and Tagalog (most common dialect in PI). After Phillipe

settled in PI, he brought his family, where his daughter extended the familial lineage that my Lola, Mom, and I belong to and sustain. Furthermore, through my Lola's maternal genetic line, we maintain colonial Pilipina/Pilipina-American blood through four generations of *insulares*—Spanish-born Pilipinas/os/xs in PI (Aguila, 2015). Significantly, after learning that my Lola carries a Spanish lineage in our family, I wonder if her Spanish colonization influences the matriarchal roles in our family. Throughout this paper, I also challenge the historical notion that Spanish colonization happened through a masculine influence. In fact, my familial history contradicts the dominant narratives of how U.S. Americans define Pilipina culture and identity that is said to uphold a patriarchal role rather than a matriarchal portrayal. Thus, reiterating the complexities of colonization and its impact on the Pilipina/Pilipina-American identity.

Additionally, however, "Barnes" interrogates the same colonial blood in our veins. In the late 1890s, toward the conclusion of the Spanish-American war, PI (along with Guåhan and Puerto Rico) were sold to the United States, in part to grant "peace" (Posada, 1999; Paik et al, 2016). Then, when the United States and Japan became enemies during World War II, in the mid-1940s, the Japanese invasion of PI further imperializied and colonized communities and people in PI. With the constant colonization of PI, the question of identity lingered in Pilipina/o/x-ness. Especially towards the early 1950s, when PI slowly broke away from their colonial forces. Furthermore, Aguila (2105) describes that because of the constant colonization in PI, Pilipina/Pilipina-Americans began to classify as a diaspora identity, arguing that home—while a physical land base island—was never given back to the indigenous communities and people of PI. As Halualani (2008) noted about diaspora identity:

> Diaspora is a historical and social formation that must be thoroughly traced in it specific context, considering cultural politics, economic consequences, legalities, and global conditions…[Additionally, in terms of] identity and power structures of the cultural group of focus and should be relational in insight, which requires a dialogical analysis of the movements between space as well as their functions (p. 6).

By 1946, PI began to govern itself, facing its fourth wave of immigration to the United States (Posada, 1999; Paik, Choe, & Witenstein, 2016). With Asians and Pacific Islanders (API) immigration growing in the United States by the late 1960s, API communities became the second largest immigration group to the United States (Maramba, 2008). Although, as Pilipinxs immigrated to the United States, Ocampo (2013) argued that, "colonialism might affect assimilation outcomes" (p. 427) as a diaspora identity further impacted Pacific Islander communities (Halualani, 2008).

Therefore, as Pilipina/Pilipina-American immigrant women transitioned to the United States, and more first-/second-/future U.S.-born Pilipinas are naturalized, our identities are yet again changed due to immigration leading towards feelings of a diaspora identity. Consequently then, I argue that Pinayism and Peminism are conceptual frameworks to describe the constant imperialism, colonialism, and bi/multiculturalism forced upon Pilipina/Pilipina-American positionalities, experiences, and identities. de Jesús (2005) defines Pinayism and Peminism, as:

> *Peminism* describes Filipina American consciousness, theory, and culture, with the *p* signifying *Pinay* or *Philipina*, terms used in referring to ourselves as American-born [P]ilipinas.
>
> …despite the difference in terminology, each form describes [P]ilipina American struggles against racism, sexism, imperialism, and homophobia and struggles for decolonization, consciousness, and liberation. *Peminism* thereby signifies the assertion of specifically [P]ilipina American subjectivity. (p. 5, emphasis in original)

In alignment with these definitions, I allude to three stories: (1) my Lola's story (a Spanish/American, PI born, Pilipina-immigrant), (2) my Mom's story (a first-generation, U.S.-born, diasporic Pilipina-American), and (3) my story (a first-generation higher education academic, U.S.-born Pilipina-American) as Pinay-Mestiza consciousness, theories of the flesh, and in-betweenness of Pilipina/Pilipina-American identities (Anzaldúa, 2012). In essence, I use an auto/ethnographic oral tradition approach to provide a platform for my family to speak to who we are as Pilipina/Pilipina-American identities, voices, and stories, of Pinayism and Peminism. Importantly, I also make our stories personal, and in doing so remember that "it's all political" (Arriola, 2014, p. 324).

[P]ilipino [and, I argue Pilipina/Pilipina-American] identity is not a hegemonic concept controlled by a few. Rather, it is shaped through a dialogical process where our understanding of our own history is continually reevaluated and exclusionary moves are contested
(Noelle Lesile Dela Cruz).

A Point of Coming Together

In operating from an autoethnographic approach, I navigate our familial Pilipina identity in alliance with my Mom's and Lola's oral histories. First, I divulge in the tradition of oral history in relationship to indigenous practices that speak to our Pilipina-ness. Then, I express the importance of combining my story in relationship with my Lola's and Mom's to highlight the generational identity of *being Pilipina/Pilipina-American*. Lastly, I share our individual familial roles that influence our familial definition of our Pilipina-ness. For the purposes of oral history, Sorenson (2012) explains how native and indigenous communities use storytelling (a form of oral tradition) to gather different generations of family members to pass down and inherit familial histories. The family histories traditionally given and passed from one generation to another echoes indigenous practices long before researchers identified qualitative methods. Arguably, oral history is an indigenous practice of tradition rather than of research. Nevertheless, Stewart and Brown (2017) express the emotional charge stemming from oral histories producing invaluable components for families and research. While the conflicting practice of comparing personal experience to historical or phenomenal research may be unsettling, my Lola provided an oral history unique to the Pilipina identity (De Nardi, 2015). For instance, throughout my familial history, oral traditions and practices are exhibited through the women, with the expectations that the women in our family carry our family history and traditions. Therefore, my Lola's and Mom's oral history reiterates a Pilipina tradition to continue and further instill our Pilipina/Pilipina-American identities, especially for our future family members.

Nevertheless, in combination with my Lola and Mom's oral histories, I also rely on autoethnography to incorporate a different layer of Pilipina identity. Wall (2006) explained that:

> Many feminist writers now advocate for research that starts with one's own experience (Ellis, 2004). In contrast to the dominant, objective, competitive, logical male point of view, feminist researchers "emphasize the subjective, empathetic, process-oriented, and inclusive sides of social life" (p.3, as cited in Neuman, 1994, p.72).

As an autoethnographer, I intertwined my Lola's and Mom's stories of Pilipina-ness with my own to construct a definitive, personal, familial, and generational definition of *being Pilipina*. I emphasize Wall's (2006) sentiment that, "if a researcher's voice is omitted from a text, the writing is reduced to a mere summary and interpretation of works of others, with nothing new added" (p.3, as cited in Clandinin & Connelly, 1994). My ability to critically and academically mix my Lola's and Mom's concepts of Pilipina/Pilipina-American identity with scholarly research creates a platform between indigenous and dominant disciplines to add something new. Additionally, Eguchi (2015) justifies that, "[a]utoethnography serves [as] a political and intellectual move to call out the taken-for-granted idea and to diversify voices in the academy" (p. 29). Furthermore, Anzaldúa (2012) and Calafell (2013) explain how women of color in academia demonstrate a duality that many women of color scholars experience due to their cultural and familial expectations, as well as their academic, higher education, and careers. Therefore, my journey into higher education encourages research that often relates to myself, what many academics refer to as "Me-Search," leading me to hold the responsibility to bring my two worlds together. Nevertheless, Eguchi and Collier (2018) argue, "it [autoethnography] is a research praxis that manifests the ways two different embodiments of critical consciousness might together call attention to, if not disrupt, the dominant structures and operations of the academy" (p. 51). While a novice scholar myself, I commit to engaging in methods that decolonize colonized customs. Oral history and autoethnography provide practices to allow my Lola's, my Mom's and my voice(s) to be heard, in a way that would otherwise be suppressed. For me, a Pilipina woman to earn the academic standing to share a platform

for past Pilipina women to speak about their own identities through their own words, is something I hope future Pilipinas do for themselves and their families.

Thus, the interweaving of my Lola's and Mom's oral histories through an autoethnographic vantage point provide three generational narratives of being Pilipina as a U.S. immigrant and U.S. born Pilipinas. Anzaldúa's (2012) theory of the flesh and Calafell's (2013) sentiments for women of color as archives provides validity and significance to mine. My Mom's and my Lola's stories as women of color exemplifies that our very beings are sufficient proof. As women of color, Anzaldúa (2012) explains the complexities of her identity because of her cultural expectations and perceived immigrant status, similar to how my Mom and Lola conceptualize their identities as a Pilipina immigrant and first-generation Pilipina-American. My Lola's mix of Spanish blood, Pilipina tradition, and U.S. immigration all contribute to her Pilipina-ness, in ways that only her words can explain. Inevitably, my Lola's identity influences my Mom's and my own Pilipina-ness to face the complexities of deconstructing U.S. American concepts of the oppressing definition of being a Pilipina. Our words, through autoethnography and oral histories, explain Pilipina-ness from Pilipinas. To decolonize the U.S. American interpretation of the Pilipina identity, we (Pilipinas) should and need to speak for ourselves to maintain and prosper in an authentic, personal, and familial understanding of Pilipina identity. As Boylorn (2008) explained, "autoethnography allows marginalized voice to speak for itself," and that is exactly what I hope to do (p. 414).

Finally, to understand the importance of our (Lola's, Mom's, and my) roles, I divulge in our family unspoken matriarchy. Originally, my Lolo and Lola are the first in their families to immigrate to the United States in 1970 (my Lolo) and 1971 (my Lola, uncles, and aunt). Since my Lolo and Lola were the first (in their families) to gain citizenship in the United States, their families looked to them as role models, doing something that so many of their family members dreamt of doing. As my Lolo and Lola began to live the "American Dream," and contribute to their families back in PI—as any respectable Pilipinxs would—they continue to hold an unspoken hierarchy in their families. In 1975, my Mom became the first U.S. born Pilipina in our family, solidifying our newly Pilipina-American identities.

According to countless family members, my Mom became the "favorite." While my Mom speculates the favoritism from being the youngest in the family, her U.S. naturalization, inevitably, influences the unspoken familial hierarchy. Me, being a similar image to my Mom—in terms of attitude, appearance, and family-oriented traits—I inherited her positionality within the family. Therefore, the oral history that centers my Lola's, Mom's, and my stories place a special importance to our familial definition of Pilipina identity within our own context, while also facing the complexities of U.S. American conceptualizations of being Pilipina (Ocampo, 2014). Thus, through an autoethnographic oral history approach, I use my academic platform to elevate how Pilipina/Pilipina-Americans speak about ourselves and our own identities.

At Lola's House Again

In reference to Biersdorfer's (2018) steps to recording family history, I replicate the five steps to prepare an interview with my Lola and Mom. Importantly, while I reference an interview setting, the terms interview and oral history are used interchangeably. First, I create the questions that I asked my Lola and Mom—which I also print a physical copy to make notes on during our conversation—and send them to my Mom, so that her and my Lola can prepare and think about the questions and their responses. Additionally, I explain to my Mom that she may need to translate questions for my Lola, on the off chance that my Lola does not understand them in English. The interview questions are listed at the end of the article, in Appendix A. In terms of setting, my Mom and I meet my Lola at her house where she is comfortable. Lola spends much of her time in the living room watching TFC, playing solitaire at the dining table, and cooking in the kitchen. While my Lola maintains her daily activities and schedule, my Mom sat on the couch in the living room, and I am across from my Lola in the kitchen sitting on one of the bar stools eagerly watching her cook our Pilipinx dishes. Eventually, Lola is ready, and we all gather at the same dining table that started our conversation (about Miss Universe from 2018) about Pilipina identity and being born in PI. Even though I have not conducted an interview with my Lola before, this setting was not new for us, and having my Mom there is also familiar. Our familial

tradition is that stories and conversations are passed down through the women (Lola, Mom, and me), the only difference this time is that we record our conversation for the first time. When I think of the sounds that may interrupt our interview—the television with TFC going or the kitchen stove fan that attempts to eliminate the steam from her cooking—I worry that my Lola will be difficult to hear. I think about finding a microphone that attach to her clothing, so that I do not have to worry. Although, I question whether the microphone will be comfortable for her. My Lola says, "there's no need." While I planned to sit and conversate with my Mom and Lola (like normal), Lola tells us that her show (on TFC) is on. Interestingly and importantly, as we sat and respond to the questions together, my Mom and Lola continue smaller conversations about the questions after Lola's show is done and during commercials. In hopes to catch everything we talk about, I go back and forth to recording, concluding our conversation in fragments that mimic our mundane daily exchanges.

After we record, I spend months away from the recordings, but think about our conversation in the meantime. I thought about how my Lola's earliest memories are from the Japanese invasion in PI or how she is living proof of what happens to colonized education systems and its effects on the mind. As I become busy with my academic life, I ask a transcriber to create the English transcriptions from our oral history. Nearly a year later, once the paper is accepted to a national conference, I meet a Pilipina, Tagalog-literate friend, Angela (gelay) Labador. gelay graciously transcribed my Lola's and Mom's oral history—a gift that I am eternally grateful for; and because of gelay's part, my Lola's stories live on. Significantly, the importance of having my Mom and Lola's words directly represented in our native tongue reiterates the criticality of Pilipinas speaking for them/ourselves. Unfortunately, my Mom and I are not fluent in Tagalog. I understand bits and pieces of a conversation in Tagalog, but my Mom can read and speak in Tagalog. At a younger age, my Lola was able to read, write, and speak in Tagalog. Although with her old age, my Lola has lost her ability to write in Tagalog and smoothly translate from English to Tagalog. Therefore, the interlacing of my Mom and Lola's Tagalog native tongue becomes more critical, as throughout our familial generations, we have lost our literacy. As Pilipina/Pilipina-Americans, our

lineage to read, write, understand, and speak Tagalog, in itself, represents the complexities of U.S. American influence on our identities. My Mom and Lola (as many other Pilipinas) deserve to be heard in their native language and original words. The beauty of my Mom and Lola speaking English and Tagalog is critical to embody throughout the interview, as their bilingualism represents one part of our familial Pilipina/Pilipina-American identities.

After this paper was accepted to the National Communication Association annual conference in 2021, I searched for meaningful journals to further the possibilities of this paper. In a google search, I stumbled upon the Pacific Asia Inquiry, where I feel welcome; where I feel my work in alliance with other Pacific Islanders. As my Lola lays in her hospital bed, I ask her if she remembers our conversation. I play a portion of our conversation, thinking how grateful I am to have a living piece of her with me always, and she is surprised when she hears her own voice. Her smile signals to me that she remembers, as she asks me, "so what did you do with that one?" With a small smirk across my face, I explain to her that I try to push the paper forward, toward publication. Nonverbally, I can see that she understands me, as she lifts her head in my direction and says, "so, I will be famous, yeah?" I giggle, and respond, "I'll try and make you famous, but no promises, Lola." My Lola replies, "okay, good," as she lays back to close her eyes to rest. Inevitably, my Lola and Mom's oral histories that intertwines with my autoethnographic approach means more to my Lola, Mom, and me than an essay. The interview represents a part of my Lola that she is willing to share, and my Mom's input only strengthens our stories. The connections that I make explain the duality I serve as a scholar of color. Although, the combination of everything is a legacy that will outlive my Lola and mirrors her memory.

Times of *Being* Pilipina/Pilipina-American

From my Lola's earliest memories, she remembers how her family was displaced during the Japanese invasion in PI, especially considering her father's lineage.

> Lola: Oh, yeah. It's a scary. My dad is scared because somebody might know that he's an American and they might report, so we moved. We leave that place, we moved where we live in Singalong.
> Me: Singalong?
> Lola: Until the American came.
> Me: The Americans?

In conversation with my Lola, she explains the danger stemming from her father's Americanness, as if his ties to the United States were separate from the colonial history of PI. Growing up, I heard about "Americanos," but when my Lola speaks about Americanos, she never refers to them in a way that she is also one of them. For example, while in conversation she recognizes the danger of her father being Americano during Japanese invasion, but never refers to herself being in danger for being a child of an Americano (or being Americano herself). Therefore, again, my Lola exhibits this distance from herself and her U.S. American identity as a form of survival. At a young age, my Lola separates herself and did not consider herself to be "American," even with a father who was identified as American from his neighbors and Pilipino invaders. Additionally, my Lola thinks about her livelihood in terms of time in the United States and PI.

> Lola: What's the next thing?
> Me: The next one is how do you see yourself as a Pilipina? Or what makes you Pilipino or Pilipina? For you.
> Lola: What makes me Pilipina?
> Me: Mmm-hmm (affirmative).
> Lola: Eh *'di 'yung ano, 'yung* citizenship *namin*. The citizenship. Pilipino citizenship.
> Mom: Because she was born in Philippines, because that's what she was originally born in Philippines.
> Lola: Yeah, but then I come here, of course, the status was different, I become U.S. citizen. but I stay more than 50 years here. In the Philippines, I stay only 35 years.
> Me: Mmm-hmm (affirmative).
> Mom: So, you've been longer here [in the U.S.].
> Lola: Longer stay here [the U.S.].

Me: So, do you consider yourself more American or?
Lola: But still Pilipina, of course that's your native land.

Furthermore, my Lola relates Pilipina-ness to native land, in the same way that she criticizes Miss Universe 2018 (Gray) for not being "Pilipina." Similar to the conclusion that Halualani (2008) made about Tongans in the U.S. and their connection to Tonga, my Lola speaks to an indigenous connection of land that validates her Pilipina-ness. In a diasporic relationship, identity is connected to land where the individual may or may not be physically present on their native land (Halualani, 2008; Kinefuchi, 2010). Additionally, my Lola refers to citizenship as being Pilipina regardless of how much time she spent in and out of PI. In our conversation, I saw the confusion and hesitation my Lola exhibited when she said, "Longer I stay here." Although, without skipping a beat, she affirms that, "But still Pilipina, of course, that's your native land." Hess and Davidson (2010) explain the contradicts that Pilipinas/os/xs have with being, "torn between the lure of the American way of life and the maintenance of my own [Pilipina/o/x] culture" (p. 50). The same trend continues as I question my relationship to my Pilipina-ness without having ever visited or step foot on the islands of the Philippines.

Although, the constant in-betweenness continues to trouble Pilipinas even in im/migration. When my Lola immigrated to the United States in 1971, she was forced to identify as one of the following classifications: (1) white, (2) Black, or (3) Other on her immigration card. Physically, my Lola has a lighter phenotype, which arguably privileges her as white-passing. Therefore, to assert her Pilipina-ness she relies on language to passive aggressively reclaim her Pilipina identity.

Lola: That's how we call them. The color is morena.
Me: Oh, okay.
Lola: *Nung nandito sa amerika, nakakatawa. Sabi, sabi sa akin, sabi sa akin, anong kulay ko? Sabi ko, ivory.*
Me: You're called ivory?
Mom: So, she said in the US-
Lola: In the US, when I come here-

Mom: When she came here, they would ask her what is the color of her skin?
Lola: ... what is your color? I said ivory. *Ang ibig kong sabihin ano, 'yung* complexion. *'Di ko malaman kung white, eh 'di ivory sinabi ko. Tawa sila nang tawa. Natawa.*
Mom: So, her description of her color is ivory. When she first came to the US.
Lola: I don't forget that.
Mom: So, they laughed at her.
Lola: They laugh at me and then they say no, you just natural color instead of ivory. Natural. Ivory (laughter). I said, they are the same, like ivory and natural is the same.
Mom: Probably because when they first came here, and I'm just trying to think back in time, when they first came, you know, the race and the color is usually white, Black or other. I don't think they had-
Me: On what, like the immigration cards?
Mom: Just in general. Like, you know your physical description of yourself, right?
Me: Like on our IDs, right? It's like, now it's just hair and eyes, right? I don't know if they have skin tone on it.
Mom: But before, even like your racial description like they would ask-
Me: White, black and other?
Mom: I don't think there was anything other, like now you can choose Pilipino or Asian, a deeper description of ourselves. Back then I don't think it was, I think it was white or black or other. I don't, I don't think there was a description. and that's why she thought ivory would be the answer. they were laughing at her, she didn't, she remembered that, and they told her you're natural.

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Lola: I am American citizen, but still, I am Pilipino.
Me: Did you ever like…did you ever run into somebody who didn't think you were Pilipino?

> Lola: Ooh, well sometimes if I saw some Pilipino or I talked to them, and then, "Oh, you're a Pilipina?" "Yeah, I'm a Pilipina." I always introduce myself.
> Mom: But based on features, I think they, they don't realize she's Pilipino, based on her features?
> Me: Like what features?
> Mom: Like, she's what, lighter skinned, different hair.
> Lola: Yeah. Sometimes they think I'm a Chinese. "Are you a Chinese? No, I'm Pilipino."
> Me: Who were the people that, do you remember who the people were that thought you were Chinese?
> Lola: When somebody meet me, sometimes like *'yung mga amerikano*, you know, you like Chinese, maybe because of the complexion.

Whether my Lola realizes it or not, when people label her as "ivory," they also challenge her Pilipina-ness, which she subconsciously recognizes as she reasserts herself by speaking in her native tongue. Essentially, her white-passing phenotype translates as "ivory," because of her light skinned-ness, but she is not white. Ironically, the academy refers to "ivory" in a way to describe privilege (Matias, Walker, & del Hierro, 2019), and while my Lola did not notice the reference to ivory, again her Pilipina-ness is interrogated by the dominant conception of how Pilipinxs are categorized in the United States. While Pilipinas/os/xs describe them/ourselves as "morena," my Lola's immigration to the United States did not allow her to stay true to her Pilipina-ness. Inevitably, she was forced to be "ivory," which I argue reiterates the ideals of assimilation and erasure to be more palatable to a white audience. However, in some incidents, my Lola boldly confronts individuals by saying, "No, I'm Pilipino!" or by strategically and explicitly introducing herself in Tagalog. Nonetheless, in several incidents, I see how my Lola is marginalized in ways that she may not recognize, being coerced to fit in a U.S. conceptualized Pilipinx identity. However, how might the same challenge be presented in future generations, especially, as the influx of Pilipinx-Americans (being either: second-gen or later U.S. born or continuing immigrants) continues to increase within the United States?

Throughout our conversation, a rising theme of language becomes an important identifier of Pilipina-ness. Beautifully, my Lola and Mom engage in conversations in Tagalog and while my Mom questions how much I understand, language reiterates connectivity to culture. In some cases, my Lola uses language in our family to instill her Pilipina-ness and transfer Pilipina-ness. However, I argue that the use of English and Tagalog interchangeably throughout our conversation establishes how Pilipina-American identities are forged within the United States for second-gen and later generations.

> Me: What about language?
> Lola: The language? Well, the language is, it's almost Pilipino-
> Me: Cause a lot of the, a lot of my generation doesn't know Tagalog, right?
> Lola: I talk to them in Pilipino-
> Mom: Especially when she's mad.
> Lola: Yeah. (laughter) That's how they learn the Pilipino, because I never answer them. They talk to me in English, I talk to them in Pilipino.
> Me: You did that with all the grandkids? Or your kids?
> Lola: The grandkids the same, like Katreena and...
> Mom: I think it was, when you guys were younger, it was more easier for us to talk to you guys in Tagalog, but to instill it, it was very difficult.
> Me: What do you mean instill it? Like, to –
> Mom: So, we would talk to you guys in Tagalog, like little, like, we would give you guys certain words. But then you guys, as you got older, it was difficult to continue instilling those, you know, the language and the words because many of the times, because you guys were learning English and with school, it was very difficult to continue with the language.

While my Mom highlights the difficulties of transferring language throughout my generation (me, my siblings, and cousins), she also importantly notes the in-betweenness of being Pilipina-American. As generations of Pilipina-Americans become integrated within the United

States, we are faced with, “[t]he struggle to keep my foot in both communities [which is] emotionally, and at times, physically exhausting” (Hess, & Davidson, 2010, p. 52). My mom justifies the same exhaustion, when she says, “as you got older, it was difficult to continue instilling those…because you were learning English with school.” Essentially, the “American Dream” of providing a good education for Pilipina-Americans overshadows the importance of Pilipina-ness. While I understand the same struggle as being a Pilipina-American myself, another important factor of Pilipina-ness was economic stability in terms of finances. My Lola explains the importance of independence through financial means and made no excuse to ensure that her legacy understood and embodied the same understanding and action of financial stability.

> Lola: You know my mom? And Lolo don't want me to work, just want to stay home, do the household, and my mom said, "No, you have to go to work. It is better you are working also, because," well no, she cannot save for a long time if you depend on him, it's not good. So, if you have work and he had work, when you're retired you have your own, he has his own-
> Mom: So, instead of depending on him.
> Lola: You have to save.
> Me: That was Lola Rufina [my Lola’s mother; or great grandmother]?
> Lola: Oh, yeah. She said you have to save money for your own, so that when you don't have money, at least you have money.
> Mom: You don't always depend on the husband.
> Lola: That's why I transfer it to your mom and tell your mom, you know, you have to work. You're smart, you can get the good work.
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> Lola: I said to your mom, Paul [my biological father] is, yeah, Paul is getting high money, for the realty, but when there is no people buying house, then you don't have any more money. But if you work in the company that was stable, at least you have a small amount. That's why I am comparing to your mom, then it’s up to your mom.

> Mom: But she also said, look at her and Lolo. When she had retired, they were-
> Me: They had a whole separate bank account-
> Lola: Well yeah-
> Mom: And not just, cause when they retired, it was Lola's medical benefits that they were using, and Lola had told me that don't depend on your husband because you have to worry about your retirement and your medical benefits. It's better if there's two of you than just one of you. And so, she said that at that time, she was going to help, that's how you and PJ were going to Lola's house, and they were babysitting-
> Me: Oh, yeah.
> Mom: Cause I don't know if you remember that.
> Me: Yeah, cause I used to sing on their couch all the time.
> Mom: So, so, Lolo and Lola were retired, and Lola said, you go look for a job, and I'll watch PJ and Pauline until you, you know, stabilize yourself. So, that's why I ended up going to work is because she advised me, don't depend on your husband, you have to get a job and work on your own-
> Lola: You know-
> Mom: ... 'cause I was still young then.
> Lola: You know your Lola Betty? Didn't listen to my mom. Listen to her husband.
> Mom: But see, that's a lot of the Barnes' advice, if you look at like, all of my cousins, and even Auntie Gigi, the Barnes' female are always like head of your household and very strong and independent. Like, if you see Auntie Maryann, Auntie Joanne, Auntie Irene even, you know, like you don't know much of Auntie Irene and Uncle Leo, but Auntie Irene and she has to work, too, to help support her family. Auntie Berna, she was big on that. Auntie Gigi and I, amongst the female in our family. But if you look at the Barnes' family, just in general with the Barnes' family, that is something that like, Lola said, from Lola Rufina, it carries on with the kids. That's like, the advice.

As my Lola and Mom so bluntly illustrate, being a Pilipina-American is being financially independent from their partner, to ensure that there is

always a "Plan B." My Lola states, "You know your Lola Betty? Didn't listen to my mom. Listen to her husband." My Lola Betty was my biological father's mother, my paternal grandmother, and while I loved her dearly, she fell into co-dependency heavily with her husband and then after his passing, with my Uncle John. The co-dependency left my Uncle John in years of financial stress, from my recollection. Even until this very day, his co-dependency transfers to his sister which generationally disrupts the financial stability and independence that my Lola refers to when she made the comment about my Lola Betty. Additionally, when we (My Mom, siblings, and I) fell victims to domestic violence, the tradition of being financially independent came to our rescue. Without hesitation, my Mom knew that our first step from separating from my biological father was to physically leave the situation and gain some type of economic support. Inevitably, financial stability reiterates Cruz's (2015) point about "politics of survival" (p. 24). Essentially, having some type of economic support empowers people (specifically women), which I also claim to embody Pinayism. Lastly, I question if financial independence stems from the influence of Spanish colonization, especially since my Lola Rufina (of whom is a decent of Spaniard ancestry) is the one to ensure the passing of the tradition. Although, throughout my research, indigenous Pilipina traditions value women as equals to men, where monetary stability is instilled in parenthood rather than based on gender norms or roles (Torres, 1987).

Nevertheless, as Pilipina-American-ness is undeniably a growing trend of immigration (Maramba, 2008), there are two important factors to consider: a generational difference and a consistent reminder of the importance of family. First, in terms of generational difference, we see an in-betweenness and unsure-ness in Pilipina-Americans, because of lost history or familial knowledge and having to accommodate a biculturalism of Pilipina-ness and American-ness (Maramba, 2008; Hess, & Davidson, 2010; Jordan, 2016).

> Me: Okay. Last question. What advice do you want to leave your grandchildren about being Pilipino?
> Lola: What advice? What do I say, what advice... *ano magandang* advice? Pilipino... well, over here, you know, you cannot, you cannot

force, *'yung dito kasi, hindi mo mapipilit ang bata,* not in the Philippines, when our parents tell us do this, you follow right away, advice of the parents. but here, no. It's up for the kids to decide, *'di ba*? You cannot force them, it's up to them. yeah.
Mom: So, in Philippines, the true tradition is that the parents are followed.
Lola: Very strict there. Yeah, it is the decision of the parents, not the decision of the kids. But here, no, you cannot do that.
Mom: But I think that's also what the generation, because-
Lola: They have their own freedom to choose. For example, you want to take accountant, your parents don't like it, parents don't want you to be an accountant. You know, in the Philippines, the parents, the kids follow the parents' advice, but here no.
Mom: So, if you wanted to be a doctor or a lawyer, or whatever-
Lola: It's up to them.

The contrast that my Lola experienced as a child in PI is something that she does not expect from her children in the United States. While my Lola does hope that her children and grandchildren follow Pilipinx traditions, she also recognizes that she cannot force Pilipinx-ness onto following generations.

Me: What are some traits, so like, do you want us to speak Tagalog? Do you want us to always be dressed in, what are Pilipino traditions that you want us-?
Lola: Well, thing-
Mom: So, she expects Christmas and Thanksgiving on the family gatherings, that all the grandchildren be present.
Lola: Mmm-hmmm (affirmative). Yeah, that's the to *ano*…
Mom: And then-
Lola: Get together.
Mom: ... church, she would like her grandkids to go to church.
Lola: Yeah, but it's hard to follow because-
Mom: So, that's what she means mom, is what is it-
Lola: I want them to grow as a Catholic, but they don't like it, or maybe they want their own. So, it's up to them.

> Me: Mmm-hmm (affirmative). Is there anything else?
> Mom: But that's what her question is. What do you want for your grandkids as a Pilipino? Like, when you're raising your kids, what do you want for your grandkids?
> Lola: Oh, for my grandkids? Well, I tell them about Pilipino, but it's up to them if they want to be Pilipino.

While my Mom was highly suggestive in explaining what traits my Lola would like to see carried out to my generation, her thought is not out of context. According to Ignacio (2000) the, "stereotype [of Pilipina-Americans, especially immigrant Pilipina-Americans] was constructed: that of the Maria Clara, of the proper, marriage-minded, [P]ilipino Catholic woman with 'good morals' [speaking to submissiveness and obedience]" (p. 558). Inevitably, Pilipina-Americans—regardless if we might be second-, third-, etc. generation—unfortunately, bear the constant burden of being fetishized and misconstrued of being only homemakers, good housewives, submissive, obedient, "viable" child carriers, and "American" hungry—referring to the stereotype that Pilipina woman explicitly look for white-cis-men to marry for U.S. citizenship or money.

On the other hand, family and community is something that truly connects Pilipinas/os/xs to Pilipina/o/x-ness (Posada, 1999; de Jesús, 2005; Maramba, 2008; Hess, & Davidson, 2010; Aguila, 2015). The family unit is an indigenous tradition that sustains, maintains, and continues through Pilipinas/os/xs and generations of Pilipina/o/x-Americans. In fact, my family is proof that community is everything in Pilipino/a/x culture. My Lolo immigrated to the United States with two individuals that I know as my other Lolos, my Mom's godparents even. My Lola's family and friends throughout Daly City provided her a 23-year-long career with the clothing company Levi's. Uniquely, my Lolo and Lola connect their community to one of my cousin's friends from his Pilipino club Tinkling performance at Santa Clara University.

> Lola: Yeah, they follow the Pilipino customs, not mostly American customs.
> Mom: And then the family gatherings. The importance of family gatherings.

> Lola: Yeah.
> Mom: Prioritizing family gatherings, and then how to raise the kids. So, like, not just you know, you as her granddaughter, her grandchildren, she's also concerned about the great-grandchildren and how they're raised. so, she would like those family traditions to go on.
> Me: Okay.
> Mom: So, like, when we get together on Thanksgiving and Christmas, the expectation amongst the, on the children, is that-
> Me: They have their kids, and then they bring...
> Mom: Yeah. So, those are like the family traditions that, as a Pilipino family, she wants to carry on.

Thus, while Pilipinas and Pilipina-Americans are challenged through phenotype, longevity in the United States in comparison to PI, generational language ability, financial independence and stability, and stereotypical perspectives, we are also the strength of ourselves and our communities. Of course, like every community (and family) there is competition (de Jesús, 2005), but regardless of the ins and outs, we are Pilipinas who embody Pilipina-ness despite our marginalities.

A Point of Concluding

To reemphasize, the purpose of this paper is personal, speaking to my family rather than a general audience of Pilipnas/os/xs. Secondly, as Maramba (2008) wrote, "[a]lthough literature addressing the lives of [P]ilipina American college students [and in general Pilipinas] is virtually non-existent, there exists literature about children of immigrant families and women of color that help support their experience and merit further investigation" (p. 344). In essence, Pilipina scholarship, researchers, and publications are limited, and generally Pilipino/a/x studies is already scarce, making the research process difficult. While I emphasize the need for Pilipinos/as/xs in higher education generally, I claim that we are minorities within the minority. Meaning, that while we are a minority population with the United States, I also feel we are fewer in comparison to other larger minority groups (such as African-American/Blacks,

Latina/o/x, and Asian/Asian-American), which hinders Pilipina/o/x scholarship as well.

At the beginning of this paper, my goal was to provide a familial definition of Pilipina/Pilipina-American. Therefore, to provide a rationale: *being* Pilipina/Pilipina-American is navigating who we are as a community and as individuals by ripping back the layers of colonization that damages everything that we are and try to be, regardless of how many categories of in-betweenness we fit and cannot fit into. While the fluidity of identity is nothing new to the Othered and marginalized body, there is a hope that through feminists, critical, and decolonial epistemologies, theories, and methods that we use our voices to speak for ourselves. While individuality is considerably a Eurocentric mindset, we cannot ignore the hyphenation in identities throughout several communities and people. When we hyphenate who we are, we unintentionally and intentionally recognize our biculturalism, intersectionalities, and dualities. In essence, to hyphenate our identities is to *be* something more. Thus, *being* Pilipina/Pilipina-American (and any other hyphenated identities) is *being* and living within the hyphenation, not separate, but as one *being*.

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In the process of publishing this paper, my Lola fell ill and lays on her death bed as I type these words. To say that completing this manuscript was hard is an understatement. As I got older, my Lola spent more time narrating her life to me and poured her memories into countless conversations with me. I was fortunate to learn so much about her. For three months, I cared for my Lola—lifting her, feeding her, changing her, bathing her, playing with her, making her laugh, and watching her smile—all things that she has done for me endlessly. I can never get those moments back, but I can continue to make my Lola proud and ensure her legacy lives beyond her. *Mahal kita*, *Lola*. Until we meet again.

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Appendix A: Interview Questions

Understanding/establishing the context of being Pilipina

1) What are some of your earliest memories you have of growing up in the Philippines (PI)?
2) Tell me about the friends you had growing up in PI.
    a. What about your neighbors?
    b. People you knew? What did you all do together?
3) How do you know someone is Pilipino?
    a. What physical features do they have that make them Pilipino?
    b. What name might they have?
    c. Do they speak a certain way or a specific language?
    d. Is there something that they do that may make it seem like they're Pilipino?
4) Do you think there is anything or anyone that can determine whether a person is Pilipino or not?

Understanding/establishing any/if there was a Change in Pilipina-ness

1) Tell me about PI and where you grew up.
    a. What are some of the memories you have of the province you grew up in?
    b. Will you tell me about the school or schools you attended?
    c. What was the atmosphere like?
    d. What was your house like?
2) Tell me about the immigration process into the U.S.
    a. What was it like traveling with five children?
    b. Was there anything that you needed to do in order to prepare for the trip?
    c. What was it like once you landed in the U.S.?
    d. When did you immigrate to the U.S.? Year? Month?
3) When you came to the U.S., did you see any similarities between how you lived in PI and how you lived in the U.S. (specifically Daly City, San Francisco)?
4) Did you feel you were surrounded by Pilipino culture and people being in Daly City?
5) What things were really different from PI to Daly City?

Understanding/establishing self-identification of being Pilipina

1) Do you think you're Pilipina?
    a. How do you see yourself as a Pilipina?
    b. What makes you Pilipina?
2) Was there ever a time in your life where you did not feel Pilipina?
    a. Would you be willing to tell me what happened to make you feel not Pilipina?
3) Have you ever experienced a time when someone didn't recognize you as a Pilipina?
    a. Would you be willing to tell me what happened?
    b. Why didn't they think you were Pilipina?
    c. How did you handle that situation?

Transitioning Pilipinx Identity to Future Generations:

1. Do you think your grandchildren practice Pilipino traditions? How does that make you feel?
    a. What traditions? Clothes? Food? Language? Gatherings?
    b. What are some things that you see your grandchildren do that represents Pilipino culture?
2. What are some traits that you would hope your grandchildren carry on?
    a. How would you want them to carry those traditions?
3. If there is one thing you hope your grandchildren carry on about being Pilipino, what would it be?
    a. What advice would you leave with your grandchildren about being Pilipino?

Adolescent Suicide in the Federated States of Micronesia: A Literature Review

Paulette M. Coulter

Abstract

For nearly fifty years, Francis X. Hezel and Donald H. Rubinstein have been publishing essays on the topic of adolescent suicide in the Federated States of Micronesia, particularly among males in Truk/Chuuk. This paper examines the core body of this literature to chronicle the development of a theory on the topic of Micronesian adolescent suicide through its history of publication, responses, and criticisms of the theory. This essay examines the researchers' efforts to discover potential mitigating factors while also examining some of the consequences of this work, such as the worldwide collection of suicide data and the development and use of the Youth Risk Behavior Survey. Suggestions of other perspectives on culture change and suicide are offered.

Key words: Suicide, Micronesia, abandonment, anger or *amwunumwun*

The suicide of a young relative in February 2022 precipitated my choice of this topic for a literature review in the history of Micronesia. This death has exacted a toll on my kindred, being the death of one in the family's youngest generation. How does one explain the suicide of one young person? On a larger scale, how does one explain the deaths by suicide of many young people of a single generation, or several generations, in a given culture?

Work by Francis X. Hezel, S.J., and Donald H. Rubinstein has addressed the issue of adolescent male suicide in what is now the Federated States of Micronesia (FSM) for nearly fifty years. The initial publication by Hezel in 1976 presented the issue to the public and discussed 23 known cases in Truk (now Chuuk). By 1992 Hezel and Rubinstein had collected data on more than 700 cases in Micronesia (the FSM, the Republic of Palau, and the Republic of the Marshall Islands; Rubinstein, 1992b, p. 53). Six years later, Rubinstein (1998, p. 568) indicated that 1075 cases had been examined. This essay is a literature

review of materials published by Hezel and Rubinstein that address issues of suicide in the FSM; it also identifies several critical reviews of that material and questions what a next step in analysis might be.

I began this literature review with the systematic literature review performed by Mathieu et al. (2021). They began with 525 potential sources but through a rigorous process selected only 36 that were original works specifically on suicide or suicide attempts in the Pacific Islands. Of these 36, three focus on Guam, one on the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands (CNMI), and two on the FSM. These last two are Edward D. Lowe (2018), "Social Change and Micronesian Suicide Mortality: A Test of Competing Hypotheses," and Donald H. Rubinstein (1983), "Epidemic Suicide among Micronesian Adolescents," both of which I discuss below.

I also checked the section on suicide in the bibliography prepared by Rubinstein and White (1983, pp. 224-229). These entries date from 1957 to 1983; at least five have no date of publication. Other entries in the bibliography date to as early as 1922 (p. 210). Apart from works cited here, I have not investigated these sources due to time constraints. For further work I would consider some of them necessary.

Herein I examine the core body of literature on suicide in Micronesia produced by Francis X. Hezel, S.J., and Donald H. Rubinstein[1] to chronicle a focus on the development of a theory or theories of regional suicide. This topic is complex, as the history of publication, responses to and criticisms of the theory/theories, the potential mitigating factors, and the consequences of this focus on suicide in Micronesia, particularly in Chuuk (formerly Truk) in the Federated States of Micronesia indicate.

Hezel's work on suicide has been extensive. His initial report (1976) brought public attention to the issue. He later included an indigenous concept in his discussion as well as a comparative methodology (1984, 1985) and examined mental illness as a suicide cause in Palau (1987a). He provided an update in 1991. Hezel (1995, 1999) identified how his approach differs from Rubinstein's and has provided a recent update with an added dimension (Hezel, 2017). Rubinstein's earliest publications on this topic date to 1980-1981. His best-known work appeared in 1983, and

[1] Although the names of Hezel, Rubinstein, and Lowe occur in texts with first name as well as first name and middle initial, in-text references to them are by surname, with first and middle initials provided in the References list.

works after that date clarify or enhance aspects of his developing theory from both anthropological and public health perspectives. He provided updates as recently as 2018. In addition, I examined the criticism offered by E. D. Lowe (2018, 2019, 2020a, 2020b) and identified sources (Black, 1985; Carucci, 2019) that offer potential insights into other aspects of suicide. Finally, I looked at some of the consequences of work like Hezel's and Rubinstein's and suggest additional sociocultural factors to consider in attempting to understand suicide among young people in the FSM.

Development of a Theory through Its History of Publication: Francis X. Hezel

Francis X. Hezel (1976, 1977) issued the first alert on suicide in eastern Micronesia. At the time he was a teacher and director at Xavier High School in Truk. Hezel (1976, p. 12) aptly identified the rootedness of youthful Micronesian male suicide––specifically Trukese aged 15-30––in a rupture of the relationship with close family members over a seemingly trivial matter (p. 11 et al.), emotions associated with suicide (shame and anger) (p. 11), occurrence in urban or near-urban environments but not in outer atolls (p. 12), and in lack of attainment or control over desired material objects such as money or personal possessions (p. 13).[2] He also identified the need for parental control over access to the means of suicide (p. 13).[3]

Hezel's (1984, 1985) essays shared essential data and elaborated on earlier ideas. For example, while he earlier described the anger aspect of suicide as "retroflective anger" (Hezel. 1984, p. 198; 1985, p. 114), he now included the Trukese term and concept of *amwunumwun*, a "strategy of withdrawal or self-abasement used to show to those one must both love and obey that one is hurt by them" (Hezel, 1984, p. 200; 1985, p. 115). *Amwunumwun* is a complex of Trukese emotion that represents feelings

[2] Critic E. D. Lowe (2019, p. 124) finds no support for Emile Durkheim's notion of social disintegration as motivation for suicide in Micronesia; Durkheim's analysis of suicide, however, remains useful for analysis.
[3] Hezel's 1976 and 1977 publications are essentially identical except for changes in reference formats.

one may have toward someone to whom those feelings may not be vented; suicide is seen as a means of repairing the rupture of a relationship (ibid.).

Hezel summarized it this way: suicide "is the extreme form of *amwunumwun* since it means inflicting the ultimate harm upon oneself in order to compel the parents or others to recognize the damage they have done and *to repair it*" (Hezel, 1984, p. 201; 1985, p. 116; emphasis added). For ease of review, Hezel (1984) presented suicide data in three tables that compare year, age, and type of suicide by gender and show that male suicides far outnumber those of females[4] (pp. 195, 196, 199). He also identified cases of modeling and contagious or copycat suicides (Hezel, 1984, pp. 204ff; 1985, p. 119). Inclusion of the indigenous concept of *amwunumwun* indicates that, although the earliest publications received more attention outside the local communities (Hezel, 1984, p. 193), Hezel has maintained contact with the communities about which he writes. Further, he noted that indigenous adults indicated that "Trukese, like many of their Pacific neighbors, have always committed suicide, so there was no reason to become alarmed at what was simply the manifestation of an old cultural trait" (ibid.). Later he commented that the social environment seemed to condone suicide (Hezel, 1985, p. 120). By 1984 Hezel and Rubinstein began collaborating on Trukese suicide research.

Lothar Käser (2016), in his study of Chuukese personhood, identified the root word of *amwunumwun* as *mwún* and defined it as a "feeling of being overruled or rejected, of unrequited love; hurt at being abandoned" (p. 153). He elaborated:

> This emotion has a special significance for Chuuk Islanders who fear it for being the greatest cause for suicide. Suicide is practised [sic.] most commonly because people seek to avenge themselves for a

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[4] Hezel notes female suicide attempts (1976, p. 9; 1977 p. 6; 1984, p. 195), but in general, both he and Rubinstein refer to female suicides primarily through comparison to male suicides in the ratios of 11:1, 15:1, etc. In his dissertation, Rubinstein (1979, pp. 155, 179, 196, et al.) mentions the suicide of an 18-year-old girl. Female suicides in Micronesia are mentioned most often in the sex ratios, which stress their rarity in comparison to those of males. Investigation of female socialization may help account for this difference and for suicide attempts. In the past, female socialization took place in the home, whereas much male socialization was provided in the men's houses.

> stinging rebuke. The rebuker is meant to experience mwún [sic.]. The term thus conveys a very specific kind of remorse which can be triggered by the act of running away or suicide (amwúnúmwún: the action triggering mwún). (ibid; italics are absent in original.)

Käser (2016) deserves further attention to aid in understanding Chuukese personhood and culture. Suicide among Chuukese adolescent males as reported by Hezel and Rubinstein seems to be a rejection of rejection, real or perceived.

Inclusion of islands beyond Truk in the research has indicated that a minority of suicides in Micronesia occur among the mentally ill (Hezel, 1984, pp. 203, 207; 1985, p. 118). Hezel (1987a) addressed Islander suicides that result specifically from mental disorders. Commonly diagnosed disorders during 1978-1982 included schizophrenia, manic depression, paranoia, and psychotic depression (p. 14). There Hezel also cited data from White (1982, p. 94) for diagnosed mental disorders in Kosrae, Ponape, Truk, the Central Carolines, Yap, Palau, and the Marshalls for 1978-1980. Of these, 183 of 240 cases were schizophrenia, with Palau having 60 diagnoses and Truk and Yap each having 39 (Hezel, 1987a, p.14). Of the 365 suicides from these seven locations from 1960-1984, as shown in Table 3 (p. 22), only 24 were attributed to mental disorders, based on the author's own files. Eleven of these 24 occurred in Palau (ibid.). The Mayo Clinic (2022) states that although "researchers believe that a combination of genetics, brain chemistry and environment contribute to development of the disorder," schizophrenia has no known exact cause.

In "Truk Suicide Epidemic and Social Change," Hezel (1987b) argued that the "major factor accounting for the escalation of suicides has been the significant changes in the economic and authority mechanism of the Trukese lineage" (p. 290). He presented data on Trukese suicide, focusing on suicide rates from 1970 to 1985, by year and sex, by age and sex, by type and sex, by education and employment, and by troubled relationships. He also delineated patterns of suicide (anger, shame, mental disturbance; pp. 285-286). Contributing cultural influences included: a male machismo attitude, fascination with suffering, constraints on expression of feelings, need for personal recognition, and the prominence

of suicide in life (pp. 286-287). Hezel (1987b) perceived that modernization has affected suicide rates, particularly in the near-urban areas; it affected "culturally patterned responses to certain conflict situations," especially in traditional families (p. 287). He wrote, "The only significant difference between suicide victims and the general population is that fewer victims were unemployed and more in school at the time of their death" (ibid.). That is, they were not so-called "losers" or "failures," but instead may have had ongoing conflict with someone in their family to whom it would be unacceptable to express anger (Hezel, 1987b, p. 288).

Two years later Hezel (1989a) reported that Micronesian suicides declined in the latter part of that decade. His other publications from 1989 (Hezel, 1989b, 1989c, 1989d) focused on the Micronesian family, briefly in 1989b, but in 1989c and 1989d he summarized all the data collected from 1960 to 1987 (in four-year intervals) that supported his hypothesis on the relationship of family structure to adolescent suicide.[5] After a brief introduction, Hezel (1989c) reiterated the common features of Micronesian (excluding Guam and CNMI) suicide: male suicides outnumbered those of females at a rate of about 11 to 1; males 15 to 24 years old were the most common victims of death by anoxia (not asphyxiation) due to hanging; and alcohol consumption and intra-familial conflict and anger often preceded the suicide (pp. 45-51). These features differ from the more common cause of mental illness associated with Western suicide (pp. 48-49), while Palau and the Marshall Islands have more jealousy- or "love"-associated suicides (p. 50; see also Rubinstein (1989) on Marshallese youth suicides).

Hezel (1989c) updated numerical data on Micronesian suicides (e.g., p. 44). He also questioned why increases had occurred but believed they were not a matter of modern youth culture versus traditional parents because occurrence was more frequent in the peri-urban islands than in the most nearly urban and modernized areas (Hezel, 1989c, p. 54). He stated that rather than defying traditional family roles and rules, the suicides indicated "through their deaths that [suicide victims] remain bound to the conventional claims of the family over them" (Hezel 1989c, p. 54), thereby reaffirming family as the core unit of society.

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[5] Hezel's 1989c and 1989d are essentially identical; because the latter lacks pagination, all references are to 1989c.

Because family is so important, intra-familial conflict has most often been the precipitating event of a suicide. For Trukese, the matrilineage has historically been the familial unit. In this structure, the mother's brothers disciplined her children, and the matrilineage exercised control over allocation of resources, especially land. The upbringing and education of children was spread through a group of persons related primarily to their mother, though the father also had authority (Hezel, 1989c, pp. 56-57, 59-61). With nuclearization effected in the Micronesian family through application of U.S. legal and economic systems in the islands after World War II, authority became more restricted to individual mothers and fathers, who now had to be teachers and disciplinarians within their households. This focused families' internal tension: children could not go to a favorite auntie or uncle when they disagreed with a parent, and parents could be isolated from their physical and emotional support systems (Hezel, 1989c, pp. 61-63).

Since the 1970s, monetization of the Micronesian economy, which hired more males than females, also concentrated financial power in the hands of fathers (Hezel 1989c, pp. 63-66). This added to potential areas of conflict between parents and children: children want things and believe their parents do not love them if they do not provide those things. Yet matrilineal relatives do not want to interfere in nuclear households (p. 67). This wider support system no longer exists as it once did. For Hezel (1989c) the nuclearization of households (which isolated family from the matrilineage support system) and the monetization of the economy (which reduced matrilineage control over land and other resources) have increased intra-familial stress (p. 69-70). This kind of stress may occur among other indigenous populations and influence the occurrence of suicide within them (p. 70; see also Kral 2019).

By 1989 Hezel had theorized that the development of a cash economy and consequent changes in family structures of power (increasing paternal responsibility) were reasons for increased intergenerational conflict within the family. Rubinstein (1992b) discussed this theory as "Family Change Version 1: Loss of Traditional Family Functions" (pp. 52-53).

Hezel (1989e) briefly described the many dimensions of suicide in Micronesia, without statistics. He identified seven factors that affect

suicide: breakdown of the extended family structure, loss of the lineage authority system, youth testing the love of other family members (who do not know they are being tested), romanticizing suicide, developing youth resilience, alcohol use/abuse, and intra-familial conflicts (Hezel 1989e, pp. 17-20).[6]

In *The Micronesian Counselor* of February 1991, Hezel provided a densely packed single-page summary on Micronesian suicide. In Palau, the Marshalls, and the FSM at least 42 suicides occurred in 1990, down from 48 in 1989 and 44 in 1987. The FSM in 1990 reported 25 suicides, down from 32 in 1989. Of the 25 in the FSM, 11 were from Yap, 10 from Chuuk, 4 from Pohnpei, and none from Kosrae. From 1960 to 1990, suicides in the FSM averaged about 25 per year. Chuuk showed a slow, steady decline in suicides from a peak in 1979. From 1960 to 1990, 655 suicides had occurred in Micronesia (Palau, the Marshalls, and FSM) (Hezel, 1991).

Hezel's 1995 and 1999 articles focused on issues of alcohol use and abuse, suicide, and child and spousal abuse. Of suicide, he emphasized "the weakening of the extended family system" and "argued that the monetization of the economy has largely been responsible for the breakdown of the lineage system" (Hezel, 1995, p. 8; 1999, p. 318). According to Hezel, Rubinstein focused more "on the disruption of the socialization process that has resulted from the weakening of lineage and village-level organization" (Hezel, 1995, ibid.; 1999, p. 319); this disruption increases the period of dependence of young men on their parents. Neither explanation, however, accounts for the jealousy- and love-related suicides in the Marshalls or in Palau (ibid.). In addition to identifying this difference in emphasis, Hezel (1995, 1999) also addressed local and non-local perceptions of suicide in Micronesia (p. 6, p. 315, respectively).

The title of Hezel's 2017 article for *Pacific Studies* suggested a new direction for the study of suicide in Micronesia, particularly for the FSM. This study, requested and funded by Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration through the FSM Department of Health Services, gathered suicide data from 2007 to 2015 and completed a half-century database (p. 1). Hezel (2017) suggested several directions in the

[6] Hezel, 1989c and 1994 are very nearly but not exact duplicates. The latter provided precise headings for the seven major points.

movement of data and of people, especially the study of FSM suicides in the FSM in-migrant population on Guam (pp. 15-19), a new dimension for both the FSM and Guam, if not the whole region.[7] Within the FSM data, however, the motives of suicide remain anger, shame, and aspects of love (unable to choose between two loves, unable to marry within one's lineage) or jealousy; the predominant method remained hanging (pp. 20, 4). An increase in female suicides occurred in this period along with a decrease in the rate of suicides in the two youngest male cohorts (p. 11). Another dimension added in both study populations is that of suicide contagion *within* families and their apparent relation to internal disruptions of families (Hezel, 2017, pp. 11-15, 18-19; emphasis added). Hezel's work, which he stresses is sociocultural rather than psychological (p. 1), has focused on family and familial disruption since he first identified high suicide rates in Micronesia in 1976.

Development of a Theory through Its History of Publication: Donald H. Rubinstein

Like Hezel, Rubinstein has written extensively on the topic of suicide in Micronesia over an extended period of time. Although perhaps best known for his 1983 "Epidemic Suicide among Micronesian Adolescents," he has published on the topic of suicide in Micronesia since 1980, beginning with publication of "Micronesia's Troubled Youth" (Rubinstein, 1980a). There he identified the "psychological autopsy," a reconstructed partial biography of the victim, as a methodology for studying the significant numbers of suicides among Micronesians aged 15 to 30 (pp. 71-72). He also asked a number of questions that were relevant then and remain today as a means of analysis (pp. 72-73). Among answers to those questions, sudden anger is related to numbers of suicides, as is self-injury and "strong thought," especially as a sign of bravery among young males (p. 73). At this early date, Rubinstein (1980a) also identified the contagious or modeling effect of suicides, with the spirit of the victim approaching others through dreams (p. 74). Although suicide is not unknown in Micronesian history, the 20th century increase in suicides

[7] Hezel (1990) discussed Micronesian suicides on Guam, and Carucci (2019) addressed another issue of out-migration from Micronesian islands.

seems to include a decrease in a sense of belonging, loss of meaningful and productive activities for young men, breakdown of kinship networks, with increasing conflict between the young and their parents, shifts in youth ideas to Americanized individuality, issues with parental authority, and use and abuse of alcohol (Rubinstein, 1980a, pp. 74-75). This is a complex set of causes and influences that suggests anomie (normlessness) as a possible cause of suicide.

In "Suicide: A Growing Crisis for Micronesian Youth," Rubinstein (1980b) addressed suicide causes, rates, and solutions. The article was an initial report on findings and a discussion of "the fallacies of some common assumptions about the causes of suicide" (p. 11), including anomie. Data were collected from suicide death certificates and hospital and police reports for the years 1960-1980. Worldwide, suicide rates are reported on the ratio of N to 100,000; for populations of less than 100,000 and portions of populations, some mathematical adjustments are necessary. Reporting may also differ from country to country. In Micronesia (excluding Guam and the Northern Marianas), male suicides outnumbered female suicide 15:1 in this time period; median age of males was 20, and the adjusted rate of male suicides aged 15-19 was 243/100,000 (Rubinstein, 1980b, p 11). Rates of male suicides in Truk and the Marshalls increased eightfold from the 1960s to the 1970s (ibid.). Rubinstein indicated these rates and increase do not result from urbanization and are not related to mental illness but rather to impulsive anger (Truk) or love and fidelity problems (Marshalls) (p. 12).[8] He noted that many suicides have "an aggressive element, as well as a frequent appeal for caring and support" (ibid.) and that suicide rates declined as young men matured and married (Rubinstein, 1980b, p. 14), yet neither a single simple cause nor solution existed.

Other articles followed in the early 1980s (Rubinstein, 1981a, 1981b, 1981c, 1982); these work and rework his ideas and data into an ultimate publication in 1983. Rubinstein's 1982 essay is of particular interest because it is a public health investigative report. Rubinstein (1982, p. 2) referred to "loss of culture and identity" (to which suicide may not be a surprising response) and "an indicator for a set of adolescent-adaptational problems." In addition to information provided in 1980b and

[8] Rubinstein (1989) provides a discussion of Marshallese youth suicide.

1983, in 1982 Rubinstein pointed out that "[o]lder sons seem to predominate among the suicides," dutiful but lackluster individuals, in acts of spontaneous and unpremeditated anger––not aggression (p. 3). While elsewhere he indicated existence of a male subculture with respect to suicide, here Rubinstein stated that "[a] pervasive mood of apathy, disinterest, and inactivity" ––*but not anomie*––of these young men added to the problem (ibid.). Postwar changes to village organization and decreased support to young men through men's houses were secondary causes (ibid.), replacing the line of vertical support by a horizontal one: young men training young men in isolation from their elders (p. 4). Tertiary causes of the suicide problem, Rubinstein (1982) added, included the post-WWII increase in population, infusion of U.S. cash, and increasing dependence on the goods, services, and values this cash provided (pp. 4-5). Direct consequences of these changes included fascination with suicide, suicide pacts, an experimental attitude toward suicide, increased confusion among parents, and increased concern among communities (p. 5). Secondary consequences included official concern of governments and churches about the issues and efforts to begin developing youth programs (p. 5). Rubinstein (1982) explicitly stated, "Suicide prevention programs, as developed in the U.S. and Europe, would not be effective in Truk" because the Trukese neither psychologize their problems, nor seek extra-familial help, nor have sufficient and sufficiently trained personnel in these fields (p. 5). Potential solutions would more likely work at rebuilding intergenerational supports, developing appropriate youth activities, reshaping youth attitudes, and emphasizing "village organization and shared identity" (ibid.).

Rubinstein's (1983) "Epidemic Suicide among Micronesian Adolescents" is both foundational and pivotal. It is foundational in that it consolidates information from the earlier papers, and it is pivotal in that it is based on the multiple sources used in the suicide research: official reports of suicides and near-suicides, case materials from the Trust Territory, "250 semi-structured interviews modeled on the 'psychological autopsy' protocol" with persons who attempted suicide, families of suicide victims, and other community members (p. 658). This study reported data that were cross-checked between interviews and official reports, aggregated data into four-year sequences for 1960-1979, and tabulated

data in charts and graphs (pp. 658-660), comparing data by number of suicides, age, sex, and location (Palau, Yap, Truk, Ponape, Marshalls). These data clearly demonstrated an increased number of suicides over time, predominance of male suicides in all locations, and the greatest number of suicides in the age ranges of 15-19 and 20-24 in Truk and the Marshalls (pp. 659-660). Peri- or near-urban areas suffered the greatest losses (p. 659). In "Epidemic Suicide" Lowe (2019) stated that Rubinstein "placed many of Hezel's observations in a human development framework" (115) and the socialization process in Micronesian societies. Already in 1980 and 1981, however, Rubinstein in 1981c (pp. 19, 24-26) had identified nearly all the principal elements of this theory and its supporting methods when he identified Micronesian suicides as epidemic rather than anomic. Previously, Rubinstein (1980b, p. 11) had explicitly outlined the method used to collect data in this and all related projects.

Rubinstein (1983) further clarified some intercultural differences in suicide rates in Micronesia. The numbers of male suicides in Truk were greatest in the age groups 15-19 and 20-24, but were also greater than all other places in the 10-14 and 25-29 age groups (p. 660). Suicides in the Marshalls included the "lover's dilemma suicide" (p. 663), wherein a young man was unable to choose between two women he loved or to whom he had obligations. These suicides were distinct from those in Truk that resulted from a rupture of family relations. Rubinstein (1983) examined suicide pacts and the influence they exert on youth in contagious suicides. Most significantly, however, he pointed out that the age groups committing suicide most often were those coming of age after WWII as "the first post-war cohort" (p. 662), when the men's houses, originally training sites and sleeping places for young men, no longer existed as they once had (ibid.). Rubinstein wrote explicitly of the "virtual extinction of the traditional men's clubhouses and functioning men's organizations, which until recently had played such a central role in adolescent male activity and social identity" (1983, p. 262). This absence left young men in an ambivalent, unstructured, and seemingly unsupported state at a time when "intergenerational relations between boys and their parents" had changed, especially in the urban and near-urban areas (p. 661). There, people were less reliant on a subsistence economy, and youth were more exposed to external values and influences

of the introduced cash economy. Where men's meeting houses remained, they seem not to have provided full support to adolescent males as earlier generation had. Other periods of disjunction have always occurred in Micronesian life, however, especially in the child's separation from the mother at age 3 or 4 (pp. 661-662). Further, Rubinstein suggested that by 1983 a slight decline in the suicide rate in the 15-24 age group might indicate an approaching end of the cohort effect (p. 662).[9]

Unfortunately, the cohort effect (Rubinstein, 1983, p. 662) did not end in the mid-1980s, as later data demonstrate (Rubinstein, 1992a, p. 204; 1998, p. 570). Data from the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (US DHHS, 2021) later showed, however, that these rates seemed to be currently stable though relatively high, with a slight decrease in 2003-2005 (Hezel, 2017, p. 3). Rubinstein indicated in his 1998 conference report that interviews on 1075 suicide cases had been collected at that time (p. 568).

Like his 1983 paper, Rubinstein's 1992b article is pivotal. Recognizing that no simple or straightforward theory has explained the data on adolescent suicide in Micronesia, he examined Hezel's two explanations of family change: loss of traditional functions and change toward family nuclearization (Rubinstein, 1992b, pp. 52-59). He also cited the Macphersons' (1987) explanation of Samoan suicides as a matter of blocked opportunities (pp. 60-64). Rubinstein then proposed a fourth possibility: Adolescent Socialization: Changes in Structures and Goals (pp. 64-71) This proposal is directly related to Rubinstein's 1983 publication. As Lowe (2019) observed, Rubinstein thus placed the issue of suicide into the anthropological context of socialization.

Rubinstein (1992b, pp. 52-53) summarized the main points of Hezel's 1976 paper as a "Loss of Traditional Family Functions." That is, families appeared to lose cohesiveness by surrendering roles of education, behavior management, recreation, and caring for others through affection and support to agencies outside the family. They therefore lost power over

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[9] Rubinstein (1984a) is the republication of Rubinstein (1983) as a book chapter. Rubinstein 1985 and 1987 (a conference paper republished as a book chapter) contain additional tables and figures; Rubinstein (1986) contains only three figures. Barnabas (1985) and Temarcel (1985) access versions of these tables and figures in their essays. Total text comparison of republished materials is not yet complete.

those family functions and family members. Rubinstein (1992b) noted Hezel's reasoning on the suicides as "egoistic suicide," after the Durkheim model, as a result of the weakened family bond (p. 53).

Rubinstein (1992b, p. 55) also noted a shift in Hezel's thought as Hezel began to emphasize the monetization and nuclearization of the family structure that increased parental authority and placed more stress on the parent-child relationship (Hezel, 1987b, 1989c, 1989e) that reflected a shift from lineage authority to nuclear family authority. Rubinstein (1992b) indicated that "the 'nuclearization' hypothesis seems plausible, [but] the data are still anecdotal and incomplete, and there has not yet been a systematic study showing the extent to which traditional lineage and clan organization have been replaced by a nuclear family organization in Micronesia" (p. 57). That is, ethnographic data were not sufficient to support this hypothesis. Rubinstein (1992b, p. 59) concluded that the emphasis on structural change in the family was too general and the emphasis on intergenerational family conflict was too specific to explain all types of suicide in Micronesia. Hezel's two approaches also placed more stress on parents rather than on adolescents (Rubinstein, 1992b, p. 58).

Rubinstein (1992b) also found the data reported by Macpherson and Macpherson (1987). insufficient to explain suicide among Micronesian adolescent males. He did not concur that young Micronesian males committed suicide because options for enhancing social status or emigrating for better prospects were blocked at the same time that Western influences and increased access to education caused young people to desire better opportunities, which seemed likely for the Samoan cases (Macpherson & Macpherson, 1987, p. 323, cited in Rubinstein 1992b, p. 62). Rubinstein (1992b, p. 64) also tested the Macphersons' hypotheses against the Micronesian post-Compact (post-1986) emigration and suicide data and noted that suicides did not decrease despite the increased opportunities for Micronesians. The information on the Samoan cases seemed too limited to explain suicide throughout Micronesia.

Rubinstein then proposed a framework that he believed might account for the data: adolescent socialization (ibid.); this framework is based on the socialization data he outlined in 1983. From observations in

Fais, Ulithi, and in Uman, Chuuk, he noted the lack of support offered young males after the men's houses––sites where young men learned traditional knowledge, skills, how to interact with others––ceased to exist. That is, support to young men in their transition to adulthood had generally ceased. Yet young men were still expected to mature, marry, and have their own families. Rubinstein (1992b) indicated that a socialization emphasis focused on suicide from the point of view of the youth's experience rather than the parents' and that it fits the ethnographic data better for central Micronesia than for the eastern or western periphery (p. 71).

Rubinstein's 1995 publication presents a case study of the suicide of a seventeen-year-old Chuukese male, called Sima in the account. Rubinstein's aim was twofold: to tell the story with a cultural explanation of the youth's behavior and to assess the "existential dilemma" that is the Micronesian youth's social world. (p. 22). The epigraph of the article is Sima's suicide note (ibid.), included below. The previous day, his father had told Sima to get up early, borrow a breadfruit-harvesting knife, and come help collect food for the following day (Sunday). Sima and his friend could not find a knife to borrow and showed up late. Sima's father scolded him, threatened him with a machete, and told him to find somewhere else to live (p. 28). This was the precipitating event, culminating Sima's difficult summer: He was expelled from school, was in a bad mood, got into a fight, was cut with a machete and was sent to the hospital, then experienced his grandmother's death and a move from his mother's clan to live with his father's clan. Further, Sima's older brothers and sisters were away, leaving him the oldest male child at home. His next younger brother found his hanging body (Rubinstein, 1995, pp. 25-29).

Rubinstein's (1995) discussion of this case indicated high levels of suicide in the region into the 1990's. Male suicides vastly outnumbered female. Methods, motives, actors, and precipitating events were all part of the known pattern (p. 30). Although most suicides seemed impulsive, Sima had spoken previously of not being around after October (p. 31). His school expulsion and his difficult summer identified ongoing conflicts., and his note to his mother indicated his feeling of abandonment and anger or *amwunumwun*:

> OCTOBER 6, 1990
> My life is coming to an end at this time. Now today is a day of sorrow for myself, also a day of suffering for me. But it is a day of celebration for Papa. Today Papa sent me away.
> Thank you for loving me so little. [signed] Sima
> Give my farewell to Mama. Mama, you won't have any more frustration or trouble from your boy. Much love from
> Sima. (Rubinstein, 1995, p. 21)

An element of shame is also apparent in Sima's comment to his mother. Neither his mother nor any of his sisters was present to soothe or "soft talk" the boy from his anger (p. 32), and this suicide was not related in any way to love or jealousy. In the remainder of the article Rubinstein focused on changes in Micronesia: education, life cycle, availability (or lack) of men's houses, authority patterns, socialization of children, cash economy and its consequences, and the consequences of Sima's suicide (Rubinstein, 1995, pp. 34-46).

Rubinstein in 1998 presented a summary status report on Micronesian suicide. The main points of the theory he outlined are its rootedness in the regional indigenous/aboriginal cultures, where suicide was closely correlated with shame, as an altruistic act to alleviate it. Since the 1960s, the cultural pattern has shifted to anger suicides. These suicides appeared to occur after seemingly trivial disagreements with a close family authority figure, often part of ongoing conflict; they were most common in the age group of 15-24, among males, occurred by hanging in or near the home, at night. Frequently they were associated with use of alcohol. Initially Rubinstein believed that these suicides might be a cohort effect, but after a slight decline in the 1980s the numbers continued to grow, especially in Chuuk and Pohnpei. By 1998, the ratio of male to female suicides was 15:1. Anger-motivated suicides increased, as did deaths by hanging, association with alcohol use, and, frighteningly, numbers of suicides in children aged 10-14. Rubinstein had already pointed out some of these effects in 1991, in an address to the Child Abuse and Neglect Summit at the University of Guam. Addressing political change in the FSM, Rubinstein (1998) noted that out-migration of Micronesian males was becoming a trend as a result of the independence

of the new island nations (p. 568).[10] This out-migration may present issues of current and future data collection, as Micronesians may not be disaggregated from the "Asian-American/Pacific Islander" category or even recognized as a specific category in collecting data on suicide. They may then disappear from data collection.

In his December 2018 keynote address to the University of Guam Annual Suicide Prevention Forum, Rubinstein emphasized two points. First, "Micronesian suicides are fundamentally cultural" in the sense of "shared, deep, taken-for-granted patterns of our everyday lives" in relationships, self-worth, meaning of life (Rubinstein, 2018, p. 3). He added, "Micronesian suicides are also cultural in the ways they differ among" the entities known as Micronesia (ibid.). Second, for suicide prevention, the most successful programs have been those that bring people together and provide support, a sense of belonging (p. 4).[11] He mentioned two programs of some success: the Samaritans program that originated in England in 1953 and the youth-to-youth program begun by Darlene Keju in the Marshalls (pp. 4-5). Keju's program seemed to offer young males some support lost in the men's houses, though I believe the program is for both males and females. Rubinstein (2018) also indicated that the early work with Hezel, island youth leaders, and mental health personnel collected "interviews and information on suicides in Palau, Yap, Chuuk, Pohnpei, Kosrae, and the Marshall Islands," that is, most of greater Micronesia (p. 3). Thus, by 2018, their work had both significant depth and breadth.

Critique: Edward D. Lowe

In his 2018 (reprinted in 2019) "Social Change and Micronesian Suicide Mortality," Edward D. Lowe used regression analysis to test hypotheses about social disintegration, traditional anomie, socialization

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[10] This may be the earliest comment I have seen regarding the Micronesian political situation in Hezel's and Rubinstein's discussion of regional suicide; the political influence deserves some critical attention.

[11] Michael J. Kral's (2019) *The Idea of Suicide* (focused on the Inuit) takes a cultural/anthropological view of suicide as mimetic and a culturally normative option.

ambiguity, and lifestyle incongruity (Durkheimian concepts of suicide) with respect to suicides in Micronesia. Dividing the data into three classes by geographic area (urban, near-urban, and atoll) he performed a three-step regression analysis of the four hypotheses (of seven independent variables associated with each hypothesis: average suicide rate 1991-2000, kin-group integration, global exposure, the percentage unemployed, the percentage in subsistence-employment, economic resources, and modern style of life scale) for 74 of the 75 municipalities of Chuuk (Lowe, 2018, p. 17) ; the 75th is both a geographic and research outlier. After calculating the Pearson's correlation coefficients, Lowe (2018) concluded that the empirical data do not support "the traditional anomie hypotheses or the socialization ambiguity hypothesis" (p. 24). Rather, "a combination of kin-group integration" and disparity between achieved economic resources and desired modern lifestyle––controlled for distance from urban centers––best accounted for variation in the ten-year average suicide rates (Lowe, 2018, ibid.). These statistical data seem to support the interpretations offered by Hezel and Rubinstein.

In "Epidemic Suicide in the Context of Modernizing Social Change in Oceania" Lowe's (2019) focused on evaluating Durkheimian approaches, especially the (Durkheimian) processes of "social disequilibrium and social disintegration," that he believed were applied to suicide in Pacific societies (p.108). He believed the rapid infusion of money into the economy abetted the suicide epidemic (p. 126). He suggested that prevention and treatment programs take into consideration indigenous concepts of interrelationships (Lowe, 2019, pp. 119, 129-130). Indigenous approaches are definitely needed, and I believe Hezel and Rubinstein throughout their work have based their information on indigenous statements and opinions, explicitly stating that procedures used in the U.S. would not work here. (See especially Rubinstein, 1982, p. 5). This critique by Lowe, of the four discussed here, appeared in a Pacific journal.

In "A Comparative Ethnographic Study of Suicide Epidemics in Two Pacific Island Societies" Lowe (2020a) developed a three-stage process to compare existing ethnographic data on the suicide epidemics in Chuuk and Samoa: comparing studies of the ethnopsychologies of two societies, "drilling down," and "scaling up." His purpose was to develop "middle-range theories in anthropology that offer more historically and culturally

contextualized accounts of the general phenomena we want to better understand" (Lowe, 2020a, p. 69). As in Lowe's other contributions, the analysis he performs and the changes he suggests could not occur had not the data he re-analyzes already been collected and published. The work of Hezel and Rubinstein seems both historically and culturally contextualized: times and places are identified, and distinctions are made among suicides in specific island groups.

Finally, Lowe (2020b), in "Suicide Epidemics, Post-Colonial Governance, and the Image of the Recalcitrant Native in Oceania," took a different approach to the suicide epidemics in Micronesia and Samoa. He indicated that early reports of both epidemics came from non-indigenous sources, transferred their information to extra-regional advisors––indeed former colonizers, and that, therefore, post-colonial governance addressed the epidemics (Lowe, 2020b, p. 65). Neither Hezel nor Rubinstein used the term *recalcitrant native* in my reading, although Hezel's original work attracted more attention outside the area (for example, in *The New York Times* of March 6, 1983) than it appeared to have locally. Hezel's earliest work on suicide was motivated by his students' discussion and concern and by their survey on the issue of youth suicides in their community; it also relied on interviews with indigenous Islanders.

Furthermore, Lowe is also a representative of post-colonial governance. Lowe (2020b) believed that early reports of Samoan and Micronesian suicide epidemics came from non-indigenous sources, transferred their information to extra-regional advisors––indeed former colonizers, and that, therefore, post-colonial governance addressed suicide epidemics. His beliefs are grounded in fact. I believe, though, that regression analyses, correlation coefficients, and drilling down and scaling up ethnopsychologies are also a form of post-colonial governance. Even when these practices support existing hypotheses about suicide in Micronesia and when they clarify information for external reviewers, they neither clarify indigenous cultural data nor make explanations available to the indigenous populations.

Other Cultural Factors

In addition to Lowe's criticism, a number of sources have emerged from the initial theories and reports of Hezel and Rubinstein, some early, others later, that may shed further light on suicide in Micronesia.

For example, Peter W. Black (1985) applied the concept of empathy and the case study methodology to the aberrant behavior of a Tobian man who attempted suicide four times in a single day. Black (1985) focused on the notions of *anger*, *shame*, and *fear* (p. 271) central to Tobian folk psychology and concluded that the gossip of which the man complains––while supposedly not "an appropriate subject for adult fear"––is "in fact, one of the major loci of fear. It is for this reason that it can play such an important role in social conformity" (p. 282). Black (1985) believed that the man's seemingly inexplicable behavior brought gossip to people's attention as a cause for suicide rather than the public shaming they assumed (ibid.), a possible and slightly different element of some suicides. A ghostly or spiritual element also appears in Marshallese and Chuukese suicides (Rubinstein, 1980a, p. 74; Carucci, 2019, p. 215; US DHHS, 2021, reason 5).

Carucci (2019) has identified an element that may affect recent Marshallese suicidal behaviors in "transnational" communities such as on the Big Island, Hawaii. There youth have transitioned from alcohol and drinking groups to the use and sharing of hard drugs such as ice and meth (pp. 204-205 ff.; p. 203). Use of these drugs poses a serious hazard to young Marshallese as these are Schedule 1 drugs. Under U.S. law, sharing may be viewed as distribution, a crime that could result in their deportation from anywhere in the U.S. and earn them a criminal record (Carucci, 2019, p. 216). Carucci (2019) also emphasized that drug use accompanies a "lack of a practice-grounded, shared, cross-generational identity [that] has served to increase the rift between Big Island Marshallese elders and the community's youth" (p. 209). Lack of identity poses serious psychological problems and seems reflected in the suicide pact discovered by one of the elders (and thus halted), in which a group of seven or eight young men planned to commit suicide simultaneously on Big Island (Carucci 2019, pp. 214-215). Carucci wrote that these young men "felt that their collective suicide, following on the heels of their age

mates' suicides, would communicate to community elders their collective sense of disenfranchisement" (ibid.). Despite prevention of the group suicide, the intergenerational gap has not been repaired (ibid.). A suicide pact in Guam among 50 young friends has also been reported by Struck (2001, p. A23).

The Present

Since 1950 the World Health Organization (WHO) of the United Nations (U.N.) has collected data on mortality, including suicide, from its member nations (Värnik, 2012, p. 760). As a result of research work in the 1980's, the U.N. also began a survey program of high school students, and in 1990 the U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) began administering the Youth Risk Behavior Survey (YRBS) biennially in the U. S., and in greater Micronesia. The purpose of the latter is to monitor health behaviors among youth and to help prevent disease and monitor suicidal behaviors (CDC, 2021). Both U.N. data and data from the YRBS, however, are published irregularly: Balling et al. (2005) presented data from the 2003 YRBS in the CNMI, Palau, and the RMI; David (2018, pp. 16 et al.) included information from the YRBS survey for Guam biennially for 1995-2015 (with no data for 2009). Both the U.N. and the CDC are external, post-colonial sources of data.

According to the U.S. DHHS (2021), suicides in the FSM decreased to a low of 22-24 per 100,000 in 2002-2005 but were at 27 per 100,000 in 2016 and 28 per 100,000 in 2019 as crude rates, not adjusted for age (US DHHS, 2021, FSM Suicide Rate 1966-2015 diagram; MacroTrends, 2022; Hezel, 2017, p. 10). In comparison, the raw data for Guam, with a population of approximately 153,000-160,000, the numbers of suicides were 31 in 2019, 40 in 2020 (with five each in June, July, and August), and 18 in the first seven months of 2021, as raw data, not adjusted for age (Cagurangan, 2020; Ngirairikl, 2021). No data were available for 2015-2021 for the Marshall Islands according to The World Bank (2022). The FSM did not experience COVID-19 as seriously as Guam or the CNMI, except for islanders being stranded and unable to return home, but data on FSM suicide rates for 2020-2021 are not yet available. The 2021 U.S.

DHHS report offers, as assessment, major reasons for committing suicide in the FSM:

1. Alterations in the family relationships and structures following the colonization periods and moving on into a new era where change is inevitable.
2. A reduction in dependence on subsistence production and more reliance on cash economy may have affected the importance of clan activities and lineage.
3. Undermining of the social supports structures for adolescents caused by unaccustomed reliance on the nuclear family leading to a rise in parent-adolescent conflicts.
4. Suicide has somewhat been accepted/expected (to some extent) and become more familiar among youths in the resolution of conflicts/social problems faced in society.
5. The Micronesian belief system that pertains to communication in spirit may also be another factor for influence from one suicide to another.
6. Despite the findings that suicides were a result of impulsive behavior, there is a trend involving long term intolerable situations and the preference to withdraw and handle matters indirectly rather than confrontation. (n.p.)

Reasons 1-3 appear to be external reasons while reasons 4-6 seem to be intra-cultural reasons for suicide; they also seem to be reasons that have been created or are derived from the discussions of suicide in the islands over the last 45-50 years.

The Future

The body of work produced by Francis X. Hezel and Don Rubinstein is worthy of critical study, especially in developing a theory that may explain all the data. In further study of adolescent suicide in Micronesia,

clarification of terminologies is needed to determine in what ways researcher vocabularies differ from each other, individually and across disciplines. Another area for further study is the place of political history in the discussion of suicide. The 1970s and 1980s were the period of the Islanders' efforts for independence, which was accompanied by profound economic and social change, including out-migration that could place additional strain on the remaining family members. What have been the influences of political and economic histories on family life? One source to consider on economy is Deleuze and Guattari's (2009) discussion of the schizoid nature of capitalism. Both Hezel and Rubinstein, accurately, I believe, focused on intra-family and intergenerational relationships. Another voice on that topic that I believe worth heeding is that of Bernard Stiegler (2010), a French philosopher who strongly believed that the breakdown of intergenerational ties is at the core of the alienation of youth, especially as influenced by capitalism and technology. Basically, what Stiegler wrote (not always in the simplest terms) is that people become individuals in their culture by interacting with other people, especially by taking care of others:

> *This* care cannot be seen as the basic conditions for survival, as subsistence. Care, 'strictly speaking,' always works through the care one takes *of oneself through* the care one takes of others, in that they are constituent elements of the 'self' as the transformation of individuation. (Stiegler, 2010, p. 178; emphasis in original)

That is, interactivity and caring for each other helps each person become an individual in their own culture. If there is no interaction with caring, people do not mature relative to their own culture and its expectations––in any way.

In a paper presented to the American Anthropological Association in November 1984 Rubinstein stated that the "Trukese ethos elaborates and positively values both the gentle attributes of humility, kindness, and respectfulness . . ., and the violent potential of 'bravery, power' and 'strong thought' on the other." He described the two values as doubly bound––perhaps like the opposite sides of a coin––and involved in the relationship between the rebuked youth and the rebuking parent that often precedes

and precipitates amwúnúmwún and suicide (Rubinstein, 1984b, pp. 1-2). Investigation of these indigenous concepts in Käser (2016) may provide further information and clarify what it means for a Chuukese to become Chuukese other than simply by birth. Reading of Kral (2019) may offer new insights into suicide among other indigenous cultures, as may other studies of indigenous suicide. If and when data from the YRBS are available regularly, female suicide and suicide attempts should also be studied.

While suicide may have always had a place in Micronesian societies, the conditions of WWII, the post-war changes in ecology, economy, education, religion, technology, relationship to land and sea, social organization, social order, and forced and voluntary migration, each individually and in aggregate, have been major disruptions in Micronesian life. The suicide patterns in Micronesia are as heterogeneous as Micronesian cultures and possibly as heterogeneous as socialization patterns, and, as Ran (2007, p. 86) has noted, "the role of culture in suicide" requires further study. Youth suicides and suicidal ideation are currently increasing in the U.S. and other developed and developing countries. Because the family is the initial core of culture in individual lives, the family must be the place to start, as Hezel and Rubinstein have done. Their research has shown that conflict with someone in the family or with family expectations is often a precipitating event of suicide, and these conflicts may differ by island culture as well as by individual. The greatest numbers of Micronesian suicides occur among males aged 15 to 24, and the preferred method is hanging, with death by anoxia. Anger and alcohol use may precede the suicide. For nearly fifty years Hezel and Rubinstein have collected data on more than a thousand suicides in Micronesia through records searches and through psychological autopsy. This body of data is worthy of further study.

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[12] The title on page 73 is as listed; the title in the table of contents is "Suicide characteristics and rates in Micronesia."
[13] The title on page 2 is as listed; the title in the table of contents is "Adolescent suicide in Micronesia."

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Navigating CHamoru Poetry: Indigeneity, Aesthetics, and Decolonization

Reviewed by PAULETTE M. COULTER

Navigating CHamoru Poetry: Indigeneity, Aesthetics, and Decolonization,
by Craig Santos Perez. University of Arizona Press, 2021.
ISBN: 9780816535507, 272 pages (paperback).

In *Navigating CHamoru Poetry: Indigeneity, Aesthetics, and Decolonization,* Craig Santos Perez offers the reader "the first full length study of [selected] contemporary CHamoru literature" (xi). A preface, acknowledgments, an introduction, four numbered chapters, and a conclusion form the body of *Navigating CHamoru Poetry*. A table of contents lists the chapters and illustrations, which include 20 figures and four maps. Notes (many and substantial), a selected bibliography, and an index follow the conclusion.

In the Preface, "From Unincorporated Territory," Perez describes key events of his life, particularly his move from Guåhan (Guam) to the United States (U.S.) mainland, his personal feelings about this move, and his education and life in the U.S. This book reworks material from his dissertation for completion of his doctoral degree at the University of California, Berkeley. He states that he has revised it over many years and has added research. The book is both scholarly (as it should be) and *readable*, something that cannot always be said of revised dissertations.

The four maps that precede the Introduction allow the reader to identify the setting of Guåhan in Oceania, Micronesia, the Mariana Islands, and finally as the island itself with its villages. The Introduction bears the title, "On Being ~~Chamorro~~ ~~Guamanian~~ CHamoru: Indigeneity, Aesthetics, and Decolonization" (v, 7; page numbers refer to the Kindle version and may differ from the printed text.). This title, with its cross-outs, reflects the concerns of contemporary CHamorus with their identity, their cultural values, and their history as a colony of Spain, the U.S., Japan, and the U.S. again after World War II. The name Guåhan was chosen via executive order in 2010 (11), while the spelling CHamoru was established by law in 2018 (10).

Guåhan's history of colonization from 1668 to the present has been one of *-zations* by other nations: Hispanicization, Americanization, Japanization, and, again, Americanization. In each case, militarization played a major part. This has led to justifiable CHamoru concern over indigeneity and authenticity. But the fact is that, despite theories of the "fatal impact" of *-zations* on them, CHamoru culture has changed over time, and CHamorus still exist, both on island and in the diaspora. Perez adopts an alternative to "fatal impacts"; in so doing, he presents a theoretical discussion, sometimes a bit heavy, that explains how CHamorus have engaged in Chamorrocization (15). They have selected the changes they were and are willing to make from outside influences and reorganize, or articulate, them into their own ideologies and practices. To expect that CHamoru culture did not or would not change from 1521 (Magellan's arrival) to 1668 (Diego San Vitores's arrival), and to the arrival of the nation-colonizers might be to expect a more nearly fatal outcome for CHamoru culture.

Perez believes that CHamoru literature is "one site through which CHamoru identity is expressed, represented, innovated, and articulated" (18). This includes both oral literature (oral tradition in song and story) and written literature––something none of the colonizing nations ever focused on, but which is more recently becoming a point of focus. Since the 1960s, more and more written works by and about CHamorus and CHamoru culture have appeared. Perez lists and discusses a number of these works (19-24). Although he writes that "the list is neither comprehensive nor exhaustive" (24), he lists many in an easily accessible manner.

Perez continues the Introduction with a discussion of theoretical writing and work in the arts being done by CHamoru scholars and scholars of CHamoru. Thereafter he addresses the concept of "wayfaring," or finding one's way in navigation, and develops the concept of "wayreading" (31ff.), a means to navigate a way to CHamoru indigeneity, aesthetics, and decolonization through reading CHamoru poetry. He wayreads the work of others in following chapters.

Chapter 1 addresses "Taotao Tano': Sacred land, Banyan Tree Aesthetics, and CHamoru Ecopoetics." Here Perez analyzes the unpublished master's theses at the Center for Pacific Islands Studies,

University of Hawai'I, Manoa. C T Perez wrote "Signs of Being: A Chamorro Spiritual Journey," and Kisha Borja-Kicho'cho', and Anghet Hoppe-Cruz jointly wrote "I Kareran I Palåbran Måni––The Journey of Our Words. These three women emphasize values that relate kinship, land, and gender equality; reciprocity between humans and nature; and "the most important CHamoru cultural value, inafa'maolek" (39), the concept of interdependence of nature, women and men, and family. In prose and poetry they demonstrate that "colonial agriculture, militarism, urbanism have displaced spiritual beliefs about the land" thereby contaminating it. Craig Santos Perez relates their works to an eco-theology visible in the CHamoru creation story of Puntan and Fu'una, who made the world from their own bodies. Treating the Earth and the beings in it with respect, then, shows respect for the gods who created it and remain in it. Because of its association with the "*taotaomo'na* (literally translated as 'the people of before'), [who] continue to dwell on and in the land" (39), the banyan tree deserves special attention.

In Chapter 2 Perez examines two works by Peter Onedera (*Visions of a Chamoru* [1995]) and *Taimanu na Ini* [2018]) in his analysis of narrative and architecture, focusing on the "CHamoru House of Story," as the chapter title mentions. Perez focuses on the *guma' latte*, or latte stone architecture of around 900 A.D. and thereafter. He sees latte houses as related to CHamoru origins and a connection between the taotaomo'na and the currently living, the taotao tåno.

Onedera's *Visions of a Chamoru* consists of 24 poems "in English, CHamoru, and pidgin," many in stanzaic form with rhyme on themes of "cultural identity, childhood, language, nostalgia, colonialism acculturation, militarism, the environment, and decoloniztion" (79), still current themes. In particular, "I Walked Down Every Street" of his childhood village emphasizes nostalgia for his childhood home. Latte stones formed the foundation of ancient CHamoru houses. Perez sees the latte's structure ("a haligi [vertical pillar] and a tasa [bowl-shaped capstone]"; 75) in the organization of *Visions of a Chamoru* in the alternation of poems in English with those in CHamoru (95). The book cover presents a human profile in the form of the latte (82). Onedera refers specifically to the latte in the poem "O Åcho Latte/O Rock of Strength" in *Taimanu na Ini*, presented in CHamoru and translated

publicly into English for the first time (92-93). Again, the alternating CHamoru and English lines may suggest the latte. For Onedera, the poem represents continuity with the past: "You may be gone from everything there is/But you will forever be near to me through your heart" (92). The persistence of the latte symbol in architectural elements, however, suggests it is present Onedera's heart as well and in the hearts of many others (see also page 98). In addition, Borja-Kicho'cho's poem, "Nåna," which Perez includes, has the shape of the latte stone, which may also be, I suggest, the shapes of an adult and a child reaching toward each other (97).

Chapter 3 focuses on Lehua Taitano's map poems in *Inside Me an Island*. This title comes from a poem in her earlier book, *A Bell Made of Stone*: "inside me an island / shaped hole" (*A Bell* 13). Thus, none of the maps has an outline, but each has verbal content. Perez examines in detail the six poems titled *maps*, suggesting that "Taitano's use of innovative visual typographies and formal poetic techniques evokes outrigger design and 'moving islands' navigational techniques, or what [he] will frame as a 'flying proa poetics'" (101) related to themes of migration and diaspora.

Like Craig Santos Perez, Taitano left Guam when she was young and has lived primarily in the U.S. since. She learned early on that many maps and globes do not represent the "small islands" (Micronesia) at all, but she did learn of

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(*Inside* maps1; qtd in Perez 120; original is also right-aligned to form a column while the left has one letter not aligned.)

Being unable to do that left her feeling "lost/atsea" (ibid.), a feeling exacerbated by a teacher who pulls here away from a map when she cannot find her island on it (Taitano "maps2"; qtd in Perez 122) Adding to that feeling of "lost," Taitano, in her own page numbering, places "maps5" thirty pages before "maps4" (Perez 123). "maps4" shows the layout of locations in Northern Guåhan (ibid.), while "maps5" names locations in the southern part of the island, completing "a textual replica of the shape of Guåhan" (ibid.). "maps6" consists of three lines of text, giving the distance of 12, 879.5 miles from somewhere in the U.S., and five other lines scattered on the page and struck through, including "~~to Yigo, Guam~~" ––but even less readably because done on a manual typewriter (qtd in Perez 126).

For Perez, Taitiano's individualistic layouts suggest that "[w]ayreading the different poetic forms from page to page makes the words appear to be moving (or flying) islands of sound" or moving islands relative to positions of stars as a means of traditional navigation (126, 127). That may be one interpretation; others may be possible.

In Chapter 4 Perez places what he sees as the intertextuality between Anne Perez Hattori's "Thieves" and Michael Lujan Bevacqua's "My Island is one Big American Footnote" and among spoken-word poets as modern developments and continuations of the back-and-forth relationships seen in the kåntan chamorrita, a traditional "extemporaneous, communal oral poetry that was displaced and suppressed by colonial forces" (131). The kåntan chamorrita is a traditional song form of eight-syllable, four-line stanzas with rhymes in lines two and four (132). One stanza is presented as a challenge or call, and another responds, repeating the last two lines of the first and adding another two, repeatedly, until singers can no longer improvise (ibid.) Perez argues that Hattori's "Thieves" is a call, as it asks who are the real thieves in the history of the island, and that Bevacqua's "Footnote" is the response in the kåntan chamorrita. Here Perez sees the works' intertextuality as the "oral call-and-response techniques in written form" (152).

Perez also views a demonstration of this call and response in spoken-word and slam poetry, giving the example of a YouTube recording, "Self-Guamination," of Ryan Leon Guerreo and Walla Wai, in which the speakers alternate some lines and speak others together. This recording addresses the "silencing of effect of colonialism" (142) as well as emphasizing "the strength and survival of the CHamoru people" (ibid.). This collaboration between a Chamoru poet and another who is Pohnpeian-Hawaiian (143) emphasizes the singing together of the present. Although spoken-word poetry is significantly older than the present (e.g., the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* and possibly *Beowulf)* as well as other forms of oral literature, it may be a revival or re-appearance on Guåhan of the kåntan chamorrita.

In his conclusion Perez views "CHamoru Literature as Decolonial Activism," as his subtitle states. In this chapter, Perez addresses the issue of authenticity, an issue also discussed in classes at the University of Guam. Perez writes, for instance, that

> literary scholars have argued the contemporary CHamoru literature is degraded and inauthentic because it is often composed in a written form as opposed to an oral form, predominantly in English as opposed to CHamoru, and in a foreign genre as opposed to an Indigenous genre (157).

Isn't this criticism beyond silly? Who is asking current Greek writers to write like Homer? Or current English writers to write like the author(s) of Beowulf? Like Chaucer, or Shakespeare, or the Victorians? Writers write for their audiences, even when they choose to write in a language not their own, as Rizal did when he wrote in Spanish because the Spanish needed to hear a message in a language they understood. Many CHamoru writers write in English because their readers read in English, thanks to the oppressive English-only policies of the military governors of Guåhan.

That CHamorus write and speak in English does not change their CHamoru-ness as much as it changes the English language, because these writers frame ideas in CHamoru ways, express CHamoru cultural values, and may help other English speakers see things in a different light, shaped by poets' vision and insight.

So, besides people interested CHamoru poets and poetry, who should or may want to buy this book? Obvious choices may be teachers of

students who want to find others like themselves in print. This book provides many options on that topic. The Introduction to Craig Santos Perez's *Navigating CHamoru Poetry*, alone, is worth the price of the book. There he traces the publication of CHamoru poetry, including titles and poets, from 1965 to the present, and major works in CHamoru literary studies. Many of the latter are less accessible than the former, as they are unpublished theses. Footnotes, however, provide the necessary citations.

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Woman Running in the Mountains

Reviewed by C. S. SCHREINER, University of Guam

Woman Running in the Mountains, by Yuko Tsushima. Translated by Geraldine Harcourt. New York Review of Books, 2022. ISBN: 9781681375977, 275 pages (paperback).

The book publishing division of the *New York Review of Books* (NYRB) has recently reissued the English translation of Yuko Tsushima's novel, *Yama o Hashiro Onna* (1980). This translation by Geraldine Harcourt, titled *Woman Running in the Mountains,* was first published by Pantheon Books in *1991.* The welcome new paperback edition by NYRB adds an Introduction by the American writer Lauren Groff, who finds Takiko, the novel's 22-yr. old unwed mother, as a "profoundly unheroic heroine" gifted with a pastoral imagination that enlivens her capacity to endure--and sometimes enjoy--a rather grim urban existence while raising her son singlehandedly. Takiko's pastoralism, subtended by her spontaneity, is not a green ideology but an intuitive resource that helps empower and safeguard the autonomy of her decisions no matter how unsystematic, while most of her fellow Japanese citizens, including young parents, lead conventional and orderly lives. As we will see, the word "gifted" invoked above remains ambiguous in a cultural milieu where individual spontaneity is judged uncouth and impractical. The character trait which one culture deems a gift another culture deems a handicap.

Yuko Tsushima is the pen name for Satoko Tsushima, the daughter of the renowned existential author, Osamu Dazai, who killed himself a year after she was born on March 30, 1947. She kept this fact of her tragic celebrity secret, even from her literary peers, and lived a unglamorous life among working-class people and ethnic minorities. As Tsushima explains in an interview, she preferred the name Tsushima Yūko (津島 佑子) because it suggests expansion to the outside, to the periphery (e.g., of mainstream work culture and parenting norms). As this review will show, the author's biographical trope of exteriority prefigures the psychosocial experience of her fictional protagonist, Takiko, who is often

inconvenienced by being an outsider but not deeply troubled. In short, Takiko *owns* her exteriority as a lifestyle.

Given the above comments about the author, Tsushima, it follows that she was a close friend of Kenji Nakagami, who wrote about indigenous people in Japan, a subject matter that became a focus and theme of Tsushima's work as her career advanced and she garnered literary awards such as the Kawabata Prize. Tsushima's writing was so remarkable that, according to the prestigious scholar and critic, Kojin Karatani, she was a sure bet to win the Noble Prize in Literature had she lived a few more years. Karatani observed that "Tsushima wrote about marginal beings—illegitimate children, orphans, people with disabilities, ethnic minorities, animals. She was a writer who had empathy and a deep love for the oppressed. And she was active on their behalf in many parts of the world. For example, she once taught a course at a French university about the literature of the Ainu."

In *Woman Running in the Mountains,* the beleaguered heroine, Takiko, conjures or envisions bucolic phantasms such as alpine glades, oceanic seascapes, green pastures, while other times she amplifies or enhances the resonance of natural phenomena that empirically occupy her field of consciousness: "vista of blue sky"; "shadowy masses of mountains"; "transparent light that glittered on a faraway ridge" (176-177). Takiko seeks neither power nor prestige; it remains unclear exactly what inner longing or necessity inspires her poetic perceptions, whether real or phantasmal, but Takiko leans on them and into them, they support her existential struggles, give her traction; and they transport her toward the outside. Hence, by the end of the novel, she is no longer embedded within a strictly urban setting, but happily works for a landscaping business (Misawa Gardens) that maintains greenhouses on a mountain slope for its supplies, while episodically hooking up with a coworker. She does not professionally plan such a career outcome, nor academically prepare for it; but her spontaneity and integral relation with the elemental world guide her almost subconsciously to the mountain slope and new lover at the end of the novel. Such an outcome is feasible because Takiko does not question its feasibility nor prejudge her ability to succeed. When an opportunity seems compatible with her personal ecology, she goes for it.

In a traditional culture where thought is unapologetically shaped to follow social conventions and comply with historically reified norms, the publication of a novel like *Woman Running in the Mountains* is of more than passing interest because its protagonist is spontaneous. Spontaneity, which, like availability, is usually (if unfairly) associated with youth but not a specific gender or sexual orientation, is defined in the *Cambridge Dictionary* as "the quality of being natural rather than planned in advance." This definition begs the question of what it means to be natural, and as the novel under review demonstrates, being natural (spontaneous…) is modalized in ways that are culturally specific. Acting naturally or spontaneously in a suburb of Tokyo is not identical to acting naturally in Malibu, California, or Cambridge, England. It is worthwhile to keep this distinction in mind as one reads *Woman Running in the Mountains*, where spontaneity shows itself within a Japanese milieu that perceives it negatively, as impulsiveness (衝動性) and heedlessness (不相応, 上の空). This is one of the novel's unique accomplishments, to quietly challenge this cultural denial of spontaneity, enacted through the precarious lives of Takiko and her son, Akira. As a pregnant and then new mother, Takiko goes with the unsteady flow of her own resonance and steep learning curve in practical wisdom. Her lack of long-term planning, which appears *impractical*, scandalizes those who know Takiko, but their anxiety and condemnation are theirs, not hers. As Hartmut Rosa argues, most people, regardless of their heritage and ethnicity, seek to control or schematize the sector of reality in which they find themselves, but by doing so, miss the "resonance" or depth dimension of life lived spontaneously (37). They learn by rote the path of least resistance by following the most copacetic and efficient in-order-to relations. In Takiko's space devoid of normative automatisms, life becomes more vulnerable, as Hartmut Rosa would describe it (53), but this very exposedness invites resonance, the feeling of life in its plentitude and disorder.

The novel under review depicts experiences before the era of social media. Takiko does not take selfies or post her son's photos on Instagram. In this regard, contemporary readers might not be sufficiently stimulated by Takiko's singular accomplishment, namely, overcoming cultural resistance and coping with daily challenges while staying true to one's

transcendental intuition of existence. To repeat, one of the most noteworthy differences between Takiko's behavior and that of social media users is that Takiko does not publicize or proselytize her lifestyle and personal developments. Her stoical self-containment (in a dyadic structure with son Akira) does not need to call attention to itself. This does not mean she has no fun or pleasure, but that those experiences are private. Takiko's lifestyle is, as Emily Dickinson says in a poem, "too intrinsic for renown." Of course, by omission this narrative begs the question of why so many millions of people today desperately seek attention, the competition for which drives people to increasingly spectacular and glamorous antics destined to be photographed and then posted online.

Takiko's family regards her a promiscuous failure; her friends think she is a quirky and ambivalent free spirit. Her natural spontaneity is never perceived as praiseworthy, but, if anything, as a sort of handicap. Do their negative opinions mean that her fellow citizens have become unnatural or unfree? If so, has their *unnatural* behavior become *naturalized* over the course of generations such that it feels natural for them to be unnatural? Has unfreedom likewise been naturalized? (What a funny question…yet today it pertains to users of social media whose freedom of thought has been stealthily usurped by attention capture algorithms.) These questions do not trouble Takiko in any sort of self-conscious manner, for as a free spirit her thoughts and actions are intuitively geared to her survival as a single mother in Tokyo. There is a scene in which Takiko visits a bar she has not frequented since motherhood befell her not as a crisis, but as a new lifestyle, a new mode of being-in-the-world. Although she has no plan except to relax, she cares for her child in public while chatting with a former lover whose name escapes her:

> Takiko was struggling to remember the young man's name. She's been nineteen when they'd gone out on Saturday nights to all-night movies, or a pool, or a beer garden. Two or three times he's gotten into her bed. This much she could remember. But she felt strangely unsure that any of it had ever happened. Though it had only been two years ago, at that time she could never have foreseen Akira's birth. Takiko had lain blankly with open eyes under the young man's body. She had flung out her limbs and said nothing, lying there like

> lumber. The image came back to her as if it were a scene from early childhood; she could even believe she might have dreamt it. So too with her memory of Hiroshi Maeda's body. Without his body, however, Akira could not have been born. (101)

Notice Takiko's lack of sentimentality or possessiveness associated with relationships, which are genuinely casual. Lovers become nameless personages. Sex with her child's father, Hiroshi Maeda, is another casual development, only more significant due to its outcome. But she is unperturbed by the way Maeda predictably distances himself upon news of the childbirth; she does not pursue him or seek legal reprisal. In a subsequent scene, Takiko revisits the same bar, ends up doing some heavy drinking and hooks up with another lover from her past, Kawano. She returns to Kawano's place every so often for casual sex, even after she falls in love with a coworker at the landscaping nursery that employs her toward the end of the novel. Such spontaneity tends to epitomize so-called *free spirits* ungoverned by convention. The question for each culture thus becomes, what does *our* culture make of such free spirits? Are they welcomed or condemned? Do we cultivate them, encourage them in school and at the workplace? In the arts, free spirits have their advocates; but in Japan, as I said, their spontaneity is negatively perceived as impulsive, unfiltered behavior, a hindrance if not a handicap. No one who finishes this novel will say that Takiko has an easy time raising her child, maintaining friendships, dealing with economic distress, domestic abuse, and so on. She negotiates--finesses and bumbles--events in her own way, by trial and error, until the end of the story. And in the final pages, we observe Takiko still alive and healthy, as is her son, Akira; she is happily employed by a landscaping business; and she has a lover who happens to be a married coworker with family. That latter detail, one taboo among others that Takiko transgresses throughout the story, is characteristic of her nonconformist ways. This was already boldly apparent in her so-called illegitimate childrearing, rare in Japan. As a footnote included on the novel reveals, in 1980, the illegitimate birthrate in Japan was 0.8 percent, vs. the American rate of 18.4 percent (93).

I said earlier that the author, Tsushima, is not advocating politics or ideology. Her protagonist, Takiko, does not choose her own nature but *remains true to it* as intuited, as lived. For how can one choose to be

spontaneous? Rather, one grows to accept oneself, one's own ways, in the face of public disapproval. Or one does not. This reviewer hesitates to describe the way Takiko contends with the precarity of events as following a method or strategy, much less a philosophy—the inner propulsion and guidance in her unconventional life are more intrinsic than strategic. After all, isn't a "philosophy of spontaneity" oxymoronic? You can see how this issue of being natural complicates *agency*. Things get done in Takiko's way, according to Takiko's embodied proprioception, which is maternal but not exclusively maternal. When Takiko desires a man's company, she makes the necessary advances to get male company, and her status as a single mother does not disqualify her from doing so. She is free to do so—as a burst of freewill to bind another will, another agency. Spontaneity is the freedom of embodied consciousness to harness the power of the present moment without the filter of convention. This means her identity as a mother is not strictly socialized but spontaneously actualized according to nature.

Yama o Hashiro Onna appeared during a literary era of diminished expectations popularized in the minimalist American fiction of Raymond Carver and other so-called dirty realists. It would be a gross understatement to say Carver's writing influenced Japanese writers. In any case, the wealth associated with the rise of Japan Inc. in the eighties is not depicted by Tsushima except as a distant and inaccessible horizon. The wealth so apparently abundant in Japan is not an object of desire for Takiko, who notices subtle fulgurations of natural light and is drawn to poetic displays of natural beauty: "Beyond closed French windows the trees could be seen, tipped with gleaming light… The light that filtered into the room was soft and green. She could have been in a cabin in the mountains. Cicadas echoed in the distance" (44-45). This is an early scene in which Takiko, assessing the prospect of a childcare operation for her newborn, slips into an interval of transcendental revery. Her focus is not on the childcare institution itself, but its natural setting, the light it provides which exceeds its visual significance and warms the body, energizes it, instills optimism.

Such scenes, which are remarkably abundant for such a short narrative, are reminiscent of the feminine perceptual order depicted by Virginia Woolf in a novel like *Mrs. Dalloway*. For some women, the in-

order-to relations of the lifeworld seem to resist patriarchal coding. When they step outdoors, they see flowers first, and plants, trees, sunlight, weather patterns, small creatures rustling in the shrubbery—all the things one learns to ignore on the way to one's workplace. One can argue that these relevance structures are gendered, but one should avoid simplification. The point is, as a protagonist, Takiko is wired differently than the people scurrying past her on the sidewalk—both men and women. She dwells within an envelope of intimate perception in which her bodily sensations and intuitive observations have as more command of her orientation in space than the psychophysical codes which underpin the social order.

Today, in the context of parenting in view of shame culture, Takiko would be the target of relentless vituperation. Those who find traditional Asian cultures more conformist than Western cultures should take a sober look at the algorithms and raging trends that captivate the attention and unify the behavior of millions of internet users worldwide. It would surely be inaccurate to presume that those spellbound millions have ready access to the spontaneity of consciousness. Only today, in the age of social media, can readers appreciate the rarity of autonomous beings like Takiko, people whose individuation is powered by spontaneity. She understands herself, but that too is unscripted, tacit, hence does not resemble calculative or grammaticized self-understanding. A cliché comes to mind: she is *in touch with her feelings*. Not exactly: but she *thinks for herself*, and urban life has not dulled her instincts. A rebel by nature but unpolitical, she can be casual or seemingly careless, but this mellow persona never disarms Takiko's persistent willfulness. As an unwed mother, she is often challenged but rarely overwhelmed by a lack of communal support and understanding. She had no prior expectations: her pregnancy was unplanned.

In cultures guided by the values of capitalism, spontaneity is commonly understood as a sort of psychophysical fiat by which an individual suddenly *perceives an opportunity* and *optimizes the freedom* to respond. This is an instrumental way of defining spontaneity, the antithesis to its random sense as suggested by André Gide's *acte gratuit* which occurs beyond an instrumental matrix. With the instrumental type, whether such spontaneity realizes the chance, monetizes the chance,

responds effectively or successfully, is another matter decided on a case-by-case basis. In other words, our understanding of spontaneity as a curiously natural mode of unfettered *cognition and motility* does not encompass an evaluation of its relative success or failure based on outcomes assessment. Let's say a young woman, Mary, knows the manager is not interviewing today for a new position that has recently been created, but while passing the manager's office, she notices the door ajar, and spontaneously (on a lark, by fiat, on the spur of the moment) knocks on the door and is invited into the office, where she politely inquires when interviewing will begin. Now, this situation can go wrong or not. The manager admires Mary's proactive spirit and ends up hiring her, or the manager finds Mary arrogant and peremptory. In any case, different cultures assign distinctive values to Mary's spontaneity, and those values reveal their relative appreciation of human freedom.

At times, Takiko seems a victim less of society than her own independent nature. But to infer victimhood--Takiko as inexorable victim of herself and Japanese society—is to adopt a pessimism which, in the face of Takiko's spirited resilience, proves irrelevant. Perhaps the best approach to clarifying Takiko's existential refrain or recipe in 1981 is by routing it via the discourse of governmentality adopted by Michel Foucault in his lectures from 1982-83. This discourse, "archaeologically" excavated from classical wisdom to pinpoint the ways we are governed and the ways we govern ourselves, lends itself in turn to the general ecology articulated by Felix Guattari in his *Three Ecologies*. Takiko governs herself in a style and ecology that appears ungoverned to others, but that is only because they do not recognize her *personal style of self-governance*. She takes care of the things and people that directly precondition her capacity to raise and live with her child. She attends to those things and people, thereby confirming Foucault's assertion that the care of the self "requires a relationship to the other. In other words: one cannot attend to oneself, take care of oneself, without a relationship to another person" (43). Her father beats her, her mother pleads with Takiko to first abort and then put the baby up for adoption. Yet Takiko continues to live with her parents for the shelter she herself cannot afford. There is an implicit choice in this homebound default, which is to avoid unnecessary suffering and discomfort while raising her son.

The novel under review, *Woman Running in the Mountains* is not a self-conscious, overtly ambitious or profound literary effort chasing fame through awards and cinematic destiny. Nor is it in any obvious sense a political novel unless one argues that the personal is political. If anything, this novel is so personal as to be impermeable to ideological concerns as typically understood. We follow a young woman coping with basic sociobiological challenges without ever gaining an overview of her total situation. Out of shame Takiko's parents implore her to abort or put the baby up for adoption, but Takiko seems almost oblivious to the condemnatory gaze of those who know she had a child out of wedlock. The title is misleading insofar as Takiko never runs through real mountains but envisions herself doing so, then gains employment on the slope of a mountain. Episodic glimpses of green sublimity keep her in the game. Takiko is a secret partisan not only of spontaneity, but *resonance* as defined by Hartmut Rosa: the gritty slog of existence; beauty in the hills; the throbbing of her heart next to that of her child. She doesn't relinquish her personal freedom, but nor does she make it a political spectacle. Look for it (her freedom) in her choices. She follows the basic rules of social obligation but never at the cost of her eccentric lifestyle. Takiko finds a new lover who is also a preoccupied parent; their responsibilities give them a sense of restricted freedom that feels grounded and not gratuitous. Takiko seduced him, as she did her former lover; when her desire is aroused, it has imperative force. Yet she has no sense of herself as a dominatrix. Such labels would strike her as absurdly irrelevant to the flow of real life, life as lived, not life as a spectacle enacted by others and viewed at a distance. Her story is largely about the struggle for existence at the basic level: travails of pregnancy, giving birth, caregiving, supporting loved ones, eating, sheltering, earning basic wages. Yet at no point do we suspect that Takiko is a victim of the biopolitical regime that condemns unwed mothers. She is loosely pragmatic, unconventional except when convention is advantageous for family survival.

In a ramshackle house in a back alley, a father beats his daughter for getting pregnant out of wedlock, and no one notices except family members, who cringe and look the other way. Although the brutality lasts for years, Takiko eventually fights back. The modest scale of things and quality of life remain consistently drab and dispirited in the sunless back

streets of Tokyo; the obscurity absorbs resonance and feels like a spiritual wasteland to Takiko. That is why she envisions carrying her baby through the mountains. Takiko, while not disagreeable or inflexible, is not prone to take up and defend anyone's position but her own evolving perspective within a rigidly judgmental milieu. This does not make her a difficult person; in fact, she is reserved but approachable and sincere; rather, she makes difficulties for herself by relying on *her own agency* rather than rely on external agencies of the social order. She disavows her inherited family status in the social hierarchy and establishes a new family register that puts herself and her son at the front of the new generation. Yet she continues to live in her parents' home because the survival of her child depends on it.

In this Japanese novel, conventional binaries fail exegesis. Takiko is not active or passive, nor reactive, but passively active; she gears into existence at her own speed, harvesting resonance where she can find it. Takiko desimplifies binary expectations that typically comprise the shame culture associated with parenting. Some readers will resort to the label of "impulsive." Others will say "stubborn." Still others, "whimsical." It might be wise if such adjectives are used without the semantic baggage and negativity with which they are usually associated for Japanese and non-Japanese readers alike. Takiko deploys herself spontaneously without lots of preconceived notions for how to do things. There is no either/or: her behavior is a sign of strength, of fierce independence, but also a disability! She is quietly nonconformist in a historically conformist society. While she learns from her social interactions and economic circumstances, she is not automatically mimetic or compliant; her intimate rapport with her environment mediates her response to her surroundings when the social order trades intimacy for efficiency and profit.

Although *Woman Running in the Mountains* was published in 1980, the steadfast if quirky *autonomous resistance* demonstrated by Takiko in child-rearing and employment anticipates the "quietly quitting" attitude of parents and professionals after the coronavirus pandemic. They can't "do it all" without severe stress and anxiety, so they don't do it all. This existential development is described by Amelia Nagoski, a published authority on career burnout, in a recent interview with Caroline Nice that appeared in *The Atlantic*:

> If we don't abandon the cultural demands that require us to conform in ways that aren't natural to us, burnout progresses as we worry about the gap between who we are and who we are expected to be. When we understand that we will never cross that divide, and we see that we truly don't want to be the people that we are told we "should" be, we are freed to understand our worth on our own terms.

I hope this book review convinces you that Takiko's enlightened approach to child-rearing and career choices, subtended by her intuitive pastoralism, is quietly progressive in its stand against social conformity. Those mothers who today allow their child-rearing practices to be scolded and bullied on social media can learn something about the problems and possibilities of autonomy from Takiko, who is stronger and more resilient than them even when she makes mistakes. Guided by her nature and transcendental intuitions, her self-determination takes form untroubled by external expectations or shame culture. NYRB has made a most timely decision to republish *Woman Running in the Mountains*.

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The Chaos Machine: The Inside Story of How Social Media Rewired Our Minds and Our World

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The Chaos Machine: The Inside Story of How Social Media Rewired Our Minds and Our World, by Max Fisher. Little Brown and Company, 2022. ISBN: 9780316703321, 388 pages (hardcover).

Although recently published essays in *The Atlantic* and elsewhere have sported titles like "The Death of Social Media" and "Instagram is Over," Max Fisher's new book *The Chaos Machine* convincingly argues that research is still catching up with the psychosocial devastation inflicted by the major social media platforms. No one, including the software engineers at Facebook and Twitter, precisely anticipated the global consequences of their social media algorithms—an epidemic of teen mental health problems and suicides, addiction to Instagram and TikTok, chronic distraction, disinformation, local and foreign sabotage of elections, mass shootings, insurrections, and global conspiracy networks like QAnon and its German offshoot, the Neo-Nazi group *Nordkreuz*. These crises are ongoing; hence, reports concerning the death of social media are premature, an overreaction to the chaos and fanaticism unleashed by the new owner of Twitter, Elon Musk, who upholds free speech absolutism. Many people who have fled the new Twitter expect radical conspiracists to poison it relentlessly until it implodes in an orgy of barbarism. No sober person will disagree that social media looks radically different than it did during the idealistic days of 2006-2010, when many users felt it would save humanity by connecting everyone in a harmonious world order, a digital utopia ensuing from a digital revolution. All those homespun and cozy vibes about global community conveyed by Mark Zuckerberg that echoed AT&T's famous slogan, "Reach out and touch someone," turned into malicious slogans like "Where is Nancy?" inciting hammer blows to the skull of Nancy Pelosi's husband, an elderly gentleman in San Francisco.

As *The Chaos Machine* strongly suggests, social media will continue to stir up the masses and things will get worse before we see re-coding on a vast scale, e.g., privatized platforms or "intranets" of beneficent design

to advance "the best that is human" rather than algorithmic inhumanity monetizing the attention economy. Recent developments in fact suggest that social media will not disappear but decline into squalor—a digital ghetto where rage, racism, and scandal mongering (e.g., Hunter Biden's laptop) prevail over civil discourse. The subscriber base will become more debased in a seesaw motion: former users of Twitter with a moral compass flee the platform, while zany radicalized politicians such as Jim Jordan and Marjorie Taylor Green attract numerous supporters to the same platform. There is already evidence of this digital ghetto in the incipient chaos breaking out at Twitter headquarters as its new owner fires many of its employees and jettisons the discursive guardrails that Twitter established to regulate its platform and discourage gross incivility. In the immediate aftermath of the new ownership at Twitter, there are fresh reports that rightwing hate speech on Twitter is spiking by several thousand percent. Such deplorably radicalized outcomes prove that Musk is a postmodern geek genius devoid of *Paideia*, the noble spirit of the sage. He is intelligent, but unwise and impulsive. By taking control of Twitter and firing thousands of employees, only to abruptly rehire them, he has breached his zone of competence, which is technical and not diplomatic.

Although Max Fisher's book was preceded by some insightful critiques of social media and digital culture by the likes of Nicholas Carr, Jared Lanier, and Bernard Stiegler, all of whom expose the illusion of digital freedom due to algorithmic manipulation, it is crucial to recall a hard truth overlooked by all of them: the internet, as Rasmus Nielsen puts it, "is not a democratic technology." Nielson explains, "the vast majority of digital technologies were never developed to enhance democracy in the first place" (89). He continues his analysis as follows in his essay, "Democracy":

> When we look at what has been invested in the development of digital technologies, digital communication practices, and the infrastructures underpinning them, billions are being spent year in and year out on developing e-commerce, and hundreds of millions are spent on e-government, *whereas e-democracy is an afterthought, subject to much talk and a few millions now and then*. (89)

Most of the digital infrastructure is designed to enhance commercial prospects, to make astonishing and obscene profits for the precocious people who first conceived or invented the platforms and their algorithms. There is no secret altruism (or altruistic algorithm) hidden at the coreless core of the web, where commercial algorithms are coded to monetize the attentional engagement of users by captivating their available attentional capacity and maximizing affective range such that users are overwhelmed by unruly passions, making them volatile strangers in their own homes. It is common knowledge by now that "maximize user engagement" means "excite and enrage." If users are not excited, they act catatonic; such is the affective range on social media. When you see people going about like zombies with a disengaged and vapid look in their eyes, there is a good chance their attentional capacity (synonymous with *spirit* for Bernard Stiegler, and before him, Ivan Illich) has been depleted by endless scrolling, browsing, downloading, scanning, liking, and following. Once depleted and exhausted, the digital zombies are easy to seduce and manipulate with pornography, misinformation, and seditious propaganda.

Such addicted and alienated spirits need to be recharged with critical thinking and personal initiative, not socially mediated chatter; but where and how is spirit recharged when it gullibly "follows" others online into so-called rabbit holes? (Has anyone seriously analyzed the psychosocial implications for a generation whose first impulse is to *follow* influencers and not to individuate and/or lead by dialectical counterexample?) Are the schools and churches supposed to recharge attentional burnout? According to Kierkegaard, such institutions can only provide resources and opportunities to spark individual spiritual initiatives. As soon as an initiative receives mass institutional backing, spirit retreats so it can recuperate nuance and intimacy—so it can *compose itself* and *hear itself thinking*. Even religion, says Kierkegaard, declines into "indecency" when it is institutionalized: "Religious things have to do with a softly murmured soliloquy with oneself" (101).

It is much easier to recharge an electric vehicle than the human spirit, which is no longer associated with *Paideia*, the ideal of learnedness as a virtue, and *Bildung*, or selective (individually modulated) enculturation through learning and language study. Those personal and

social developments take time, and most readers are *in a hurry* (the web site *Axios*, which publishes a style guide for succinct prose, informs readers: "This section takes 3 minutes to read…"). While Kierkegaard suggested recharging occurs in solitude, Bernard Stiegler suggests a remedy that even Max Fisher, a journalist, never envisions because his main task is reporting problems and not prescribing solutions. In his book, The *Re-Enchantment of the World*, Stiegler argues that the very technologies that stifle or obstruct personal individuation for corporate profit must be converted to supporting initiatives of contributory individuation which reinvigorate spirit, a new *ecology of spirit* (51). This would have to be a revolution in the way digital capitalism conceives the attention economy. Instead of platforms that dominate and deplete individual attentional capacity for profit much as natural resources are depleted, digital capitalism will create sustainably productive modes of attentional life that engage individuals in other ways besides mass consumption and attentional maximization. Attention should be conceived and treated not as a commodity or currency, but as a treasured human resource.

The many valuable insights afforded by Fisher are largely based on interviews with individuals closely connected to social media platforms and technology both in the U.S and abroad. Permit me to summarize some of Fisher's primary findings in his research on social media.

First and most astonishing is Fisher's extended focus on the toxicity associated with YouTube, a digital platform owned by Google. I never joined social media and had the naïve impression that YouTube is a place to view old films for free, and instructional media such as how to repair cars, air conditioners, and faucets. Fisher's concrete, evidence-based research shows that YouTube is the primary source for untold thousands of rabbit holes wherein curious browsers and doom-scrollers get increasingly absorbed and radicalized by bogus gurus and disinformation. They become desensitized to extremist displays in a "radicalization pipeline" and soon find themselves in the company of "hatemongers, incels, and conspiracy theorists" (215-17). Fisher provides numerous examples of the way a hesitant viewer will skirt or scan a controversy, such as voting machine irregularities, then get algorithmically led into ever more incoherent and slanderous or conspiratorial treatments of that

initial controversy. Fisher's point is that this rabbit spiral of YouTube clips and streaming digital media deliberately radicalizes users, who "consistently migrate from milder to more extreme content" (217). Why? Because *extreme sells*; the most profitable thing is not to quell user anxiety and quietly inform, but to intensify the user's engagement, stir strong feelings so they return to the same theme in an excited and reactive state of mind. YouTube is not a tranquilizer; rather, it volatizes users into communities of uncritical, like-minded rage.

The second major issue that Fisher unearths and clarifies in *The Chaos Machine* is just how much mortal harm has been done through misinformation and disinformation (deliberate misinformation) in social media. This damage has been catastrophic in three primary vectors: health-related problems; political awareness; and political uprisings. The latter, in the example of the January 6 insurrection of 2021, is most familiar to me and citizens of the U.S. Most people are at least vaguely aware that the cultish insurrectionists were hyperactively radicalized into acts of sedition via filtered bubbles of cultish social media. Less familiar is the Zika vaccine controversy in Brazil, Zika being an insect-borne affliction horrific in its consequences for children who are not inoculated. As with the conspiracy theories associated with the COVID vaccine in the U.S., radicalized groups in Brazil stirred up doubt about the safety of the Zika vaccine in thousands of concerned mothers, many of whom, utterly confused and stymied in their decision making, endangered their children and themselves. The social media in Brazil, mostly through famous digital platforms and YouTube, intensified this public health chaos; the same social media (mostly YouTube) was used in Brazil by the rightwing politician Bolsonaro to bolster his chances for election to the Presidency, as Fisher shows in detail.

Fisher's research helps us understand widespread gullibility via two rhetorical vectors: repetition and consensus. A false claim, no matter how wildly absurd, becomes believable to many people when they hear it repeated. Fisher shows how Bolsonaro was elected in Brazil based on frequently repeated campaign discourse on YouTube in support of his candidacy. There is also the force of *consensus*: when someone who is wavering in their belief of a conspiracy sees that everyone else around her believes it, she falls in line. There is the force of *authority*, whether based

in wealth or status: millions believed Trump because they admired wealth; and once he became #45, the prestige of the presidency effectively doubled his authority (221).

Since one of the main strengths of Max Fisher's book is his detailed analysis of social media's "radicalization pipeline" through an algorithm called *Reinforce*, it pays to look more closely at concrete examples from contemporary campus life, where my male students perceive Jordan Peterson in a continuum with Alex Jones, Joe Rogan, Rush Limbaugh, and Donald Trump. Not long ago, when I taught some Critical Thinking courses, it was common for male students who overcame their initial reserve or insecurity to ask my opinion of the Canadian guru, Jordan Peterson. Although they considered him an eminent philosopher, I knew nothing about him. I was secretly astonished that so many male students had viewed his videos and were engrossed with Jordan Peterson's YouTube disquisitions. (I said to myself, "Heck, if only they did this fandom thing online with Plato and Kant!") It was typical for male students to ask questions during an interval before or after class, and not during class where they risk appearing conspicuously diligent to peers. For obscure psychosocial reasons, diligence and sincerity are not trending among males, who defensively prefer unrelenting sarcasm. Among college students, there are very few young men who have the confidence and intellectual wherewithal to ask sincere questions in front of their classmates. If they ask a question, Max Fisher's book suggests, it is usually "poisoned with irony" and cynicism (186). But not with Jordan Peterson, who they respect and "follow." Through social media such as Facebook and YouTube, Peterson's word had become gospel, espousing regressive convictions that seek to recuperate vintage hierarchical relations between the sexes, between the "man of the house" and his compliant spouse or "housewife." Jordan argues on YouTube files that young men have been severely disempowered by progressive cultural movements such as feminism, transsexuality, and civil rights. These are facile observations that do not get to the matter at stake in a rigorous way, unlike Richard Reeve's timely study, *Of Boys and Men: Why the Modern Male is Struggling, Why It Matters, and What to Do About It*.

It was striking to me that the same male students who expressed admiration for Jordan tended to be diehard supporters of Joe Rogan, Alex

Jones, and Trump. This affinity was not self-evident. Surely Jordan was not promulgating Trump as a masculine ideal type. Nor could Trump--nor Rogan or Jones--be mistaken as a philosopher. Apart from their strident and opportunistic conservatism, what was the connection between Jordan and these radical blowhards? According to the media research disclosed by Max Fisher in his *The Chaos Machine*, YouTube algorithms such as *Reinforce* led viewers of Jordan Peterson's videos toward more radical sites, wrathful and outrageous videos in an escalatory pattern arousing ever more rage and rebellion, such that even ordinary viewers would become radicalized partisans and devoted worshippers of outlandish figures such as Trump, Alex Jones, Joe Rogan, Rush Limbaugh, and other blustery blabbermouths who will say *anything outlandish and preposterous* for money and incremental gains in power and popularity. Here's Fisher's analysis:

> YouTube upgraded its algorithms over 2016 and 2017, adding a system it called Reinforce, which recommended users into unfamiliar subgenres. Even if you never searched out Peterson-style alt-right gateway videos, you might get nudged into one anyway, just to see if it took. Stories of YouTube radicalization were suddenly everywhere, their details repeating with machine-like consistency. "One of my closest friends was radicalized by YouTube," Chris Sacca, a Silicon Valley investor and Google alum, tweeted. "It started a few years ago with 'thought-provoking' and 'contrarian' videos. But, thanks to the suggested videos algorithm, got darker and more violent, he lost his wife, kids, and friends, and none of us know where he is today." (213)

In other words, there was no intrinsic affinity between Jordan Peterson's neoconservative monologues, which are intellectual, and extremist political ideology in QAnon, Trumpism, Alex Jones, and absurd militia formations such as Oath Keepers. The affinity is *by suggestion* via *digital proximity* and *reinforcement.* The Google/YouTube algorithms impose this serial adjacency or proximity between them to drive increased engagement with affective (therefore profitable) intensities—rage, anger, loyalty, betrayal, revenge, and so on.

Will the research of Max Fisher save those who have plunged headfirst into social media rabbit holes? It is unlikely they will read

anything Max Fisher's *The Chaos Machine*. After President Biden's speech in Philadelphia on Nov. 3rd, 2022, about imperiled democratic norms, the *New Yorker* writer Susan Glasser posted the following comment on Twitter: "Biden sounds like he's trying to persuade Americans about the threat to democracy. But who is there left to persuade?" She meant that in our polarized culture, half of the citizens blindly revere Trump and his Big Lie, and they are impervious to Biden's wisdom. The other half of the U.S. population is already worried about the precarity of democratic ideals and needs no prompting on that issue. This audience dichotomy haunted my reading of Max Fisher's sustained condemnation of social media in his book, *The Chaos Machine*. He is preaching to the choir through no fault of his own. The people who most need to read *The Chaos Machine* and become informed voters and digital netizens will never read it. The people whose worldview needs to be contravened by truth are out of reach within their own conspiratorial worlds and filter bubbles. As a personal aside, I should add here that the most difficult topic for my advanced students in Critical Theory class is the social media they were born into and grew up within. It is like the birth mother to whom they owe their ontogenesis—their psychic bonding with social media is that tight and unbreachable. In fact, the difficulty students encounter unpacking and theorizing social media is so entrenched and unnegotiable that I have considered removing it from the syllabus, although it arguably poses the most pervasive psychosocial problem of their generation. The fish, content if not joyful in their aqueous milieu, do not seem capable of describing the waters in which they swim and are disindividuated. Over the years, a few exceptional students have been blessed with the capacity of a flying fish to briefly survey and critique social media, become a transcendental onlooker and critic of the socially mediated world. But so-called "netizens" have a remarkably tough time performing the phenomenological epoché that will enable them to (1) bracket social media as an objective topic of critical inquiry, and (2) rigorously illuminate the way their subjectivity has been emptied of personal selectivity due to algorithmic coercion.

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The threat to subjectivity posed by forces of disindividuation in the hive mind of social media was uncannily anticipated by the reclusive Kierkegaard in his efforts to reclaim the nobility of spirit in separate individuals "apart from the crowd." The fear of being excluded motivated people in his Denmark to join mass society much as it motivates young people to join social media. He wrote: "Most people become quite afraid when each is expected to be a separate individual" (102). A genuine individual will "never be popular not because he is so difficult, but because it demands quiet and prolonged working with oneself and intimate knowledge of oneself as well as a certain isolation." As we saw earlier, Kierkegaard argues that even "religious things have to do with a softly murmured soliloquy with oneself" (101). This is the theme most neglected by Max Fisher, whose study is congested with research findings of a lopsidedly *social* nature. A journalist by vocation, Fisher does not privilege the Eurocentric individualism of the existential philosopher.

But then, where does subjectivity come from? Those who have read Kierkegaard know that in his case it comes not only from suffering personal heartache, but from intense, solitary lucubration (reading and writing) and prayer. "The yardstick for a human being," he wrote in his diary, "is how long and to what degree he can bear to be alone, devoid of understanding with others" (103). What remains unsaid here is that this human being is undistractedly alone in a library with books to ponder and interpret, be it literature, biology, poetry, holy scriptures, or philosophy. Such is the solitary route to critical self-understanding and the life of spirit. Exegesis, quietly done in most classrooms for generations, is a critical exercise in the formation of individual cognition, taste, and selectivity. But as Maryanne Wolf has shown in *Proust and the Squid*, it is an increasingly anachronistic activity. Although these days one often comes across the expression, "Digital Revolution," that is not the case with the "Reading Revolution," a phrase describing the development of the reading brain in human beings over a span of five thousand years. Wolf explains that humans are not genetically predisposed to read; hence, it will always take a certain amount of sustained effort and focus to become a serious reader, since meaning, in both literal and figurative modes, is not always self-evident and requires interpretation. Social media and artificial intelligence offer numerous recipes for bypassing exegetical effort. Plot

summaries, templates, and essay algorithms such as GPT-3 will arguably make the essay assignment obsolete, an argument made by Stephen Marche in his essay, The College Essay is Dead." We must keep asking how individual cognitive development will be altered by this development, and how education can compensate for the loss.

As I said above in concurrence with Maryanne Wolf, exegetical reading was central to higher education for the centuries that preceded the digital revolution. It constituted a certain type of human being—not only English majors and bookworms--endowed with literary cognition and intelligence. In comparison, digital scanning, file transfer, tweets, wikis, and "streaming visual content" are quick and convenient, but they are typically modes of information, not literature. Both revolutions have rewired the brain and brought about prodigious transformations in cognition and attentional behavior that are largely antithetical to each other. Reading spawns autonomy, and social media, sociality, or worse, heteronomy. I often say to my students: reading gives us the *time to compose ourselves*. The time of reading is not only slower than digital temporality, but according to Wolf it is projective and synthetic; a pause of reflection after finishing a page or chapter, a glance outside the train window into a landscape that you remake for yourself with the help of the book in hand, that inserts you into Margaret Fuller's 19th-century New England or Daphne du Maurier's 20th-century England. These projective worlds help us understand ourselves and others, help us think beyond the given, and this transcendental thinking, Wolf argues, is "the reading brain's greatest achievement" (229). The reading brain encourages individuation due to the sequestered (or niched) attentional focus required in deep reading, enabling the reader to "allocate more cognitive time and ultimately more cortical space to the deeper analysis of recorded thought," while the digital brain of social media forecloses opportunities for personal individuation under the protocols of public sharing, shaming, and voluntary self-exposure. My own opinion is that the type of person formed by deep reading will become a distinguished and valuable minority. English majors and philosophers will one day be worth their weight in gold, but they need to be patient while discovering which sector of the economy will most appreciate them--education, government, business, etc.

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Maryanne Wolf asks: "What would be lost to us if we replaced the skills honed by the reading brain with those now being formed in our new generation of digital natives…?" (221). In response to Wolf's question, Max Fisher tells us what will *replace* the reading mind, namely, social media and algorithmic unfreedom; but it was Kierkegaard who foresaw what would be lost, *subjectivity*. If Kierkegaard was alive today, social media would be his worst nightmare because it extinguishes subjectivity, relying as it does on the hive mind and commercially generated algorithms for determining taste, selection, decision, and valuation. It is so easy and so mindless to allow amazon.com algorithms and reader reviews to determine my reading list for the holidays. This is to say that the ordinary person sacrifices their subjectivity, their potential for individuation, on social media. The category of the separate individual becomes obsolete when engagement is based on the semiotics of following and imitation, then preserved through filters that reify group identity in a fortress mentality or hive mind. Evidence of this phenomenon can be seen these days in the way that college students apply to graduate school. Rather than do individually tailored research for programs that meet one's specific goals of self-determination through topic or field specificity and associated professors, students apply to schools based on the advice of friends on social media who have a very imprecise understanding of the applicant's scholarly interests and capabilities. They are attracted to the brand prestige of certain schools based on national magazine and web site rankings that have been posted by bots in their social media news feed.

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My initial abstention from social media as it began to colonize the lifeworld around 2006 was based on both public and private concerns, each with its own vector of problems and possibilities. You can call my concerns Kierkegaardian. Underpinning both vectors was my worry that nascent opportunities for personal individuation (hence, autonomous reasoning) such as reading, travel, and music appreciation were being

digitally collectivized and articulated as social experiences, neutralizing their individuating force. Instead of discovering your favorite writer on your own, and absorbing, owning that discovery as intimate self-discovery, as becoming distinctively yourself through selective reading, you follow a title "liked" on Facebook and enjoy it with millions of other fans. The stage of personal discovery is lost in the crowd. Instead of finding a fabulously gorgeous and secluded beach at the end of an unmarked road on your own by accident, or with your lover, you visit a crowded beach of selfie-takers that was brought to your attention by an influencer on IG.

Why does it matter if an algorithm makes our choices for us? What's the big deal about personal selection, which *takes time* and requires you to *know yourself*? The selectivity exercised in your personal interests, tendencies, and tastes differentiates you from others and sets a pattern that is uniquely yours. It gives you traction and ownership beyond the ever-changing trends of commercial origin. Your love of science fiction is not because of a social media fan club, or the recent film version of *Dune*, but the long-term outcome of choices you made in a library during middle school when the teacher gave everyone one hour to find a book to sign out for the weekend. Your bond with science fiction is not trendy, but durable and heartfelt, here to stay and not gone tomorrow. During childhood and adolescence, the books and films you chose distinguished you, constituted your personal archive, your tertiary memories, and those set a pattern (your subjectivity) for primary memory and perception. When you enter a bookstore, you do not feel confused, lost, or bored, but know *exactly* where to look--the aisle with mythology books, or science fiction, or philosophy. Your memory makes a claim and situates you in a world that you helped design; unlike your peers, you don't feel like a stranger in bookstores, libraries, and classrooms. According to Bernard Stiegler's *Age of Disruption*, your memories invisibly guide your choices in the future and personalize them. They empower you to think for yourself (217). Before social media, if you were standing next to a good friend and some strangers in a bookstore, it would be very unlikely that you would all reach for the same book on the same shelf: *Game of Thrones*. Indeed, you would probably be in a different aisle. ("Hey there; I wondered where you were.") The *Harry Potter* extravaganza was the outcome not only of aggressive marketing by commercial publishing and book selling, but of "liking" on

social media on an unprecedented global scale. While the collective memory of your friends and you reading the same book gives you a cozy feeling, it will not help you gain traction in later life through the forces of your own memory and selectivity, your own GPS, which sustain your existence and personally empower your choices. I often ask my students: "When the boss asks you to name your favorite book during an interview, and why you admire it, will you call your friends on social media for advice?"

Max Fisher, a journalist, reports on problems and controversies in social media that are of predominately social consequence. Insofar as I, a philosophical critic, study the extinction of subjectivity in social media, you can call my concerns Kierkegaardian. There is plenty of work left for both of us.

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