Exploring the Relationship Between Colonial Mentality, Attitudes Toward U.S. Military Buildup, and Knowledge of Shared Colonial History Among Filipinos in Guam

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Abstract

The current military buildup in Guam, which aims to relocate 5,000 US Marines from Okinawa to Guam, is the largest U.S. military relocation project in the 21st century (Davis, 2011; Na'puti, 2019). Prior research with a representative sample of people in Guam suggests that attitudes toward the buildup are divided among residents of Guam (Dalisay, 2012). Research also suggests that one aspect of colonial mentality, as well as attention to information sources, predict people's attitudes toward the military buildup (Dalisay, 2012). One group in Guam that may be especially important with regard to the relationship between colonial mentality and the military buildup is the Filipino population, the largest settler group in Guam (Central Intelligence Agency, 2024). Furthermore, research has shown that colonial mentality is a salient and significant construct among Filipinos (David, 2013). Thus, the target population of this study were Filipinos because their perspective on the impacts of also being colonized by the U.S. while also benefitting from military labor – in addition to their large numbers in Guam – puts them in a unique and consequential position to either support or resist the military buildup. The present study examined the relationship between colonial mentality, knowledge of shared colonial history, and attitudes toward the U.S. military buildup among Filipinos in Guam. Consistent with previous findings, the current study found a positive relationship between colonial debt – one aspect of colonial mentality – and support for military build-up. The present study also found a negative relationship

between knowledge of shared history and one aspect of military buildup support (i.e., perceiving low environmental risks), and a negative relationship between colonial debt and knowledge of shared history. However, the hypothesized moderating effect of knowledge of shared history on the relationship between colonial debt and support of military buildup was not found. Implications for future research are discussed.

In their call for the "Asia-Pacific Pivot", the United States Department of Defense's (DoD) new goal was to increase military presence in Asia and the Pacific (Frain, 2016). The ongoing military buildup, which aims to relocate 5,000 U.S. Marines from Okinawa to Guam, is the largest U.S. military relocation project in the 21st century (Davis, 2011; Na'puti, 2019). Attitudes towards the military buildup are divided among the residents of Guam (Dalisay, 2012). While some people argue that the ongoing militarization in Guam contributes to the desecration of Indigenous lands, oppression of Indigenous CHamoru people, gentrification, and environmental contamination, others support the buildup in anticipation that it would bring economic growth (Davis, 2011; Alexander, 2016; Hart, 2011; Quintanilla, 2012).

David and Okazaki (2006a) emphasized the importance of incorporating sociopolitical and historical contexts in the study of populations who have experienced colonization. They stated that considering people's colonial history is crucial to the understanding of how these contexts affect their circumstances. As such, this study focuses on the sociopolitical and historical contexts of Filipino settlers in Guam. As the largest source of migrant labor and the largest settler group in Guam, Filipinos may contribute to the perpetuation of colonialism through militarization. While Filipinos have a history of colonization and post-colonial exploitation by the U.S., many Filipinos have gained economic power in Guam (Oberiano, 2017). However, the rise in power, increasing economic interests, and growing population of Filipinos in the island contributes to the oppression of CHamoru people by threatening their access to self-determination and

ability to assert their political power in their own lands. Filipinos' paradoxical history and modern reality in Guam places them in a unique position to either support or resist the military buildup in Guam today.

Factors that Predict Attitudes Towards the Military Buildup

According to David and Okazaki (2006a), people can internalize oppression as a result of colonization. They called this internalized oppression as colonial mentality (CM). They stated that CM in Filipino Americans is characterized by the uncritical rejection of anything Filipino and an uncritical preference for anything American. David and Okazaki (2006b) developed and validated a CM scale in which they discovered that CM has five factors: (a) within-group discrimination, (b) physical characteristics, (c) colonial debt, (d) cultural shame and embarrassment, and (e) internalized cultural/ethnic inferiority.

Research with a representative sample of people in Guam suggests that one aspect of colonial mentality – colonial debt – as well as attention to information sources – such as local newspapers – predict people's attitudes towards the military buildup (Dalisay, 2012). Specifically, Dalisay found that higher colonial debt is positively correlated with support of the military buildup. One group in Guam that may be especially important regarding the relationship between colonial mentality and military buildup is Filipinos. Comprising 26.3% of the population, Filipinos make up the largest settler group in Guam (Central Intelligence Agency, 2018). Because of Guam and the Philippines' shared colonial history under Spain and the U.S., Filipinos have been migrating to Guam since the seventeenth century (Flores, 2015). Furthermore, research has shown that colonial mentality is a salient and significant construct among Filipinos (David, 2013). Thus, the target population of this study were Filipinos because their perspective on the consequences of being colonized by the U.S. while also benefiting from military labor puts them in a unique position to either support or resist the new military buildup in Guam.

To this end, the purpose of the present study was to examine the relationship between colonial mentality, knowledge of shared colonial history, and attitudes toward the U.S. military buildup among Filipinos in Guam. The study's hypotheses were the following: (a) higher levels of CM will predict positive attitudes towards the military buildup; and (b) knowledge of shared colonial history will moderate the relationship b between CM and attitudes toward the military buildup (see Figure 1).

Guam's Colonial Context

The island of Guam is located in Micronesia, a region located in the Western Pacific Ocean. Historically, world powers valued Guam because of its strategic location. In 1565, Spain claimed Guam as their colony because it was located between Acapulco, Mexico and Manila, Philippines (Alkire, 1977). Over 300 years later, the United States emerged as a global superpower and declared war on Spain in 1898 (Rogers, 1995). Guam was surrendered to the U.S. under the 1898 Treaty of Paris along with Philippines, Puerto Rico, and Cuba.

The U.S. valued Guam's location because of its proximity to Hawaii, Philippines, and several other East Asian ports (Kinzer, 2006). President William McKinley declared Guam as a U.S. naval station and it was to be governed by military officials with absolute power. However, in World War II the Japanese military gained control over Guam. Once again, Guam was valued because of its proximity to Japan and Hawaii. Japan controlled Guam for three years before the U.S. reoccupied the island at the end of the war. Recognizing that Guam played an important role in WWII, along with the rising Cold War tensions, the U.S. was prompted to increase their military presence in the Pacific (Oberiano, 2017). Thus, they invested millions of dollars into the construction of air force and naval bases on the island. In the process of doing so, they forcibly removed CHamoru families or offered poor compensation for their lands (Na'puti, 2019).

Six years after Guam was reoccupied by the U.S., President Harry Truman signed the 1950 Guam Organic Act which made Guam an unincorporated U.S. territory and its residents U.S. citizens (Kinzer, 2006). However, because Guam is a possession of the U.S., its residents cannot vote for president, and they have no representation in Congress. Moreover, the U.S. Congress has plenary powers over Guam, giving them complete authority to apply or deny aspects of the U.S. constitution. The United Nations (U.N.) refers to Guam as one of seventeen "non-self-governing territories", in other words, a colony (U.N., n.d.; Bevacqua & Cruz, 2020). While the CHamoru people have been attempting to draw attention to their colonial status and their right to political self-determination at U.N. general assemblies, the U.S. has refused to recognize the U.N.'s categorization of Guam and insists that Guam is not a colony. Thus, the CHamoru people's inherent human right to self-determination is denied (United Nations, 1948), thereby leaving them to remain colonized and subjugated by the U.S. with no say in Guam's political status, their lands, and their resources.

Presently, Guam's population is approximately 169,000 and is comprised of 32.8% of CHamoru people, 29.1% of Filipinos,13.3% of other Pacific Islanders, and 6.4% other Asians (Central Intelligence Agency, 2024). Additionally, there are more than 12,000 military members and their families in Guam (Military Installations, n.d.). Today, the U.S. DoD owns about one-third of the 212 square-mile island, approximately 40,000 acres. In addition, the DoD uses the sea and air to test weapons and as live-fire training ranges (Frain, 2016). The DoD is currently developing another live-fire training range and multiple barracks in Guam to accommodate the relocation of 5,000 U.S. Marines from Okinawa.

As part of this military buildup, the DoD has claimed a sacred cultural heritage site called *Litekyan,* also known as Ritidian, to develop a live-fire training range for the Marines. Litekyan is the oldest site of permanent settlement in Guam and is the resting place of ancient CHamoru remains (Na'puti, 2019). Litekyan also sits atop Guam's

northern lens aquifer, which is the island's main source of drinking water. Despite the DoD's Supplemental Environmental Impact Statement (SEIS; Naval Facilities Engineering Command Pacific, 2015) report that a firing range at Litekyan will put the aquifer at risk for contamination, DoD has solidified their plans to build the firing range at that location. DoD plans to clear 315 acres of land – including 199 acres of limestone forest – restrict public access, and designate Litekyan as a "Surface Danger Zone" (Na'puti, 2019). The DoD's SEIS has also reported that the socioeconomic and sociocultural impacts of the military buildup include cultural, social, and psychological marginalization and feelings of injustice because of land acquisition and restricting access to subsistence fishing areas. Moreover, the DoD predicts that the military buildup in Guam will raise the cost of living, which will put drastic economic distress on low-income families and may even cause a rise in homelessness. Despite DoD's SEIS report, community attitudes toward the military buildup are mixed.

Many residents, government officials, and local business owners are strong proponents of the military buildup for reasons such as national security, economic benefits, and U.S. patriotism. Sablan (2017) captured these sentiments in an interview with resident Chris Diego in which he stated, "We're thrilled to be a part of that patriotic move to welcome our service members. Not only to keep our island safer in light of this [North] Korean stuff, but also keep our military as vibrant as possible and we have to welcome them as an island community" (para. 8). Cleotilde Bamba, World War II CHamoru survivor, also expressed her support for the military buildup in an interview stating, "We cannot protect ourselves here without the military. They are the only one that is going to protect us" (Hofschneider, 2016, Benefits of the Buildup Section, para.15). Furthermore, in 2017, former Guam Senator Michael San Nicolas proposed a resolution which expressed support for the military buildup for the promotion of peace and stability in the Asia-Pacific region" (Legislative Resolution 294-34 (COR), 2017). Large local organizations such as the Guam Chamber of Commerce, Guam Hotel and

Restaurant Association, and the Guam Contractors Association testified and wrote letters in support of the resolution, emphasizing that the buildup would boost Guam's economy by creating more jobs and tax revenues.

In contrast, the military buildup is also facing strong opposition from other residents, government officials, and local business owners. Guam's former Attorney General Leevin Camacho noted that the predicted economic benefits of the buildup are minimal and do not outweigh the costs (Hofschneider, 2016). He explained that most jobs will be filled by migrant workers. Some small business owners were doubtful about the benefits of the buildup as well. For instance, Guam resident and small-business owner Rubyjane Buhain-Redila shared that she is afraid that the buildup will bring bigger competition which would hurt her business (Sablan, 2017). She added that, as someone who was raised in Guam, she empathizes with the CHamoru people who are concerned about their land. Those in opposition of the military buildup argue that the military activities threaten environmental protection and traditional practices. CHamoru scholars Na'puti and Bevacqua (2015) argued that the U.S. imposes its military buildup with little regard for the CHamoru people and the U.S. exploits the political status of Guam and the Northern Marianas for military purposes.

Militarization and Neocolonialism

Scholars have argued that the process of militarization is a form of imperialism and colonialism, where the power of one nation is imposed on others through the exploitation of resources and peoples to gain political and economic power (Bevacqua & Cruz, 2020; Frain, 2016; Lutz, 2002; Na'puti & Bevacqua, 2015; Naidu, 1985). Militarization not only involves increasing the capacity for military force through numbers in soldiers and weapons, but it also involves shifting the beliefs and values of a society so that the use of violence is justified (Lutz, 2002). In Guam, the shifting of beliefs and values occurs through the U.S. rhetoric that the island and its residents are "American enough' for a military buildup and the encouragement of local residents to

enlist in the military (Frain, 2016). However, Frain points out the hypocrisy in that rhetoric by stating that the U.S. also claims that the residents are not "American enough" to vote for president, to have democratic representation in the Congress, and to have a say in the military activities in Guam.

Guam's colonial reality through militarization is captured well in an interview with U.S. Air Force Lieutenant Colonel Douglas, in which he stated,

People on Guam seem to forget that they are a possession, and not an equal partner… If California says they want to do this, it is like my wife saying that she wants to move here or there: I'll have to respect her wish and at least discuss it with her. If Guam says they want to do this or that, it is as if this cup here [he pointed at his coffee mug] expresses a wish: the answer will be, you belong to me and I can do with you as best I please (Stade, 1998, as cited in Bevacqua & Cruz, 2020, p. 133).

As evidenced by Colonel Douglas' sentiments, Guam's colonial status as a U.S. unincorporated territory lends itself to be powerless and voiceless. Its value to the U.S. is "precisely that the island's people have no formal control over the use of the island for military purposes" (Bevacqua & Cruz, 2020, p. 133). Further, because Guam is not an independent nation, it cannot limit DoD's military activities as other countries have done. Consequently, the U.S. can exploit Guam's environment in ways that might not be acceptable in other countries (Bevacqua & Cruz, 2020).

Neocolonial militarization also perpetuates hierarchies of race, class, and gender (Lutz, 2009). This is evident in the history of Filipino and CHamoru relations in Guam. While Filipinos have been migrating to Guam since the seventeenth century as Spanish soldiers, missionaries, and exiles, the end of World War II marked a significant shift in the migration of Filipinos (Flores, 2015). The U.S. military depended on Filipinos to provide cheap civilian labor for the postwar military buildup in Guam. With the Philippines being a victim of American colonization and four years of war on their lands

between Japan and the U.S., many Filipinos were dispossessed. Their economic resources were depleted leaving them with a hard choice to be imported by the U.S. military and its contractors to Guam.

The development of racial, gender, and class hierarchies during that time is apparent in recruitment practices of the military and its contractors (Flores, 2015). By the late 1940s, approximately 28,000 Filipinos migrated to Guam to serve as military civilian workers. Conversely, the military and its contractors employed only 5,831 CHamoru people even though they made up two-thirds of the population. They believed that CHamoru men were unskilled, unproductive, and incompetent while Filipinos were viewed as reliable and, perhaps most importantly, amenable to discipline. By recruiting Filipino workers, military contractors also saved money and increased their profits by paying Filipinos in pesos rather than dollars. However, Filipinos were also viewed as the most "diseased" of all civilian military workers. As such, they were subjected to more rigorous health examinations before being recruited. Overall, the military and its contractors privileged White men and women over CHamoru people and Filipinos, and they exported White male patriarchy by giving White men authority over all other ethnicities and genders (Flores, 2015).

Filipino Settlers' Awareness of Colonial History and Events

Of the five CM factors, Dalisay (2012) selected to investigate colonial debt as a potential mediator of the relationship between the attention to information sources that support the buildup and positive attitudes toward the buildup. Colonial debt is manifested by the colonized when they begin to believe that the colonizer's actions are well-intentioned (David & Okazaki, 2006a). This belief leads them to tolerate oppression and reason that it is the rightful cost of becoming more like their colonizer. In Dalisay's study, he found colonial debt to be positively correlated with positive attitudes toward the military buildup in Guam. Although this finding sheds some light on this relationship, colonial debt is just one aspect of CM. Thus, more research is needed to

further examine how other aspects of CM may influence attitudes towards militarization. Furthermore, the relationship between CM and attitudes toward the military buildup may be more nuanced in that other factors may also play a role. One such factor is knowledge of a shared colonial history. Indeed, as Oberiano (2017) stated, the study of the history of CHamoru people and Filipino immigrants in Guam can provide more insight into their relationship, and that, "Through a mutual understanding of each group's American colonial histories, the potential for CHamoru self-determination and decolonization in the future becomes possible" (p. 15). This research will attempt to empirically explore this possibility.

Present Study

The study theorizes that CM will be positively associated with higher support for the military buildup. However, it was predicted that the relationship of CM on attitudes toward the military buildup will depend on Filipinos' knowledge of their shared colonial history with CHamoru people. In other words, it was hypothesized that even Filipinos who have high levels of CM may still have negative attitudes toward the military buildup when they also have greater knowledge of their shared colonial history. However, support for military build-up was hypothesized to be higher for Filipinos who have high levels of CM and low knowledge of their shared colonial history (see Figure 2).

Method

Recruitment and Participant Characteristics

Self-identified Filipinos, aged 18 and older and currently residing in Guam, were eligible to participate. An online flyer calling for participants were posted on various social media sites. A snowball sampling technique was used, as participants were encouraged to advertise the study to friends and families living in Guam. The Qualtrics survey software was used to distribute the surveys through emails and social media. Participants were presented a cover letter and consent form at the beginning of the

online survey. The survey took approximately 15 minutes to complete, and no compensation were offered to participants. This study was approved by an Institutional Review Board.

An a priori power analysis was conducted using the G*power software to test a linear multiple regression fixed model with an R^2, a medium effect size ($f^2 = .15$), and an alpha of .05 (Faul, Erdfelder, Buchner, & Lang, 2009). The result showed that a total sample of 55 participants is required to achieve a power of .80. The recruitment strategy yielded a total of 82 Filipinos living in Guam who logged on to complete the survey. A total of nine participants were eliminated from the study due to missing data. The final sample size (*N=73*) exceeded adequate sample size for a path analysis to detect medium effect sizes.

The final sample of 73 participants (43 females, 30 males) had an average age of 29.90 years (*SD = 8.36*). Most participants identified as Filipino (*n* = 63) and the rest identified as Filipino-CHamoru (n = *5*), Filipino-Chinese (*n = 2*), Filipino-White (*n* = 1), and Filipino-Chinese-Spanish (*n = 1*). Most participants (*n* = 45) reported Guam as their birthplace and had lived 23.38 years (*SD* = 6.50) in Guam. Most of the participants (approx. 96%) have close ties to the U.S. military as either an active service member, a veteran, or having a relative who are part of the military. The majority of the sample (approx. 73%) reported having a bachelor's degree or higher. The sample seems to be equally connected with the mainstream culture (*M*=6.37, *SD* = 1.27) and their heritage culture (*M* = 7.66, *SD* = 1.08) as measured by the Vancouver Index of Acculturation (Ryder et al., 2000). For more details on sample characteristics, please see Table 1.

Measures

In addition to the demographic questionnaire, the participants also completed the following measures to test the study's main hypotheses.

Predictor: Colonial Mentality Scale

The Colonial Mentality Scale (CMS; David & Okazaki, 2006b) is a 36-item self-report scale that measures internalized oppression as a result of colonialism in Filipino Americans (see Appendix A). The scale is divided into five subscales that measure the different manifestations of CM: (a) within-group discrimination (b) physical characteristics, (c) colonial debt, (d) cultural shame and embarrassment, and (e) internalized culture and ethnic inferiority. Each item on the CMS scale is measured using a 6-point scale (1 = *strongly disagree* to *6* = *strongly agree*). Higher scores on each subscale indicates higher levels of the CM manifestation. Previous studies have supported reliability and the validity of the CMS (David & Okazaki, 2006b). Cronbach's alphas of .77 (within-group discrimination), .80 (physical characteristics), .82 (colonial debt), .46 (cultural shame and embarrassment), and .46 (internalized culture and ethnic inferiority) were obtained from the current sample.

Outcome: Attitudes Toward the Military Buildup

The attitudes toward the military buildup measure (Dalisay, 2012) is a self-report scale that is comprised of three indices (see Appendix B). The first index includes one item and asks respondents about the extent to which they agree or disagree with the statement, "I support the buildup" (1 = *strongly disagree,* 7 = *strongly agree*). The second index includes three items that measures the attitudes related to the economic benefits of the military buildup (e.g. "The buildup will create lots of jobs for Guam"). The last index includes three items that measures attitudes related to the environmental risks of the military buildup (e.g. "The buildup will harm Guam's environment"). Higher scores for each index suggest more positive attitudes toward military buildup. Dalisay reported that the economic benefits loaded along one factor with an alpha of .86 and the environmental risks loaded along another factor with an alpha of .77. The current sample produced Cronbach's alphas of .90 (economic benefits) and .76 (environmental risks).

Moderator: Knowledge of Shared Colonial History Scale.

The Knowledge of Shared Colonial History Scale is a 12-item measure developed for the current study to assess participants' knowledge of Filipinos and CHamoru people's shared colonial history (see Appendix C). Each item is measured using a dichotomous scale (1 = *True* and 2 = *False*). The items in the survey were based on key themes in the literature on Filipino and CHamoru history (Diaz, 1995; Navarro, 1999; Flores, 2015; Oberiano, 2017; Pobutsky & Neri, 2018; Hattori, 2004). One example of a survey item is, "Americans believed it was their duty to educate and civilize Filipinos." The measure was tested for content validity and face validity using content review experts, who were Filipino and CHamoru community leaders in Guam. The content experts were provided information about the purpose of the measure and were asked questions to determine face validity (e.g., rate the degree to which the measure clearly and accurately tests what it aims to test) and content validity (e.g., rate the degree to which the measure represents the relevant Filipino and CHamoru colonial history; what questions should be added or removed?). Higher scores on the measure suggest better understanding of the shared colonial history between Filipinos and the CHamoru people. A Cronbach's alpha of .79 was obtained from the current sample.

Results

Correlations

Table 1 displays the correlations, means, and standard deviations for the study variables. Out of the five aspects of colonial mentality, only colonial debt was consistently related with the three indices of attitudes toward military buildup. Specifically, colonial debt was positively correlated with support of the military buildup (r = .49), with this relationship reaching statistical significance. Consistent with this finding, colonial debt was also positively correlated with perceiving more economic benefits (r = .23) and less environmental impact (r = .21) of the military buildup,

although these correlations failed to reach statistical significance. There seems to be a trend of negative correlations between the five colonial mentality subscales and knowledge of shared colonial history, but only the correlation between colonial debt and knowledge of shared colonial history (r = -.29) reached statistical significance. Out of the three indices of attitudes toward the military buildup, only perceived environmental risk had a statistically significant correlation with knowledge of shared colonial history (r = -.54), suggesting that a better understanding of a shared colonial history is related with perceiving more environmental risks of military buildup.

Test of Moderation

Given that the only statistically significant correlation found between the hypothesized predictor variables (i.e., five colonial mentality subscales) and outcome variables (i.e., the three indices of attitudes toward military buildup) was the relationship between colonial debt and support of the military buildup, only this relationship was tested for potential moderation. To test the moderating effect of knowledge of shared colonial history on the relationship between colonial debt and support of the military buildup, the PROCESS macro (Hayes, 2017) in SPSS was used. The predictor and moderator were mean centered prior to the computation of the interaction term and 5,000 bootstrapped samples were used. Table 3 summarizes the regression results. Although colonial debt (b = 0.84, t = 3.92 , p = <.001) was a significant predictor of supporting the military buildup, knowledge of shared colonial history (b = -0.06, t = -0.60, p = .55) and the interaction term (colonial debt x knowledge of shared colonial history; b = 017, t = 1.21, p = .22) were not. The results did not show evidence for a moderation of knowledge of shared colonial history in the association between colonial mentality and support of the military buildup.

Discussion

The current study explored the possibility that Filipinos' knowledge of their shared colonial history with the CHamoru people will operate as a moderator of the relationship between colonial mentality and support for military buildup. Although this hypothesis was not supported by the findings, the current study still obtained important results. First, the current study found colonial debt to be related with stronger support for military buildup, consistent with previous research (Dalisay, 2012), further underscoring the importance of this aspect of colonial mentality regarding the issue of military buildup. It is possible that colonial debt is especially relevant to the issue of military buildup among Filipinos in Guam because they may feel a sense of indebtedness towards the U.S. for colonizing the Philippines. They may feel the need to reciprocate or "pay back" the U.S. for "liberating" Guam from the Japanese occupation during World War II (Souder, 1991). Perhaps one way to balance that sense of debt would be to support the ongoing military projects in Guam. It is also possible that the relationships between colonial debt, knowledge of shared colonial history, and attitudes toward military buildup are more complex than the hypothesized simple moderation tested in the current study. Future studies may explore more complex models that also incorporate other potentially relevant variables.

The current study also found knowledge of shared colonial history with CHamoru people to be negatively correlated with all aspects of colonial mentality, although only the colonial debt subscale reached statistical significance. Nevertheless, this trend toward a negative relationship suggests that a better understanding of their shared colonial history with CHamoru people may lead to lower levels of CM, especially colonial debt. Given colonial debt's seeming importance in predicting stronger support for military buildup, these findings underscore the importance of helping Filipinos gain a better understanding of how similar and connected their colonial and contemporary experiences are with CHamoru people.

One community level intervention that may facilitate knowledge building among Filipinos in Guam is the development of grade school and college curriculum on Filipino and Filipino-American history in Guam and the U.S. Currently, the Guam Department of Education requires that all students take social studies and history courses. However, aside from one Guam history required class in high school, all social studies and history courses taught in Guam are U.S.-centric. Similarly, there are there are no Filipino history courses being offered at the University of Guam (UOG) or the Guam Community College (GCC). This poses a problem because Filipinos make up the second largest ethnic group in Guam public school and the largest ethnic group at UOG and GCC (Guam Community College, 2022; Guam Department of Education, 2019; University of Guam, 2022). While they become well-versed in the history and contemporary issues of their U.S. counterparts, they are taught little about their own histories and regional events.

Filipino residents may also benefit from attending community outreach events hosted by grassroots organizations such as Filipinos for Guåhan. Filipinos for Guāhan have focused on supporting CHamoru people in their right to political decolonization. They work to promote and teach the community about CHamoru-Filipino collective resistance. Independent Guåhan is another grassroots organization that has produced free, accessible media on their social media and podcast about CHamoru-Filipino historical and contemporary relations. Additionally, Prutehi Litekyan is an organization in Guam that advocates for environmental justice and protection of land, water, and air. They host community educational events to inform the public about the impacts of the military buildup. Attending events held by these organizations may help keep Filipino residents better informed about the buildup and encourage solidarity with CHamoru people.

Limitations

The current study has several limitations that must be considered. First, the knowledge of shared history measure was developed only for the current study, with no formal psychometric evaluation. As such, the measure may not be a good measure of the construct. This may explain its lack of consistent relationship with the indices of attitude toward the military buildup and other null findings. Second, the current sample has strong ties to the military and are highly educated. It is possible that a more representative sample of Filipinos in Guam may yield different results. Third, while many of the correlations in the study seem to be trending toward a particular direction, many did not reach statistical significance. Lastly, the Cronbach's alphas for the cultural shame and embarrassment subscale and the internalized culture and ethnic inferiority subscale were below the acceptable level of reliability. This may be due to a small sample size, and a larger sample may yield different results.

Conclusion

While knowledge of shared colonial history did not moderate the relationship between colonial debt and support for the military buildup, a significant and positive correlation was found between colonial mentality and support for the military buildup. These findings are consistent with previous findings (Dalisay, 2012). The present study also found a negative relationship between knowledge of shared colonial history and support for the military buildup. Additionally, knowledge of shared colonial history was also negatively correlated with colonial debt. Future research should continue to build on these findings and further explore more complex models of these relationships.

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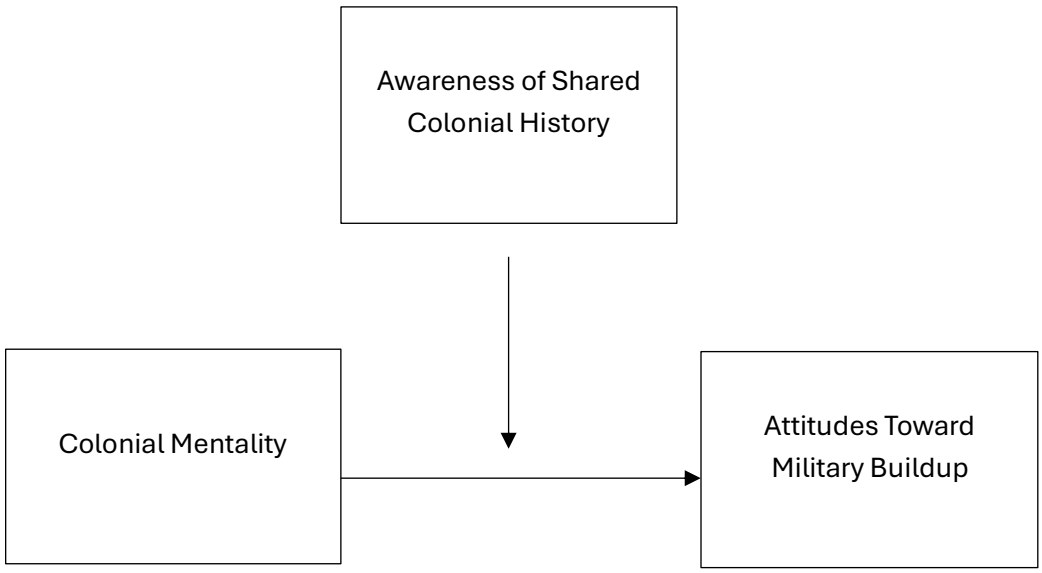
Figure 1.

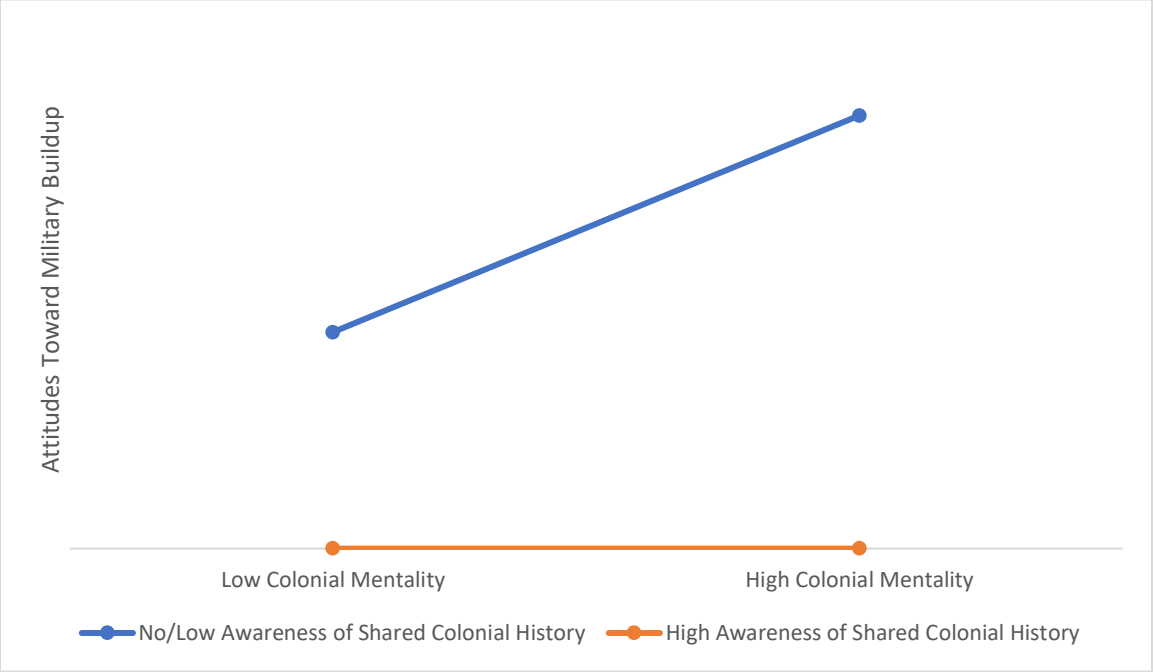
Hypothesized Moderation Model



Note. Filipinos' awareness of shared colonial history with CHamoru people is hypothesized to moderate the relationship between colonial mentality and attitudes toward the U.S. military buildup in Guam.

Figure 2.

Hypothesized moderation effect of awareness of shared colonial history on colonial mentality and attitudes toward military buildup



Note. It is hypothesized that the effect of CM on attitudes toward the military buildup will depend on Filipinos' awareness and acknowledgement of their shared colonial history with CHamoru people.

Table 1

Sociodemographic Characteristics and Psychosocial Characteristics of Study Sample, N = 73

Characteristics	Percent
Sex	
Female	58.9
Male	41.1
Ethnic Identity	
Filipino (*n* = 63)	86.3
Filipino-CHamoru (*n* = 5)	6.8
Filipino-Chinese (*n* = 2)	2.7
Filipino-White (*n* = 1)	1.4
Filipino-Chinese-Spanish (*n* = 1)	1.4
Education	
High school (*n* = 15)	20.5
Trade school (*n* = 5)	6.8
Bachelor's degree (*n* = 35)	47.9
Master's degree (*n* = 9)	12.3
Ph.D or higher (*n* = 2)	2.7
Prefer not to say (*n* =7)	9.6
Military History	
Active service member	4.1

Veteran	2.7
Active duty and/or veteran family/friends	89
	M ± *SD*
Age	29.90 ± 8.36
Lifetime spent in Guam	
Colonial mentality (range: 5-30)	
Within-group discrimination (range:1-6)	2.10 ± .58
Physical characteristics (range:1-6)	2.16 ± .77
Colonial debt (range:1-6)	2.70 ± .85
Cultural shame & embarrassment (range:1-6)	1.62 ± .56
Internalized inferiority (range:1-6)	2.03 ± .55
Attitudes toward military buildup	
Support of the buildup	3.45 ± 1.58
Economic benefits	4.77 ± 1.63
Environmental risks	2.12 ± 1.18
Knowledge of shared colonial history	9.82 ± 1.93

9. Knowledge of shared colonial history	-.21	-.19	-.29*	-.26	-.02	-.13	.01	-.54**	1.00		
10. Heritage Culture	-.25*	-.21	-.12	-.28*	-.31**	-.17	-.01	.12	.30*	1.00	
11. Mainstream Culture	-.02	.03	.20	.02	.07	.19	.32**	.08	.22	.33**	1.00

*p < .05 (two-tailed). **p <.01 (two-tailed).

Table 3

Results of the Moderating Effect of Knowledge of Shared Colonial History on the Relationship Between Colonial Debt and Attitude Toward the Military Buildup

Variables	*B*	*SE*	*t*	*p*	95% CI
Constant	3.53	0.18	20.09	<.001	[3.18, 3.88]
Colonial debt	0.84	0.21	3.92	<.001	[0.41, 1.26]
Knowledge of shared colonial history	-0.06	0.11	-0.60	.55	[-0.28, 0.15]
Colonial debt x Knowledge of shared colonial history	0.17	0.14	1.21	.23	[-0.11, 0.45]

Note. R^2 = 0.26. CI = confidence interval based on 5,000 bootstrapped estimates.

Appendix A

The Colonial Mentality Scale

Please respond to the following items honestly and as accurately as you can. There are no right or wrong responses to any of these items; we are interested in your honest responses and opinions. All responses are strictly anonymous.

To what extent do you disagree or agree with each of the following statements? Select a number between 1 to 6. On this scale, 1 = *strongly disagree,* 6 = *strongly agree*

1. I tend to divide Filipinos in America into two types: the FOBs (fresh-off-the-boat/newly arrived immigrants) and the Filipino Americans.
2. There are situations where I feel inferior because of my ethnic/cultural background.
3. I find persons with lighter skin-tones to be more attractive than persons with dark skin-tones.
4. In general, I do not associate with newly-arrived Filipino immigrants.
5. I do not want my children to be dark-skinned.
6. Filipinos should feel privileged and honored that Spain and the United States had contact with them.
7. There are situations where I feel that it is more advantageous or necessary to deny my ethnic/cultural heritage.
8. The American ways of living or the American culture is generally more admirable, desirable, or better than the Filipino culture.
9. There are situations where I feel ashamed of my ethnic/cultural background.
10. I generally think that a person that is part white and part Filipino is more attractive than a full-blooded Filipino.

11. I believe that Filipino Americans are superior, more admirable, and more civilized than Filipinos in the Philippines.
12. In general, I am ashamed of newly arrived Filipino immigrants because of the way they dress and act.
13. I find persons who have bridged noses (like Whites) as more attractive than persons with Filipino noses.
14. I generally do not like newly-arrived Filipino immigrants.
15. I would like to have a skin-tone that is lighter than the skin-tone I have.
16. I think newly arrived immigrants should become as Americanized as quickly as possible.
17. I would like to have children with light skin-tones.
18. Spain and the United States are highly responsible for civilizing Filipinos and improving their ways of life.
19. I think newly-arrived immigrant Filipinos are backwards, have accents, and act weird.
20. I would like to have a nose that is more bridged (like Whites) than the nose I have.
21. Filipinos should be thankful to Spain and the United States for transforming the Filipino ways of life into a White/European American ways of life.
22. I tend to pay more attention to the opinions of Filipinos who are very Americanized than to the opinions of FOBs/newly-arrived immigrants.
23. In general, Filipino Americans should be thankful and feel fortunate for being in the United States.

24. In general, I feel that being a Filipino American is not as good as being White/European American.
25. I do not want my children to have Filipino noses.
26. In general, Filipino Americans do not have anything to complain about because they are lucky to be in the United States.
27. I feel that there are very few things about the Filipino culture that I can be proud of.
28. The colonization of the Philippines by Spain and the United States produced very little damage to the Filipino culture.
29. In general, I feel that being Filipino is a curse.
30. In general, I am ashamed of newly-arrived Filipino immigrants because of their inability to speak fluent, accent-free English.
31. In general, I am embarrassed of the Filipino culture and traditions.
32. In general, I make fun of, tease, or badmouth Filipinos who are not very Americanized in their behaviors.
33. There are moments when I wish I was a member of a ethnic/cultural group that is different from my own.
34. I make fun of, tease, or badmouth Filipinos who speak English with strong accents.
35. In general, I feel ashamed of the Filipino culture and traditions.
36. In general, I feel that being a person of my ethnic/cultural background is not as good as being White.

Appendix B

Attitudes Toward the Military Build Up

We would like to ask you about some general opinions you have regarding the military buildup. To what extent do you disagree or agree with each of the following statements? Select a number between 1 to7. On this scale, 1 = Strongly Disagree, 7 = Strongly Agree

1. I support the buildup.
2. The buildup will create lots of jobs for Guam.
3. The buildup will improve Guam's economy.
4. The buildup will bring in much needed federal funds to Guam.
5. The buildup will make Guam overcrowded.
6. The buildup will harm Guam's environment.
7. The buildup will increase Guam's crime rate.

Appendix C

Knowledge of Shared Colonial History Scale

Please read each statement carefully and select whether each statement is ***true*** or ***false***.

1. Filipinos and CHamoru people were both colonized by Spain.
2. Filipinos and CHamoru people resisted Spanish colonization.
3. Spain exploited the land and resources of Filipinos and CHamoru people.
4. Spain tried to replace Filipino and CHamoru cultural and spiritual practices with Spanish culture and Catholicism.
5. Filipinos and CHamoru people were both colonized by the U.S.
6. Filipinos and CHamoru people were both regarded by the U.S. as uncivilized people.
7. Filipinos and CHamoru people were both regarded by the U.S. as savages.
8. The U.S. exploited the land and resources of Filipinos and CHamoru people.
9. The U.S. believed it was their duty to educate and civilize Filipinos and CHamoru people.
10. The U.S. believed it was their duty to Americanize Filipinos and CHamoru people and rid them of their cultural practices and languages.
11. The U.S. viewed Filipinos and CHamoru people as poor, ignorant, and inferior.

Filipinos and CHamoru people both resisted U.S. colonization.