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JESI LUJAN BENNETT

“I Sengsong San Diego”: The Chamoru Cultural Festival and the Formation of a Chamoru Diasporic Community¹

Abstract

This essay addresses contemporary migrations of Chamorus tied to the history of US military presence in Micronesia and the ways Indigenous culture and identity are negotiated through the Chamorro Cultural Festival (CCF) that has been held annually in San Diego, California since 2009. The analysis explores how diasporic Chamorus maintain close transpacific connections to the Mariana Islands while also establishing Chamoru communities abroad through the CCF. The festival simultaneously enacts Chamoru identities based in both mobility and rootedness and is a large-scale expression of how Chamorus create and express collective identities.

Keywords: *Chamorro studies, Micronesian studies, Indigenous studies, festivals, diaspora, militarization, American colonization*

My grandfather, Jesus “Jesse” Estaquio Lujan, enlisted in the United States Navy in 1960. He and my grandmother, Guadalupe “Lou” Garrido Blas Lujan, were both raised in Guam, within the Mariana Islands, in the villages of Barrigada and Agana Heights, respectively (Fig 1).² Like many Chamorus growing up after World War II, the US military was the driving force that set them on their path to the United States.³ Together they rode the wave of active military duty life, briefly living with their three children in Hawai’i and Long Beach, and finally settling in San Diego, California, where they eventually retired. San Diego became a second home for me and my sister and cousins, as my grandparents had put down roots for the generations to come. The city was an important part of early migrations of Chamorus to the continental United States following World War II. Our family is part of a network of Chamoru families, many of whom also came to San Diego in the 1970s headed by young individuals who had enlisted in the US Navy. In 1978, the Federation of Guamanian Associations of America (FGAA) estimated that, “55,000 Chamorros were living in California, including 15,000 in San Diego

County, the established center of Chamorros abroad.”⁴ The FGAA’s figures highlight the reality of many Chamorus leaving for the continental US during the 1970s. The numbers reflect how the US military was the main driving force of mobility and indicate that there were more Chamorus in the US than within the Marianas Islands. In 2021, this trend of out-migration still holds true for Chamorus with approximately 69,098 in Guam and 12,902 in the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands (CNMI), while 147,798 Chamorus reside in the United States.⁵



Figure 1. Guadalupe Garrido Blas Lujan and Jesus Estaquio Lujan on their wedding day, Guam, 1962. Lujan Family Photo Collection. Courtesy of the author

This essay addresses contemporary migrations of Chamorus tied to the history of US military presence in Micronesia and the ways we negotiate and

express our Indigeneity through the Chamorro Cultural Festival (CCF), a celebration and commemoration of Chamoru identity and culture held annually in San Diego, California, since 2009. My analysis explores how diasporic Chamorus maintain close transpacific connections to the Mariana Islands while also establishing Chamoru communities abroad through the CCF. The festival simultaneously enacts Chamoru, identities based in both mobility and rootedness, and is a large-scale expression of how Chamorus negotiate and create collective identities.

The gathering of Chamorus at the CCF offers a unique way of understanding a diasporic community, as festivals enable culture and identity to be “maintained, change, mix, and hybridize with other cultural forms, and, ultimately, evolve.”⁶ These spaces allow a glimpse into how people create collective identities by utilizing symbols, reimagining traditions, and commemorating the past. Ultimately, “festivals, celebrations, and performance competitions are deeply ingrained in the histories of Pacific cultures, with some pre-European rituals surviving in various forms into the twenty-first century.”⁷ Oceanic peoples come together to reaffirm the strength of their communities through small-scale and large-scale festivals, such as the international Festival of Pacific Arts and Culture (established in 1972), New Zealand’s Pasifika Festival (established in Auckland in 1993), and San Diego’s Pacific Islander Festival (established in 1995). Those who attend and participate in these types of events forge identities that are “not comprised of a singular dispersal from homeland to adopted homeland. Rather, [they are] multilocal and multidirectional, and [are] understood within both historical and contemporary contexts of a continuous circulation and migration of people, trade, ideas, arts, and cultures that have crisscrossed the vast Pacific for millennia.”⁸

Similarly, the diasporic Chamorus living in California find cultural connections to their home islands and to other Micronesian communities in the state through community-building activities and events facilitated by local cultural organizations. The CCF was established in 2009 by fifteen officers and board members of Chamorro Hands in Education Links Unity (CHE'LU) and supports the process of building new Chamoru “villages” in new geographic spaces. The CCF provides opportunities for attendees to commemorate the common history of different Chamoru groups through relationship-building with other Chamorus. The name of the host organization itself, CHE'LU, reflects its work to keep Chamorus connected through cultural development while also celebrating new aspects of community identities that are created through



Figure 2. CHE'LU's Guma Chamorro (Chamorro House) at the CCF, Jacob Center for Neighborhood Innovation, 2013. Photograph courtesy of the author

ongoing movements and migrations of Islanders. The term che'lu means “sibling” in the Chamoru language. It is often used to denote close friendships and, at times, to show peace or a desire for friendship.⁹ Using this term for the organization's name reflects the deep relationships among Chamorus in the US and conveys an aspiration to bring Islanders together in meaningful ways. It demonstrates a need to move away from specific island-centered identities and to be inclusive of Chamoru identities more broadly. With a unified diaspora in mind, CHE'LU sets out to create the largest gathering of Chamorus outside of the Mariana Islands through the

CCF.

Starting in 2010, CHE'LU began scheduling the CCF in March to coincide with Chamorro Month in Guam, reflecting the strong connections between those in the diaspora and those in the home islands.¹⁰ Every year, thousands of Chamorus pour into San Diego, traveling from all over the continental US, the Marianas Islands, and even the Middle East (where many are stationed) to experience the CCF's offerings of foods, art, performances, workshops, culturally-based activities, and vendors of identity merchandise. In 2017, CHE'LU's former chair, David Atalig, served as the festival's master of ceremonies and offered the prize of a T-shirt for the person who had traveled the farthest to attend the festival, saying: “Some people say they came from Iraq because they're in San Diego on their leave. But they know they've made their leave during CCF . . . People fly in from the Bay Area or Vegas. People drive from

Vegas, Arizona, Texas . . . We have a large percentage [of attendees] coming from more than fifty miles away.”¹¹



Figure 3. The CCF main stage and amphitheater at California State University–San Marcos, 2019. Photograph courtesy of the author

The first CCF, held in 2009, attracted about 1,500 Chamoru attendees. From 2009 to 2013, the one-day event was held at the Jacobs Center for Neighborhood Innovation (Fig. 2), located about four miles east of the San Diego Bay and the North Island Naval Air Station. The swelling of support for the CCF and its growing attendance during the first few years of the festival required a larger venue and longer duration. From 2014 onward, the CCF was extended to three days and moved to the California State University–San Marcos campus (Fig. 3). In 2019, over 10,000 people attended the festival, the vast majority of them from throughout the Chamoru diaspora, including people traveling from the Mariana Islands.¹² The first two days are exclusively festival events, and the third day is a conference for traditional Chamoru dancing and chanting led by Uno Hit (“We Are One”)—an educational program of the Chamorro Optimist

Club of San Diego, which educates Chamoru youth in the diaspora about their histories, values, and language through cultural arts.¹³ Uno Hit participated in the CCF annually, sending its youth members as performers, and was eventually asked to help organize the related conference that brings together active Southern Californian Chamoru dance groups and dance teachers from the Mariana Islands.

At the CCF, the aim is to have Chamorus become active participants in their culture, not mere spectators observing performances. The annual festival program booklet is a testament to this goal of cultural connectivity and works to facilitate connections between those living in the diaspora and those living in the Mariana Islands. The program booklets begin with pages dedicated to the Governor, Lieutenant Governor, and congressional members from Guam and the CNMI, describing their enthusiasm for the CCF. In the 2015 program, Governor Eloy Inos of the CNMI began his message by stating, “As people of the Pacific, it is our belief that no matter where our brethren may reside, no matter how far away they may be from home, that we are forever connected by our language, our customs, and our culture.”¹⁴ This statement reinforced a sentiment of Chamorus being intrinsically connected to island homelands and one another regardless of their location. Similarly, in 2019, the Governor of Guam, Lourdes Leon Guerrero, stated that “no matter where in the world you are, be proud of where you came from. Your roots run as deep as the Marianas Trench! Although you are far from home, keep your Pacific paradise close to your heart.”¹⁵ Other government representatives echoed these thoughts about collective trans-Pacific connections and the perpetuation of Chamoru heritage in their program messages. It is noteworthy that in years past, government representatives from Guam and the CNMI made the long flight to San Diego to attend the CCF.

Beginning in 2016, Guam’s Visitors Bureau (GVB) and the Marianas Visitors Authority (MVA), which are sponsors of the CCF, included messages in the CCF program to congratulate CHE’LU on the festival and to welcome Chamorus back to the Mariana Islands. The GVB and MVA support the filming of the festival’s musical performances, interviews with cultural practitioners, and other events at the CCF and make them available online for worldwide viewing. They also distributed promotional giveaways at their festival booths to those who inquire about traveling back to Guam and the CNMI. The presence of the GVB and MVA at the festival helps to mitigate the feelings of separation on the part of Chamorus who see themselves severed from their homelands due to the islands’ political statuses with the US. The US held Guam as a non-self-governing

territory (NSGT) following World War II and made the Northern Mariana Islands a commonwealth in 1978. Thus, what was once a unified archipelago became divided.

In 2017, CHE'LU Chair, David Atalig, stated about the CCF:

Last year was historic because we had not only both governors attend, but both visitors' authorities represented. The islanders are starting to get together . . . and form a movement of wanting to . . . unify. . . With the military issues[,] . . . they're starting to form a unity on a different level. We're trying to do that also with Chamorus in San Diego.¹⁶

Atalig's words convey the potential for the festival to be a catalyst for closer connections among Chamorus in San Diego and also a tool to aid in the reunification of Chamorus in the home islands. The arbitrary political boundaries placed on the Mariana Islands by the US have had lasting consequences on how Chamorus relate to one another. This political rupture has often resulted in the fracturing of Chamoru relationships, depending on the specific island to which a family is tied. The CCF, as an annual experience, provides an enduring space for Chamorus in the diaspora to think through their relationship to home as well as their relationship to one another.



Figure 4. The cultural workshop areas at the CCF, 2019. Photograph courtesy of the author

Returning to the CCF program booklets, twenty of the thirty-eight pages of the 2015 CCF booklet were dedicated to promoting the cultural workshops taking place at the festival (Figs. 4–5). These workshops typically included lessons on how to kamyu (grind coconut); weave, build, and navigate canoes; carve ifit wood and shell jewelry; play the belebaotuyan (a Chamoru musical instrument); make amot (medicine); and maintain health and fitness. The majority of the programs offered Chamoru vocabulary and short educational lessons to make sure learning continues beyond the festival grounds. For example, the program announcement for the “Kutturan Leksion—Sakman Workshop” (Cultural Lesson— Canoe Workshop) highlights how the cultural practitioners for this activity will talk about the significance of wayfinding for Chamorus historically while also setting aside time to discuss how science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM) are critical components of building a sakman (canoe) and to making the sakman a reality. The display of a sakman (also known as a flying proa), a traditional Chamoru outrigger sailing vessel, also reinforces Chamoru histories and cultural ties.



Figure 5. Weaving workshop with Chamoru weaver James Bamba, 2015. The GVB supported Bamba’s and other cultural practitioners’ participation at the CCF to help promote FestPac 2016. Photograph courtesy of the author

The sakman exhibit in particular pushes Chamoru visitors to recognize our ancestors as innovators and scientists of the ocean. During the 2015 CCF, the crew took turns leading workshops on and around the sakman (Fig. 6). An adjacent canopy tent displayed framed images of Spanish sketches of Chamoru canoes from the 1700s to demonstrate the canoes' range and used white boards to illustrate puntan layak (points of sail) techniques and explain Chamoru seafaring lexicon. There was also a display showing anchors, safety nets, images of booms, redesigned steering paddles, and sketches of new sails. This table of sailing equipment was placed next to a model sakman to show visitors how the crew made contemporary modifications to their canoe. Directly outside of the tent was a galaide (a small canoe without a sail used within the reef) for children to play on and to further entice visitors to enter the tent. The crew explained that these efforts to engage attendees was meant to show that they were "in serious training to be sailors as our ancestors once were. We are even venturing into the dark world of wayfinding, the art of navigation without instruments, a very tricky and difficult art requiring a lifetime to acquire."¹⁷ For the sakman crew, these canoe displays and workshops enabled communication and exchange across time through sharing knowledge from Chamorus of the past with Chamorus at the festival.



Figure 6. The GVB-sponsored area for FestPac 2016 at the 2015 CCF. CHE'LU's sakman canoe was a featured workshop because it was to sail from San Diego to Guam for FestPac. Photograph courtesy of the author

The CCF program also typically includes pages dedicated to ancient Chamoru stories, such as “The Legend of Alu and Pang” and “The Legend of Strength and Envy: Puntan Patgon,” written in a way that children can easily read and relate to.¹⁸ These stories are closely connected to Chamoru culture as they represent understandings of *inafa’maolek*—reciprocity, interdependence, and cooperation.¹⁹ The festival program not only acts as a way to navigate the many cultural activities that take place at the CCF. Together with performative means of identification and representation of Chamoru traditions that enable festival attendees to learn directly from cultural practitioners, they convey a deeper understanding of what it means to be Indigenous while living abroad.

For CCF attendees, learning is dynamic and engaging. Cultural practitioners articulate their contemporary Chamoru identity that is deeply fixed in a common genealogy and heritage. “Competence in traditional skills [is] still greatly admired within Native communities and [is] associated with cultural identity . . . [H]istorical artifacts function for many Native people as anchors for identity, material forms of information and values from the past which through study can be resurrect[ed] for use in the present.”²⁰ For Chamorus more specifically, the skills of the cultural masters and the work that they help others to create during the festival also play a major role in affirming Chamoru identity and underscore the importance of these activities for Chamorus in the US who are seeking ways to create relationships and strengthen ties with the Mariana Islands. Collaboration between CCF attendees and cultural practitioners is another avenue of reaffirming the desire to maintain transpacific connections to other Chamorus as well. These workshops help to strengthen different parts of Chamoru identity through access to cultural traditions and practices, watering the roots from the home islands while strengthening diasporic Chamoru communities.

New connections between San Diego and the Mariana Islands were facilitated through the 2015 CCF. In 2015, the Guam Council on the Arts and Humanities Agency sent four master cultural practitioners from Guam to lead workshops with CCF festival attendees and make their work available for purchase. This special appearance helped to promote the upcoming Festival of Pacific Arts (FestPac)—a major international festival that occurs quadrennially that was to be hosted by Guam in the summer of 2016. Chamorus at the CCF working with master craftspeople—such as master of body ornamentation Jill Benavente (Fig. 7) and master blacksmith Frank Lizama—became excited about Chamoru arts and feel enticed to go or return to Guam in 2016 for FestPac. The

CCF's program booklet dedicated two pages to describing what FestPac is about, and also provided information on how Chamorus in the diaspora could attend or be part of the artist delegation.



Figure 7. Master body ornamentation artist Jill Benavente standing by her jewelry and woven pieces on display for purchase, CCF, 2015. The Guam Council on the Arts and Humanities Agency flew Benavente to the CCF in order to raise interest in FestPac 2016 and lead workshops with festival attendees. Photograph courtesy of the author

Another form of identity formation at the CCF is through the purchasing of objects from Chamoru-owned businesses. Diasporic Chamorus—like myself—who might not have the ability to return to our home islands are able to engage in remembrance and perpetuate our culture despite our physical location through our purchases. At an identity-based festival like CCF, purchasing clothing, food, and cultural objects is not a superficial expression but rather a mode of identity formation and reaffirmation of cultural roots and traditions that are in a constant state of creation and change. Diasporic Chamoru experiences are grounded in Indigenous epistemologies, histories, languages, and cultural values, but are also subject to changes in their new geographic contexts. For Chamorus in California, material culture is a means of expressing their Indigeneity and signaling that they are in connection with islands beyond the continental US. The 2016 CCF had eighty-three vendors, many of whom travel on a Pacific Islander festival circuit through California and Arizona (Fig. 8). David Atalig notes the enthusiasm for Chamoru-related objects and clothing on the

part of sellers and buyers alike, saying that when you see someone wearing or using Chamoru merchandise “you know they’re Chamoru . . . It makes people connect. Today’s capitalism created brands that identify with a race or a group of people. So we try to use that to market. We try to get those companies to come. It helps build an identity, bringing people together.”²¹



Figure 8. Socks with “SPAM” and “Guam” designs in the retail vendor section of the 2019 CCF. Photograph courtesy of the author

There is a long-standing practice within San Diego, and in other diasporic spaces, of Chamoru and other Islander-owned brands emerging as a way for Pacific people to literally wear their ethnic and regional identities on their sleeves, as if to proclaim, “I too have a ‘culture.’ I am culturally marked. I am not plain vanilla or nondescript, like the *palagi* [Euro-American].”²² Even though this quote is speaking specifically to a Sāmoan context, Chamorus also use clothing to

denote a self-identity that shapes Oceania as a united and collaborative region. Clothing helps to construct an identity that not only works to be a representation of a Chamoru experience but also a material symbol of resistance. As much as a piece of apparel helps to signify that the person wearing it is a member of a specific Pacific ethnic group, it also denotes the person's positionality as an Indigenous Pacific person and is a way Islanders can maintain connections with the Marianas.²³

Chamoru purchases at the CCF of identity clothing can also be interpreted as taking a political and resistant stance to outsiders' understanding of the Pacific by making claims to land, space, and identity, and enabling a new conceptualization of what it means to be from the Marianas. Through ownership of aesthetically-pleasing, thought-provoking designs; regionally-specific motifs; and references to Chamoru language and proverbs, Chamoru consumers may represent themselves in ways that are empowering and project cultural-pride and belonging to place. Chamoru brand names available at the festival as well as online and in San Diego, including Crowns, Magas, and Låguas & Gåni enable visibility, validate the consumers' ethnic roots, and situate consumers as part of a larger Oceanic region.²⁴ It is also important to note that some of these clothing companies are based in the Mariana Islands and their products, therefore, also make the migration to the US through the festival circuit, helping diasporic Chamoru communities connect to the islands.

Conclusion

This study provides a brief analysis of the role cultural festivals play in shaping identities. The CCF mobilizes diasporic Chamoru communities; it opens a space for them to reflect on our cultural histories, ones that are woven into the fabric of our contemporary existence as living communities. While there are rich displays of culture and tradition, the CCF has yet to fully incorporate spaces for contestation and engagement with Chamoru colonial histories. The CCF is the largest gathering of Chamorus outside of our islands, and offers the potential to challenge hegemonic narratives of Chamoru history and facilitate healing and hope. My ongoing research aims to more deeply address the ways the Chamoru diasporic communities continue to stay rooted in their home islands while also grappling with the "difficult knowledge" of US militarization in the Mariana Islands, which enables transpacific mobility, through a variety of cultural

institutions.²⁵ My current work examines the complexities in identity processes that are conditioned by the role of the US military in providing economic and social opportunities for Islanders while also disenfranchising them and desecrating the Mariana Islands. It explores the ways festivals, museums, and other cultural institutions can assume the responsibility of engaging with violent historical truths and facilitate healing, hope, and better opportunities for attendees and participants. As Robert Underwood states, in the context of 1970s migrations, “the fact of Chamorro movement is sobering, for people are now Guam’s major export. Yet it is also heartening to realize that love for Guam and a genuine respect for Chamorro ways have managed to transcend vast distances, the attractions of California life, and even the American dream. It is not every Chamorro who does not return.”²⁶ This statement, from 1985, remains relevant today.

I am comforted in knowing that I am one of many Islanders abroad that bring “home” with them wherever they go. We are expanding the understanding of what the Mariana Islands are and finding new and innovative ways to stay grounded in our Chamoru roots. American colonialism has forced a process of severe disconnection from our culture and history, and has prompted an out-migration of our island communities in numbers that we have never experienced before. Yet, I see our stories from the diaspora as a means of mending these colonial ruptures and better understanding the various experiences of Chamoru throughout Oceania and beyond.

Jesi Lujan Bennett is of Chamoru descent with familial ties to Dededo and Bar-rigada, Guåhan (Guam). She is a faculty member in Pacific and Indigenous Studies at the University of Waikato. Bennett studied at the University of Hawai’i at Mānoa and earned a PhD in American Studies and Museum Studies. Her areas of interest include Chamoru visual culture with a particular focus in the relationship between colonialism, militarization, migration, and self-representation within the Mariana Islands and the Chamoru diaspora. Bennett’s research examines the out-migration of Chamorus and the way in which these diasporic communities articulate their Indigeneity in new geographic and cultural contexts in light of significant political and social change in Micronesia.

Notes

¹ In the Chamoru language, “I Sengsong San Diego” translates to “the village of San Diego.”

² In the Chamoru language, Guam is called Guåhan.

³ “Chamorro” is often used in general practice, when writing in English, and written according to the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands’ orthography. “Chamoru” is used when writing in the native language. In 2017, Guam’s Kumision I Fino’ Chamorro (Chamorro Language Commission) adopted “CHamoru” to emphasize that “CH” and “NG” are considered one letter and should be capitalized as such. I choose to use “Chamoru” to reference our Indigenous language and be inclusive of the Mariana Islands as a whole. The Mariana Islands are also referred to as Låguas yan Gåni. Låguas are the southern, populated islands and Gåni refers to the northern islands in the archipelago. Tiara R. Na’puti, “Speaking of Indigeneity: Navigating Genealogies Against Erasure and #RhetoricSoWhite,” *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 105, no. 4 (2019), 495–50.

⁴ Robert Underwood, “Excursions Into Inauthenticity: The Chamorros of Guam,” in *Mobility and Identity in the Island Pacific*, ed. Murray Chapman (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1985), 163.

⁵ See Guam State Data Center, *Guam Demographic Profile Summary* (Government of Guam: Bureau of Statistics and Plans, 2012), 24; United States Census Bureau, “Total Population: Decennial Census of Island Areas,” 2010, accessed October 25, 2021, <https://www.census.gov/data/tables/2010/dec/2010-island-areas.html>; Guam State Data Center, *Profile of the Chamorros in the United States* (Government of Guam: Bureau of Statistics and Plans, 2012), 2.

⁶ See Jared Mackley-Crump, *The Pacific Festivals of Aotearoa New Zealand* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2015), 6; Tiara Na’puti and Sylvia Frain, “Decolonize Oceania! Free Guåhan!: Communicating Resistance at the 2016 Festival of the Pacific Arts,” *Amerasia Journal* 43, no. 3 (2017): 2–35; Katerina Teaiwa, “Reflections on the 11th Festival of Pacific Arts Honiara, Solomon Islands, 1–14 July 2012,” *The Journal of Pacific History* 49, no. 3 (2014): 347–53.

⁷ Mackley-Crump, *The Pacific Festivals of Aotearoa New Zealand*, 10.

⁸ Mackley-Crump, *The Pacific Festivals of Aotearoa New Zealand*, 19.

⁹ Eric Forbes, “Today’s Chamorro Word: Che’lo,” *Paleric* (blog), July 19, 2011, <https://paleric.blogspot.com/2011/07/todays-chamorro-word-chelo.html>.

¹⁰ The Northern Mariana Islands celebrate Chamoru Month in April.

¹¹ David Atalig, interview by Jesi Lujan Bennett, December 17, 2017.

¹² The 2020 Chamorro Cultural Festival was cancelled due to the COVID-19 pandemic.

¹³ In 2015, the Chamorro Optimist Club became one of the newest Chamoru-led organizations in San Diego. In 2021, the organization built a “House of Chamorros” as part of Balboa Park’s International cottages. They also run the

Uno Hit Program, whose dance focus was strengthened by collaborations with the Kutturán Chamoru Foundation in Long Beach. See “Uno Hit; we are one,” Uno Hit, accessed October 25, 2021, <https://unohit.org>.

¹⁴ Eloy Inos, “Inorabuena yan Mimorias!,” in *Mantieni Kuttura-ta- Hold on to Our Culture* (Chamorro Cultural Festival printed program, March 2015), 1.

¹⁵ Lourdes Leon Guerrero, “Celebrating the 10th Annual CHamoru Cultural Festival,” in *Ta-Selebra i Taotao Islas Marianas—Celebrating the People of the Mariana Islands* (Chamorro Cultural Festival printed program, March 2019), 3.

¹⁶ Atalig, interview.

¹⁷ Chamorro Cultural Festival, “Preparing for Her Journey,” in *Mantieni Kuttura-ta—Hold on to Our Culture* (Chamorro Cultural Festival printed program, March 2015), 31.

¹⁸ Chamorro Cultural Festival, “Legend of Alu and Pang” and “Legend of Strength and Envy: Puntan Patgon,” in *Mantieni Kuttura-ta—Hold on to Our Culture* (Chamorro Cultural Festival printed program, March 2015), 32, 37.

¹⁹ *Chamorro Heritage, A Sense of Place: Guidelines, Procedures and Recommendations for Authenticating Chamorro Heritage* (Guam: Department of Chamorro Affairs, 2003), 23.

²⁰ Laura Peers, *Playing Ourselves: Interpreting Native Histories at Historic Reconstructions* (Lanham: Altamira Press, 2007), 83.

²¹ Atalig, interview.

²² Jocelyn Linnekin, “Tradition Sells: Identity Merchandise in the Island Pacific,” in *Globalization and Culture Change in the Pacific Islands*, ed. Victoria S. Lockwood (New Jersey: Pearson, 2004), 335.

²³ Many merchandise brands also distance themselves from imaginary boundaries that colonizers have applied to Oceania (e.g., “Polynesia,” “Micronesia,” “Melanesia”). For example, the Chamoru-owned company All Nesian Division prints phrases including “Pride of the Pacific,” “Divided by Waters, United by Culture,” and “All Nesian” on their clothing and marketing materials. These products further the idea of the Pacific region as a fluid network of people, objects, and ideas.

²⁴ See Crowns Guam (website), accessed October 25, 2021, <https://crownsguam.com/>; 670 Rocksteady Shop (website), accessed October 25, 2021, <https://irocksteady.com/>; Låguas & Gåni (website), accessed October 25, 2021, <https://laguas-gani.myshopify.com/>.

²⁵ Roger Simon, “Afterword: The Turn to Pedagogy: A Needed Conversation on the Practice of Curating Difficult Knowledge,” *Curating Difficult Knowledge* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 194.

²⁶ Robert Underwood, “Excursions into Inauthenticity,” 184.