

ATTITUDES OF LONG-TERM RESIDENTS OF GUAM  
TOWARD IMMIGRANTS  
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FEDERATED STATES OF MICRONESIA  
AND THE REPUBLIC OF THE MARSHALL ISLANDS

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Two studies investigated the reactions of long-term residents of Guam to immigration and immigrants from the Federated States of Micronesia (FSM) and the Republic of the Marshall Islands (RMI) as a result of the implementation of the Compact of Free Association (CFA) signed between these two countries and the United States. The first study involved 74 in-depth interviews with informants discussing the impact of the Compact, their attitudes towards the Compact, and their assessment of changes following the implementation of the Compact. The second study gathered the views of a stratified random sample of 503 Guam residents interviewed by telephone. Their assessments of the Compact impact, and attitudes toward the Immigrants were investigated by open and closed-ended questions. They were also asked about their expectations of the Government of Guam and the Federal Government of the United States concerning the integration of the immigrant population into Guam life. Both studies confirmed that the Compact of Free Association had a major impact on Guam. Respondents provided helpful suggestions to ease the adaptation of the Immigrants to the culture and life on Guam, and to improve relations with the Immigrants.

The Compact of Free Association (CFA), signed in 1986 between the United States and the Federated States of Micronesia (FSM) and the Republic of the Marshall Islands, gave free entry to the citizens of those two Micronesian nations to the United States and to all U.S. territories. Following the compact, CFA citizens started to migrate to Guam, taking advantage of the short distance between their home countries

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and Guam. Guam, with its prospering economic conditions and job vacancies exceeding the available work force on the Island, became an attractive place for outsiders to come and work. FSM citizens, in large numbers, and Marshall Islanders, in fewer numbers took advantage of these conditions. The 1990 U.S. Census records showed that the FSM population doubled each year during the 1988-1990 period, jumping from 500 in 1988 to 2,000 in 1990 (Rubinstein and Levin, in press). The latest Census records of the Micronesian population give much higher figures, reaching 4,000 in 1992 (Census of Micronesians on Guam, Rubinstein and Levin, in progress).

This migration has consequences for the home states of the Immigrants, as well as the long-term residents of Guam<sup>1</sup> who have been affected by the changes after the implementation of the Compact of Free Association in the years following 1986. To our knowledge, the impact of the Compact on the people of Guam and their reactions to the changes following the flood of CFA citizens to Guam have not been studied and documented up to this point. It is the purpose of this paper to report the studies conducted to investigate the experiences, impressions, and attitudes of long-term residents of Guam to immigrants from the CFA states, and also to discuss the long-term residents' perceptions about the impact of the Compact of Free Association. The report also summarizes residents' viewpoints regarding the actions that they feel the local Government of Guam and the Federal Government of the United States should take to help the adjustment of Guam to the immigration following the Compact.

Two studies were conducted to understand the reactions of long-term residents of Guam towards Compact-related immigrants. Study 1 was an in-depth analysis of the residents with a variety of backgrounds, who are in close contact with the CFA citizens as neighbors, co-workers, or employers. Study 2 was a phone survey of 503 Guam residents who have lived on Guam for at least 5 years and were chosen from 19 villages with a stratified random sampling which allows the representation of villages in numbers that are proportional to each villages' representation in the total Guam population.

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<sup>1</sup> Within the text, the long-term residents of Guam will sometimes be called *long term residents* or *residents*, and the citizens of the Federated States of Micronesia and the Republic of Marshall Islands living and working on Guam will be called *immigrants*.

## Study 1

The purpose of this study was to develop some insight about the issues that arise in the daily lives of long-term residents of Guam in their interactions with the immigrant community. Face to face interviews asked for information about issues such as frequency of contact, experiences, attitudes based on these experiences, and reactions toward the Compact itself. Once the issues were defined in this study, this information helped to design the interview schedule used in Study 2.

### *Method*

#### *Respondents*

Seventy-four in-depth interviews were conducted with long-term residents of Guam. Forty-two were males and 32 were females. Respondents were chosen from employers of immigrants working in the private or public sectors, or those who rent to the immigrants, or those who live in the neighborhoods most concentrated with the immigrant population, i.e., areas such as Mangilao, Yigo, Dededo, and Toto-Maite.

The average age of the respondents was 32.9 years with a range between 18 and 65. The number of years that the respondents lived on Guam ranged from 2 to 65 years with an average of 23.6 years. In terms of the ethnic make-up, 53% were Chamorros, 15% were Caucasians, 14% were Filipinos and 18% were others such as Black, mixed Chamorro, mixed Asian and Pacific Islander.

The sample was composed of highly educated respondents with 51% college graduates, 34% high school graduates and 12% with Master's and Ph.D. degrees. The sample was also in the upper scales of income with 64% owning their residences, and 34% renting. The yearly income of 61% was in the \$ 31,000 - 80,000 range and 10% earned over \$ 80,000 annually.

The majority of the respondents came from the villages of Dededo (30%), Mangilao (20%), and Barrigada (8%).

#### *Procedure*

The interviewers were students from an upper division Psychology class being trained to design, conduct, and analyze scientific research. The project was a part of their skill-building exercise.

Twenty-five students were instructed in a regular University of Guam (UOG) class on how to conduct interviews and two in-class practice interviews familiarized

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the interviewers with the instrument and helped them become comfortable with the process. The interviewers contacted three people chosen on the basis of the above stated criteria (also, see Appendix 1, interview schedule). All the interviews were tape-recorded.

#### *Instrument*

The interview schedule was developed in consultation with other researchers working on the Compact Impact Needs Assessment Studies, experts in research methodology, and upper division psychology students at the University of Guam. The input from all these sources was incorporated into the revisions following the initial construction of the schedule. The instrument included eight closed-ended questions asking the amount and the nature of contact with the Immigrants, and respondents' attitudes towards the Compact of Free Association. There were two open-ended and two closed-ended questions asking about the problems caused by CFA Immigrants and a report of the problems experienced by the Immigrants, as perceived by the long-term residents. The instrument also contained questions asking the perceived impact of the Compact and how it affects daily life on Guam (see, Appendix 1).

### *Results*

#### *Effects of Immigration on Life in Guam*

When asked about how much their life is affected by CFA immigration, 69% of the respondents indicated that their life is somewhat (54%) or very much (15%) affected. Thirty-one percent stated that their life is not affected at all (Table 1).

Table 1

*Responses to the Question Asking the Effects of Immigration on Respondents' Lives*

Measure of Affect	Percent of Responses
Very Much	15
Somewhat	54
No Affect	31
Total	100

When the respondents are asked how much *life on Guam* is changed by the Immigrants, 63% of the respondents indicated that life is quite (44%) or very much (19%) changed. Thirty-six percent stated "not much change" and 1% stated no change (Table 2).

Table 2

*Responses to the Question "How much life on Guam is changed by the Immigrants ..."*

Amount of Change	Percent of Responses
Very Much	19
Quite	44
Not Much	36
None	01
Total	100

These two questions clearly showed that the majority of residents agree that their daily life and life on Guam is affected by this immigration. An open-ended question further investigated the nature of these changes, asking the interviewees to state specifically the areas that changes were felt the most. Their responses were content analyzed and presented in Table 3.

As can be seen from Table 3, the responses cover a wide range and include problem areas such as housing, traffic, school, and health care systems which are not sufficient for a growing population.

Another group of responses in the change category include items such as "cultural integration" and "changes in the service industry" which indicate the cultural impact of CFA states on the Guamanian culture.

*The Amount and Nature of Contact With the Immigrants*

Respondents were asked about the frequency, the nature, and the place of contact with the Immigrants (Table 4).

As can be seen from Table 4, 73% of the respondents indicated that they have contact with the Immigrants everyday (50%) or twice a week (23%) . Only 5% of the respondents indicated "no contact" and 14% indicated infrequent contact (once in a while) .

Table 3

*Long-term Residents' Responses Regarding Changes on Guam as a Result of Immigration.*

Type of Change	Percent of	
	Sample Reporting Change	Responses
Increased Difficulties in Housing	11	9
Integration of Different Cultures to Guam Lifestyle	9	8
Population Increase	9	8
Increased Burden on Government	8	7
Increased Competition on the Job Market	8	7
Creating Social Disorder	7	5
Burden on School System	5	4
Burden on Public Health Care System	5	4
Increased Traffic/Accidents on the Roads	4	4
Changes in the Service Industry	5	4
Damage to the Environment	3	2
No Comment	35	28
Others	12	10
Total	121	100

*Note.* There are a total of 92 responses from 74 respondents because the respondents were free to state as many different items as they wished to state.

Most of the contact occurred in the work place (49%), followed by public places (29%). Seven percent of the respondents were neighbors and 15% contacted them in other contexts such as schools (Table 5).

Table 4

*Responses to the Question, "How frequently do you have contact with Immigrants.."*

Frequency of Contact	Percent of Responses
Everyday	50
Couple of Times/Week	23
Once a Week	8
Couple of Times/Month	0
Once in a While	14
Never	5
Total	100

Table 5

*Places of Contact with the Immigrants*

Place of Contact	Percent of Respondents	Percent of Responses
Neighborhood	7	7
Work Place	47	49
Public Places	28	29
Other	15	15
Total	97	100

*Note.* There were a total of 72 responses from 74 respondents.

As Tables 3, 4, and 5 indicate, the respondents whose opinions are stated in Study 1 are people who have close and frequent relationships with the Immigrant community. These demographic statistics show that the sample met the criteria set for the study.

*Reactions to the Compact of Free Association*

When asked about their reactions to CFA, respondents expressed mixed feelings. Overall 38% expressed approval with 3% expressing strong approval. Overall 33% expressed disapproval, with 1% expressing strong disapproval. 9% of the respondents stated they were neutral and 19% expressed no opinion (Table 6).

Table 6  
*Reactions to the Compact of Free Association*

Opinions	Percent of Responses
Strongly Approve	3
Approve	35
Neither Approve/Disapprove	9
Disapprove	32
Strongly Disapprove	1
No Opinion	19
Total	99

*Note.* Total percentage is less than 100 due to rounding error.

Table 7  
*Responses to the Question About the Problems Caused by the Immigrants*

The Amount of Problems	Percent of Responses
Many Problems	31
Few Problems	57
No Problems	13
Total	101

*Note.* Total percentage is more than 100 due to rounding error.

### *Problems Caused by the Immigrants*

When asked whether the Immigrants were causing any problems, 88% of the respondents expressed few (57%) or many (31%) problems. 13% stated that Immigrants cause no problems.

Table 8 documents residents' perceptions about the types of problems caused by the Immigrants. The responses cover a wide range extending from public disturbances (8%) and crime (8%) to insufficiency of resources due to increased population, i.e., housing shortage (11%), overpopulated schools (6%) and culture clashes (6%). Parallelisms can be observed between this table and Table 3.

Table 8

#### *The Types of Problems the Immigrants are Causing*

Type of Problem	Percent of Respondents	Percent of Responses
Drinking	12	8
Driving Problems	12	8
Housing Shortage	16	11
Crime	11	8
Use up Welfare/Social Services	12	8
Careless About Environment	11	8
Cause Public Disturbance	12	8
Overpopulated Schools	8	6
Culture Clashes	8	6
Unsanitary	4	3
Take Over Jobs	4	3
No Comment	16	11
Others Ungrouped	16	11
Total	142	99

*Note.* There are a total of 106 responses from 74 respondents because the respondents were free to state as many items as they wanted. The percent of responses total is less than 100 due to rounding error.

### *Problems That the Immigrants are Experiencing*

Long-term Guam residents were asked to specify the problems they think the immigrants experience. The question was open-ended, giving the respondents the freedom to express, in their own words, their perceptions of the difficulties faced by the immigrant population. The responses were content analyzed and presented in Table 9.

Table 9

#### *Respondents' Views About the Problems Experienced by the Immigrants*

Type of Problem	Percent of Respondents	Percent of Responses
Housing Problems/Living Conditions	31	18
Culture Shock/Adjustment Problems	46	27
Prejudice/Discrimination	18	10
Finding Work and Keeping Work	15	9
Language Barriers	14	8
Financial Problems	9	5
Understanding the Legal System	7	4
Lack of Education/Skills	5	3
Transportation	3	2
No Comment	8	5
Don't Know	3	2
Others, Ungrouped	15	9
Total	174	102

*Note.* There were a total of 128 responses from 74 respondents because the respondents were free to state as many items as they wanted to. The percent of responses total is more than 100 due to rounding error.

The most frequently mentioned category was culture shock and the related adjustment problems (27%). The second most frequently mentioned category, housing problems (18%), was followed by another social problem, prejudice and discrimination (10%). Other problems, such as finding work, communication problems, and similar others made up less than 10% of the responses. It is interesting to note that the

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residents' perceptions regarding the problems faced by immigrants were more focused on social/cultural problems originating from cultural differences.

#### *Suggestions for Solutions to the Problems*

Respondents were also asked to comment about their views regarding the solutions to the problems experienced by the immigrants. Their responses were content analyzed and presented in Table 10.

As can be seen from Table 10, half of the responses stated the need to educate the Immigrants so they find employment and improve their living conditions. Respondents also stated the need to provide orientation to the Immigrants to learn about Guam's culture in order to ease their adjustment. One of the practical solutions that was suggested was to have a center for them to help each other. The other group of responses focused on immigration procedures and expressed the residents' desire to have control over it. Such responses shared by 16% of the people reflect the resentment of some of the long-term residents of Guam to the Compact of Free Association which does not grant the Government of Guam such control over immigration.

A small group of responses (5%) acknowledged the prejudiced attitudes toward the Immigrants and mentioned the need to educate the long-term residents to become more sensitive to cultural differences.

#### Study 2

The purpose of this study was to survey a representative sample of long-term residents about their reactions to the immigrants from CFA states, the impact of this Compact on their lives and what they would like to ask the local Government of Guam, and the Federal Government of the United States to do regarding this current issue.

#### *Method*

##### *Respondents*

503 long-term Guam residents were interviewed on the phone. 97% of the phone calls were made during weekdays from 5:30-8:30, and 3% on the weekends from 1:00-5:00 in April and May 1993.

Respondents were chosen from a telephone list of Guam Telephone Authority (GTA) residential customers excluding the business numbers. The sample was formed with a stratified random sampling procedure from the 19 villages on Guam which made it possible for each village to be represented in the sample in proportions similar to their representation in the Guam population. Telephone customers over 18 years old,

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Table 10

*Response Categories to the Question, "What can be done to solve some of the problems experienced by immigrants...?"*

Type of Solution	Percent of		
	Respondents	Responses	Responses in Subcategories
<i>Comments Re/ Education, Orientation</i>			
Educate/orient before coming to Guam	31	24	
Teach skills / train / educate	20	16	
Organize a center/liaison office to help one another	11	8	48
<i>Suggestions to Eliminate Prejudice</i>			
Increase Residents Cultural Sensitivity	7	5	5
<i>Practical Solutions</i>			
Find affordable housing	5	4	
Meetings of the Community leaders with the Governor to discuss solutions	4	4	7
<i>Comments About Immigration</i>			
Screen immigrants	8	6	
Control immigration	8	6	
Send them back	3	2	
Solve their problems at home	1	1	16
<i>Others</i>			
Don't know	5	4	
No comment	8	6	11
Others, ungrouped	16	13	13
Total	127	99	100

*Note.* There were a total of 95 responses from 74 respondents because the respondents were free to give as many as they wanted to. The percent of responses total is less than 100 due to rounding errors.

who lived on Guam for 5 years or more, and those who were not residing on the military bases were qualified for inclusion in the study. A total of 997 phone calls were made. Of those, 28% were not qualified based on the above stated criteria, and 21% refused to be interviewed.

The sample consisted of 358 males and 254 females. The distribution of the sample according to the villages is presented in Table 11. The ethnic make-up of the group is presented in Table 12. The percentage of representation of different ethnic groups in the sample, and especially the major ethnic groups, is close to the population figures based on 1990 U.S. Census records.

Tables 13 and 14 represent other demographic characteristics of the sample. The education levels of the respondents are presented in Table 13 and the yearly income levels are represented in Table 14.

#### *Instrument*

The phone interview schedule consisted of five closed-ended questions investigating the impact of immigration on Guam, the amount and place of contact with the Immigrants, impressions based on these contacts and the effects of media in the formation of these impressions (Appendix B). Following the closed-ended questions, two open-ended questions were included to give the respondents free expression of their views about what the Government of Guam should do to help the Island to adjust to the incoming immigrants and what messages they want to give to Federal Government in Washington on the same topic. Personal information about each respondent was collected at the end of the interview.

#### *Procedure*

UOG students and trained interviewers in the community were recruited as interviewers through the ads posted on the University campus in various locations. Interviewers were trained by the principal investigator to conduct interviews and they also received a detailed explanation of the purpose of the study and how to approach the respondents on the phone. Interviewers were given the list of people to call in every session. If nobody answered the number dialed in one session, the callers were instructed to call back during that session and/or the next session until they contacted the phone number that was chosen in the stratified random sample.

*Sampling technique* Guam Telephone Authority was contacted to provide a listing of their customers on Guam, excluding the business numbers. The list was arranged by the prefixes, e.g., 632, 734. The prefixes roughly corresponded to the phone numbers of 19 villages on Guam, however, there were many overlaps where the same prefix would be

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Table 11

*Respondents' Village of Residency Chosen on the Basis of Stratified Random Sampling*

Village	Population			Sample
	Village Population <sup>2</sup>	Percent of Population	# of People Interviewed	Percent of Sample
Agana	1,139	1	4	1
Agana Heights	3,646	3	14	3
Agat	4,960	4	19	4
Asan	2,070	2	8	2
Barrigada	8,846	7	33	7
Chalan Pago - Ordot	4,451	3	17	3
Dededo	31,728	24	119	24
Inarajan	2,469	2	10	2
Mangilao	10,483	8	40	8
Merizo	1,742	1	7	1
Mongmong/Toto/Maite	5,845	4	22	4
Piti	1,827	1	5	1
Santa Rita	11,857	9	45	9
Sinajana	2,658	2	10	2
Talofofo	2,310	2	9	2
Tamuning	16,673	13	63	13
Umatac	897	1	4	1
Yigo	14,213	11	54	11
Yona	5,338	4	20	4
TOTAL	133,152	102	503	102

*Note.* Figures are rounded off to two decimal places. Total percentages are greater/less than 100 due to rounding error.

<sup>2</sup> 1990 U. S. Census of Population and Housing, Social, Economic, and Housing Characteristics, Guam. Table 1. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C.  
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Table 12

*Ethnic Composition of the Respondents*

Ethnic Background	Percent of Respondents	Percent in the Population <sup>3</sup>
Chamorro	37	38
Filipino	29	23
Caucasian/ White	17	14
Pacific Islander (cumulative)	4	5
Mixed Chamorro	4	6
Chinese	3	1
Japanese	3	2
Korean	2	3
mixed Asian	0	6
Other Asian	0	3
other	2	1
Total	101	102

Note. Percentages are greater than 100 due to rounding errors.

Table 13

*Education Level of the Respondents*

Highest Level of Educational Completion	Percent of Sample
Elementary	2
Junior High	4
Highschool	42
College	44
Master's	6
Doctorate	2
Total	100

<sup>3</sup> Percentage calculations are based on ethnic origin figures in the 1990 Census of Population and Housing, Social, Economic, and Housing Characteristics, Guam, Table 11 (Ethnic Origin). U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.

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Table 14  
*The Income Levels of the Respondents*

Income	Percentage
Less than 10,000	22
11,000 - 25,000	33
26,000 - 40,000	28
41,000 - 60,000	12
61,000 - 80,000	0
Over 80,000	4
Total	99

*Note.* Percentage Total is less than 100 due to rounding error.

shared by two villages. During the first attempt, quotas were set for each village, determining the number of people to call from that village. During the interview, the callers asked the respondents to indicate their village as a way of checking whether the person randomly chosen for that village, based on the prefix of their phone number, really lived in that village. A completed interview was placed in the village pile corresponding the respondents' declaration of residency.

During the first attempt, every 30th person within one phone prefix was called for an interview. When all the people were called, the quotas were not filled for the villages. During the second and third attempts, respondents were selected on the basis of every twentieth and then every tenth person on each GTA phone prefix.

### *Results*

#### *Results of Closed-ended Questions*

*The amount of impact.* The respondents were asked their opinions regarding the impact of the Compacts on Guam. The majority of the respondents (89%) indicated that immigration had either very much (53%) or somewhat (36%) had an impact on Guam. Only 11% indicated no impact.

Table 15

*Long-term Guam Residents' Perceptions About the Impact of Immigration on Guam*

How Much Impact	Percent of Responses
Very Much	53
Somewhat	36
No Impact	11
Total	100

*The frequency and place of contact with the Immigrants.* The majority of the respondents (56%) indicated very frequent contact with the Immigrants. 45% stated contact on a daily basis, and 11% stated contact at least a twice a week. Only 8% of the respondents indicated that they never come across the immigrants from CFA states (Table 16).

Table 16

*The Frequency of Contact with the Immigrants*

Frequency of Contact	Percent of Respondents
Everyday	45
Couple of Times a Week	11
Once a Week	10
Once in a While	25
Never	08
Total	99

*Note.* Percent of Respondents Total is less than 100 due to rounding error.

When asked about the places of contact, 22% of the respondents indicated being neighbors, and 29% being coworkers. The majority of respondents (70%) indicated that they have frequent contacts in public places (Table 17).

Table 17  
*Places of Contact With the Immigrants*

Place of Contact	Percent of Respondents	Percent of Responses
Neighborhood	22	17
Work Place	29	22
Public Places	70	53
Other	11	9
Total	132	101

*Note:* There were a total of 663 responses because 503 respondents could check more than one category. The percent of responses total is more than 100 due to rounding error.

Tables 15 through 17 clearly indicate the strong impact of the Compact in the daily life of the long-term residents. Residents live and work with the Immigrants who are also very visible in public places. The responses indicate their integration to Guamanian life and culture.

*Evaluation of experiences with the Immigrants.* One of the most important questions was to understand the impressions of residents as a result of their interactions with the immigrants. In other words, what are the overall feelings, and attitudes that they have towards these new groups of residents on Guam. Table 18 shows that 41% of the respondents have overall positive attitudes towards the CFA citizens; 15% are very positive, and 26% are somewhat positive (Table 18).

Thirty-six percent of the respondents expressed mixed feelings, indicating that they have both positive and negative experiences, probably depending on the specific individuals they encounter in their daily lives.

Overall 22% expressed negative evaluations, with 11% very negative and 12% somewhat negative.

Table 18

*Long-term Residents' Attitudes (Evaluation of Experiences) Towards Immigrants*

Attitudes	Percent or Responses	Overall % of + and - Responses	
Very Positive	15		
Somewhat Positive	26	Overall +	41
Somewhat Negative	12		
Very Negative	11	Overall -	23
Both + and -	36	Both + and -	36
Total	100		100

The question of how much of these evaluations are based on the news in the media, and media coverage of the citizens of CFA was asked. The results presented in Table 18 showed a moderate media effect on these impressions. The majority of the respondents (72 %) denied any media effects on their impressions. This may be due to the fact that the respondents were expressing their impressions of the Immigrants directly from their own experiences and that the evaluations did not include what they heard and read in the news. It is possible that the media effects would have been evaluated differently if the direct question had been asked: "Have the news media had an influence on the impressions that residents have formed of CFA Immigrants?" The results should be evaluated in the light of the specific question that was posed.

Table 19

*Effects of Media on the Impressions Formed of Immigrants*

Amount of Media Effect	Percentage of Responses
Very Much Effect	5
Somewhat Effect	23
Not Much Effect	29
No Effect at all	43
Total	100

*Results of the Open-ended Questions.*

Following the closed-ended questions, residents were asked to comment about the role of the Government of Guam and the Federal Government in Washington in helping the adjustment of Guam to incoming immigrants. The responses were content analyzed and presented in Tables 20 and 21.

Long-term residents' messages to the Government of Guam for the adjustment of the island to incoming immigrants can be summarized in five categories (Table 20). Residents want the Immigrants to be prepared in Guam's customs, values and lifestyle before arrival (category 1). Once they are on Guam, residents want them to receive further education to improve their language skills, and further training to acquire new skills in order to improve their chances for employment (category 2). While they are on Guam, residents want their living and working conditions to be improved (category 3). A related issue to this category was education of the residents to be more culturally sensitive (category 4) accepting the immigrants into their lives. The last category of solutions mentioned the need for control over immigration from CFA states. This is not allowed under the current Compact terms. A category not included in the solutions in the above discussion consisted of a small number of responses (5%) expressing negative sentiments, and resentment about this issue.

Overall, the long-term residents' views incorporated a wide range of reasonable and helpful solutions towards a more integrated Guam with high standards of living for everyone.

Table 21 summarizing the messages to Federal Government in Washington D.C. also reinforce the points made earlier: Help the Immigrants on Guam to improve their conditions of living and work and increase Guam's control over immigration.

Discussion

Two studies investigated the reactions of the long-term residents of Guam to Compact related migration and the immigrants from the Compact states. The first study involved in-depth interviews with informants discussing the Compact impact, their attitudes towards the Compact, and their assessment of changes following the implementation of the Compact. The second study gathered the views of a representative sample of residents through phone surveys and systematically analyzed their assessment of the post-Compact situation, and their expectations from the Government of Guam and the Federal Government for the integration of the immigrant

Table 20

*Response Categories Summarizing Residents Messages to the Government of Guam*

Response Categories	Percent of		
	Respondents	Responses	Responses in Subcategories
<i>Comments about Immigration</i>			
Limit/control immigration	20.48	18.73	
Screen immigrants	1.79	1.64	20.37
<i>Comments About Educating the Immigrants</i>			
Educate the Immigrants	10.74	9.82	
Teach them English	3.78	3.46	
Train/teach skills	1.79	1.64	14.92
<i>Comments About Orienting the Immigrants</i>			
Orient the Immigrants to the Island	15.31	14.00	
Prepare the Immigrants before arrival (teach morals, customs, values, life on Guam)	2.78	2.55	16.55
<i>Suggestions for Improving Living &amp; Working Conditions</i>			
Provide affordable housing	7.75	7.09	
Provide jobs	4.97	4.55	
Build more schools	1.59	1.45	
Provide financial help/food stamps	0.40	0.36	
Help in any possible way	2.19	2.00	
Federal Government should help financially	1.59	1.45	16.90
<i>Suggestions to Improve Relations with the Immigrants</i>			
Let them come and work	1.99	1.82	
Work together /support/treat equally	6.96	6.36	
More cultural activities	0.20	0.18	
Provide social support groups	0.20	0.18	
Write more positive articles in the media	0.20	0.18	
Be sensitive to their needs and way of life	0.40	0.36	9.08
<i>Expressions of Negative Sentiments</i>			
Send back to home	1.40	1.27	
Don't do anything for the Micronesians/ take care of the people of Guam first	2.78	2.55	
Infrastructure not sufficient	0.80	0.73	4.55
<i>Others</i>			
No comment	10.0	9.27	
I don't know	5.96	5.45	14.72
Others, ungrouped	3.18	2.91	2.91
Total	109.23	100.00	100.00

*Note.* There were a total of 550 responses from 503 respondents because they were free to list as many items as they wanted to. The figures were rounded off to two decimal places.

population into Guam life in order to create a harmonious place for everyone to live and prosper.

Table 21

*Response Categories to the Question " What is the message you want to give to the Federal Government to help Guam? "*

Response Categories	Percent of		
	Responses	Respondents	Responses in Subcategories
<i>Suggestions to Help Guam With the Immigrants Issue</i>			
Give financial aid and grants	16.70	16.63	
Help Gov. Guam provide education/training	10.34	10.30	
Help with housing	5.96	5.94	
Provide medical experts	2.19	2.18	
Help to get along respecting each other's cultures	1.99	1.98	
Help to give jobs	1.79	1.78	
Federal Government should help	0.80	0.79	
Help to build the necessary infrastructure	0.60	0.59	40
<i>Suggestions Regarding Immigration per se</i>			
Control/limit immigration	14.51	14.46	
Negotiate immigration quotas	1.59	1.58	
Educate Micronesians at home (don't come to Guam!)	3.98	2.38	18
<i>Comments Reflecting Negative Sentiments Toward Immigrants</i>			
Help long-term residents first	1.39	1.39	
We have no problems	1.39	1.39	
Federal Government can't help	0.80	0.79	4
<i>Others</i>			
No comment	21.07	20.99	
I don't know	11.13	11.09	32
Others, ungrouped	5.77	5.74	6
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.61</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>100</b>

*Note.* A total of 505 responses were given by 503 respondents. The figures were rounded off to two decimal places.

Both studies confirmed that the Compact of Free Association has made a major impact on Guam. Guam became the major destination for immigration especially for the citizens of the FSM. Due to the geographical proximity of Guam to the CFA states and the availability of jobs on Guam, many people from the FSM and some from the RMI took advantage of this free entry and job prospects. Such an unexpected influx caught Guam unprepared for the resulting population boom. The responses of the people of Guam indicate that Guam has insufficient resources for housing, education, and health care and a larger population to share these social resources.

Another aspect of change perceived by the residents is the integration of different cultures into Guam's life. The immigrants from the CFA states bring their cultures, their own ways of living and working. Expectations from work are different making working relations difficult. It would be helpful to look into these cultural differences in living and working lives with further research to improve interactions among people with different cultural backgrounds.

Cultural differences coupled with differences in the economic and legal systems, and with language barriers interfering in their ability to communicate, make adjustment very difficult for the immigrants. These and other related problems may make them mix exclusively with their own kind, feeling alienated from the society they live in, and experience frustrations that may cause them to drink, and engage in other stress related behavior disorders. Display of such behaviors make it hard for residents to accept them into their culture and maybe even inhibit the willingness to learn about and interact with the Immigrants. The reports of residents regarding their attitudes towards immigrants reflect these mixed feelings of positive and negative impressions. Long-term residents react to the changes over which they have no control and maybe fear losing their own culture. At the same time, they realize and observe closely the difficulties that the immigrants experience.

Many suggestions were made by the residents to overcome the difficulties experienced by immigration. One such measure would be to increase Guam's control over immigration, by setting yearly quotas and/or screening the applicants who want to come to Guam. This means only letting in the number of people that Guam can accommodate and employ so the living standards that is expected by the newcomers, and the residents, can be provided. It would also allow for screening for certain skills most needed on Guam. This procedure would ensure employment upon arrival, which is another issue of concern for residents as well the newcomers. Unemployed immigrants mean that they are a burden on Guam's social system and it also means a disillusionment

for the immigrant who has made a move to a "prosperous," and modern society. This desire for Guam's control over immigration is an idea shared by one fifth of the population and it was reliably observed in both studies.

Given that control over immigration is a political issue that requires action in the political arena, it may not be something that can be accomplished in the near future or even the far future. There are other practical suggestions stated by the people of Guam to help the adjustment of the Immigrants to life on Guam and, in turn, make the residents' adjustment to the Immigrant population easier. These suggestions included orientation before arrival to Guam, as well on Guam. Orientation programs to introduce the lifestyle on Guam, work ethics and requirements of work life, introduction to the legal, school and health care systems. Introduction to the social life is also recommended. Residents also report that they will benefit from programs increasing their cultural sensitivity and being more comfortable in a culturally diverse environment.

In addition to these initial programs to speed up the adjustment process, residents also suggest further education, primarily teaching the immigrants English to reduce language barriers, and to promote effective communication. It is also suggested to teach them further skills to increase their competence in the job market. These comments were shared by approximately one fifth of the respondents.

The picture emerging from these studies is one of a cosmopolitan island living through a major immigration and being caught in the process without necessary preparations for a smooth transition. Residents responses reflect their awareness of the problems they experience and the ones experienced by the Immigrants. How well their perceptions of the Immigrants' programs reflect reality needs to be validated by studies conducted with the Immigrants themselves.

Many helpful suggestions were made to overcome the problems faced during this period. Intervention programs to implement some of these and other suggestions, and research to assess the effects of intervention programs is an immediate necessity.

References

- Rubinstein, D.H., & Levin, M.L. (in print). Micronesian migration to Guam: Social and economic characteristics. *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal*.

Appendix A

Interview Schedule for Study 1

**Notes for the Interviewers:** You will interview 3 people whom you know, however, I want you to consider the following criteria when choosing your respondents. Remember, the goal is to find out what the long-term residents of Guam experienced with the recent immigrants from FSM and Marshall Islands, and what their attitudes are towards these immigrants. Therefore, you will choose your respondents from those who are more likely to have **had experience** with immigrants. Do not interview your mom, dad or your spouse because you live in the same house and it is the easiest interview you can get. They may have no contact with Micronesians to develop any attitudes.

**Criteria for choosing interviewees:** (Have at last one of these criteria fulfilled)

\*\*\* Choose your respondents from employers who have recent immigrants from FSM and RMI as their employees (e.g., fast food chains, hotels;), or people working for various government agencies (e.g., Department of Education, Labor, Police Department, Hospital)

\*\*\* Interview landowners who may have to make a decision to rent their homes to an immigrant some day or who may be neighbors with them

\*\*\* Choose respondents from areas that have the largest number of Micronesian Immigrant population, for example: Yigo, Mangilao, Dededo, and Toto-Maite.

When the interview is over, let them continue talking if they remember issues that they did not think about during the interview. Record those responses as well.

Remember: you will record the interviews; prepare notes based on the interviews after the interview is over. For the open ended items, summarize item by item the responses, and have the closed-ended items recorded on the questionnaires I provide for you. Your summaries from 3 interviews (both open and closed-ended responses), and the recorded interviews are due in class by **March 23rd.**

Please follow the interview guidelines summarized in the handout I distributed in class.

Dr. Seyda Türk Smith

## STRUCTURED INTERVIEW FOR LONG-TERM RESIDENTS OF GUAM

" My name is ..... and I am a student at the University of Guam. I am conducting a survey as a requirement for a class that I am taking this semester. We would like to know what the long-terms residents of Guam think about the citizens of the Federated States of Micronesia (FSM), and the Republic of Marshall Islands (RMI) who are immigrants on Guam. Are you a long term resident of Guam (i.e., do you live and/or work on Guam and intend to stay for an indefinite period?), if you are then would you agree to be interviewed sharing your experiences and reactions to immigrants on your island? It will take about half an hour.

(If they agree to be interviewed, then continue.) "I want to tell you that your responses will be anonymous and your name will not appear anywhere on the answers. A summary report of all responses will be presented to the Guam Bureau of Planning.

"I would like to tape the interview if you do not have objections to it; this way I can talk to you freely without having to worry about note taking You will not be identified unless you want me to record your name when I am recording the interview.

For further information about the project, please contact Dr. Mary Spencer, at Micronesian Language Center, phone # 734-0140 or Dr. Seyda Turk Smith, Psychology Department, phone # 734 9266.

### CONTACT QUESTIONS

1. It is natural to think that life on Guam may be affected by this new population of immigrants from other Micronesian islands.

Is your life affected at all? - If yes, how much?

very much affected     somewhat affected     not affected at all

2. How much would you say that life on Guam is changed by the immigrants from the Federated States and Marshall Islands?

very much             quite             not much             not at all

(please ask for specific examples if the first two options are checked.)

Specify:

3. Your experiences with the Immigrants from FSM and Marshall Islands may be positive or negative depending on how much contact you have with them and the nature of your contact.

How frequently do you have contact with Immigrants from FSM and Marshall Islands?

- almost every day     a couple of times in a week     once a week  
 a couple of times a month     once in a while     never

4. How would you evaluate your overall experiences with Immigrants from FSM and Marshall Islands?

- very positive     somewhat positive     somewhat negative     very negative

5. Tell me in detail a specific positive encounter you had.

6. Tell me in detail a specific negative encounter you had.

7. In what parts of your daily life do you most frequently have contact with them?

- as neighbors     at work     public places (e.g., gas stations, hotels)  
 other (please specify)

8. Do you approve the United States signing the Compact of Free Association with FSM and RMI which gave these citizens free entrance to the U.S. territories?

- strongly approve     approve     neither approve nor disapprove  
 disapprove     strongly disapprove  
 have no opinion

9. Do you think that the immigrants from FSM and Marshall Islands are causing problems on Guam?

- yes, many problems     yes, few problems     no problems

10. (follow up # 9) What are some of the problems that the Micronesians are causing?

11. Do you think that immigrants from other Micronesian Islands experience any problems on Guam?

- yes, many problems     yes, few problems     no problems

12. (follow up # 11) What do you think are some of the problems immigrants experience on Guam ?

13. What do you think should be done to solve some of the problems experienced by immigrants from FSM and Marshall Islands? Where is a starting point?

14. What do you think are some of the personal characteristics of FSM and RMI immigrants that are similar to those of long term residents of Guam? (Let them respond first and then suggest categories such as : work ethics, values in life, public behavior, interpersonal relations, hygiene, etc. These categories apply to question 16, as well.)

15. (follow up # 14) Do these similarities have positive or negative consequences? Please explain.

16. What do you think are some of the personal characteristics of FSM and RMI immigrants that are different than those of long term residents of Guam?

17. (follow up # 16) Do these differences cause any problems? Please explain.

Now, ask them to fill out the social distance figures attached.

#### FACTUAL INFORMATION

"Before I finish, I have some questions about you. Please tell me your

Age \_\_\_\_\_ years old                      Gender \_\_\_ male \_\_\_ female

Marital Status \_\_\_ single \_\_\_ married \_\_\_ divorced \_\_\_ other (specify)

Ethnic background \_\_\_\_\_ Birth place \_\_\_\_\_

How long have you lived on Guam \_\_\_\_\_

What is the *highest level of education* you have completed:

[ ] illiterate;                      [ ] literate    [ ] primary;                      [ ] junior high;

[ ] high school                      [ ] college;    [ ] graduate school

Where do you live : \_\_\_\_\_

Do you work ? [ ] yes [ ] no ; if yes, where? \_\_\_\_\_

Do you rent or own your residence? [ ] rent                      [ ] own

What is the annual income of your household? Please indicate the range:

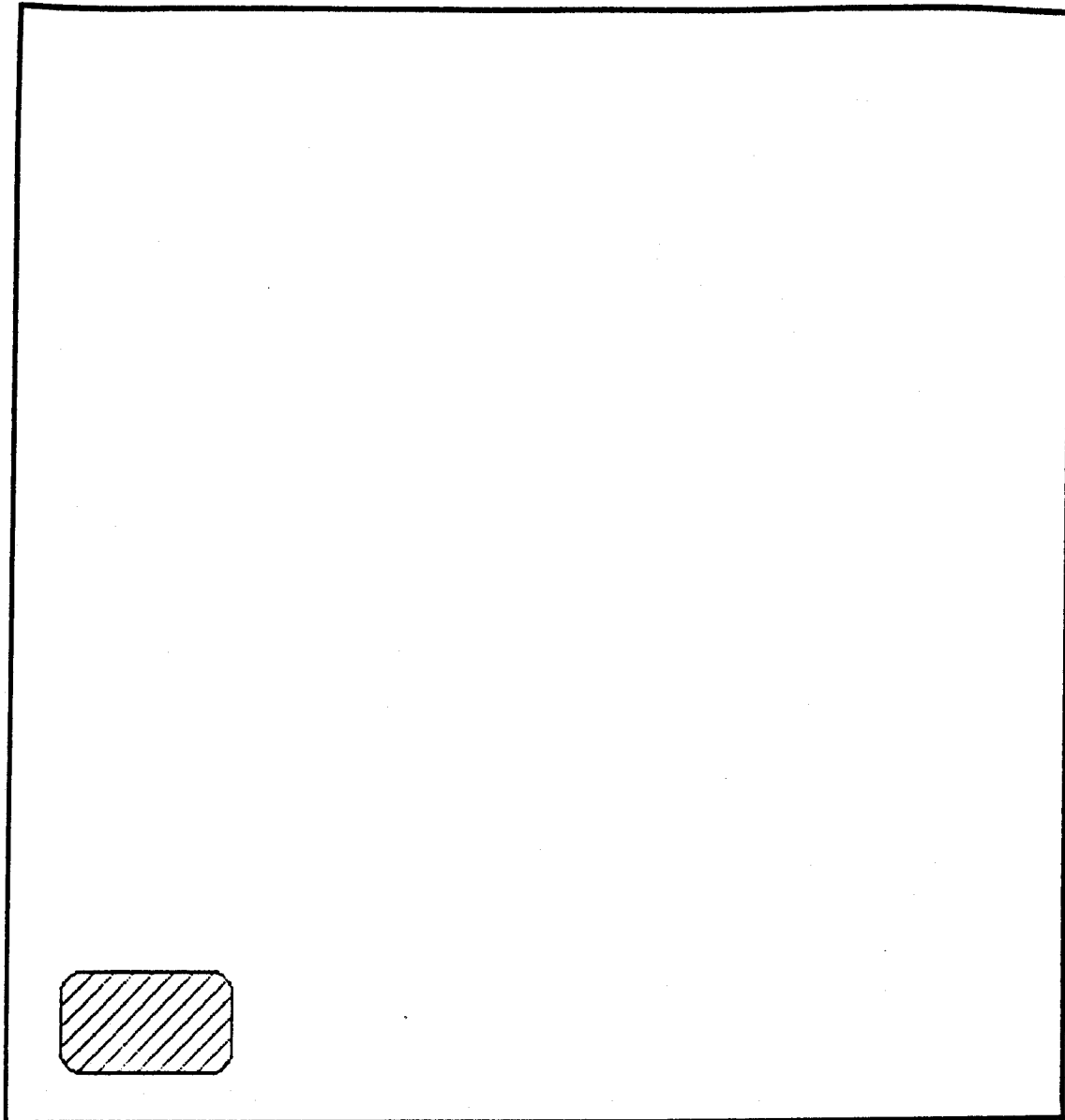
(a) under \$ 10 000                      (b) \$ 11 000 - 15 000                      (c) \$ 16 000 - 20 000

(d) \$ 21 000- 25 000                      (e) \$ 26 000 - 30 000                      (f) \$ 31 000 - 40 000


(g) \$ 41 000 - 60 000                      (h) \$ 61 000 - 80 000                      (i) over \$ 80 000

How many adult people (age over 16) live in the same household ? \_\_\_\_\_

Thank you very much for your time.




**Your workplace**

 your desk

**Place the following individuals  
in your workplace based on how  
close you want to work with them  
(Do not place them in the square  
if you do not want to work with  
them)**

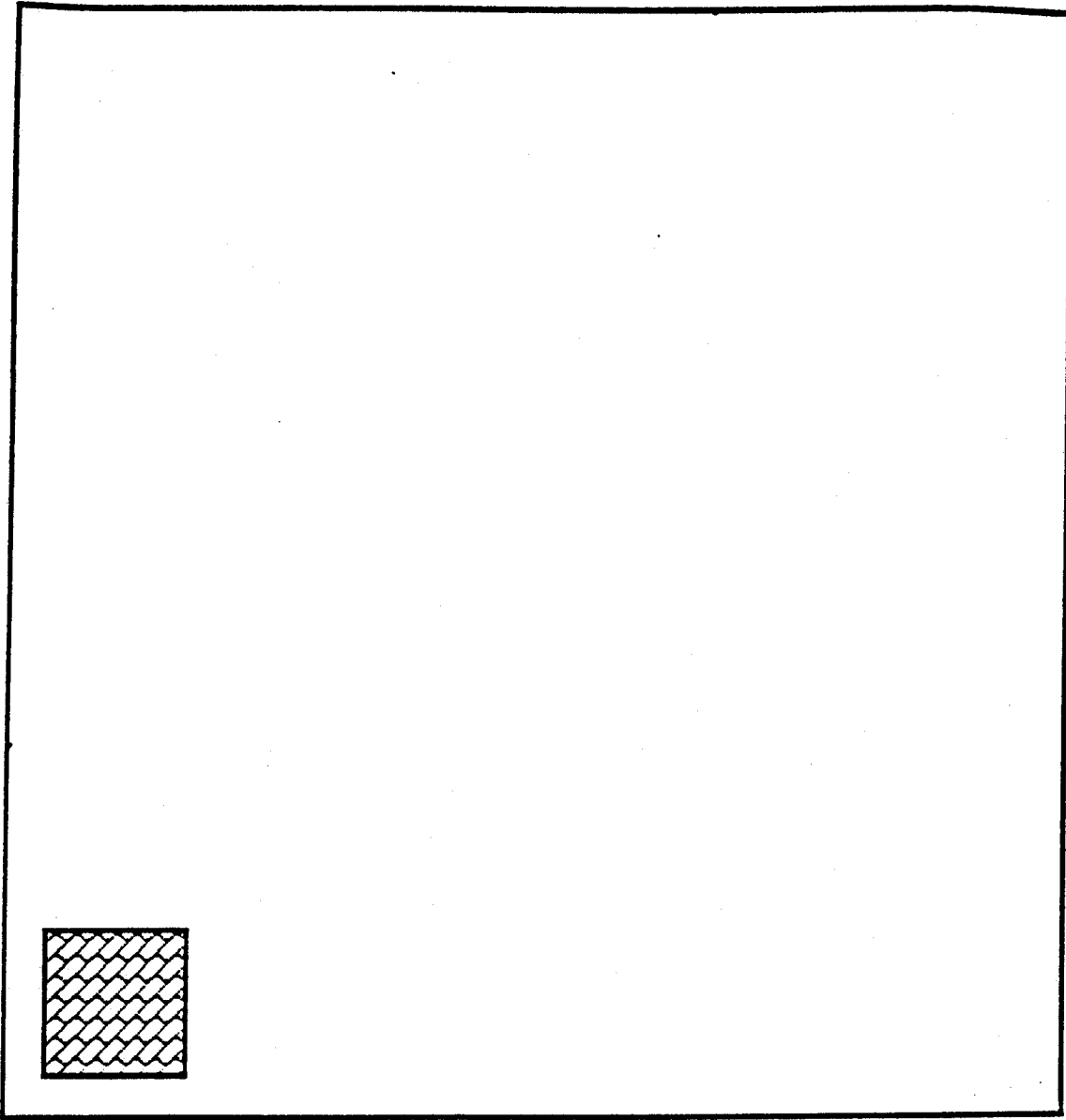
**Chamorros** 

**Filipinos** 

**Other Asian groups** 

**Micronesians (FSM and RMI)** 






**Caucasians** 



**Your neighborhood**

 your home

Place the following individuals in your neighborhood based on how close you want to live with them  
(do not place them if you don't want them around you)

- Chamorros 
- Filipinos 
- Other Asian groups 
- Micronesians (FSM and RMI) 
- Caucasians 

Appendix B

Interview Schedule for Study 2

(fill in first) ---->

[ ] phone # \_\_\_\_\_

**My name is .....**

**I am calling from University of Guam. I am working with the Micronesian Language Institute.**

**I would like to ask you a few questions. It will only take a few minutes of your time.**

**How long have you been living on Guam?**

*(minimum of 5 years is required to be eligible. If the person has lived less than 5 years, then ask them :*

*"Is there anyone in the household who has been on Guam for more than 5 years?"*

*If there is no one in the household who qualifies, say, thank you for your time" and move on to the next interview )*

**Are you older than 18?**

*(If yes, then continue with the person on the phone. If they say no,*

*"Is there anyone else in the house who is older than 18?" Try to get the person and start from the beginning of the introduction with the new person)*

**Which village do you live in ? \_\_\_\_\_**

**This is part of a project designed to understand the needs of Guamanians and how they are effected by the Compact signed between the Federated States of Micronesia and the Marshall Islands. The Compact gave free entry to the citizens of Chuuk, Pohnpei, Yap Kosrae and Marshall Islands and they came to Guam to live and work. Palauns are not included here. Now we want to know the impact of this immigration on Guamanians.**

**1. In your opinion, how much impact did this immigration have on Guam?**

*(read them their choices)*

[ ] very much

[ ] somewhat

[ ] not at all

**2. How much contact do you have with the FSM citizens and the Marshallese?**

- almost every day
- a couple of times in a week
- once a week
- once in a while
- never

**3. Where do you have contact with them? (read them the choices right away)**

- are they your neighbors?
- do you work with them?
- do you see them in public places?
- other?

*(You can check more than one category here)*

**4. What are your experiences and impressions of the FSM citizens and the Marshallese?**

*(Ask first if it is positive or negative, then ask whether it is somewhat .... or very .....*)

- very positive
- somewhat positive
- somewhat negative
- very negative
- both positive and negative

**5. How much of these impressions are based on what you read about them?**

- very much - (can you tell us more about what you read?)
- somewhat
- not much
- not at all

6. What do you think the Government of Guam should do to help the adjustment of the island to incoming immigrants?

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7. What is the message you want to give to the Federal Government in Washington to help Guam on this issue?

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We are almost finished. ... I have a few questions about yourself.

8. What is your ethnic background? \_\_\_\_\_

9. What is the highest level of education you have completed? \_\_\_\_\_

10. What is your yearly income? Is it ...

below 10.000

between 11.000-25.000

between 26.000 - 40.000

between 41.000 - 60.000

over 80.000

11. How many adults (>16) live in the same household ? \_\_\_\_\_

Thank you for your time. We will include your message with other interviews in a report to Bureau of Planning . Good evening.

(Indicate the gender of the respondent: Male \_\_\_ Female \_\_\_)