Hxstoriography of Filipina/x in Hawai'i: Our Movements, Archives, and Memories

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ABSTRACT. "Filipina/x in Hawai'i: Our Movements, Archives, and Memories" is an exhibit and digital archive that tells multiple stories of Filipina/x diaspora on O'ahu departing from settler colonial expectations by exploring alignment with Hawaiian demilitarization movements. This paper offers an interpretation of archival documents, created by Urban Babaylan (UB), Women's Voices Women Speak (WVWS), and Decolonial Pin@y (DP), providing examples of community research that critically confront multiple layers of settler colonialism in the Philippines and Hawai'i, to build Filipina/x capacities to understand their relations to Kānaka Maoli history, and to engage more people in ongoing, regional demilitarization and decolonization movements.

Introduction

"Filipina/x[1] in Hawai'i: Our Movements, Archives, and Memories" is an exhibit and digital archive that tells multiple stories of Filipina/x diaspora on O'ahu departing from settler colonial expectations by exploring alignment with Hawaiian[2] demilitarization movements. I will

1. Filipina refers to women, Filipinx refers to LGBTQ+, and Filipino refers to males of Philippine heritages. But I use Filipino as a general term referring to Philippine peoples and the Filipino diaspora as a whole. But Filipino/a/x in Hawai'i refer to those in Hawai'i, and Philippine peoples refer to those in the Philippine archipelago, unless the specific ethnicities are listed. Another useful meaning of the X in Filipinx is borrowed from *Southeast Asian Retention Through Creating Hxstory* who state that "history is often retold by those who won.... The 'x' is meant to be an inclusive and progressive term that stands for the many different identities, struggles, and intersectionalities. We hold the 'x' as a way to acknowledge our untold hxstories and collectively push forward to reclaim the lost." (SEARCH. "What does the "x" in Hxstory Stand for?" University of California Irvine, n.d. Accessed 25 April 2022, https://searchuci.wordpress.com/about/what-does-the-x-is-hxstory-stand-for/). I draw from this use of "x" in Filipinx or hxstory, to enable Filipino/a/x identification with recovered, suppressed, and underheard histories and knowledge within our communities, and our relations with non-Filipino/a/x ethnicities.
2. In this paper, Hawaiian is a national identity that represents allegiance to the Hawaiian Kingdom, which has been a multiethnic nation. Thus, my use of Hawaiian is inclusive of Native Hawaiian and immigrant/settler populations in Hawai'i that struggled against structural and socio-economic oppressions through multi-ethnic movements, before the time of the overthrow, the Territory, and Statehood eras. Native Hawaiians and Kānaka Maoli are used to refer specifically to those who are

offer an interpretation and contextualization of these archival records, as a participant of the community based action research[3] of Urban Babaylan (UB), Women's Voices Women Speak (WVWS), and Decolonial Pin@y (DP), a series of grassroots groups that stemmed from a specific community of Filipina/x based on Oʻahu.

The digital archive is a byproduct of a physical exhibit that some UB and DP members organized at the University of Hawaiʻi at Mānoa's Hamilton Library for Filipino American History Month in October of 2021. The point of this exhibit was to intervene in the common celebration of Filipinos in Hawaiʻi as part of America, or of being Filipino American.[4] While there is a history of Filipinos that have migrated to Hawaiʻi during the Hawaiian Kingdom,[5] the largest migrations of Filipinos to Hawaiʻi took place after the illegal US overthrow of the Hawaiian Monarchy, during the Territorial and Statehood governments. My grandfathers on my paternal and maternal sides were among many Filipinos who came to work in Hawaiʻi during the Territorial period.

UB, WVWS, and DP's community work created spaces to critically look at Filipino settler colonialism in Hawaiʻi. UB and WVWS began the process of deepening Filipina/x agencies and identities to resist settler colonial expectations through building relationships with Kānaka Maoli led movements. But part of our research and activism also included engaging Philippine and other Oceanic women's movements through the International Women's Network Against Militarism (IWNAM), which exposed the gendered and environmental impacts of the transnational structure of militarized, corporate-driven economies across the region and world. DP expanded the reach of this work, including more Filipina/x in Hawaiʻi to lead actions to address settler colonialism in our own communities, as part of our own decolonial[6] responsibilities. This archive documents various types of educational, political, and cultural actions that reflect our responses to manifestations of settler colonialism as diasporic settler Filipina/x in Hawaiʻi. By building capacities within ourselves to study and discuss Filipino identities, conditions, and relations to Kānaka Maoli histories, we could build our languages, understanding, and involvement in ongoing demilitarization and decolonization movements in Hawaiʻi, the Philippines, and the broader region.

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lineal descendants of aboriginal peoples of Hawaiʻi.

3. Community based action research refers to relationships and collaboration between those with academic training and those not affiliated with the academy, in the process of discussing, examining, articulating, and addressing needs and issues within our communities. The application of academic skill sets support community development and empowerment by developing capacity to articulate issues important to them, and to activate their agencies to respond. Paul Reason, "Three Approaches to Participative Inquiry." In *Strategies of Qualitative Inquiry.* N. K. Denzin and Y. S. Lincoln, Eds. Thousand Oaks, Calif. (Sage Publications, 1998); Patricia Maguire, *Doing Participatory Research: A Feminist Approach* (Center for International Education, School of Education, Amherst: University of Massachusetts, 1987).

Archival Context

To introduce this archival project, I provide a review of colonial and decolonial archival histories, to contextualize the particular methods of this project, which attempted to bridge community and academic knowledge.

Traditional notions of archiving emerged from Western, elitist enterprises in the 16th century. For example, the Spanish colonial expeditions, launched from Spain to the Americas, and then to the Philippines, were to expand their reach as one of the first global European empires. Soldiers and missionaries were aboard the Manila-Acapulco galleons, drawing from the lessons learned from the invasion of Indigenous Americas, Caribbean and Mesoamerican civilizations, to colonize the Pacific Islands like Guåhan, and an archipelago in Southeast Asia, which would eventually be named the Philippines, for the Spanish monarch King Philip II. Colonial agents, specifically missionaries and explorers, documented and organized knowledge of and about the "others" they encountered in ways that justified their enterprises to extract resources from their lands and bodies. Originals and copies of manuscripts and materials were transferred back to the colonial centers, such as to Mexico City and Seville, Spain. These materials accumulated in repositories of information, accessed by Spanish colonists to understand, and create strategies against, the "heathens, savages, and barbarians" they sought to erase or assimilate.[7] Within this intent, archival science was information management in service to the parent organization, which is considered an objective practice. Objectivity in archives meant that archivists needed to exclude their own subjective emotions in the interpretation and description of the record. Rather, they are to interpret and describe the record within the organizational context (fonds or provenance) it was created in.[8] It was not the archivist's role to discuss the ethical implications of the whole business operation that produced those records and their effects.

Also, these records were considered "corporate memory" for the colonial enterprises. These records were not meant to be openly accessible because information leaks could threaten the enterprise with competition or sabotage. Spain was actively competing with other European imperial expeditions during the 16th–18th centuries. Spain was also actively forcing native populations into slave labor and stealing their lands, prompting Indigenous anti-colonial resistance. The information the Spanish collected and created about their colonies

7. Hortensia Calvo, "The Politics of Print: The Historiography of the Book in Early Spanish America," in *Book History* 6(1): 2003: 277-305.
8. S. Muller, J.A. Feith, and R. Fruin. *Manual for the Arrangement and Description of Archives* (Society of American Archivists, 2003); John Ridener. *From Polders to Postmodernism: A Concise History of Archival Theory* (Duluth: Litwin Books, LLC, 2009), 10-11.

had to be guarded; eligibility for access was approved through colonial status or license.[9]

When corporate enterprises established themselves as early colonial institutions and businesses in their new "frontiers," their records reflected historical knowledge on the colonial development of those places. In the Philippines, the Spanish archives were kept in churches, documenting colonial institution building across Visayan and Luzon lowlands, such as the Christian evangelism of tribes in and beyond those areas. During American rule, the archives were centralized in Manila, Luzon, appointed as the capital city during the nation-building era.[10] Particular native leaders affirmed Spanish and American colonial histories because they traded, mated (forcibly or otherwise), or intermarried with one another, establishing dynasties as mestizo[11] landowners or leaders during the colonial to postcolonial eras. The assimilation of certain native elites and mestizos into the colonial order gave them more social and cultural privilege over Indigenous and darker skinned peoples of lower class standing. Unequal class and political power persisted into the modern Philippines, still driven by an extractive, export/import economy that prevents a fair and stable domestic political-economy. Out-migration became an option for Filipinos seeking better economic opportunities abroad so they could send money back to their families at home.

In Hawai'i, Anglo-American business records would be elevated in value as the "heritage" of settler colonial societies. The Euro-American settler colonial elites reinforced their political power over Hawaiian national lands through the overthrow of Queen Liliu'okalani's monarchy in 1893,[12] illegal annexation of Hawai'i by a Joint Resolution in the US Congress in 1898,[13] and a faulty plebiscite for Statehood in 1959.[14] But Euro-American settlers also used their history and memory of Hawai'i to control how the people of Hawai'i would

9. Rachel Stein. "Printing and Publishing in Early Spanish America," Rare Books School Course Spanish American Textualities c. 1820 (Tulane University, New Orleans, June 13, 2022)

10. Ricardo Punzalan, "Archives of the new possession: Spanish colonial records and the American
Creation of a 'National' Archives for the Philippines," *Archival Science*, 6 (2007), 381-392.

11. Mestizo means of mixed race, usually of Spanish and Indigenous descent across the Spanish empire. But in the Philippines, and other colonial territories, Indigenous ethnic groups could have mixed with other European ethnicities such as Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch, English, and Italian, because the galleons employed various European ethnicities, as well as non-white, Asian, Mesoamerican ethnicities encountered throughout their trade routes.

12. Jonathan Kamakawiwo'ole Osorio. *Dismembering Lāhui: A History of the Hawaiian Nation* (University of Hawai'i Press, 2002).

13. Noenoe K. Silva. *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism.* (Duke University Press, 2004).

14. Saranillio, Dean. *Unsustainable Empire: Alternative Histories of Hawai'i Statehood.* (Duke University Press, 2018). Ramon Lopez-Reyes. "The Re-inscription of Hawaii on the United Nation's List of Non-Self Governing Territories," in *Peace Research* 28(3) 1996. Kioni Dudley, Leon Siu, and Poka Laenui. "Unsettling Truths about the 1959 Statehood Vote in Hawai'i." Honolulu Star-Advertiser, 2019.

come to know themselves and their allegiances.[15] Corporate archives, such as the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association, are preserved because of the impact they had in shaping the plantation industries during the Territorial period in Hawai'i. These corporate archives list Filipinos as among the various ethnic laborers for their plantation enterprises, thereby tethering these settler workers' Hawai'i-based memories to the history and future that the Euro-American settler planters created. This paper seeks to shift this narrative by connecting Filipino/a/x history in Hawai'i to Kānaka Maoli historical memories, and to explore the implications of this relationship to re-thinking Philippine history from this Hawai'i-based vantage point.

Colonized communities have been resisting colonial management and exploitation through information. Communities have written and produced recorded information on how they survived, joined, resisted, and transformed colonial conditions.[16] Knowledge has been preserved orally and kinetically (dance or martial arts), or through food, ritual, art, or recording devices.[17] Within our modern eras, communities have created their own libraries and archives in brick-and-mortar buildings or in digital universes. However, these and other archives may also be in disarray, not documenting everything, because of destruction, violence, displacement, migration, assimilation, inter-community conflict, and erasures of the people who created them.

Decolonization movements around the world promoted communities to organize social movements to push for their political, social, economic, and cultural advancement. One example was the Ethnic Studies Movement in the late 1960s to the 1970s, that started at San Francisco State University. This movement built off the civil rights movements to end racial segregation by demanding educational access and relevant curriculum for Black, Latinx, Asian and Native Americans in what was dominantly Eurocentric higher education curriculum.[18] Similar campaigns occurred in different campuses, such as at the founding of Ethnic Studies at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, which Aunty Terri Keko'olani—one of the founders and mentors of WVWS—was part of. Indigenous and local community movements for Ethnic Studies began to research, collect information and publish to

15. Linda Tuhiwai Smith. *Decolonizing Methodologies* (Zed Books, 2012).
16. Andrew Flinn, "Archival Activism: Independent and Community-led Archives, Radical Public History
and the Heritage Professions," in *InterActions: UCLA Journal of Education and Information Studies* 7(2)
(2011); Andrew Flinn, "Community Histories, Community Archives: Some Opportunities and Challenges," *Journal of the Society of Archivists* 28(2) (2007): 151-176.
17. Kelvin White, "Mestizaje and Remembering in Afro-Mexican Communities of the Costa Chica: Implications for Archival Education in Mexico," *Archival Science* (2009): 45; "About Us," (Koorie Heritage Trust). Accessed 29 June 2013, http://www.koorieheritagetrust.com/about_us.
18. Evelyn Hu-DeHart, "The History, Development, and Future of Ethnic Studies," in *The Phi Delta*
Kappan 75 (1) (1993): 50-54.

find out about themselves, take back control of their knowledge, and teach the knowledge of their own communities, according to their narratives.[19] They documented oral histories and produced archives of their communities, which have been sites of power for their social movements, to preserve their histories, memories, and cultures—to base build.

Base building is a process within community organizing, to recruit people to become active members and potential future leaders of a social movement organization. Ethnic and Indigenous studies educational spaces have been avenues for colonized communities to research, access, and reconstruct their histories and memories; to begin building communities of historical and cultural awareness; to create counter narratives that decolonize how communities have come to think; and to rethink and transform our identities and relationships with others. Setsu Shigematsu and Keith Camacho write that Oceanic historical and cultural studies should not be siloized, as if each national or ethnic histories are individual memories and histories. This type of historiography generates an "us versus them" mentality that normalizes an othering and disconnection among and between peoples of the Pacific, Asia, and internationally.

But in fact, forces of imperialism, colonialism, and militarization, and the responses of social movements, have led to interconnections and transformations between how nations and peoples relate to, and affect, one another.[20] In addition to decolonizing our own ethnic history, it is also important to decolonize the histories of our relationships to one another. As our understandings of the past change through Indigenous and ethnic decolonial and critical narratives, this can raise discomforts for those privileged in our modern society because they are being challenged to confront and do something about the moral and ethical problems of the colonial past that influences our present day. These emerging histories make all of us look at what our responsibilities are, from our positionalities, to genuinely work toward healing from the colonial past in the present.

The Exhibit and Digital Archive

Based on the different political intentions that shape archival histories and practices, I now explain how the physical exhibit and digital archive of the "Filipina/x in Hawai'i: Our Movements, Archives, and Memories" came to be. The exhibit was hosted at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa Hamilton Library, an academic flagship library of a Research

19. Davianna Pōmaika'i McGregor and Ibrahim Aoudé. "Our History, Our Way!: Ethnic Studies for Hawai'i's People." In *A Nation Rising: Hawaiian Movements for Life, Land, and Sovereignty* (Duke University Press 2014), 66-77.
20. Setsu Shigematsu and Keith L. Camacho. "Introduction: Militarized Currents, Decolonizing Futures," in *Militarized Currents: Toward a Decolonized Future in Asia and the Pacific* (University of Minnesota Press, 2010).

1 University within Hawai‘i. This exhibit and digital archive provides a unique research collection about Filipina/x history in Hawai‘i that could spark more community research around topics of Philippine and Filipino diaspora decolonization within Hawai‘i.[21]

The digital collection was created because the physical exhibit would be displayed for only two months. Utilizing my relationships with other librarians at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa, I advocated for the digital collection space at Hamilton Library's eVols Open Access repository to permanently house digital copies of select archival documents on exhibition. After I interviewed and collected materials from some UB, WVWS, and DP members, their stories were translated into exhibit captions and archival metadata. Due to copyright reasons, items only authored by contributing community members, and not published in third party publications, were uploaded to the eVols repository. To protect individual privacy in the world wide web, pictures featured at the physical exhibit were not uploaded to eVols.

The digital archive was open access to allow broader audiences to access the information. The physical exhibit took place during the COVID-19 pandemic. Restrictive COVID-19 protocols, parking costs, and the extra time needed to come to the University increased barriers for members of the public to enter the library to see the physical exhibit. So, the digital collection was created to be open access online so that community members, not enrolled or working at the University, could see the featured archival materials. A narrative about the exhibit and digitized items were posted on the Exhibits section of Hamilton Library's website. This web page's URL was sent through our social media networks to inform our community, inside and outside of the university, about the exhibit, to click and access the documents we were featuring, and to follow registration instructions for physical access to the exhibit.

But the exhibit and digital archive is not the full representation of each of these organizations' identities, knowledge, nor hxstories.

21. Cassie Ordonio, "Are Filipinos Underrepresented in the University of Hawai'i?" *Civil Beat* 12 (April 2022). https://www.civilbeat.org/2022/04/are-filipinos-underrepresented-at-the-university-of-hawaii/

This archive, like all archives, is a sliver[22] of what these organizations are about. More stories exist before, during, and after this archive. Much of the knowledge is not written, but practiced, such as in the embodied acts of gathering people, planning agendas, facilitating discussions, coming to consensus decisions, producing information, and performing public actions. The archive project did not aim to be a comprehensive documentation of the Filipino/a/x community in Hawai'i. Rather, it aimed to feature certain ideas coming from a specific group of Filipina/x on O'ahu. Not everyone from these groups could contribute to this project because of being busy or having shifted relationships to these organizations. While the few contributors helped with the description and metadata of the items, the overall narrative that tied these items and stories together was shaped by my point of view.

I have been shaped by UB, DP and WVWS's ways of thinking. Specifically, these groups have empowered me to reflect on what means to be a Filipina in Hawai'i that is conscious about being located in the US occupied Hawaiian Kingdom, and exploring my relationship to Philippine ancestral culture and histories. Before I met them, my sense of belonging and pride in Hawai'i was tied to the plantation economy because my grandparents migrated to Maui to work in it, and our Filipino community was woven into the fabric of the local, working class, plantation influenced culture. Yet, this group of Filipina/x also spoke out about our gendered oppressions and needs for healing from family violence as women and girls, while also recognizing the need for accountability and responsibility to Kānaka Maoli, whose lands we were residing upon. During my graduate education, I read key texts such as "Settlers of Color and 'Immigrant' Hegemony: 'Locals in Hawai'i" by Haunani Trask and *Asian Settler Colonialism: From Local Governance to Habits of Everyday Life in Hawai'i* edited by Candace Fujikane and Jonathan Okamura, that described the process of Asian settlers, including Filipinos, rising in state power, and aligning with US Settler interests for Hawai'i, such as militarism or tourism development, at the expense of Native Hawaiians who were being displaced by these developments.[23] These themes resonated with me because it shed light on the colonial impacts of the US political economy on Native Hawaiians that my immigrant family found opportunities in, while also exposing the roots of the contradictions I felt growing up.

My paternal grandparents were from Dasay, Ilocos Sur, part of the farmer class living on the outskirts of the ili, or provincial town, of Narvacan. When they migrated to Hawai'i, their farming

22. Verne Harris. "The Archival Sliver: Power, Memory, and Archives in South Africa," in *Archival Science* 2 (2002): 64.

23. Haunani-Kay Trask, "Settlers of Color and 'Immigrant' Hegemony: 'Locals' in Hawai'i," *Amerasia Journal*; 26(2) (2000):1-24; Candace Fujikane, "Introduction," in *Asian Settler Colonialism: From Local Governance to the Habits of Everyday Life in Hawaii.* Jonathan Y. Okamura and Candace Fujikane, Eds. (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2008), 1-42.

experiences in the Ilocos gave them the skills to be field and factory workers for Hawaiian Commercial and Sugar Co. (HC&S), which was owned by Alexander and Baldwin,[24] a Euro-American Big 5 company that extracted water from valleys on the windward sides of Maui to irrigate the plantation fields in the dryer, central areas of the island such as in Pu'unene and Kahului. The extraction of water from the valleys diminished the source of fresh waters that East Maui Native Hawaiian farmers depended on to irrigate kalo, or taro, their traditional, ancestral, subsistence food.[25] Kalo farmers historically resisted, and continue to resist, the theft of water from its natural stream flow. Since the rise of the plantations, many Native Hawaiians were displaced from their traditional subsistence lands. Many migrated to urban areas seeking cash wages in emerging American settler industries, working alongside immigrant settlers. It was a racialized, capitalist economy in which workers were placed in a culture of competition according to the plantation's white supremacy--they were paid unequally according to race, not afforded safe working conditions, and taught to distrust other ethnic groups. But after the many years of worker organizing and solidarity building by organizers like Pablo Manlapit, Fred Makino, and Harry Kamoku, the multi-ethnic rank and file workers across the plantation docks, fields, and factories, culminated into the Great Sugar Strike in 1946. The planter business class succumbed to workers' demands and unionization was legalized in Hawai'i.[26] Some plantation companies moved their business operations to other countries where there were less environmental and labor laws.[27] Other plantation companies would appease workers with access to fee simple properties in residential developments, such as "Dream City," Kahului.[28] There was, and still is, an ongoing history of Filipinos in Hawai'i's multi-racial labor movements and unions, advocating for better working conditions, pensions, pay, and benefits. In these contexts, possibilities for identification with, and solidarity between working class Filipinos and working-class Native Hawaiians, Samoans, Micronesians, Chinese, Vietnamese among other Pacific Islanders and Asians, exist.

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24. Hcsugar.com and A & B. "The History of Hawaiian Commercial and Sugar Co." *The Maui News*, December 13, 2016. Accessed November 1, 2022, https://www.mauinews.com/news/local-news/2016/12/the-history-of-hawaiian-commercial-sugar-co/
25. Pauahi Ho'okano, "Aia i Hea ka Wai a Kāne? (Where Indeed is the Water of Kāne?): Examining the East Maui Water Battle" in *A Nation Rising: Hawai'i Movements for Life, Land and Sovereignty* (Duke University Press, 2014).
26. Chris Conybeare, Tremaine Tamayose, and William J. Puette. *Brothers Under the Skin* (Center for Labor Education and Research, Honolulu: Hawaii Public Television KHET-TV, 1989); Kelli Abe, Teresa Bill, Joy Chong-Stannard, Chris Conybeare. 1946: *the Great Hawaii Sugar Strike* (Honolulu: KHET-TV, 1996); William Puette, "The Labor History of Hawai'i," (Center for Labor Education and Research, University of Hawai'i West O'ahu, 2018), 4-11.
27. Noel Kent, "Era of Consensus," in *Hawaii: Islands Under the Influence.* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1983), 122-139.
28. Peter T. Young, "Dream City," (Ho'okuleana. December 5, 2012). Accessed October 26, 2022, http://totakeresponsibility.blogspot.com/2012/12/dream-city.html

But class and caste differences within the Philippines can also migrate to the diaspora. Caste is a socio-economic hierarchy based on race and occupation. While there was a caste system during the pre-colonial era, caste has intertwined with race and class during the colonial and post-colonial eras.[29] Upper class Filipinos often have fairer skin, more wealth, opportunities, and mobility. Educated, middle class Filipinos can become professionals, but because the wage and salary rate is low, many choose to migrate abroad to work in countries with higher currency. This experience resonates with the migration stories of the maternal and paternal side of my family. Poorer, working class Filipinos, who are darker skinned, may stay in the Philippines working as farmers, laborers, and service workers for the businesses of higher economic classes, or for foreigners and *balikbayan* (Filipino expatriates). The maternal side of my family had a modern house in the ili of Narvacan and had a live-in helper from the local village that provided domestic assistance.

There were different waves of migration in which different classes were able to change their class and caste status by gaining education or higher salaries abroad. My paternal grandfather, from the farmer class, migrated to Hawai'i to work in the plantation fields. He sent the earnings back to the Philippines to buy more plots of farming land for his family, and to send his sons to college. This then increased the class position of his family, which made it possible for his farming class son, from the outskirts of the ili, to marry my mom who was from an educated, middle class family from the center of the ili.

But this mobility was also met with challenge. Filipino Americans have written about the race, class, gender, and national discrimination they faced trying to survive and improve their lives in other countries. Carlos Bulosan, who was part of the farmer class migration wave, has described how Filipinos have been exploited as cheap labor for large businesses, and have also faced racial discrimination from living in white residential subdivisions, or for marrying or dating white people.[30] Filipinos who earned advanced degrees in the Philippines are not appointed to equal positions in the U.S., but are demoted to lower paying positions, until the Filipino re-earns their license or degrees according to US educational or professional standards. It is in thes conditions that Filipinos have fought for civil rights and economic justice to also have equal access to opportunity in the US.

In Hawai'i, there are Filipinos, among other settlers and residents, who feel they have improved their material conditions since the advances of the multicultural labor movement, the Democratic

29. Alex Tizon, "My Family's Slave." *The Atlantic* (June 2017). Accessed October 29, 2022, https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2017/06/lolas-story/524490/; David B. Katague, «Caste System in the Philippines-Discrimination of Filipinos in the United States and my Pinoy Pride List.» Hub Pages (August 23, 2017). Accessed October 26, 2022, https://discover.hubpages.com/business/caste-system-in-the-philippines).

30. Carlos Buloson. *America is the Heart*. University of Washington Press, 2014.

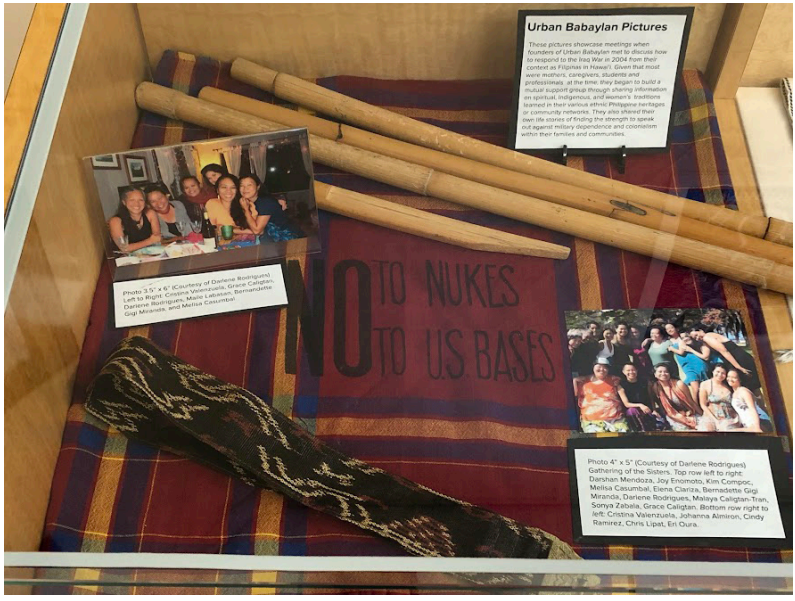
Revolution, and Statehood. But given the different waves of Filipino immigration, there have been different memories and expectations on what these opportunities mean. There are debates and uncertainties if they would lose their material and economic gains under American rule if Hawaiian National Sovereignty is reinstated, or if there is any radical, progressive change to our current military and corporate controlled economies. Some of this fear manifests as Filipino alignment with conservative American values in order to protect their individual, material interests. This manifests as a desire for power through capitalist accumulation which Dean Saranillio describes as when "historically oppressed communities also operate through their practices, ambitions, narratives, and silences."[31] This aspiration into Whiteness is part of justifying their sacrifice and success through the opportunities that White America has made possible, which separate them from those who have not "taken advantage of the opportunities" and are thus in poorer, undeveloped conditions.[32] What is reproduced in this dynamic is the blind competition of Filipinos to assimilate into the White Supremacist order. But Indigenous, People of Color, feminist and LGBTQ+ histories from the diaspora prompt critical reflection on, and decolonial response to, the systemic oppressions this order has inflicted upon marginalized groups, including Filipinos and the Philippines itself.

Conversations about postcolonial, working to middle class Filipino communities' relationship to Indigenous land struggles in Hawai'i, across the diaspora, and in the Philippines, have been marginalized, but are developing. This exhibit and digital archive showcases some of the educational actions that UB, WVWS, and DP engaged in, to listen to what Kānaka Maoli were saying, and to respond from our positionality as Filipinos. The stories in this archive document how Filipina/x recognized and processed Native Hawaiian people's calls to get back their lands and country by reflecting on their role in the oppressive systems that produced Indigenous displacement, and also points of solidarity that could be made to intervene in these systems. The work to support Native Hawaiian liberation of Hawai'i is part of decolonizing and dismantling from the imperial systems that also invaded and continues to neo-colonize the Philippines.

31. Saranillio, Dean Itsuji Saranillio,. "Why Asian settler colonialism matters: a thought piece on critiques, debates, and Indigenous difference," iIn *Settler Colonial Studies*, 3:3-4 (2013), p. 288.
32. Camille Elemia, "Why Many Filipino Americans Are Still Voting for Donald Trump." *Rappler* (November 3, 2020). Accessed October 26, 2022, https://www.rappler.com/world/us-canada/why-many-filipino-americans-still-voting-donald-trump-2020/

Urban Babaylan

In 2003, during the outbreak of the Iraq War, Grace Caligtan sent a full moon gathering email[33] to a group of Filipina women residing on the island of Oʻahu. Some were mothers, academics, and/or working women in their thirties who were living on Oʻahu. Two were born in the Philippines, others born in the continental US, and one born in Hawaiʻi. They had differing experiences of community organizing in the continental US east and west coast Filipino and Asian American communities, as well as organizing experiences in Hawaiʻi. In Hawaiʻi, they recognized their positionality as settlers and their role to support the Kānaka Maoli, the original stewards of this land. US Imperialist expansion policies in 1898 used Hawaiian lands to project war in the Philippines, during the Spanish-American and Filipino American wars. The consequence of these wars was the trauma and displacement of Filipinos from their lands and their subsequent out-migration of elite Filipinos as *pensionados* to be educated in the west to rebuild the modern Philippines, or working class Filipinos to be "recruited"[34] as cheap labor for agricultural plantations, such as in Hawaiʻi and the US west coast. These women reckoned with the historical amnesia and disconnection among Filipinos caused by the unresolved trauma of the wars, and the racist, classist, and sexist immigration legacies that shapes Filipino experiences in diaspora.[35]



33. Grace Caligtan, "Urban Babaylan First Full Moon Gathering". Email, January 16, 2003. https://evols.library.manoa.hawaii.edu/handle/10524/63946
34. Some argue that trafficking also occurred.
35. Sonya Zabala and Adrian Alarilla, "Talk Story among Filipina/x in Hawaiʻi: Our Movements, Archives, and Memories," *eVols* (October 19, 2021). https://evols.library.manoa.hawaii.edu/handle/10524/63999

The people on the email list, Grace Caligtan, Melisa Casumbal, Darlene Rodrigues, and others in this circle's extended community, also worked on issues of domestic violence in the Filipino community. They advocated for Filipinas to reclaim and create space to speak about their lives, without having to be silenced or shamed by racism, classism, sexism, or patriarchy in our communities. The program booklet from the 2006 *Vagina Monologues*: *Speaking the Unspeakable in Order to Save Lives*,[36] was a Hawai'i based version of Even Ensler's *Vagina Monologues*. Through performance and monologues, Filipina women came together to produce and perform stories about their vaginas, to utilize humor, grief, and voice to break the silence around domestic violence in the Filipino community, in Hawai'i, and in the Philippines.[37] A script about how Hawai'i-based Filipina women narrated their vaginas experiencing orgasms was translated between pidgin english and standard english.[38] Reclaiming connection to their vaginas through pleasure, humor, grief, or rage could help to heal from the shame and fear caused by past sexual or physical traumas that disconnected them from their bodies. This type of women-led, trauma-informed healing work informed their community building methods.

Grace Caligtan, Darlene Rodriges, Bernadette "Gigi" Miranda, Sonya Zabala, Melisa Casumbal, Cindy Ramirez, and Maile Labasan were the first women to gather at this circle. But as they aged and took on more family and work responsibilities, they found that confrontational activism, such as outreaching to broad communities to build consensus for political demands to political institutions or politicians, was no longer accessible to them energetically and physically. They were rearing young children, caring for elders, confronting disease, and/or needing to work regular jobs to earn income to support their families. The email that called to gather them together stated:

> Join other pinay sistah-seekers on their path to wholeness and connection to spirit. Come to this initial exploratory meeting and gather with other wom[e]n of the Filipino diaspora in a full moon meditation circle.

The format of this gathering was to check in and introduce themselves. Then, to engage in an agenda of "grounding, centering, meditation, blessing, food, talk-story, and ritual." Another important theme was to discuss the babaylan, and to reflect if "she is me?" At the

36. V-Day Pinay Hawai'i. "The Vagina Monologues 'Speaking the Unspeakable in Order to Save Lives '" Program Booklet (Domestic Violence Clearinghouse and Legal Hotline, Honolulu, 2006). https://evols.library.manoa.hawaii.edu/handle/10524/63941

37. V-Day Pinay Hawai'i. https://evols.library.manoa.hawaii.edu/handle/10524/63941

38. V-Day Pinay Hawai'i. https://evols.library.manoa.hawaii.edu/handle/10524/63943

bottom of the email was an excerpt from an article entitled "Babaylan Rising,"[39] written by Bay Area based Filipina poet, Aimee Suzara:

> While women are often polarized by society into being either angels or whores, homemakers or public figures, aggressive bitches or the sweet girl-next-door, the female babaylan transcends these crude extremes by inhabiting a world of connection and balance: she is the primary mediator between the spirit world and the human world—inextricably connected with the earth and earthly beings while also existing on a spiritual level, above and beyond that of her earthly consorts. The babaylan is a public leader through her nurturing powers; she 'safeguards the psychic equilibrium' of her community by ensuring that the deceased are honored and consulted, the sick are cured, and future catastrophes are predicted and thereby prevented.[40]

The call to gather once a month under the full moon provided respite for mothers, caregivers, as well as academic, non-profit, and professional working women to have time for themselves with their women friends, to talk about personal and professional problems, such as navigating racism, sexism, classism, and discrimination in their everyday lives, and to witness each other's process of dealing, resisting, and healing. They called their circle the Urban Babaylan (UB).

The UB attempted to write about their group in a call for papers from Bay Area based Filipina American academic, Leny Strobel. But their paper did not materialize. However, Strobel was able to gather stories of other Filipina/x diasporas to discuss their relation to the babaylan, to create books, such as *Babaylan: Filipinos and the Call of the Indigenous* (2010) and *Back from the Crocodile›s Belly* (2013). The babaylan, a Visayan term that became the umbrella term for Philippine shamanic practitioners or healers, also existed in other Philippine ethnolinguistic communities such as the mumbaki, dawac, balyan, katalonan, ma-aram, mangngallag, mambunong, and beliyan.[41] The babaylan were traced back to pre-hispanic, animistic practices of Philippine islanders when women and transgender peoples were leaders in their societies for their healing modalities, such as

39. The original location of this poem, which was cited in Grace Caligtan's email, is no longer available online. The host website, *Pusod*, has been taken down. Pusod was a Bay Area Filipino culture and ecology organization that hosted poetry events. But it was closed down due to loss of resources and funding ("Pusod," San Francisco Bay Area Progressive Directory, last modified February 2013, http://www.bapd.org/gpusod-1.html).

40. Aimee Suzara, 2001 "Babaylan Rising." Pusod. Accessed January 2003. No longer accessible, http://pusod-us.org/CallofNature/2001/babaylan.html

41. Lily S. Mendoza and Leny Mendoza Strobel. "Introduction." In *Back from the Crocodile's Belly: Philippine Babaylan Studies and the Struggle for Indigenous Memory*. S. Lily Mendoza and Leny Mendoza Strobel, Eds. (Santa Rosa: Center for Babaylan Studies, 2013), 13.

mediating between the human and the spirit world, understanding the causes of illness, and healing with herbal medicine and other folk therapies.[42] The babaylan reminded Filipina/x women and LGBTQ+ that their native cultures did not inferiorize and demonize them as the Spanish, American, and Japanese patriarchal colonial cultures did. The recovery of the babaylan empowered postcolonial, lowland, and diasporic Filipin@/x to decolonize from anti-Native and patriarchal Philippine culture; to identify with, and perhaps even be a babaylan, would affirm or allow defiance, independence, and strength in creating and identifying with identities that were critical to, or different from, the colonial Hispanicized, Catholic culture they were born into. Remembering the male, two-spirit, or transvestite shaman, known as Asog in Visayan, but in other ethnic groups as anitero, bayog, bayoguin, and bayoc,[43] enabled LGBTQ+ Filipinos to believe they too had native Philippine cultures that recognized their value, instead of the dominant Christian or Islamic cultures that shamed and disdained them.[44] The babaylan movement in the Filipino diaspora symbolized a nurturing style of activism, such as through self-love and self-acceptance, as well as to be non-traditional, non-nuclear person with personal power and courage to be different.

But in *Babaylan Sing Back: Voice, Shaman, and Place* (2021), ethnomusicologist and author Grace Nono writes that postcolonial, national, and diasporic Filipinos can assume and appropriate identities of existing indigenous cultural practitioners when they homogenize and romanticize the "babaylan" figure. The myths and stereotypes of babaylan, as pre-colonial, proto-feminist, and anti-colonial, were images constructed by Filipina feminists in the 1970s. But Nono writes that pre-colonial and contemporary babaylan or shamanic practitioners often do not relate to that stereotypical image. Some still struggle with patriarchy in the form of arranged marriages decided by fathers, uncles, and brothers of their families and clans. Grace Nono explains how a contemporary "babaylan," T'boli oralist Mendung Sabal, reveals historical and current issues of gender relations in her performance of the chant Tudbulul. Tudbulul is an epic T'boli story that describes men having multiple wives, girls sold for dowry, and husbands beating wives or neglecting them.[45] Women and LGBTQ+ indigenous peoples

42. Leny Mendoza Strobel, "Introduction." In *Babaylan: Filipinos and the Call of the Indigenous*, Leny S. Mendoza, Ed. (Davao City: Ateneo de Davao University-Research and Publication Office, 2010), 1-2.
43. Carolyn Brewer, "Baylans, Asogs, Transvestism, and Sodomy: Gender, Sexuality and the Sacred in Early Colonial Philippines," in *Intersections: Gender, History and Culture in the Asian Context*, Iss. 2 (May 1999). http://intersections.anu.edu.au/issue2/carolyn2.html
44. Grace Nono, "Shifting Voies and Malleable Bodies," in the *Babaylan Sing Back: Philippine Shamans and Voice, Gender, and Place.* Southeast Asia Program Publications (Cornell University Press, 2021), 68-69.
45. Grace Nono, "Shifting Voices and Malleable Bodies," in the *Babaylan Sing Back: Philippine Shamans and Voice, Gender, and Place.* Southeast Asia Program Publications (Cornell University Press, 2021), 79-84.

of the Philippines, who have shamanic gifts, do not always have control of their bodies, nor of their gender expression, in their traditional societies, since pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial times. Nono marks that contemporary "babaylan" still continue to struggle against patriarchal violence, which are contextualized and exacerbated by national policies of militarization, logging, and settler colonialism taking over their Indigenous ancestral domains. Therefore, when more privileged Filipinos appropriate stereotypes of the "babaylan," as a symbol of spirituality, feminism, queer rights, and anti-colonialism, and without any relation to the living practitioners' daily struggles, they could gloss over the gendered oppressions that plague historical and contemporary Philippine shamanic practitioners.

In a group interview with some of the founders of UB, Grace Caligtan acknowledged that babaylan are usually hailed as part of a family lineage, formalized into a practice. But UB were earnest people who wanted to reconnect to a lineage, after being disconnected by colonization, while acknowledging they were living in a different context. To Grace, the use of the word "Urban Babaylan," was:

> "not to appropriate at all, but to acknowledge that there have been in all of our lives, and all of our villages, ritualistic people who hold a psychic will, the brand of community, such as Aunties who pray the rosary at a funeral, or aunties or folks who were present at the wedding, or the baptism."[46]

Darlene Rodrigues discussed how the circle came out of friendship as they were part of communities coming together to engage in activism and protest militarism, such as the Iraq War. The Babaylan inspired her because they were an example of Philippine cultures that were different from the colonized Christian cultures of the lowlands that some of us descended from. Sonya Zabala talked about how the circle was about being grounded and supported by other Filipina sisters in non-competitive ways. I joined the circle later in its development as a mentee of Gigi Miranda, one of the UB co-founders. Growing up on Maui, I witnessed and experienced various forms of abuse against myself and other women and girls in my family. Substance abuse divided families. The public-school curriculum did not provide any historical education to counter the public jokes about Filipinos nor explain the causes of trauma in my family. Joining the UB circle, as an undergraduate at UH Mānoa, revealed that there were other ways that Filipinas could be. We had a hxstory where Filipinas could be leaders, fighters, and healers. We could stand up for ourselves. The UB circle, at first, was to be a healing space for a small

46. Sonya Zabala. "Talk Story Among Filipina/x in Hawai'i: Our Movements, Archives, and Memories.» Emcee & editor: Adrian Alarilla; Participants: Grace Caligtan, Darlene Rodrigues, Chris Lipat, Sonya Zabala, Ellen-Rae Cachola, Kim Compoc; Director: Sonya Zabala, *eVols* (2021).

group of Filipina women on Oʻahu to get together, to reconnect with themselves and with others; to share their struggles, joys, and lives. It was not to be a political activist space. But as the Iraq War raged on, some women, who were part of the UB circle, decided to get involved in political activism in other spaces.

Women's Voices Women Speak

In his article, "Colonial Amnesia Rethinking Filipino "American" Settler Empowerment in the US Colony of Hawai'i," Dean Itsuji Saranillio documented how some UB members, Darlene Rodrigues, Melisa Casumbal, Grace Caligtan, Catherine Betts, Grace Duenas, Gigi Miranda, Cindy Ramirez, Sonya Zabala, Tamara Freedman, and Maile Labasan wrote a statement to testify against US Military training in Waikane Valley and supported the Kamaka family's struggle to demand the US military to return and clean up their lands.[47] The training in this valley was to prepare for jungle warfare in Mindanao through the Balikatan exercises, joint-training between the US and Philippine militaries. There has been expressed sentiment in the Philippine Government that the Balikatan training exercises violated the Mutual Defense Treaty, Visiting Forces Agreement, and the Philippine Constitution because they have not effectively contained violence generated through the training; harm has spilled out into civilian communities.[48] The statement argued that these military training are not about maintaining security, but actually to colonize and use the lands of Indigenous peoples of the Pacific islands, such as in Hawaii and the Philippines, to project US imperial domination there and around the world.[49]

The documentary *Women Against Militarism: Reclaiming, Life, Land and Spirit*,[50] directed and

47. Dean I. Saranillio, "Colonial Amnesia Rethinking Filipino "American" Settler Empowerment in the US Colony of Hawai'i," in *Asian Settler Colonialism: From Local Governance to the Habits of Everyday Life in Hawai`i*, Candace Fujikane & Jonathan Okamura, Eds. (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008).
48. Senator Rodolfo G. Biazon, "Resolution Expressing the Sense of the Senate that US Troops Participating in Joint Military Exercises with the Armed Forces of the Philippines Be Removed from Conflict or Combat-Prone Areas and that These Joint Military Exercises Be Conducted in Safe Areas that Are Far from Conflict or Combat-Prone Areas." Senate P. S. Res. No. 1370, September 22, 2009. https://legacy.senate.gov.ph/lisdata/1251911219!.pdf
49. Biazon, 2009.
50. Bernadette "Gigi" Miranda, "Women Against Militarism: Reclaiming Life, Land, and Spirit," video (Honolulu: ʻŌlelo Community Television, 2005). Accessed October 14,

produced by Gigi Miranda, featured a few of the UB, Darlene Rodrigues and Melisa Casumbal, giving their testimony at the 2003 Waikane Valley hearing. Their oral testimonies, along with the written public statement, revealed how these Filipinas understood their connection with Kānaka Maoli, because the US Military training in Waikane was to prepare for jungle warfare that would attack and displace Lumad and Bangsamoro communities in Mindanao, Philippines. This transnational analysis revealed to some Kānaka Maoli women in the hearing room that there was consciousness in some members of the Filipino settler community. Since then, *mana wahine* Aunty Donnie and Aunty Terri, outreached to these Filipinas, to further build connection. One activity they engaged in was to bring some UB members to Mōkapu, where Kane'ohe Marine Corp Base is located, to teach them their ancestral 'āina (lands) where their kūpuna (ancestors) once lived and 'iwi (ancestral bones) were currently buried. They were fighting to defend these places from further destruction and desecration. These *mana wahine*'s teachings revealed the structure of settler colonialism, manifested as military bases, to these Filipinas.[51] It prompted them to think about military recruitment and economic dependence in our Filipino communities and families. The relationship with these Kānaka Maoli *mana wahine* revealed the need for deep learning about decolonization and healing.

Miranda's documentary "*Women Against Militarism: Reclaiming Life, Land, and Spirit*" captures a march to the Commander in Chief Pacific Fleet Headquarters (CINPAC). This public rally brought together anti-war, demilitarization, and Hawaiian independence movements to protest the Iraq War. Kānaka Maoli *mana wahine* and demilitarization organizer Aunty Terri Keko'olani conveys a speech reporting on the solidarity between her organization and Filipina activist Marie Enriquez. Aunty Terri explains that the US military has been using stolen Native Hawaiian lands to engage in warfare in the Philippines, especially in Mindanao, describing the transnational structure of militarism that violates Native Hawaiians and Indigenous Philippine and Bangsamoro peoples in their homelands. The documentary goes on to cover a conversation between Aunty Terri and Bernadette Gigi Miranda sitting in an airport gate, across from myself, about our upcoming trip to the Philippines.[52] The three of us were the first Hawai'i

2022, https://vimeo.com/179945871

51. Personal communication, Cindy Ramirez.

52. The Hawai'i delegation was invited to the 2004 meeting in the Philippines by Gwyn Kirk, anti-military organizer that was based in the Bay Area. Kirk was a co-founder of the East-Asia-US-Puerto Rico Women's Network Against Militarism, the predecessor name of the International Women's Network Against Militarism. Kirk was visiting Hawai'i for a political speaking tour when she mentioned to demilitarization organizer, Kyle Kajihiro, the Program Coordinator of American Friends Service Committee-Hawai'i, about the meeting in the Philippines. Kyle then reached out to Terri Keko'olani and Gigi Miranda about representing Hawai'i; I was invited to attend as Gigi Miranda's mentee and video production assistant.

delegation on our way to attend the 2004 international gathering of women anti-bases activists in the Philippines, and from across Oceania and the Caribbean—South Korea, Japan, Okinawa, the US, Puerto Rico and Vieques.[53]

In *Nā Wāhine Koa*, Aunty Terri talks about her diverse and extensive social movement experiences in Hawai'i and internationally, such as within Kaho'olawe, labor, anti-eviction, Ethnic Studies, Hawaiian Independence, and demilitarization movements.[54] Keko'olani also talks about her experiences at the Philippines IWNAM meeting in 2004. She recalled the different sites on Luzon island that each Hawai'i delegate went to. She met with community organizers of Unity of People Against US Military Toxics and Hazardous Waste who demanded the US government clean up the former Clark Airforce Base—which was, at the time, called Madapdap Village—due to the health impacts on the people who have relocated there. Gigi met with the Malaya Lolas who continued to advocate and demand reparations for themselves—who, at that point, were elderly Filipinas—because they were raped in their village of Mapanique by the Japanese Imperial Army during World War II as "comfort women." I visited Buklod leaders, former prostituted women in Olongapo, who were organizing other women in the sex industry to create other economic opportunities for themselves and their Amerasian (mixed-race) children.[55] Keko'olani states:

> For me in this demilitarization work, I think women need to reinforce each other's abilities to make change. Policy change. And it's a matter of supporting each other when we articulate what we see as a problem, and when we articulate what we envision that we can make better . . . [56]

The Philippines trip in 2004 was my first political trip back to my homeland. At the time, I was still developing my understanding on what militarism and sovereignty meant for Native Hawaiians. I was still processing what it meant for me to represent the Nation of Hawai'i as a Filipina settler. On top of that, I was amazed by the work of strong Philippine feminists whose fierce convictions to shut down military bases and advocate for justice for impacted communities exceeded into joyful, generous solidarities. What I have come to realize is that there are movements for sovereignties in both the Philippines and in Hawai'i. But due to the unresolved histories of imperialism in both

53. Bernadette Gigi Miranda, "Women Against Militarism: Reclaiming Life, Land, and Spirit," (Honolulu: 'Ōlelo Community Television, 2005). https://evols.library.manoa.hawaii.edu/handle/10524/63923

54. Terrilee Keko'olani-Raymond, in *Nā Wahine Koa: Hawaiian Women for Sovereignty and Demilitarization*. Noelani Goodyear-Ka'ōpua, Ed. (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2018).

55. Keko'olani-Raymond, 151-153.

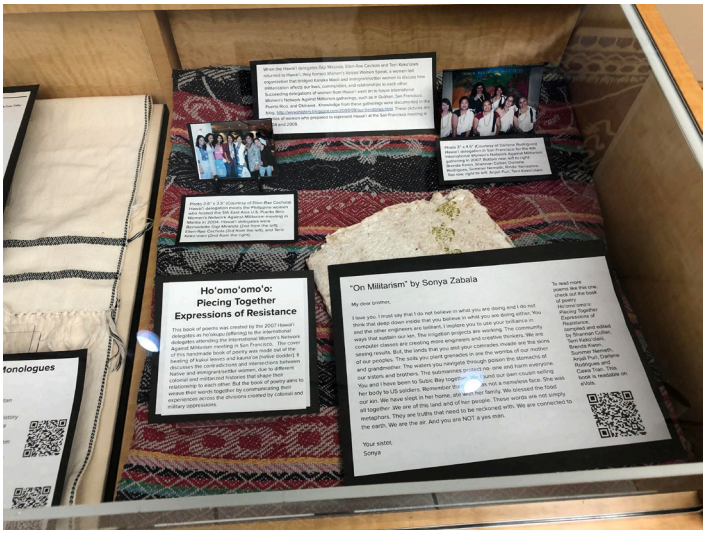
56. Keko'olani-Raymond, 53.

places, I learned that the disrespect of Indigenous sovereignties in one place can have a domino effect leading to displacement of people that end up disrupting the sovereignties of other Indigenous places. There are communities still resisting, and their voices and work of solidarity need amplification to counter the dominant narrative of imperialism that constantly victimizes and recruits our people.

The Philippine meeting was a continuation of past meetings among anti-bases women activists from South Korea, Japan, Okinawa, the Philippines, United States, and Puerto Rico. This group of women have been meeting in different countries across the network since 1996, when Okinawan women went to the United States, as a peace caravan, after the rape of a 12-year-old girl by a US military personnel. Their aim was to call on the American people to recognize and stop the violence that their military was perpetrating on their island home and peoples. Through the caravan, Okinawan leaders like Suzuyo Takazato met other US-based women anti-bases activists, such as Gwyn Kirk, Martha Matsuoka, and Margo Okazawa-Rey. They pledged to continue meeting and dialoguing on how militarism affects their countries and lives, according to race, class, gender, and nation, and to build a transnational movement to stop military violence. They gathered to strengthen their strategies of solidarity, and organized political actions in Okinawa in 1997, in Washington DC in 1998, Okinawa in 2000, and South Korea in 2002. When Hawai'i joined the network meeting in the Philippines in 2004, and Guåhan joined the San Francisco Bay Area meeting in 2007, the network changed its name to the International Women's Network Against Militarism. There were subsequent meetings in Guahan in 2009, Puerto Rico and Vieques in 2012, and Okinawa in 2017.[57] The IWNAM produced literature that documented these meetings, their analysis, actions, and goals. Participation in the IWNAM network entails multi-leveled organizing at the local level, within our own countries (respecting Indigenous nations' sovereignties), and also collaborating across our countries, cultures, languages, and geographies.[58] This network has demonstrated that communities across differently militarized places can connect and build relationships outside of imperialistic and militarized narratives. It is healing when people come together in resistance to militarization in and across our lands.

During and after the 2004 international meeting in the Philippines, Terri, Gigi, and I realized the importance of staying in communication. When we returned to Hawai'i, we formed Women's Voices Women Speak (WVWS) to continue our communication and collaboration, to organize across Kānaka Maoli and immigrant/

57. This herstory of the IWNAM has been documented in iwnam.org, and the WVWS delegation history to the IWNAM has been documented in wvws808.blogspot.com.
58. Gwyn Kirk, Ellen-Rae Cachola, Lisalinda Natividad and Maria Reinat Pumarejo. "Resistance, Resilience and Respect for Human Rights: Women Working Across Borders for Peace and Genuine Security," in *Peace Review: A Journal of Social Justice*, 22 (2010): 164-170.



settler women toward supporting Hawaiian demilitarization and independence, and to maintain our relationship to the IWNAM. The intersectional nature of the IWNAM prompted the Hawai'i delegation to recognize the population makeup of multicultural settler states like Hawai'i. It was important to face how colonialism and militarism shaped unequal power relationships between Indigenous and immigrant/settlers in Hawai'i. For the sixth meeting in San Francisco in 2007, the WVWS delegation created a *ho'okupu* (gift) for the other international delegates. This was *Ho'omo'omo'o: Piecing Together Expressions of Resistance*, a handmade book of poetry that published Native Hawaiian and immigrant/settler women of color poems and art works on what it means to stand up against militarism, based on our own positionalities.[59] Some immigrant/settler women wrote about family and community joining the military for economic mobility. Indigenous women wrote about cultural erasure and displacement from ancestral land, under the militarized, commercialized settler state.[60] The book of poetry emphasized the importance of sticking together to dialogue

59. Pieces include artwork on "Agent Orange" by Asia Collier; poems entitled "I was born in a place/Filipino-Americans/They be watching us" by Ellen-Rae Cachola; "Hay(na)ku for Love in Occupied Nations" by Grace Alvaro Caligtan; "this is for the weavers" by Melisa Casumbal; "Michael of the Illest Rhymes" by Nicki Sahagun Garces; "Disneylands" and "How to Leave Your Mother" by Brenda Kwon; "Papatuanuku" by Brandy McDougall; "The Letter Speaks" by Melanie Medalle; "Map: Impacts of Militarization in Hawai'i" and "Nā Wahine Koa" by Summer Nemeth; "eJAMAICAtion" by Jamaica Osorio; "4 years nad 1 anniversary are enough for me" and "The Meaning of Peace" by Darlene Rodrigues; "Between My Legs" by Cawa Tran; "A Kānaka Maoli Mother's Meditation" and "Prayer" by Mahealani Wendt; "On Militarism" by Sonya Zabala, and a drawing of a woman kicking a tank by Gaby Ray.

60. Shannon Collier, Brenda Kwon, Summer Nemeth, Anjali Puri, Darlene Rodrigues, Cawa Tran, "*Ho'omo'omo'o: Piecing Together Expressions of Resistance*, Darlene Rodrigues and Summer Nemeth, Eds. (Honolulu: American Friends Service Committee-Hawai'i, 2009). https://evols.library.manoa.hawaii.edu/handle/10524/63924

across native and settler positions. The editors of the book wrote in the forward,

> "We come from a place where colonization and militarization run under our skin, a place where many of us are drowning in contradictions. Some of us live with conflicting identities, where our voices and actions work against aspects of our lives, our families, or our personal histories. For some, it is only under the shadows of words where we can speak truth freely with fierce tongues. For others, it is the words which shadow our daily struggles of resistance."[61]

This book embodies a productive tension when holding differences together. If we can get through the barriers that keep us disconnected, we can recognize our specific responsibilities to resist systemic oppression, like militarism and settler colonialism, and we can build stronger relationships of solidarity and intelligent social movements.

WVWS continued to organize ways for Indigenous and Immigrant Settler women of Hawai'i to work in solidarity and organize together against militarism. WVWS brought local, mixed race Okinawans, Kānaka Maoli , Japanese-Chamoru, and Filipinas to the IWNAM meeting in Okinawan in 2017. These women published their report back on their experience in various articles. A delegate of local Okinawan descent recovered the history of the Battle of Okinawa and confronted the current impacts of U.S. and Japanese military occupation. A mixed Kānaka Maoli of Japanese descent reflected on what accountability looks like to Okinawans from her family history and the need to expand notions of Native Hawaiian solidarity to other movements in Oceania, to build mutual solidarities. Another author spoke about Okinawan elders as the driving force behind the anti-bases movement protesting the base expansion at Henoko and other locations. She raised questions on how to stay committed to sustain such movements.[62]

In another article, women delegates wrote about sustaining demilitarization movements in Hawai'i through decolonizing interracial solidarity generated during the Territorial plantation era, and into Statehood, which underlies the multicultural settler state that

61. Asia Nalani Muriko Collier, Ellen-Rae Cachola, Grace Alvaro Caligtan, Melisa Casumbal, Nicki Sahagun Garces, Brenda Kwon, Brandy McDougall, Melanie Medalle, Summer Nemeth, Jamaica Osorio, Darlene Rodrigues, Cawa Tran, Mahealani Wendt, Sonya Zabala, Gaby Ray, *Ho'omo'omo'o: Piecing Together Expressions of Resistance*. Darlene Rodrigues and Summer Nemeth, Eds. (Honolulu: American Friends Service Committee-Hawai'i, 2009).

62. Kim Compoc, Joy Enomoto, and Kasha Ho. "From Hawai'i to Okinawa: Confronting Militarization, Healing Trauma, Strengthening Solidarity," in *Frontiers*, Vol. 42 (1) (Boulder, 2021). https://uhawaii-law.primo.exlibrisgroup.com/permalink/01UHAWAII_LAW/1gpmurn/cdi_proquest_journals_2516290325

continues US militarism's control over Hawai'i today. Kānaka Maoli leadership defending and protecting their land from militarism and corporate development teaches us what decolonization and ancestral land protection looks like. As a writing group composed of settlers of Filipina, Okinawan-White, and Japanese-Chamoru, we described our role in these movements by recognizing how our Okinawan, Philippine, Japanese, and Chamoru and ancestral lands are being harmed by an interconnected, transnational military structure affecting Native Hawaiian lands, and that there are movements in our home countries opposing it too. The work of IWNAM and WVWS clarified how we, as settlers, can support Kānaka Maoli in their resistance to militarism in their lands, because the information we learn from our actions contributes to our healing from militarism that is often silenced in our histories. We can also contribute by maintaining connection to anti-bases movements in our own homelands, reminding more of our Hawai'i diasporas that we too have a demilitarization history that can be connected with and bridged, expanding the base of the movement against militarism across ethnicity and oceans.[63]

It has been challenging, beautiful, and bittersweet processes to attempt to organize diverse settler and Indigenous communities of women-identified people to resist US military occupation of the Hawaiian Nation. While it can be unspoken, multiple levels of trauma can get triggered among diverse women and this needs to be addressed for the sustainability of the people to carry out the work in strong and healing ways. In his book *My Grandmother's Hands: Racialized Trauma and the Pathway to Mending Our Hearts and Bodies* (2017), Resmaa Menakem reminds us that our societies have been living under centuries of colonial violence. The trauma of colonization has been somatized in the people—oppressed and oppressor—so that it has become reflexive, normalized, reactive behavior—or what he calls "white body supremacy."[64] Menakem offers a methodology

63. Ellen-Rae Cachola, Tina Grandinetti, and Aiko Yamashiro. "Demilitarizing Hawai'i's Multiethnic Solidarity: Decolonizing Settler Histories and Learning our Responsibilites to 'Āina," (2019), https://ellenraec.weebly.com/uploads/4/0/4/8/4048159/ces_512_cachola_grandinetti_yamashiro.pdf

64. Resmaa Menakem posits that many white people have not processed their trauma experienced during the European Middle Ages. Consequently, Europeans projected this unresolved trauma onto Native and Black people when they arrived, settled, and created colonial laws in the Americas and Africa. Menakem describes this as "white body supremacy," or the ways that European ways of being have become the standard of society and that non-whites have been forced to assimilate and measure up to Europeans' own culturally specific definition of human-ness. White body supremacy has been institutionalized in the police through justifying violent force in the way Black and Brown bodies are disciplined if they do not comply with the dominant, capitalist order. When many police officers do not have the support to process the trauma they experience or witness on the job, they can begin to react from a place of trauma and fear, especially during high stress situations. Menakem connects this to the epidemic of police killings of Black and Brown bodies throughout the United States and the world. Resmaa Menakem, *My Grandmother's Hands: Racialized Trauma and the Pathway to Mending Our Hearts and Bodies* (Central Recovery Press, 2017), 84-85.

on how to decouple from projected and internalized narratives of white body supremacy that affect Black, white, and police bodies. The decoupling process will bring up difficult, uncomfortable feelings while we face the perpetrators of our traumas—the source of current pain or destructive patterns. Menakem offers the concept of moving through "clean pain," confronting what is painful, choosing to feel it, and still doing the responsible action even though it brings up difficult feelings like vulnerability, insecurity, grief, or shame. The courage to work through traumatic feelings, and to do the right thing, such as changing one's behavior by genuinely taking responsibility for one's actions, or even taking responsibility for one's people's past actions that led to current privileges, is to "metabolize" that pain and to heal it, like when a scab heals over a wound with a thicker skin. This contrasts to what he calls "dirty pain," which is to avoid confronting or addressing that pain or hurt, which then does not metabolize, leading to its maintenance, reproduction, and projection onto self or others as destructive or addictive habits.[65] Menakem's teachings are relevant in doing demilitarization work across the diverse cultures of Oceania, a region that has been subjected to, and has internalized, white body supremacy. Therefore, this work requires us to recognize and move through the trauma in our lives and across ethnic communities. Being emotionally, spiritually, intellectually, and physically strong in our personal core can help us work with others across significant differences in powerfully transforming ways.[66]

Decolonial Pin@y

The richness of the intersectional dialogues in WVWS and the IWNAM, as well as new ideas of new Filipina/x who moved to Hawai'i, led to the creation of Decolonial Pin@y (DP). DP was created as UB members were going through changes in personal capacities and interests. Some UB members wanted to build upon the lessons learned from the IWNAM and WVWS. Others needed to focus on family, work, health or creativity. DP became a loose collective of Filipina/x who wanted to discuss our responsibility and agency to address settler colonialism and militarism in our own communities in Hawai'i. The group came out on Facebook on March 21, 2012.

The Decolonial Pin@y Principles were written in 2015 to define our work as a Filipina/x community group based on O'ahu, working on:

- demilitarization: meaning the transformation of our economies to no longer be dependent on war, and addressing the long-term impacts of war;
- decolonization: meaning the creation of political-economic

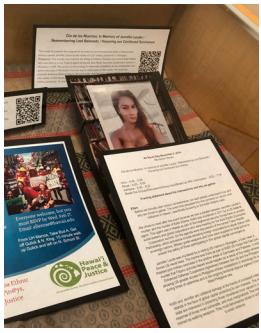
65. Menakem, 85.
66. Women for Genuine Security. "What is Genuine Security?" (Website, 2007). Accessed 10 June 2013, http://www.genuinesecurity.org/aboutus/whatisGS.html

frameworks that prioritize sustainability and counter the effects of US empire;

- independence: meaning facilitating the exchange of struggles between Philippines and Hawai'i;
- healing: meaning shedding coloniality mentality, self-hate and shame, and learning how to relate beyond hierarchies of skin color, class, gender, religion, etc.;
- spirituality: meaning the cultivation of a faithful belief in higher powers or ancestral guides to help us carry out our activism for long term commitment and sustainability; and
- creative liberation: meaning engaging art to build dynamic learning communities, to learn more about our Philippine culture and languages, and to respect Indigenous cultures in Philippines, Hawai'i, and internationally, such as 'āina based skills for sovereignty.[67]

These DP principles helped to define the issues we would engage in and how we would approach them.

There is the common experience of military violence in the Philippines and Native Hawai'i. In 2014, DP members and supporters organized "Día de los Muertos: In Memory of Jennifer Laude / Remembering Lost Beloveds / Honoring our Continued Survivance." The event script documents the commemoration of the death of Filipina trans woman named Jennifer Laude murdered by a US military personnel, in Olongapo, Philippines. This murder was linked to the killing of a Native Hawaiian man named Kollin Elderts who was shot by a US Federal Agent during the 2011 Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation Summit, as well as Mike Brown, an 18-year-old Black man who was shot and killed by a white police officer, and others who were killed due to intimate partner violence. The script also presents Ashliana Hawelu-Fulgoni, the co-founder and Executive Director of Kulia Na Mamo, who spoke about how militarization makes māhuwāhine's bodies vulnerable as sex workers serving military personnel.[68] The script was a ritual eulogy to bridge solidarity across communities who grieve the losses of people under the militarization[69] of their lands.



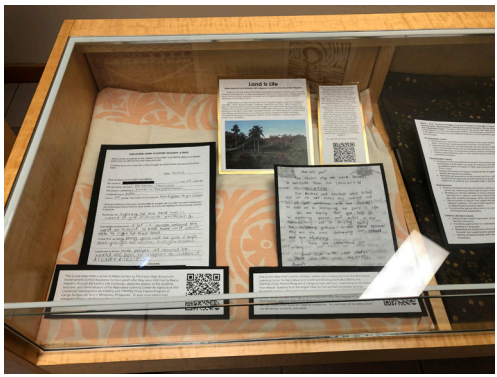
67. Ellen-Rae Cachola, Grace Caligtan, Kim Compoc, Chris Lipat and Reyna Ramolete. "Decolonial Pin@y Principles," (Honolulu, 2015). https://evols.library.manoa.hawaii.edu/handle/10524/63944

68. Christine Lipat, Grace Caligtan, Ellen-Rae Cachola, and Tagi Qolouvaki. "Dia de los Muertos: In Memory of Jennifer Laude / Remembering Lost Beloveds / Honoring our Continued Survivance," script (Revolution Books. November 2, 2014). https://evols.library.manoa.hawaii.edu/handle/10524/63947

69. I draw from feminist anti-violence scholars and advocates who see that structural violence, or societies that over invest in the military and police, creates contexts for gendered family and interpersonal violence. Andrea Smith, "Heteropatriarchy

This event centered LGBTQ+ or mahu resistance to militarism through confronting and connecting struggles in Hawai'i, the Philippines and beyond.

But while the Philippines and Hawai'i both experience the phenomenon of US militarism, there are differences in how it impacts each place and people. Another Decolonial Pin@y member Reyna Ramolete Hayashi returned home to Hawai'i from New York, carrying experiences, knowledge, and memories from a 2014 Philippine exposure trip to Surigao del Sur, Mindanao. She stayed with Lumad[70] communities at the Alternative Learning Center for Agriculture and Livelihood Development (ALCADEV), and built relationships with community members, "Emuk" Emerito Samarca, "Onel" Dionel Campos, and Datu "Bello" Juvello Sinzo. In 2015, back in Hawai'i, Reyna learned that Samarca, Campos and Sinzo were killed in a military attack to dispel the ALCADEV school, due to being "red-tagged" as "communist rebel forces" by the Philippine military. As part of her grieving of, and tribute to, her fallen friends, and to continue solidarity with the Lumad community she met a year ago, she led DP in "Yutang Kabilin: Land is Life," an educational campaign to raise awareness about Indigenous rights in Mindanao, Philippines, and to build solidarity between youth of Hawai'i and Mindanao. That year, Reyna wrote and self-published *Land is Life: Action Book for Youth Solidarity with Indigenous Lumad Communities in the Philippines*,[71] which includes a story she came up



and the Three Pillars of White Supremacy," in *Color of Violence: The Incite! Anthology* (Boston: South End Press, 2006); Dominique Roe-Sepowitz and Khara Jabola-Carolus. "Part II Sex Trafficking in Hawai'i: The Stories of Survivors" (Arizona State University Office of Sex Trafficking Intervention and the Hawai'i State Commission on the Status of Women. January 2019) https://humanservices.hawaii.gov/wp-content/uploads/2019/01/Executive-Summary-Part-II-Sex-Trafficking-in-Hawaii-.pdf; Hawai'i State Commission on the Status of Women. *Building Bridges, Not Walking on Backs: A Feminist Economic Recovery Plan for COVID-19*, (Department of Human Services, State of Hawai'i, 2020) https://humanservices.hawaii.gov/wp-content/uploads/2020/04/4.13.20-Final-Cover-D2-Feminist-Economic-Recovery-D1.pdf; Grassroots Global Justice Alliance, MADRE, and Women Cross DMZ. "A Vision for Feminist Peace: Building a Movement Driven Foreign Policy," (Feminist Peace Initiative, October 2020) http://www.feministpeaceinitiative.org).

70. Lumad is a Cebuano term in reference to the collective of diverse Indigenous peoples of Mindanao who are distinguished from the Christianized and Muslim Mindanaoan ethnic groups.

71. Reyna Ramolete Hayashi, *Land is Life: Action Book for Youth Solidarity with Indigenous Lumad Communities in the Philippines* (Honolulu, 2015). https://evols.

with reflecting on her exposure tour to Mindanao. The story is of a girl asking her father about why their Lumad communities have to struggle to keep their ancestral land and Indigenous School. Why were there logging corporations and their militaries that threatened to displace them? The book provides a background primer on what is happening in Mindanao, such as the extractive mining and corporate use of lands for economic exports. The book explains military counter-insurgency policies like "Oplan Bayanihan"[72] that Philippine militaries and paramilitaries have engaged in to target and label Indigenous peoples as "rebels," which has led to the attack on the Lumad communities like ALCADEV and their evacuation to the lowlands and to Manila. Reyna wrote the book to call youth throughout Moana Nui (the Great Pacific) to send their solidarity to Indigenous Philippine "struggles for education, self-determination, and to defend their ancestral lands from mining and militarization."[73]

Reyna facilitated letter writing[74] and postcard exchange[75] between Mindanao ALCADEV and TRIFPSS (Tribal Filipino Program of Lianga Surigao del Sur) students, with Hawai'i students from

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72. Oplan Bayanihan was a US-inspired counter-insurgency program in the Philippines that enabled the Philippine military to attack peoples profiled as communist militants, or New People's Army, especially in the rural areas where farmers and Indigenous communities resided. This policy did not discern between militants and civilians, and impacted communities objected to this policy as the cause of human rights violations. Carmela Fonbuena, "Oplan Bayanihan ends as Duterte orders AFP to support NDF talks," Rappler (Dec 19, 2016), https://www.rappler.com/nation/155925-oplan-bayanihan-ends/; Vanessa Lucas, Azadeh Shahshahani. "The Philippine People Are Under Attack from Washington—and Their Own Government" *Foreign Policy in Focus*, (December 3, 2015) https://fpif.org/philippine-people-attack-washington-government/)

73. Reyna Ramolete Hayashi, *Land is Life: Action Book for Youth Solidarity with Indigenous Lumad Communities in the Philippines* (Honolulu, 2015). https://evols.library.manoa.hawaii.edu/handle/10524/63925

74. "Take Action: Letters of Support, Solidarity, and Peace," *Urban Babaylan/Decolonial Pin@ys*, eVols (University of Hawai'i at Manoa Hamilton Library, 2015) https://evols.library.manoa.hawaii.edu/handle/10524/63926

75. "Lumad Bakwit Cards," *Urban Babaylan/Decolonial Pin@ys*, eVols, (University of Hawai'i at Manoa Hamilton Library, 2015) https://evols.library.manoa.hawaii.edu/handle/10524/63928

Farrington High School and Kamehameha Schools Kapālama Campus. It documents Lumad students' reactions receiving letters from Hawai'i students, as well as Hawai'i students' exchanges of encouragement after the tragedy of the deaths of their leaders, and forced evacuation. The significance of these documents are that they are learning resources for Philippine and Hawai'i students to learn about Indigenous Lumad movements, and vice versa, for Indigenous Lumad youth to learn from Filipino immigrant (from Luzon and Visayas) and Kānaka Maoli students in Hawai'i. This work fostered youth dialogue across the layers of colonial divides, to hear each other's struggles and send encouragement and support; to learn information directly from each other, rather than from mass media or government policies.

After that event, it was important to look deeper at settler colonialism happening in the Philippines, which generated the military attacks against Lumad living in their ancestral domains. DP organized a talk entitled "Indigenous Movements and Settler Kuleana: from Honolulu to Toronto and Beyond" with visiting University of Toronto students in February 2016 at Roots Cafe, at Kōkua Kalihi Valley, to discuss the origins of Filipino settler colonialism in Hawai'i. We talked about Filipino immigrants in Hawai'i as settlers, because different immigrant generations have come to work in various colonial industries, such as plantations, militaries, corporate hotels or health care. This awareness comes about through our experiences listening to Indigenous movements where we currently live. There are also various colonial, racist, anti-indigenous, sexist attitudes that some of us were raised in that try to socialize us to participate in the settler culture without question. But we also talked about the military violence occurring against Indigenous peoples in the Philippines,[76] exploring settler state tendencies in the Philippines because of the rampant attack and displacement of Indigenous peoples throughout Mindanao, Cordilleras and other ancestral domains. Filipino settlerism is not just limited to to Hawai'i, but could also be a product of settler colonial dynamics in the Philippines.

Philippine Studies scholar Patricio Abinales describes how Philippine Presidents, under American rule, and during the "independent" Republic of the Philippines, were part of a landed class of Filipino elite families who had access to political government positions. While Manila became the seat of national political control, there was also a distributed network of local, provincial elites throughout the archipelago, who invested in and profited from import and export industries that shaped the neo-liberal, domestically weak, political-economy of the modern Philippines. It is from these networks of local elite dynasties that Presidents like Ferdinand Marcos in the Ilocos and

76. Ellen-Rae Cachola, Reyna Ramolete, Christine Lipat, Elizabeth Fujii, and Maiana Minahal, "A Decolonial Pin@y Talk on Settler Colonialism with University of Toronto Students," eVols (University of Hawai'i at Mānoa Hamilton Library, 2016) https://evols.library.manoa.hawaii.edu/handle/10524/63952

Rodrigo Duterte from Davao emerged.[77] Filipina scholar Neferti Tadiar explains this national inequality as the context that compels poor and working class Filipinos into national or international workforces, for state or privately funded, Philippine national elite enterprises, or for multinational corporations.[78] Since Spanish colonial times to the Cold War, the Philippine State created policies for farmers in Luzon and Visayas to settle in Mindanao, creating conflict with the Lumad and Bangsamoro peoples who already lived in those lands. As the Philippine state adopted more militarized approaches to quelling peasant farmer, Indigenous, Lumad, and Bangsamoro resistances, military and police positions became job opportunities for poor and working class Philippine peoples, which are paid equal or higher than social serving jobs.[79] Mindanao writer Karlo Antonio Galay-David writes that the concept of Filipino settler colonialism is not just about labeling who is a settler and who is not. This is difficult in the complex, multi-layered, migratory, multi-ethnic Philippine islands, like Mindanao, where there are many ethnicities and various cultural transformation under Islamic, Asian, and Western influences. Ethnic groups may be native to one part of the island or a neighboring one, but moved to another place; these movements might have pre-colonial to contemporary reasons. Another settler might have intermarried into family of a local Lumad or Bangsamoro ethnicity. How does calling these people "settler" in that locality and situation forego learning the myriad of ways migrating people express their life in ways that derail typical settler colonial behaviors or characteristics? In the context of Mindanao, Galay-David writes that sometimes, the drive to label who is settler, Lumad, or Moro is part of the homogenizing tendencies of Filipino national discourse.[80] But the exploration of Philippine settlerism that is worth identifying is the political-economic power structure that begins to confine how groups of people relate or behave with one another because of the opportunities afforded by the dominant economic industrial operations (not designed to benefit our local needs) that seek to control our interests. This is the settler colonial structure that

77. Patricio N. Abinales and Donna J. Amoroso. *State and Society in the Philippines* (Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2017), ProQuest Ebook Central, http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/uhm/detail.action?docID=4908205

78. Neferti Tadiar, "History, Humans, and Us." Joseph Keene Chadwick Lecture. English Department, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, October 20, 2022.

79. Active Duty Military salary is at '347,000/annually, while the national average for teacher salary is '252,000/annually. Registered Nurse salaries are an average of 304,824/annually. "Armed Force of the Philippines" (Glassdoor, February 27, 2022) https://www.glassdoor.com/Salary/Armed-Forces-of-the-Philippines-Philippines-Salaries-EI_IE576578.0,31_IL.32,43_IN204.htm; "Salary: Teacher" (Glassdoor Philippines, April 2022) https://www.glassdoor.com/Salaries/philippines-teacher-salary-SRCH_IL.0,11_IN204_KO12,19.htm; "Registered Nurse Salary in Philippines" (Indeed Philippines, April 22, 2022) https://ph.indeed.com/career/registered-nurse/salaries/).

80. Karlo Antonio Galay-David. "We Who Seek to Settle Problematizing the Mindanao Settler Identity." *Davao Today* 2017.

can recruit settlers and natives to be complicit for economic reasons. To recognize the inequality of the Philippine power structure, such as the contentious nature of Manila based policies in relation to other provinces and islands beyond Manila, speaks to a form of Philippine national settler colonialism that Abinales, Tadiar, and Galay-David describes. To help expose the operations of this oppressive system can include being transparent about our proximity to this system, such as identifying as settler if one can trace how their family history has been used and affected by it. To name that problem is the beginning for how we can bring our selves, families, and communities to relate and collaborate with other impacted groups to subvert the operations of settler colonialism.

For many Filipinos whose ancestors arrived to work in Hawai'i's plantations, their memory often begins at their arrival, during the Territory or Statehood periods. But for Kānaka Maoli, their ancestral memory of Hawai'i spans eons, back to the *kumulipo* (creation story), to the ahupua'a systems, to the Hawaiian Kingdom, to the overthrow, then to the Territory and Statehood periods. Settler and Kānaka Maoli's differing temporal relationships to Hawai'i creates incorrect assumptions of shared historical experience and contexts. Filipino settlers, such as former Governor Benjamin Cayetano, have argued with some Kānaka Maoli that they have experienced shared oppressions during the plantation era, and together, they have won some victories such as the right to unionize, improved working conditions, and even positions within the political system through the Democratic Revolution. Some settlers assume that justice in Hawai'i is through the reform of the American settler state. But Kānaka Maoli sovereignty and independence advocates respond that they have been in Hawai'i longer and experienced the loss of their entire nation, before the American settler state and their nation. They want their nation back, not a reformed settler colonial state.[81] Filipinos, especially the first-

81. Dean Saranillio discussed how structural oppression that Kānaka Maoli experience and resist through their sovereignty struggles are often unseen, misunderstood, and critiqued by settlers as a form of neo-liberal ethnonationalism and xenophobia. I draw from Saranillio's conceptualization of this settler colonial power differential between Kānaka Maoli and settlers to contextualize a Facebook post by former Filipino Governor Benjamin Cayetano who posted a criticism to Representative Pat Branco's resolution for the State of Hawai'i to apologize for the banning of 'Ōlelo Hawai'i. Cayetano's argument was that when he attended public school with Native Hawaiians, he never witnessed their punishment for speaking Hawaiian. His post implied that the State of Hawai'i should therefore not be asked to apologize for the banning of 'Ōlelo Hawai'i. Cayetano received criticism for being racist and ignorant of Native Hawaiian history because Hawaiian language was banned in 1896 after the overthrow of the Hawaiian Monarchy, and there have been many other cases of language discrimination against Kānaka Maoli during contemporary times. Cayetano did apologize, but this was another example of a Filipino settler reaction to assume equal experiences of colonialism in Hawai'i with Kānaka Maoli. Dean Saranillio, "Why Asian Settler Colonialism Matters: A Thought Piece on Critiques, Debates, and Indigenous Difference," in *Settler Colonial Studies*, 3: 3-4 (2013), 280-294; Dan Nakaso, "Former Gov. Ben Cayetano apologizes for Facebook post," *Honolulu Star Advertiser* (April 29, 2022). https://www.staradvertiser.com/2022/04/29/hawaii-news/cayetano-apologizes-for-facebook-post/)

generation immigrants, work in Hawai'i to earn a living, which is why they work in dominant industries like tourism. According to the United State Census 2021 American Community Survey, Filipinos in Hawai'i are 30.4% in the service industry; 19.4% are in the arts, entertainment, recreation, accommodation, food service industries; 11.2% are in retail trade; 24.7% are in educational services and health care.[82] For Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders, 59.5% are in management, business, science, and the arts (which includes finances, education, legal, community service, computers, engineering, health care diagnosing and technicians); 8.78% are in education, legal, community service, arts and media; 22.35% are in healthcare, protective, food, building and grounds, and personal care services; 25.4% are in sales and office; 14.95% are in natural resources, construction and maintenance; and 11.68% are in production, transportation, material moving industries.[83] While modern capitalist industries are continuing settler colonialism for Native people, it is also a source of jobs and livelihood for working class peoples, immigrant settlers and natives during these globalized times.

To bring up conversations about US settler colonialism among more of our Filipino community members in Hawai'i, we followed the lead of DP member Chris Lipat who was attending meetings with UNITE HERE Local 5, a union that represents hotel workers, food service, and health care workers. Lipat's suggestion for DP to engage in Local 5 was an opportunity to meet and learn from working class Filipinos in the tourism industry and attempt to bridge Filipino and Native Hawaiians in addressing settler colonialism in our movements. DP members organized a workshop during Local 5's Aikea Academy that sought to facilitate exchange of social movement ideas between hotel workers and broader community movements. Hotel workers were organizing and expanding unions among hotel workers to protect living wage, health care insurance, and pensions. The DP workshop engaged unionized hotel workers on how their movement could support the movement to protect Mauna Kea from the development of the Thirty Meter Telescope (TMT). The workshop strategy was to connect what was happening to Indigenous peoples in the Philippines to Indigenous movements in Hawai'i, in order to explain why Filipinos can support Kānaka Maoli led movements in Hawai'i. But we learned from first generation immigrant Filipino hotel workers that Mindanao, a place of strong Indigenous presence, was a dangerous place. We thought they were informed by the mass media and government tropes that stigmatized Lumad and the Bangsamoro. But, there has been an ongoing, fragile peace process in Mindanao, often erupting into

82. United States Census Bureau, "2021 American Community Survey, S0201 Selected Population Profile in the United States," (2021) https://data.census.gov
83. United States Census Bureau, "2021 American Community Survey, B24010E Sex by Occupation for the Civilian Employed Population 16 Years and Over (Native Hawaiian and other Pacific Islander Alone)" (2021) https://data.census.gov

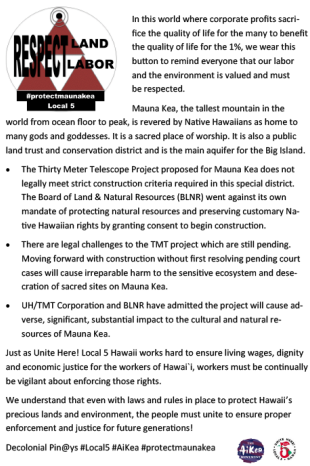
instances of armed violence between militaries and paramilitaries of the Philippine State and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front.[84] The Bangsamoro Nation's struggle to be autonomous from the US-funded and Manila controlled Philippine State manifested in different ways. Civilians, including Lumad, Christian settlers, and Moros, were often caught in the middle of cross-fires when armed conflicts broke out. It was because of these conflicts that the Filipino immigrant workers felt that Mindanao was a dangerous place and that Indigenous and Bangsamoro struggles in the Philippines were different from Indigenous struggles in Hawai'i.

But some connections were made with a few union organizers. There was an openness to collaborate for an action that educates in support of the movement to protect Mauna Kea. A "Respect Land, Respect Labor" campaign emerged to connect the hotel workers with Native Hawaiian movements against the Thirty Meter Telescrope's (TMT) development on Mauna Kea. The "Respect Land and Respect Labor" flyer, produced in August of 2015, documents DP's analysis on how the TMT is a corporate enterprise that would negatively impact the fragile ecology on the summit, and desecrate a sacred ancestor mountain to Kānaka Maoli. This corporate violence relates to hotel workers who organize to resist the exploitation of their labor. The flyer accompanied a button that stated "respect land, respect labor" in the foreground. In the background, there were three triangles standing upon each other, with the words "Protect Mauna Kea" and "Local 5" below that. This button symbolized workers in the lowland coasts to be in unity with the movement to protect the Mauna at the summit. The buttons were created for hotel workers to wear when the attendees of the 2015 International Astronomical Union General Assembly[85] at the Hawai'i Convention Center would patronize Waikīkī hotels. The flyer also invited the unionized workers to learn more about Native Hawaiian struggles for political independence through a series of events, such as Nā Hua Ea, La Ho'i Ho'i Ea, the Waikīkī Demilitarization Tour, and the Aloha 'Āina Unity March.[86] Some of the Local 5 union organizers

84. Christian Hope Reyes. "Polling the Peace Process," in *InAsia: Insights and Analysis* (The Asia Foundation, September 9, 2015). https://asiafoundation.org/2015/09/09/philippines-polling-the-peace-process/
85. Lars Lindberg Christensen and Andrea Lum, "IAU's 2015 General Assembly Hosts Public Astronomy Events in Hawai'i," in *International Astronomical Union* (July 23, 2015), https://www.iau.org/news/pressreleases/detail/iau1507/
86. Chris Lipat, Ellen-Rae Cachola, Grace Caligtan, "Respect Land, Respect Labor," flyer (Honolulu, 2015), https://evols.library.manoa.hawaii.edu/handle/10524/63945

marched with DP at the Aloha ʻĀina Unity March, which brought together broad based communities to show their opposition to the construction of the TMT on Mauna Kea, while Astronomers were in town.

The UNITE HERE Local 5 labor union connected DP to the rank-and-file hotel workers who take risks to their livelihood to unionize and strike against their employer. It will take committed and consistent relationship building between labor and Indigenous movements in order to raise awareness on deeper settler colonial issues and mutual interests to act together. Aunty Terri and I have researched and developed the Waikīkī Demilitarization (Demil) Tour as another tactic to reach out and build relationships between demilitarization advocates, hotel workers, and their children. The demil tour is about the militarized history of Waikīkī where many immigrant, local, and Native Hawaiian workers survive capitalism. But before it was a tourist destination, it was a place of fertile loko iʻa (fishponds) and loʻi kalo (taro patches), prized lands of the aliʻi (chiefs and royalty). After the overthrow of the Hawaiian Monarchy, Waikīkī was dredged of its food producing capacities and the Ala Wai was created to sever the life-giving waters that irrigated the loko iʻa and loʻi kalo. The land became dry for hotel developments and US military occupation. The US settler colonial occupation and destruction of Kānaka Maoli lands was to transform it to launch US imperial war into other lands, such as to the Philippines. Kapiʻolani Park, on the eastern side of Waikīkī at the foot of Diamond Head, used to be the recreational lands of the aliʻi, but was used as a temporary barracks for American soldiers on their way to the Philippines during the Spanish-American War.[87] Kālia, at the western side of Waikīkī, was a site of loko iʻa and loʻi, and was transformed into Fort DeRussy.[88] The Daniel



87. Andrea Freeser and Gaye Chan. *Waikīkī: A History of Forgetting and Remembering.* Honolulu (University of Hawaiʻi Press, 2006).
88. Agnes Conrad, "Fort DeRussy Report to the Historic Hawaii Foundation Executive

Inouye Asia-Pacific Security Center stands in that place as a military intelligence research center to increase collaboration and coordination of nation-state militaries across the Indo-Pacific region that commit human rights violations against their own Indigenous peoples. Hale Koa hotel, a military only hotel, was just one site where Filipina and Vietnamese workers, with their UNITE HERE Local 5 union, built a movement to push out a parking manager, a military veteran, who was sexually harassing them.[89] The Waikīki Demil Tour was about listening to Kānaka Maoli and immigrant struggles in Waikīkī to tell stories that could build connections between the demilitarization and hotel labor movements.[90] Can place-based stories like this connect hotel workers, as peoples displaced from war zones, to find an affinity with Kānaka Maoli -led demilitarization movements protecting their lands from war making? Can stories like this create shared, mutual interests to intervene and subvert corporate mili-tourism's operations? Can stories like this generate solidarity between precarious tourism workers with Indigenous land protectors to push for an independent Hawaiian nation, that protects the sacredness and local food producing uses of the land, and genuine care of the local people, at the center of its political economy? Can the lessons learned about base building between Indigenous land protection movements interconnect with Philippine movements who challenge the entrenched political elites that hegemonically control and broker the Philippine lands and peoples to global corporations?

Committee," September 20, 1983 (Honolulu: Historic Hawai'i Foundation, 1983); Bertell Davis, *Subsurface Archaeology Reconnaissance Survey and Historical Research at Fort DeRussy, Waikīkī, Island of O'ahu, Hawai'i.* United States Army Corps of Engineers (Honolulu: International Archaeological Research Institute, 1989).

89. Ellen-Rae Cachola, "Reading the Landscape of U. S. Settler Colonialism on the Southern Coast of O'ahu," in *Feral Feminism* (4) (2015).

90. Ellen-Rae Cachola, "Beneath the Touristic Sheen of Waikīkī." In *DeTours: A Decolonial Guidebook to Hawai'i* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2019); Ellen-Rae Cachola, "Reading the Landscape of U.S. Settler Colonialism on the Southern Coast of O'ahu," in *Feral Feminism* 4 (2015).

DP's educational and political actions have pointed to the implication of working- and middle-class Filipinos in settler colonialism in Hawai'i. But Filipinos in Hawai'i have also come from ongoing struggles to resist and decolonize from foreign and native elite forms of settler colonialism in the Philippines. The people in UB, DP and WVWS know that there is still a lot of work to do. For us Filipina/x, we found it important to care for our bodies and our souls in order to sustain ourselves in building community to carry on this work. Sonya Zabala donated her kali sticks to display at the physical exhibit to remind us of our warrior culture. DP members hosted escrima/kali martial arts[91] workshops with Uncle Johnny Verzon, an elder Filipino activist who helped the group exercise their bodies through learning Philippine martial arts, and to *talk story* about his experiences engaging in Hawaiian Sovereignty solidarity organizing since the 1970s. To hold space where we can discuss our responsibilities to address, and heal from, colonial violence requires building embodied capacities to meet our shadows with compassionate strength.

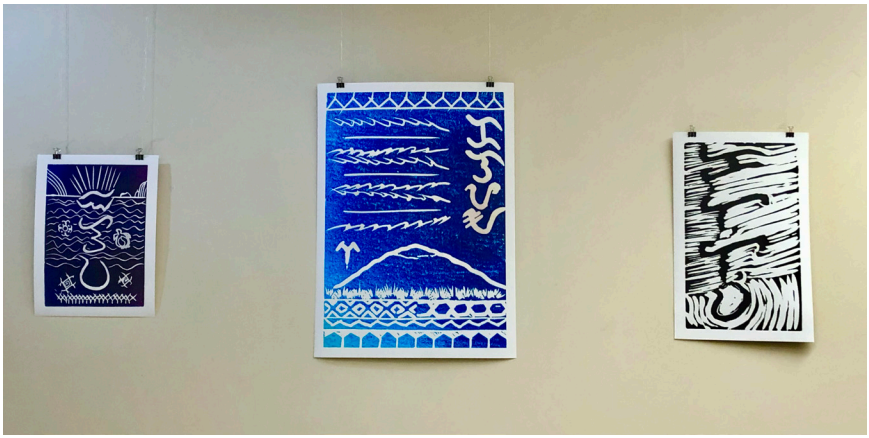
Chris Lipat also featured some of her *baybayin* wood block prints to adorn the wall at the physical exhibit. *Baybayin*[92] is one of the native writing systems in the Philippines that existed before Spanish colonization, in the Tagalog region of Luzon. Chris Lipat scripted *kaluluwa*, the Tagalog word for "spirit, soul or vital principle (*karurua* in Ilocano, '*uhane* in 'Ōlelo Hawai'i)." In the captions,[93] Lipat explains that this word reflects her

> calling to dig deeply into [her] own roots as a person that recognizes the occupied, independent nation of Hawai'i. *Kaluluwa* captures the soul searching that Filipinxs are challenged to embrace living on the islands. Witnessing the Kānaka Maoli practice and teach aloha 'āina, and seeing how

91. Kali Sticks are wooden rods used in the Philippine martial arts tradition known as kali or escrima. Practitioners and students continue this tradition here in Hawai'i, the Philippines, and world wide.

92. The Baybayin script is an outgrowth of the Javanese Pallava script, which in turns draws from Indian sanskrit. Baybayin emerged from the Hindu-Buddhist kingdoms of Southeast Asia, based in Sumatra and Java, that sent emissaries and traders throughout Southeast Asia to trade and establish satellite kingdoms. Throughout the Philippine archipelago there are different styles of this script, such as Buhid, Surat and Kuritan. Joel Kuipers, "Indic Scripts of Insular Southeast Asia: Changing Structures and Functions," in *Indic Scripts: Past and Future* (George Washington University, 2003). https://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.610.7152&rep=rep1&type=pdf; Damon Woods, "Baybayin Revisited," *Philippiniana Sacra* 47 (0139) (2012). http://digitallibrary.ust.edu.ph/cdm/compoundobject/collection/philisacra/id/27386/rec/1; Christian Cabuay. *An Introduction to Baybayin* (Lulu.com, October 8, 2012).

93. Chris Lipat, "Kaluluwa," "Kalayaan," and "Ilaw," in *Filipina/x in Hawai'i: Our Movements, Memories, and Archives*. Archival Exhibition (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i at Mānoa Hamilton Library, October 2021). https://manoa.hawaii.edu/library/about/news-events/exhibits/filipina-x-in-hawai%CA%BBi/



the land and its people are intertwined, continues to inspire us to connect to our own ancestral ways of knowing.

She also inscribed a piece entitled *kalayaan*,

> or freedom or independence in Tagalog (*wayawaya* in Ilocano, *kū'oko'a* in 'Ōlelo Hawai'i). This piece includes various *batek* (traditional Cordillera tattoo) symbols for bird, rain, water, stars, and protection. She also included a symbol for the Native Hawaiian ohia-lehua, which grows through the lava rock after a flow, symbolizing how ancestry serves as foundation for new growth even after the destruction of colonialism and militarism. A mountain representing Mauna Kea is also present, as the symbol to strive and protect our own homelands and build sustainable futures based on aloha 'āina.

Finally, she inscribed a piece entitled *ilaw*,

> Tagalog for light (*silaw* in Ilocano, *la'a kea* in 'Ōlelo Hawai'i), is accompanied by batek motifs for *alimango/pāpa'i* (crab), *isda/i'a* (fish), *ulan/ua* (rain). *Ku'ula*, the Hawaiian god of fishing, which teaches us to honor and share the fish we catch, similar to the teachings in the legend of Amansinaya, the Filipina goddess of the seas.[94]

94. The parallel between the stories of Ku'ula and Amansinaya is that fishermen must give back the first catch in order to appease the gods of the sea (Moke Manu, translated by Moses Nakuina. "Ku'ula Kai," in Dennis Kawaharada Texts (University of Hawai'i, n.d.) https://www2.hawaii.edu/~dennisk/texts/kuulakai.html; Jordan Clark, "Aman Sinaya, The Fishermen's Diety," in Tagalog Mythology, *Aswang Project* (October 10, 2021) https://www.aswangproject.com/amansinaya/); Chris Lipat. "Kaluluwa," "Kalayaan," and "Ilaw," in *Filipina/x in Hawai'i: Our Movements, Memories, and Archives*. Archival Exhibition (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i at Mānoa Hamilton Library, October 2021). https://manoa.hawaii.edu/library/about/news-events/exhibits/filipina-x-in-hawai%CA%BBi/

These *baybayin* scripts are a Decolonial Pin@y member's way of communicating shared values between different Philippine peoples and Kānaka Maoli, beyond our encounters mediated by settler colonialism, through *baybayin*, *batek*, and symbols. *Mambabatok*[95] Lane Wilcken has researched cosmological and symbolic connections between some Philippine ethnicities with Kānaka Maoli because of the Austronesian language family that connects our ancestral cultures. Through recovering older and deeper parts of our cultures, foundations and practices of solidarity exist between us.[96]

Conclusion

The "Filipina/x in Hawai'i: Our Movements, Memories, and Archives" was exhibited and archived at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa Hamilton Library during the time of an institutionalized research agenda to make the university a "Native Hawaiian Place of Learning." As a group of Filipina/x in Hawai'i, we wanted to participate in this agenda by demonstrating settler research that builds people's capacity to look at the cultural health and empowerment needs of our communities; to work within our own (and in relation with different) ethnic groups in ways that dismantle imperial, militarized, and settler colonial habits and interactions; and to tell new hxstories of our settler communities learning to work in response to Indigenous communities. Specifically, this paper has explored how Native Hawaiian resistance to US militarism and settler colonialism facilitate dialogue with Indigenous, Lumad, and Bangsamoro struggles against US-backed Philippine national elite militarism and settler colonialisms; and how discourses of Asian Settler Colonialism, learned by Filipina/x settlers in Hawai'i, could spark decolonial discussion for working and middle class Philippine peoples if they find themselves having to work, migrate, and settle in occupied Indigenous territories throughout the Philippines and abroad. Neither UB, WVWS, nor DP have solved these problems and do not have all the answers. Rather, this archive shares some of the information we generated in our processes of listening and responding

95. This is the Kalinga word for the "person who taps" in their traditional hand-tapping tattooing technique. "Chasing Whang-Od, the Oldest Kalinga Mambabatok," in *Sun Star* (October 5, 2016). Lane Wilcken calls himself an "artisan of ancient technology, and art" of hand-tapping tattoo technique, which is considered endangered. He is known by the Filipino American community as a mambabatok, utilizing food, offering, ritual, and chants as part of his process ("Mambabatok." In *Lane Wilcken* (n.d.) https://www.lanewilcken.com/mambabatok.html#/).

96. Lane Wilcken has written about how some Philippine heritages, such as from the Ilocos and Cordillera, may have connection to Polynesian cultures, such as Maori and Kānaka Maoli, through our shared Austronesian languages, tattooing culture, and cosmologies (Lane Wilcken, "Introduction" in *Forgotten Children of Maui: Filipino Myths, Tattoos and Rituals of a Demigod* (Create Space Independent Publishing Platform, 2013), 1-4; Lane Wilcken, *Filipino Tattoos: Ancient to Modern* (Schiffer, 2010).

to Indigenous movements as Filipina/x settlers in Hawai‘i. The archive was made open access to invite more people to continue to build on the possibilities of these stories.