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Publication Date

2014

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Archives of Transformation:

A Case Study of the International Women's Network Against Militarism's

Archival System

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of

the requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy in

Information Studies

By

Ellen-Rae Cabebe Cachola

2014

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Archives of Transformation: A Case Study of the International Women's Network
Against Militarism's Archival System

By

Ellen-Rae Cabebe Cachola

Doctor of Philosophy in Information Studies

University of California, Los Angeles, 2014

Anne J. Gilliland-Swetland, Committee Chair

Abstract

This dissertation describes the International Women's Network Against Militarism's

(IWNAM) political epistemology of security from an archival perspective, and how they

create community archives to evidence this epistemology. This research examines

records created by Women for Genuine Security (WGS) and Women's Voices Women

Speak (WVWS), U.S. and Hawai'i based partners of the IWNAM. These records

document the emergence of the IWNAM between 1997 and 2012, as women from the

countries of South Korea, Japan, Okinawa, Philippines, Australia, Republic of Belau,

Guam, Marshall Islands, Hawai'i, U.S., Puerto Rico, and Vieques shared information

about the negative effects of militarism and strategies of resistance. By describing the

archival systems of WGS and WVWS, insights on the IWNAM's knowledge production

and archive creation processes are revealed. The archive is conceptualized as the

expression of a record creator's "will," an immaterial force that materializes through the

dynamic creation of records and recordkeeping systems that coordinate resources and

labor to build organizations, institutions and infrastructures. The IWNAM archive is embedded in the Imperial Archive, an imperialist will that creates and legitimizes bi-lateral security agreements, such as the Status of Forces Agreements (SOFA) between the U.S. and South Korea and the U.S. and Japan; and the Visiting Forces Agreement (VFA) between the U.S. and the Philippines. The functions of these agreements are to adapt Westphalian philosophies of security, i.e. Eurocentric militaristic development and international relations, into new territories and contexts. Autoethnography, action research, and archival analysis were used to examine how the IWNAM's record creation and recordkeeping processes are driven by social practices and research to redefine security. The IWNAM archive is conceptualized as a complex adaptive system that facilitates public self-reflection on community embeddedness within militarized orders and creative agency to transform their conditions.

This dissertation of Ellen-Rae Cabebe Cachola is approved.

Jean-François Blanchette

Keith L. Camacho

Johanna Drucker

Anne J. Gilliland-Swetland, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2014

To my family

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

openness to, and unconditional support for, the path I have chosen for myself.

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-- Accessing Community Archives of Political Histories: The International Women's Network Against Militarism 8th Gathering in Puerto Rico in *UCLA Center for the Study*

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INTRODUCTION

Everyone creates archives. Records creation and recordkeeping are activities in which people take part, personally, at home, and within communities and institutions.[1] Recording recipes on a notebook, or monthly expenses within a bank book; recording daily experiences in a journal; recording participation within a community event or the number of clients who receive institutional services—these are examples of the many ways in which records creation and recordkeeping are pervasive in our modern societies. Archives are the accumulation of records created by activity. People are part of the assemblages of technologies that produce and keep records. There are different cultural worldviews of how memory is created and kept that go beyond the textual record or bricks-and-mortar archival building. Recorded information can be mediated by communication technologies such as paper or digital files; they can be in spoken words, dances, foods, clothing, plants, geographical features, built environments and places.[2]

But, if records and archives creation are common practices in our modern societies, why is it that certain records have more enforcement power and endure over longer periods of time than others? Archival knowledge is based on understanding the processes of records creation, recordkeeping, administration and use. This knowledge helps archivists during the appraisal process, when they determine the record's value to secondary users. The records that archivists deem useful for society support research or

[1] Kirk, David and Abigail Sellen. "On Human Remains: Values and Practice in the Home Archiving of
[2] White, Kelvin. "Mestizaje and Remembering in Afro-Mexican Communities of the Costa Chica: Implications for Archival Education in Mexico," *Archival Science* (2009): 45. Punzalan, Ricardo. "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. Hamilton, Carolyn, Verne Harris, Jane Taylor, Michele Pickover, Graeme Reid & Razia Saleh. *Refiguring the Archive*. (Norwell: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2002).

the search for new concepts and truths.[3] But which concepts and whose truths are deemed useful? Much of what is considered to be archival records in the U.S. and its territories are those documents created by legal, administrative, religious, industrial, and educational institutions. The fact that the records of these institutions have endured over time is because people in power created them. These records document the formation of institutions that shape the development of settlements, towns and cities in modern society. These records reflect particular historical and cultural narratives about development, identity, and aspiration that animate the current order and are accordingly preserved.[4] They become useful for present and future populations to understand the material order they inherit and inhabit.[5] But since these records largely reflect the perspectives of the powerful, it is important to identify what are the records of those with lesser institutional power, and what insights they might provide about the current order in terms of recordkeeping.[6]

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[3] Cox, Richard and Helen W. Samuels. "The Archivist's First Responsibility: A Research Agenda to Improve the Identification and Retention of Records of Enduring Value," *American Archivist* 51 (1988)

[4] "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatus (Notes Toward An Investigation)," Louis Althusser, http://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/althusser/1970/ideology.htm, accessed June 10, 2011. Wareham, Evelyn. "From Explorers to Evangelists: Archivists, Recordkeeping, and Remembering in the Pacific Islands," *Archival Science* 2 (2002): 187-207.

[5] Wareham, "From Explorers to Evangelists," 187-207.

[6] Recordkeeping is defined as the systematic creation, use, maintenance, and disposition of records to meet administrative, programmatic, legal, and financial needs and responsibilities. ("Recordkeeping" Richard Pearce-Moses, Society of American Archivist Glossary, Accessed May 26, 2014, http://www2.archivists.org/glossary/terms/r/recordkeeping). I also refer to recordkeeping as the act of accumulating an entity's records in the act of building an archive. This archive is meant to provide institutional memory for an entity. In particular, this archive will serve as a resource for the entity to understand who they are and who they are responsible for; why they do what they do; and what are the means in which they carry out their function. Recordkeeping includes records that are created out of bureaucratic function, and can also be symbolic cultural artifacts. This definition differs from the differentiation between record creators and recordkeepers. Historically, record creators were those of elites who had the power to make official documents. Recordkeepers were those who were charged with filing away these documents for use by administrative heads at later dates. My definition of recordkeeping of those with "lesser" institutional power refers to the recordkeeping and archive building practices of small-scale community organizations that critique large bureaucratic cultures. These small-scale communities create ground-up organizational systems in which the divisions of power between the record creator and recordkeeper might be impractical because of the size of the group. Emphasis is placed on shared processes

This dissertation examined the records and recordkeeping systems of the International Women's Network Against Militarism (IWNAM). This network is an example of record creators and recordkeepers of "lesser" institutional power because they are composed of community-based actors who critique dominant bureaucratic orders, while also organizing coordinated activity across time and space. The participants are women from the countries of Puerto Rico, California, Hawai'i, Guam, Philippines, Okinawa, Japan and South Korea. Through grassroots organizing and transnational relationship building, this network has organized international gatherings in 1997 (Naha, Okinawa), 1998 (Washington D.C., U.S.A.), 2000 (Naha, Okinawa), 2002 (Seoul, South Korea), 2004 (Manila, Philippines), 2007 (San Francisco, U.S.A.), 2009 (Hagatna, Guam) and 2012 (San Juan, Puerto Rico) to share how women experience militarization, and strategize resistance to its negative effects. Through their work, they have seen the need to redefine security differently from national security policies. The aim of this dissertation is to 1) explain the IWNAM political epistemology of security from an archival perspective, and 2) to describe how the IWNAM creates archives that evidence this epistemology. The dissertation also seeks to show that the IWNAM is a complex adaptive system, or a disparate group of archiving organizations that come together to share their experiences of militarization, in order to understand the global, militarized world they are situated in, and also, the work they do to transform it.

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and responsibilities in organization function to embody a more non-hierarchical culture. (Hofman, Hans. "The Archive." In *Archives: Recordkeeping in Society*. Sue McKemmish, Michael Piggott, Barbara Reed and Frank Upward, Eds. (Wagga Wagga: Centre for Information Studies, 2005), 131-157).

The IWNAM has recorded their redefinition of security on their website. This definition draws from the U.N. Development Program's 1994 principles of human security:[7]

1) The physical environment must be able to sustain human and natural life.

2) People's basic needs for food, clothing, shelter, health care, and education must be guaranteed.

3) People's fundamental human dignity should be honored and cultural identities respected.

4) People and the natural environment should be protected from avoidable harm.

The IWNAM recognizes that the militarized world has produced material and subjective effects. The IWNAM sees the end of militarized security as being when national imaginaries and nation-state structures are designed to protect people and the natural environment from avoidable harm. Avoidable harm, in the perspective of the IWNAM, is if the physical environment would no longer be organized according to militarized security, but instead to fulfill people's need for clothing, shelter, health care, education, human dignity, and respect for cultural identity.[8] They propose that living could be designed according to avoidable harm if more governing value were to be placed around the following material and subjective principles:

- Valuing people and having confidence in their potential to live in life-affirming ways

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[7] United Nations Development Programme. "Human Development Report 1994: New Dimensions of Human Security," http://hdr.undp.org/en/content/human-development-report-1994 Accessed 14 February 2014.
[8] Women for Genuine Security (2007) What is Genuine Security? http://www.genuinesecurity.org/aboutus/whatisGS.html Accessed 10 June 2013.

- Building a strong personal core that enables people to work with "others" across lines of significant difference through honest and open dialogue

- Respecting differences based on gender, race, and culture, rather than using these attributes to objectify "others" as inferior

- Relying on spiritual values to make connections with others

- Creating relationships of care so that children and young people feel needed and gain respect for themselves and each other through meaningful participation in community projects, decision making, and work

- Redefining manhood to include nurturing and caring for others. Men's sense of wellbeing, pride, belonging, competence, and security should come from activities and institutions and that are life affirming

- Valuing cooperation over competition

- Eliminating gross inequalities of wealth between countries and between people within countries

- Eliminating oppressions based on gender, race, class, heterosexuality, anti-Semitism, Islamophobia, able body-ism, and other significant differences

- Building genuine democracy — locally, nationally, regionally, and internationally — with local control of resources and appropriate education to participate fully

- Valuing the complex ecological web that sustains human beings and of which we are all a part

- Ending all forms of colonialism and occupation[9]

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[9] Women for Genuine Security (2007) What is Genuine Security?
http://www.genuinesecurity.org/aboutus/whatisGS.html Accessed 10 June 2013.

The IWNAM has continued to exist because of the evidence they find on the social and environmental costs of militarized security. The IWNAM maintained its relationship over the years to circulate their ideas about security. They have been applying these ideas at local levels.

Chapter 1 draws from the fields of archival studies, political science and critical theory in order to construct a theory of the Imperial Archive. The theory of the Imperial Archive is then used to expand the concept of the archive beyond the collection, preservation, and management of records within a brick-and-mortar building, to suggest that territories and populations have been, in a broad sense, archived--acquired, developed and governed according to the rubric of Westphalian sovereignty. The conceptualization of the Imperial Archive helps to contextualize why women from geographically and culturally diverse countries can find a common history as subjects of U.S. sovereign rule, a kind of institutional and infrastructural arrangement for societal governance upon the three-dimensional medium of landscapes. The chapter argues that the archival research methods of macroappraisal and diplomatics, and the records continuum model are useful in the examination of the inter-relationships of the Treaty of Paris of 1763, the Treaty of Paris of 1898, the Insular Cases[10] (of Puerto Rico, Guam, and

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[10] These are the cases that sought to comprise the Insular Cases: *DeLima v. Bidwell*, 182 U.S. 1 (1901) Argued: January 8–11, 1901 Decided: May 27, 1901; *Goetze v. United States*, 182 U.S. 221 (1901) Argued: December 17–20, 1900; January 14–15, 1901. Decided: May 27, 1901; *Armstrong v. United States*, 182 U.S. 243 (1901) Argued: January 8–11, 1901. Decided: May 27, 1901; *Downes v. Bidwell*, 182 U.S. 244 (1901) Argued: January 8–11, 1901. Decided: May 27, 1901; *Huus v. New York & Porto Rico S.S. Co.*, 182 U.S. 392 (1901) Argued: January 11, 14, 1901. Decided: May 27, 1901; *Dooley v. United States*, 183 U.S. 151 (1901) Argued: January 8–11, 1901. Decided: December 2, 1901; *Fourteen Diamond Rings v. United States*, 183 U.S. 176 (1901) Argued: December 17–20, 1900. Decided: December 2, 1901; *Hawai'i v. Mankichi*, 190 U.S. 197 (1903); *Kepner v. United States*, 195 U.S. 100 (1904); *Dorr v. United States*, 195 U.S. 138 (1904); *Gonzales v. Williams*, 192 U.S. 1 (1904); *Rasmussen v. United States*, 197 U.S. 516 (1905); *Dowdell v. United States*, 221 U.S. 325 (1911); *Ocampo v. United States*, 234 U.S. 91 (1914); *Balzac v. Porto Rico*, 258 U.S. 298 (1922); *Torres v. Puerto Rico*, 442 U.S. 465 (1979). See Efren Rivera Ramos, The Legal Construction of American Colonialism: The Insular Cases (1901-1922), 65 Rev. Jur. U.P.R. 225, 240-41 (1996).

the Philippines) and the contemporary Status of Forces Agreements (SOFAs) (between

the U.S. and the Philippines, the U.S. and Japan/Okinawa and the U.S. and (South)

Korea), as legal records that document the formation of the United States into a

Westphalian sovereign state but within non-European contexts. The Westphalian

discourse of sovereignty was articulated in the Treaty of Westphalia of 1648 as the way

for the Holy Roman Empire to balance its power with the emerging Protestant states in

Europe. Westphalian sovereignty defined that each nation could develop its own laws and

institutionalize its own militaries in order to ensure that one nation's power would not

exceed another. The chapter argues that there is a connection between the imperialism of

the Holy Roman Empire and U.S. imperialism to explain how Westphalian sovereignty, a

European-based logic of sovereignty, was imported into the non-European contexts to

colonize indigenous America, Puerto Rico, Guam, the Philippines, Hawai'i, Okinawa,

Japan and South Korea. The aspect of balance between nations was not applied in non-

European contexts. The chapter discusses how Eurocentrism was materialized through

the "will" of the records of the Imperial Archive that did not legally recognize the

sovereignty of indigenous nations as equals. The legal records come from an historical

context of imperialism that produces and legitimates the development of infrastructures

and institutions that are imposed upon the landscapes of the countries in the IWNAM, so

that those landscapes become subordinate and instrumental to U.S. economic and military

interests. This legalized order in turn shapes the subjectivities of its inhabitants, causing

them to reproduce, develop and protect social and national identity in ways that are

recognizable to the Eurocentric, Westphalian discourse of international relations. This

political conceptualization of the Imperial Archive highlights how the significance of

legal records are not just confined to their medium, but that they played a role in the development of institutional, infrastructural, and social systems that govern modern nation-states today. There is a need, therefore, to understand archives as byproducts of a particular will among people, and how records and recordkeeping systems are instrumental in materializing that will.

Although there is an archival multiverse (i.e., there are infinite ways in which archives may be manifested), there are politics among archives in that plurality. Chapter 1 also examines the juridical contexts of community-based archives of minoritized groups within Westphalian nation-states. The chapter argues that such groups have a different relationship to the discourse of sovereignty due to their experiences of misrepresentation and discrimination under European Westphalian sovereignty. They draw from the archives of pre-existing or co-existing subaltern orders that are embodied in personal and collective memory, or expressed as oral, kinetic, conventional[11] and electronic records.[12] They are creations through which they articulate their own identities and seek to transform national discourse about who they are, as well as to disrupt the normalcy of the dominant order that governs them. This community-based archival framework helps to characterize the IWNAM's archival system, which is also embedded within Westphalian orders. But the IWNAM archival system draws from other

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[11] According to the Society of American Archivist glossary, conventional records are defined as "textual records," and "records that are human-readable." ("A Glossary of Archival and Records Terminology." Richard Pearce-Moses, Society of American Archivists. Accessed May 4, 2014. http://www2.archivists.org/glossary/terms/c/conventional-records.)

[12] Electronic records are defined as "data or information that has been captured and fixed for storage and manipulation in an automated system and that requires the use of the system to render it intelligible by a person." ("A Glossary of Archival and Records Terminology." Richard Pearce-Moses, Society of American Archivists. Accessed May 4, 2014. http://www2.archivists.org/glossary/terms/e/electronic-record.)

jurisdictions of sovereignty in order to drive their transformative activity and archive creating processes.

Chapter 2 discusses the research design used to study the IWNAM's archival system. I used archival, autoethnographic, interview, and action-oriented research methods to describe how the IWNAM creates and keeps its own records. The study was limited to the website managed by Women for Genuine Security (or, WGS, the U.S. based partner of the IWNAM), the blog site of Women's Voices Women Speak (or WVWS, the Hawai'i based partner of the IWNAM), and the Resistance to Militarism Fashion Show (which occurred in the U.S. and Hawai'i), to examine how archives created by two organizations that emerged from the IWNAM's formation contribute to the activity and continued emergence of the IWNAM.

I utilized the archival methods of diplomatics and macroappraisal, as well as the records continuum model, to trace the contours of the Imperial Archive through the Status of Forces Agreements and the IWNAM archive, in the form of web and performed archives. When conducting diplomatic analysis, Voyant Tool was used to identify how the terms "security," "military," and "militarism" were used in each body of records. This helped to understand the intent of the organizations' activities that led to particular effects. Macroappraisal was used to examine the institutional functions that deployed both the SOFA and the IWNAM discourses of security. This revealed that although there were different relations of power being expressed within each archival activity, the IWNAM's activities were very much shaped by the Imperial Archive's activities.

When beginning to frame the description of the IWNAM archive, I utilized autoethnography to make transparent my own subjectivity in appraising the IWNAM

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archival system. Given the relative power of the U.S. nation-state with other countries in the network, a decolonial interpretive framework was needed in order to foreground the fact that I was speaking from the privileged position as a descendant of Filipino immigrants who settled in Hawaiʻi and went to school in California, USA. According to Walter Mignolo, decoloniality is a political and epistemic project to critique the monopoly of European (and Euro-American) ideas that define modernity and progress, and that have also been internalized by colonized subjects.[13] Chapter 3 interrogates why U.S.-based women had the wherewithal to produce a website to represent the IWNAM. Chapter 4 utilizes the Asian Settler colonialism framework in Hawaiʻi to contextualize how Asian immigrants, as well as other non-natives, were complicit in the development of the Imperial Archive in Hawaiʻi, which desecrated indigenous Hawaiian lands and cultures. The purpose of using this method was to show that the Imperial Archive is not something external to the researcher, but rather that the researcher has been a subject of it. Autoethnography was an important way to reflect upon the different systems of power to which the archivist could potentially be contributing.

The work of the IWNAM has been to recruit people into witnessing the coloniality of their material and the ideological orders they inhabit, so they might have the capacity to make ethical decisions and engage in community-based activities to transform it. I was a member of WGS from 2007 to 2013. Chapter 3 examines how the genuinesecurity.org website functions as a documentation of IWNAM's will. Questions were directed to early founders of the IWNAM and to relative newcomers who are members of the WGS in order to survey the various interpretations of the IWNAM's

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[13] Mignolo, Walter D. "Epistemic Disobedience, Independent Thought and Decolonial Freedom," *Theory, Culture and Society* 26 (2009), 162. Benfield, Dalida Maria. "Apparatuses, Globalities, Assemblages: Third Cinema, Now." (PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2011), 2, 19.

purposes and functions from a U.S.-based perspective. The records continuum model and

diplomatics were used to study the technical and cultural structure of IWNAM meetings.

Chapter 2 found that the website is a representation of IWNAM meetings; the meetings

themselves are a kind of archive that utilizes place as a medium upon which to express

oral, kinetic, conventional and electronic records, to transmit a reading of the material,

subjective and intersubjective effects of the Imperial Archive. For example, part of

IWNAM meeting in 2004 included going to militarized sites and to "read" the Red Light

districts in Olongapo that neighbor the former U.S. Subic Naval Base in the Philippines.

Then, part of the IWNAM meeting in 2007 included "reading" the institutions and

infrastructures upon the landscape—ship and ammunition factories in the former

Bayview Hunter's Point Shipyard, San Francisco. These two sites become archival places

that hold institutional and infrastructural elements of countries configured to participate

in militaristic international relations. The IWNAM meetings recognize the complex

subjectivities of people implicated in these material orders by facilitating conversations

through multi-lingual (Spanish-English, Korean-English, Japanese-English and Tagalog-

English) interpretation among participants, and integrating alliance building within the

meeting's cultures and communication mechanisms to build equity among participants.

These material and subjective histories of militarization challenge polarized discourses of

"us versus them." Rather, these events raise questions about how militarization is

produced and socializes subjects within each nation, and what kind of relationships can

be fostered among individuals from these countries to create a different kind of

international relation.[14]

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[14] Akibayashi, Kozue. *Okinawa Women Act Against Military Violence: A Feminist Challenge to Militarism.*
PhD Dissertation, Columbia University Teachers College, 2002): 124.

Chapter 4 describes how WVWS created records to describe how women in Hawaiʻi documented knowledge they gathered at IWNAM meetings, and applied it to their local context. What emerged was the politics of indigenous and immigrant relationships in Hawaiʻi, a node within the Imperial Archive. The WVWS created their own records, on wvws808.blogspot.com, as well as in a book of poetry entitled *Hoʻomoʻomoʻo* to reflect on the political significance of indigenous and immigrant women working together to dismantle the Imperial Archive from the context of Hawaiʻi. The overthrow of the Hawaiian kingdom, and the establishment of U.S. bases, capitalist industries, and legal apparatuses to justify the dominant order implicated imported Asian immigrants as laboring participants in the Euro-American jurisdiction that colonizes indigenous Hawaiian peoples and lands. But the WVWS access to transnational networks of women also resisting militarism, particularly from countries through which immigrants in Hawaiʻi can trace their predecessor's origins, maps Hawaiʻi's role within systems of regional imperialisms in the Asia-Pacific, U.S. and the Caribbean. Thus, the process of indigenous and immigrant women participating in the IWNAM, and then applying it to their local contexts, informs the different, yet intersecting experiences of militarization that serve as multi-ethnic languages of demilitarization in Hawaiʻi.

Chapter 5 reflects on how I used action research to archive the Resistance to Militarism Fashion Show. Through this participation, I accessed records that became subjects of archival analysis (content and structural analysis) of records produced in fashion shows, and how each played a role in embodying the IWNAM's philosophy of genuine security. Some records and scripts from fashion shows were archived on the genuinesecurity.org. But a significant aspect of the fashion show was to create more

outfits and scripts from the context of each community that would produce their own fashion shows. The fashion show was a way for oppositional politics to be practiced at local levels. Some participants designed outfits and scripts that discussed ways in which they are participants of military culture, and others expressed their efforts to resist militarism. The process of engaging community members, through local social networks, in pre-production, production and post-production, facilitated public access to reflect on the dynamics of militarism and demilitarization. The fashion shows served as an interactive process for archival production that would build relationships across differences in the process of creating archives, as well as the possibility for more archives in the future through collaborative projects that advocate for genuine security.

Chapter 6 concludes the dissertation by commenting on the relationship between the Imperial Archive and the community based archive, as well as the archival natures of those jurisdictions.[15] Does the Imperial Archive Decay? No, it replicates because through the extension of the Westphalian discourse of sovereignty into non-European contexts, it coordinated resources and labor to create institutions and infrastructures to reflect its order. In this process, populations have been socialized to aspire, develop and extend this

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[15] According to the Society of American Archivists glossary, archival jurisdiction refers to "the limits of responsibility mandated to an archives by law. Archival jurisdiction includes the agencies, organizations, and individuals creating or receiving records for which the archives is responsible, and the specific functions the archives is responsible for, including appraisal and scheduling, screening for restrictions, preservation, transfer, use, and disposal of records." ("Archival Jurisdiction." Richard Pearce-Moses, Society of American Archivists Glossary. Accessed May 4, 2014. http://www2.archivists.org/glossary/terms/a/archival-jurisdiction.) I use this definition of jurisdiction to question how laws of records of the Imperial Archive, such as the SOFAs, have an affirmative relationship to European Westphalian law that justifies its supremacist relation to Asian and indigenous others because it maintains its generative function of hosting military bases on their lands as an expression of its national security. Meanwhile, the IWNAM jurisdiction is critical to European Westphalian law that justified violence against their communities and environments as a means for some of their countrymen to establish forms of governments that emulate Westphalian discourses of security. Due to the different relations to the law that drives the IWNAM's reception and creation of records, this would also impact the role of the archivist, in terms of how she should practice responsibility in appraising, scheduling, managing, providing access and disposing of records, in ways that are reflective of the parent organization's will.

order over space and time. However, there are histories in which pre-existing, local orders resist the imposition of foreign orders into their contexts. This activity, I call the community archive. It draws from its own jurisdiction to legitimize its will, to resist and transform the imposition of the Imperial Archive, even though the latter may have more resources and labor to materially and ideologically manifests its will. The community archive must resist its foreclosure under hegemonic expression by awakening others to the violent effects of the Imperial Archive, even though the former might communicate its effects as well meaning and positive. The community archive however works to contrast the dominant order with pre-existing, co-existing, and emergent jurisdictions in order to capture the imagination of more people, to participate in its transformative will. As such, there can be different kinds of records types, from oral, kinetic, conventional and electronic, as they are expressions of peoples engaged in organized activity to communicate the will they seek to materialize in the present and for the future. What is important is to analyze the discourse of power being expressed in these records archival jurisdictions. This would compel ethical decision making on the part of the archivist on whose memory system and future development she/he would choose to empower.

CHAPTER 1: LITERATURE REVIEW

I. INTRODUCTION

When I began this research, I grappled with the questions of archives and imperialism. These questions felt largely theoretical, misplaced, and impractical, given that the task of information professionals is to engage with the materiality of records. The early archival literatures discussed how archivists are to be "neutral" practitioners— subjugating personal thoughts or feelings about the content and structure of records in order to engage in their "objective" appraisal, description and management. The task was to arrange, describe and provide access to records according to their provenance, or original context of the institution that produced them.

As a Filipina from Hawai'i, I felt a tension in being neutral about the nature of records. Through a course examining California's special collections and rare books, I began to see how preserved archival records were created by missions, military expeditions and government agencies involved in Spanish and American colonial enterprises that colonized indigenous peoples of California.[16] The provenance of these historical records often came through the collections of wealthy individuals who maintained their own libraries, and then gifted them to academic archives or other historical societies. Suppressing thoughts about what these records represented reminded me of Asian settler history in a colonized Hawai'i. As Asian immigrants came to work in Euro-American owned plantations of Hawai'i, they were recruited to do "work" in order to gain income to remit back to families, and eventually return home. Many ended up staying in their host country. The poverty and lack of economic opportunity in their own

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[16] Kurutz, Gary. "Books of the Far West." California Rare Books School, University of California Los Angeles, August 9-10, 2010.

countries was the "push" for their out-migration, and the chance to succeed as laborers abroad was what "pulled" them. But Asian settler colonial writers now ask—for whose system were these immigrants working? Who gained and who lost? In the case of Hawai'i, the in-migration and assimilation of Asian immigrants at the turn of the 20th century was to participate in building the Euro-American dominant state that colonized Native Hawaiians in their own lands.[17]

I brought this acute sense of self and systems of power into the study of archives. Who are the funders of archives? How is it that a collection came to be preserved and kept in an archive? What are the content of these records? Who do they represent? Who accesses these archives? My questions were influenced by the Ethnic Studies Movement, a movement within California institutions of higher education catalyzed by global decolonization and the U.S. Civil Rights Movements. African Americans, American Indians, Asian Americans and Chican@ students in California were influenced by social movements across the nation and world. They sought representation in what they perceived to be a Eurocentric institution of higher education and curriculum.[18] Extending the will of the Civil Rights Movement, as anti-segregationist education and affirmative action, Ethnic Studies advocates became scholar-activists organizing research units and departments producing cohorts of scholars who would expand the questions about the legacies of slavery, colonialism and war into various disciplinary arenas. Through exposure to this type of scholar-activist thinking, I did not want to just be a manager of records that documented how peoples came to be colonized. I also knew that

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[17] Fujikane, Candace. "Introduction," in Asian Settler Colonialism: From Local Governance to the Habits of Everyday Life in Hawai'i. (Honolulu, University of Hawai'i Press, 2008).
[18] Hu-DeHart, Evelyn. "The History, Development, and Future of Ethnic Studies," in *The Phi Delta Kappan* 75 (1) (1993): 50-54.

descendants of colonial histories continued to survive despite the legacies of historical memory-loss and destruction. They engaged in activities and created records in various types of organizational formations in the processes of recollecting their communities' identities and memories. These questions kept me focused on the relationship between archives and imperialism.

I decided to focus on my experience as a volunteer with the International Women's Network Against Militarism (IWNAM). I thought that studying the history of the IWNAM and reflecting on my experiences as a participant of a community of women activists, policy makers, scholars and students would shed light on a community that was facing the legacies of imperialism, and through their activities, creating records. I first started with this network as a delegate from Hawaiʻi, and a co-producer for a documentary. Then I began to serve as a note taker and to participate in writing reports. Later, I volunteered as a steering committee member, as well as a blog creator and web manager. This dissertation reflects on how I played roles both as a records creator and as an archivist within grassroots spaces, non-profits and academia.

My research first focused on studying the web pages and statements that documented the IWNAM meetings from 1997 to 2012. On my first review of these records, the IWNAM referred to bi-lateral security agreements, such as the Status of Forces Agreements (SOFAs) and Visiting Forces Agreement (VFA). The IWNAM mission was to redefine security because it argued that its members' nation-states defined it as militarized security. The participants in the IWNAM felt that militarized security disregarded the human rights of women who are trafficked to work in prostitution industries catering to military and corporate industries, as well as the rights of the natural

environment that are destroyed through the construction of military bases and contaminated through military training and weapons storage. My research sought to understand how the IWNAM archival system recorded and archived its definition of security, and how this was different from how the creators of the SOFAs and the VFA recorded and archived their definition of security.

I approached this inquiry by first using Voyant Tool to analyze the IWNAM records, the SOFAs and the VFA. Voyant Tool is a free, relatively recent web-based data mining tool.[19] Voyant Tool has a search function tool, as well as data visualization features such as listing the frequency of words, portraying Wordles, and highlighting the contexts in which particular words are used. Voyant Tool can also list the number frequency of the word in the document. I subjected IWNAM statements that synthesized knowledge learned from the 1997, 1998, 2000, 2002, 2004, 2007, 2009 and 2012 meetings, to Voyant. Since they were digitally archived on the genuinesecurity.org, I was able to copy and paste the text into the Voyant text box. By visualizing the key words, listing their frequency, and highlighting the contexts of their use, I conducted a close textual analysis of how these words were used in IWNAM arguments of "security," "military," and "militarism." I became interested in the history of their usage. I used path analysis to identify relationships between variables, the words next to the key terms, to construct typologies of what IWNAM meant by "security," "militarism" and "military."[20]

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[19] Rockwell, Geoffrey, Stéffan Sinclar, Stan Ruecker, Peter Organisciak. "Ubiquitous Text Analysis." In *Poetess Archive Journal* 2.1, (2010): 1-19. Cohen, Dan, Frederick Gibbs, Tim Hitchcock, Geoffrey Rockwell, Jörg Sander, Robert Shoemaker, Stéfan Sinclair, Sean Takats, William J. Turkel, Cyril Briquet, Jamie McLaughlin, Milena Radzikowska, John Simpson, Kirsten C. Uszkalo. "Data Mining with Criminal Intent," Final White Paper (2011) http://criminalintent.org/Data-Mining-with-Criminal-Intent-Final1.pdf. Accessed 20 March 2012. Klein, Lauren. "Voyant Analysis" (Syllabus, Digital Humanities, 2012) http://lkleincourses.lcc.gatech.edu/dh12/tag/voyant-text-analysis/. Accessed 20 March 2012.

[20] Babbie, E. *The Practice of Social Research,* 12th edition. (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 2007).

I found that the IWNAM web pages used the term "security" as the title of a document, title of a meeting, title of an organization, and as the subject in a document. They saw security as something to be redefined because, as already mentioned, there are differences between what they call "genuine security" and "military security." Genuine security is correlated to human security, or security as defined by peace and human rights organizations. This type of security recognizes the importance of the ocean, and environmental and economic sustainability globally. There is a need to envision true security or genuine security. They view the perspectives/leadership/issues of women central to the planning and decision making of base closures and conversions as demonstrations of genuine security. Military security is correlated to economic policies of the G-8 that mask true security.

The term "military" is correlated to the title of an organization or an event. It refers to a kind of institutional and infrastructural presence, such as bases, operations, economies, trainings, gates, tanks, and other kinds of equipment that the IWNAM say should not be developed. The military also refers to weapons or practices that should not be sold or resold through unequal relations with other nations. It refers to a function of a country or place, as a kind of spending, a type of Rest & Recreation, as a way land is used, as a kind of "U.S. influence." The "military" also refers to a kind of authority. It is invoked in legal records. It is a phenomenon legitimated by Good Neighbor Policies. It is a subject discussed in UN forums. It is a subject of media investigation.

The term "military" is understood by the IWNAM as a kind of crime, a generator of toxic waste, a kind of operational practice that has negative impacts on Vieques and

Puerto Rico that must cease, a kind of presence in Okinawa, Japan and Korea for which

the U.S. government needs to be accountable. The military is seen as a kind of conflict

resolution where alternatives need to be developed. This is because the IWNAM sees the

military as a causer of violence against women and girls, and of adverse effects on the

environment and health. It is not seen to be something that guarantees security. The

IWNAM sees its expansion as something to resist as it absorbs women into prostitution,

and people to work for it as its personnel. It is a type of job where women experience

sexual harassment. It is a kind of crime against women through sexual slavery. It is a

type of family where domestic violence is experienced. It is an institution of the U.S. that

needs to be made accountable for its human costs. It causes physical, social, emotional

and environmental damage on Amerasian children. The military is something that needs

to be reduced in order to demilitarize. The IWNAM refers to the military as a kind of

culture that promotes war and violence among young people and in every day language.

The IWNAM understands "militarism" as a condition in locations that host activity,

operations and bureaucracies of different national militaries bound by legal security

agreements.

I used this same methodological process to begin my study of the SOFA and VFA

records to construct these records' typologies of "military," "militarism" and "security."

When reviewing these documents, I found different language was used for each, and not

all used the same terms that I expected. Although there were different terms used, there

was a similar relational pattern emerging amongst the countries.

I found that in the VFA between the U.S. and the Philippines, "security" refers to

the effect when alliances are made between the U.S. and the Philippine government to

repel threats to the nation. This is because of the supremacy of U.S. legal jurisdiction in governing the presence and activities of military personnel. The term "military" refers to personnel, or actors, that are part of organizations within the military, such as the U.S. Army, Navy, Marine Corps, Air Force and Coast Guard. The "military" also refers to identity within a particular jurisdiction to gain access to privileges. When identifying with the "U.S. military," individuals can be exempt from passport and visa regulations. The military engages in activities, such as exercises that could lead to death or injury to military and civilian personnel. There are hierarchies, such as military authorities and commanders, who enforce the rules of military laws. Military courts and confinement facilities govern and discipline the behavior of those under their jurisdiction. Lastly, there are technologies, such as aircrafts and vehicles that military personnel use to carry out their activities. Institutions and infrastructures, such as military facilities and installations, coordinate personnel to engage in directed activities. The term military also referred to U.S. foreign military sales. It is possible to sell and exchange military technologies. This reflects the extension of these activities to other places. As a result, it would be necessary to develop the infrastructures and institutions upon those landscapes to recruit and manage personnel who would use these technologies appropriately, to support the mutual security of nations involved.

When examining the SOFA between the U.S. and the Republic of Korea (2005), I found that the terms "military," "militarism" and "security" are not used. However, I did examine the term "defense." It refers to the Mutual Defense Treaty between the Republic of Korea and the U.S. The Republic of Korea is a participant in U.S. defense construction improvement projects, logistical and labor cost sharing on Korean soil.

When examining the SOFA between the U.S. and Japan, I also found language on cooperation, referring to the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security between them. The term facilities were used often, referring to the infrastructures, institutions and places where defense of the two nations take place. The rights of workers were also defined. Japan was to be responsible for paying the costs of maintaining stable employment of workers who render their services to the U.S. Armed Forces. This includes wages, allowances and bonuses. In addition, Japan was to pay electric, gas, water supply and sewerage from public utilities, in the hosting of U.S. Armed Forces.

In short, I began to see a pattern in how the U.S. engaged in bi-lateral relationships with the Philippines, South Korea and Japan. I began to see that these security agreements afforded U.S. military personnel with privileged access and mobility in and outside of their national borders. But, the costs of military presence would increasingly become the responsibility of the host nations. These findings created the framework for how I would reflect on the literatures to inform my study of militarism and how the IWNAM analyzed and documented it. Through comparing the typologies of security between IWNAM records and SOFA and VFA records, I began to think about how questions of power could be conceptualized through the Archival Studies and Information Studies literature? How could literatures from Ethnic Studies help to think through these historical and political relations?

Postmodern, indigenous, postcolonial questions were already transforming the archival field. One such effort is the Pluralizing Archival Education Curriculum Group and their discussion of the archival multiverse:

the pluralism of evidentiary texts, memory-keeping practices and institutions,

bureaucratic and personal motivations, community perspectives and needs, and

cultural and legal constructs that embody the multiple possibilities of archives that

come to represent worlds, cosmologies…[21]

Philosopher and psychologist William James coined the term multiverse in 1895. It refers

to the multiple possible universes, a concept that has shaped many different disciplines

such as cosmology, physics, astronomy, psychology, cultural studies and literature.[22] I

felt that openness to multiple conceptualizations, cultural, social, technical and

organizational contexts of archives could relate to the significance of the IWNAM

archives embodiment of security, in relation to the bi-lateral security agreements

embodiment of security. I thought that although there are multiple kinds of archives, we

cannot forget the political histories which allows certain archives more enforcement and

enduring power over other archives. Archival Studies was drawn from to describe the

Imperial Archive and its relationship to the community archive.

The literature review draws connections between the discourse of national

security and custodial archives. Post-custodial archival concepts, particularly Australian

archival scholar Frank Upward's Records Continuum (RC) model, offer new ways to

conceptualize archival security. Post-custodiality challenges the notion of security that

seeks to maintain secrecy of it contents by illuminating how transparency of the archive

can inform a better understanding of its structure, operation and future. By tracing the

will, or intentional activity, of a record creator through records and the organization that

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[21] See, for example, Rajni Kothari, D. L. Sheth, and Ashis Nandy, eds., The Multiverse of Democracy: Essays in Honour of Rajni Kothari (Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1996); Ananta Kumar Giri, "Cosmopolitanism and Beyond: Towards a Multiverse of Transformations," Development and Change 37, no. 6 (November 2006): 1277–92; and Helge Kragh, "Contemporary History of Cosmology and the Controversy over the Multiverse," Annals of Science 66, no. 4 (October 2009): 529–51.
[22] ibid.

captures, organizes and disseminates those records,[23] security is ensured in the way that transparency brings honesty to the archiving entity's self-interests, which then allows other archiving entities to understand how it wants to relate to it.

This literature review describes a politics in the archival multiverse through conceptualizing the Imperial Archive as the generative power behind legal records of Westphalian nation-states that create an apparatus of infrastructures and institutions that socialize populations to defend its particular jurisdiction. For example, legal records and their recordkeeping systems are not secure just for the protection of paper documents. Rather, these records must be kept secure because of what they represent--they document how an original record creator coordinated resources and labor to build, justify, and secure a material and juridical order it imagined.[24]   The Imperial Archive is elaborated on in the examination of the Insular Cases and the Status of Forces Agreements, as examples of how U.S. sovereignty expands its will of Westphalian sovereignty through legal records that shape the material and subjective functions of indigenous America, Puerto Rico, Guam, the Philippines, Hawai'i, Okinawa, Japan and South Korea. But also, the literature review resists the totalization of the Imperial Archive by discussing how community archives are created out of the transformative activities of groups minoritized within, and creating an alternative will to, the Westphalian nation-state. I define

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[23] Frank Upward, "Structuring the Records Continuum (Part One): Postcustodial Principles and Properties," *Archives and Manuscripts* 24, no. 2 (1996), http://infotech.monash.edu/research/groups/rcrg/publications/recordscontinuum-fupp1.html; Frank Upward, "Structuring the Records Continuum (Part Two): Structuration Theory and Recordkeeping," *Archives and Manuscripts* 25, no. 1 (1997), http://infotech.monash.edu/research/groups/rcrg/publications/recordscontinuum-fupp2.html Lau, Andrew, "Collecting Experiences," (PhD Dissertation, University of California Los Angeles, 2013).

[24] Giddens, Anthony. *The Constitution of Society.* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1984), xxxi. Upward, Frank. "Structuring the Records Continuum Part Two: Structuration Theory And Recordkeeping." Accessed 25 November 2013
    http://www.infotech.monash.edu.au/research/groups/rcrg/publications/recordscontinuum
fupp2.html

community archives as another archive within the archival multiverse, but that is contextualized within the Imperial Archive, which organizes its recent past and present. Community-based archives work to remember another jurisdiction in order to drive its record creating and recordkeeping activities, which in turn, seek to socialize those in its imaginary field toward a different kind of relationality and order.

POLITICS OF ARCHIVES

The work of archivists has been historically confined to managing the records and archives of powerful institutions. Contemporary archival scholars Anne Gilliland and Kelvin White argue for the deconstruction of the traditional principles of archival science in terms of their historical interplay with the constructs of modernism, objectivity, scientific management, nationalism, sovereignty and colonialism.[25] They point to a connection between the conceptualization of the archive, and how it informs the conceptualization of governance and power. The early thinkers in the field of Archival Science focused on archival practice as a service to the parent organization that produced the records it would manage. Dutch Archivists Samuel Muller, Johan Adriaan Feith and Robert Fruin were the creators of the *Manual for the Arrangement and Description of Archives*, which was published in 1898. This manual, also known as the Dutch Manual, focused on identifying the fonds[26] of records as the framework to identify how to arrange and describe records.[27] The parent organizations of these records were state offices, private civil bodies, and business companies involved in the development of the state, as

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[25] Gilliland, Anne and Kelvin White. "Perpetuating and Extending the Archival Paradigm: The Historical and Contemporary Roles of Professional Education and Pedagogy," *InterActions* 5(1) (2009).
[26] The entire body of records of an organization, family, or individual that have been created and accumulated as the result of an organic process reflecting the functions of the creator. ("fonds," Society of American Archivists, accessed 23 December 2014, http://www2.archivists.org/glossary/terms/f/fonds.)
[27] Muller, S., J.A. Feith, and R. Fruin. *Manual for the Arrangement and Description of Archives.* (Society of American Archivists, 2003).

well as trade, exploration and colonization of overseas territories.[28] In the early decades

of the 20th century, U.K. Public Records Office archivist, Hilary Jenkinson, considered

archival records to be those produced by an organization in the conduct of its business,

such as government transactions.[29] He considered the parent organization to be the active

force and the archivist a passive force that functioned as an instrument of the

organization. Several decades later, archival scholar Luciana Duranti stated that

"archivists must define archival jurisdictions, acquisition policies and plans; archivists

are not mediators and facilitators. They are custodians and preservers of societal

evidence, not documenters, interpreters or judges of societal deeds."[30] All of these

archival thinkers have represented archival *science* as an objective practice to maintain

the power of the parent organization that produced the records. These archivists have

worked for large bureaucratic organizations that comprised governments in stratified

societies locally and internationally. What is missing from these archival perspectives is

an evaluation of whose memories and interests are being advanced over space and time.[31]

      After September 11, 2001, a fracture between those who trust and mistrust the

capacity of the U.S. nation-state to provide security for American society has widened. In

his text *Archival Anxiety*, Richard Cox notes how, after 9/11, the National Archives and

Records Administration, and the Society of American Archivists,[32] were slow to address

secrecy in U.S. government information. Prior to this, there was a precedent to public

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[28] Ridener, John. *From Polders to Postmodernism: A Concise History of Archival Theory.* (Duluth: Litwin Books, LLC, 2009), 10-11. Muller, S., J.A. Feith, and R. Fruin, *Manual for the Arrangement and Description of Archives.*

[29] Ridener, *From Polders to Postmodernism*

[30] Luciana Duranti, "The Concept of Appraisal and Archival Theory," *American Archivist* 57 (1994): 343.

[31] Gilliland, and Kelvin White, "Perpetuating and Extending the Archival Paraidgm.". Muller, Feith and Fruin, *Manual for the Arrangement and Description of Archives*.

[32] Two large archiving organizations that are closely inter-related to government archival creation and management, as well as the professional development of Americans archivists nation wide.

demand for government transparency. The Freedom of Information Act in 1966 was a

state-based response to the public's call for increased access to government information.

However, after 9/11, information on de-classified archival records in the National

Archives were still blacked out diminishing their intelligibility; formerly classified

records were also pulled off the shelves to prevent people from knowing they even

existed.[33] Despite the passage of the Freedom of Information Act, national security

restrictions could still block access to information. Cox argues that archivists should also

develop ethical thinking, analyze organizational dynamics, and develop lobbying skills to

advocate and facilitate institutional change as insiders working within institutions that

may prevent full disclosure of information.[34]

CUSTODIAL ARCHIVES

This chapter seeks to inquire into the structure of power of the archive. The

conventional archival principle of maintaining the sanctity of the parent organization

places the archivist in a position to protect the structure of power at all cost, rather than

question it. Custodial archival practice entails archivists managing records and

collections in formal repositories such as government archives, and mainstream

academic, cultural and historical institutions. After these institutions create and collect

records as part of their activity, some of these records are considered "in-active" yet

culturally and historically valuable, and transferred to a custodial archive. These records

are preserved because they build the institutional history of their original creators, and

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[33] Gup, Ted. *Nation of Secrets: The Threat to Democracy and the American Way of Life* (New York: Doubleday, 2007). Cox, Richard. Archival Anxiety and the Vocational Calling. (Duluth: Litwin Press, 2010), 93-94
[34] Cox, *Archival Anxiety and the Vocational Calling.*

become useful for public research and knowledge production about the organization, as well as the historical and cultural context that the organization is situated in.

Custodial archivists preserve collections by articulating how a group of records and materials have unifying characteristics.[35] They must deal with record backlogs and disposal to expand space and resources in order to manage and preserve incoming collections. Through the practices of archival appraisal, description, and disposal, archivists make decisions about whose records should be included and how to interpret them, and whose records should be excluded to make space for enduring records. Although objectivity has been seen as a principle of archival practice, archivists' decisions have had political effects.

I problematize the conventional function of the archivist who, in just abiding the rules[36] of custodial archival practice, does not call into question the reason behind the tensions of exponential knowledge production and limited infrastructure that creates scarce preservation space. This tension is what makes the archivist powerful, because she/he can decide which records can stay in the archive, and how they will be remembered. However, I would like to question the structure that allows this brokerage of power to occur. This can be done by first questioning the notion of an exclusively accessible repository through which authentic proof can be found. Umberto Eco describes the different rationales of proof: deduction, induction and meta-abduction. Deduction follows a hierarchy of causal links generated by a hypothesis. The hypothesis is validated when it gives rise to a deductive syllogism, or rule, which acts to forecast

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[35] "Collection," Society of American Archivist, Accessed 24 December 2013, http://www2.archivists.org/glossary/terms/c/collection.

[36] Eco, Umberto. "Horns, Hooves, Insteps: Some Hypotheses on Three Types of Abduction," in *The Sign of Three.* Eds., Umberto Eco and Thomas Sebioh, 203-204. (Indiana University Press, 1983).

further tests.[37] In the case of deduction, the archive becomes the place where a

hypothetical statement is posed by an information seeker. The evidence that is found

within the archive is used to either prove or disprove the seeker's hypothesis. Induction

is the "inference of the rule from a case and a result."[38] An archive can support inductive

proof by keeping elements of a case and its outcome within the repository. Then,

someone can access it at a later date to make a rule. However, Eco suggests "creative

abduction," or the creation of new rules through "meta-abduction," the questioning of

whether the nature of possible experiences about the case that can be found in the

archive. That is, can the archive hold all the possible experiences of a case? Does the

archive actually represent the universe of all lived experiences?[39] Does the information in

the archival repository hold all the possible elements, causal links, or outcomes? Given

that archives are byproducts of specific organizational activity of particular cultural and

classed actors in specific locations in society, the elements, causal links, and outcomes

that may exist as traces of proof within one archive, may only reflect part of the activity

that came to experience and document those events.

As stated previously, I came to approach the literature view through examining

the IWNAM's records, and how their conceptualization of power could be articulated

through archival literature. Although some IWNAM records are centralized within

websites, there is a way in which the content and significance of their records pertains to

other information outside of their archive. In its records, the IWNAM documented how

different countries in the IWNAM hosted meetings that brought together women to share

their experiences under militarization and their strategies of resistance from 1997 to

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[37] Eco, "Horns, Hooves, Insteps," 203.
[38] Eco, "Horns, Hooves, Insteps," 203.
[39] "Horns, Hooves, Insteps," 204.

2012. One of the meeting activities was to engage in site visits to "read" institutions and

infrastructures to recall the history of how a place became militarized. During the 2004

meeting in the Philippines, delegates walked through the streets and met community

members of Olongapo, Subic Naval Base and Manila Bay to understand how the

historical colonization and structural impoverishment of the Philippines created the

context for the trafficking of women and children into the prostitution industries around

military installations. For the 2007 meeting in San Francisco, we stayed at Fort Mason

Hostel in the Presidio, and visited Emervyile, Richmond, and Bayview Hunter's Point in

order to experience the historical, cultural, and ecological impacts of military installations

in the San Francisco Bay Area. For the 2012 meeting, we walked through the streets of

Old San Juan, Puerto Rico to learn about how Spanish imperial history interconnects

Puerto Rico, Guam and the Philippines, and precedes U.S. imperialism in the Americas

and the Asia-Pacific region. The authors of *Refiguring the Archive* write, "literature,

landscape, dance, art and a host of other forms offer archival possibilities capable of

releasing different kinds of information about the past, shaped by different record-

keeping processes."[40] In the IWNAM's own activities, it uses the physical landscape as

an archive of people's memories of being militarily occupied. The IWNAM's

epistemology of place relates to Michel Foucault's notion of the archive as "not simply

an institution, but rather the law of what can be said, the system of statements, or rules of

practice, that give shape to what can and cannot be said."[41] How does the IWNAM's

interpretation of military landscapes, as a system of material institution and

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[40] Hamilton, Carolyn, Verne Harris, Jane Taylor, Michele Pickover, Graeme Reid & Razia Saleh.
Refiguring the Archive. (Norwell: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2002), 10.

[41] Foucault, Michel. *Archaeology of Knowledge and Discourse on Language*. (New York: Pantheon,
1972).

infrastructures, reflect its attention to rules of national security? Do the militarized

landscapes' physical presence, boundaries and employments that organize people's

environments and lives become the articulations of what can and can't be said about

security? How does this delineation of the landscape as archive change the type of

evidence that can be found? How might the built environment as an archive bring

forward new evidences not found within the institutional and brick and mortar archive?

Pierre Nora has written about the city, its meanings and uses of space, as an

archive. [42] If the city can be an archive, then archival access could be framed according to

what anthropologist Tim Ingold describes as,

> what it means to inhabit, that is, to dwell *within*, a world-sphere that is
>
> nevertheless open rather than contained. In this world there are no walls, only the
>
> horizons progressively disclosed to inhabitants as they go their various ways; no
>
> floor, only the ground beneath their feet; no ceiling, only the sky arching
>
> overhead; no furniture, only formations and obtrusions. [43]

The material histories exchanged at a particular place hosting an IWNAM meeting serves

as archival evidence to recall histories of militarization of that place, and how it relates to

other places from which participants originate. It was through this context that I

approached the literature review to understand how power can be described in an archival

manner.

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[42] Nora, Pierre. *Realms of Memory: Rethinking the French Past*, Vol. 3. (Columbia University Press, 1966), 47.

[43] Ingold, Tim. "Earth, sky, wind, and weather," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* (2007): 532.

POST-CUSTODIAL ARCHIVES

As stated in the beginning of this chapter, everyone creates archives out of activity, from personal to institutional levels. But certain records have more enforcement power and endure over time. Among these types of records are legal records. They are records that guide and define, government activity. Legal records define rules that coordinate resources and labor to build something, to shape space, and control populations. Community groups that exist within and outside the institutions also create records out of their activities that may not be in the purview of the official order. Therefore, the ideas in their records are not necessarily enforceable by institutions of power, but are usually materialized through individual or collective volunteerism. The literature review sought to understand the jurisdiction of this different will, if it does not seek representation within prominent jurisdictions.

A post-custodial analysis of legal security agreements and IWNAM community created statements facilitates an analysis of each archival entity's organizational functions, political relations, and effects. The Records Continuum (RC) model illuminates the dimensions of create, capture, organise and pluralise to examine the function of organizations and how records are created, kept, accessed and transformed as part of it their activity.[44] Create refers to the actors who carry out acts, the acts themselves, and the records that document that act. Capture refers to personal and corporate records systems which capture documents and support their capacity to act as

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[44] Frank Upward, "Structuring the Records Continuum (Part One): Postcustodial Principles and Properties," *Archives and Manuscripts* 24, no. 2 (1996), http://infotech.monash.edu/research/groups/rcrg/publications/recordscontinuum-fupp1.html; Frank Upward, "Structuring the Records Continuum (Part Two): Structuration Theory and Recordkeeping," *Archives and Manuscripts* 25, no. 1 (1997), http://infotech.monash.edu/research/groups/rcrg/publications/recordscontinuum-fupp2.html; as cited by Cumming, "Ways of Seeing.
Lau, Andrew, " Collecting Experiences," (PhD Dissertation, University of California Los Angeles, 2013).

evidence of the social and business activities of the units responsible for the activities. Organize refers to the manner in which a corporate body or individual defines its recordkeeping regime and in so doing forms as an archive as a memory of its business and social functions. Pluralize refers to the manner in which the archives are brought into an encompassing, ambient framework in order to provide a collective social, historical and cultural memory. Applying this model, I examined the structures of power that deploy the legal security agreements and the IWNAM community created statements. In particular, I examined the relationship that each these archives have to the jurisdiction of Westphalian sovereignty. How might sovereignty be interpreted and recorded differently between the bi-lateral security agreements and the IWNAM records? Then I examined the recordkeeping systems that hold these records; how do they serve as evidence of a particular discourse of security?

The literature review draws from Archival Studies, Critical Theory, Postcolonial Studies and Asian Pacific Islander Studies to underscore the generative power of archives having material and subjective effects beyond the records themselves. Records have a function and structure, which is to define what institutional actors do to build and communicate an idea. The expression of government will has not just been confined to the record, but also manifested as institutions and infrastructure that make up the physical space of an environment. The RC Model's broader conceptualization of the archive draws from the concept of structuration. Sociologist Anthony Giddens describes structuration as a process of coordinating resources and labor according to certain rules, in order to make a structure.[45] This concept of structuration explains how ideas

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[45] Giddens, Anthony. *The Constitution of Society.* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1984), xxxi..

materialize through records and recordkeeping systems: first, ideas are inscribed onto records (create) and kept in recordkeeping systems (capture) as a future resource. When kept, these records become referred to in the creation of policies and laws, which shape the archiving entity's organizational function (organize), public relations and public memory (pluralize).[46] Structuration can help to conceptualize politics between archives. Records created by those in power create and communicate rules, in the form of official policies and laws, which then defines how resources and labor are coordinated to build that idea. Records of the powerful can be experienced in what they materially create, and how that materialization in physical space can shape the subjectivities and social relations among people inhabiting that space.

Terry Cook defines macroappraisal as a functional-structural methodology to examine why and how records are created across different agencies in a bureaucracy. He was influenced by American Archivist Margaret Cross Norton who saw how "records follow, relate to and support business functions. This has long been the case both in the corporate and government environments, and is currently evident in business needs analysis and planning, in computer systems design and methodology as well as contemporary approaches to business process re-engineering and government restructuring."[47] Cook has cited Canadian Archivist Hugh Taylor who thought the importance of appraisal is to examine how and why records are created, to understand

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[46] Upward, Frank. "Structuring the Records Continuum Part Two: Structuration Theory and Recordkeeping." Accessed 25 November 2013
   http://www.infotech.monash.edu.au/research/groups/rcrg/publications/recordscontinuum fupp2.html
[47] Cook, Terry. "Appraisal Methodology: Macro-Appraisal and Functional Analysis." Library and Archives Canada (2000) http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/government/disposition/007007-1035-e.html Accessed March 7, 2014

patterns and forms of knowledge, to transcend the morass of information and data.[48] The

purpose of this is to address the over-attention of appraisal on the scientific empiricism of

the recorded fact, which has become impossible to do in the context of overwhelming

amount of records that archivists in corporate environments must attend to. Instead, Cook

draws from Taylor's notion of the "patterns and forms of knowledge," which he calls the

"mind" of the record creating entity. Here, macroappraisal becomes the mixture of

theory and practice[49] to examine function and structures of state agencies as products of a

particular type of "mind."[50]

Macroappraisal may be applied to examine relationships between different

archiving entities. For example, what would be the "mind," function and structures of

citizen archives as they engage in relationships with the "mind," function and structures

of a state agency? Macroappraisal can be used to examine bioregional and spiritual

aspects of records' ecologies.[51] Bioregional analysis can be applied to reading the

biological relation and adaptation to the function and structure of an institutional and

infrastructural context. Spiritual aspects can be the immaterial, epistemological and faith

based belief system that explains communities' will, or drive and activity. How do

different communities relate to their environment? What are the belief systems that define

this relationship? How do communities use the biological and infrastructural elements in

their environment to express their particular will, or relation to their environment?

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[48] Cook, Terry. "Mind Over Matter." In *The Archival Imagination: Essays in Honour of Hugh A. Taylor*. Barbara L. Craig, Ed. (Ottawa: Association of Canadian Archivists, 1992), 43.
[49] Ridener, John. *From Polders to Postmodernism: A Concise History of Archival Theory*. (Duluth: Litwin Books, LLC, 2009), 129.
[50] Cook, "Mind Over Matter," 43.
[51] Cook, "Mind Over Matter," 44.

Macroappraisal can trace the inter-relation of legal records according as expressions of a particular "mind," despite the different jurisdictions, broad geographical space, and historical time between each of their genesis. Diplomatic science describes how records emerging from a shared jurisdiction are expressions of a record creator's will. The will of a record creator is embedded within the structure and content of documents that comprise recordkeeping systems that define and enable the protocols and coordinated activity of institutions. This methodology illuminates how the will of a Westphalian rubric of governance is embedded within legal records created and co-created by the U.S.[52] Tracking interactions between citizens and the state is to get out of the binary of power between the two by emphasizing the ways that the state is comprised of its citizens, and the consent and activity of citizens are what animate the state. Therefore macroappraisal reveals the interdependent relationship between archives that may have differing and unequal jurisdictions and volitions. Later in the chapter, the complex adaptive system will be described as a conceptual model to understand how diverse groups within a state network and interact within a shared, politicized space, such as the unequal terrain of capitalist industries that organize the physical environments of a place, in order to illuminate how diverse groups are configured to interact.

This literature review conceptualizes the legal security agreements as records, which are byproducts of an Imperial Archive and the IWNAM statements as records, which are byproducts of community-based activities. In the concept of the Imperial Archive, the archive goes beyond a collection of records within an institutional repository. That is just one aspect of it; the nature of the Imperial Archive can be seen as

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[52] Duranti, Luciana. *Diplomatics: New Uses for an Old Science.* (Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1998).

the self-referential archiving undertaken by the Westphalian nation-state that is composed of a productive constellation of archival (legal) records that are defined and produced by the institutions and infrastructures it creates to develop and innovate itself (the Westphalian nation-state). Let us remember that institutions and infrastructures are also records upon the landscape (as an archive) because these three-dimensional records are byproducts of the legal record creator's structuration process. But also, this literature review draws from indigenous, postcolonial and community-based archival ideas to conceptualize community archives, records created by individuals and groups who have been subjugated and minoritized by the Westphalian State. In this context, records can be people's bodies and subjectivities as the organization of their physical space shapes their sense of self, relations to their surroundings, and memories. But also, records could be the paper, digital, oral, kinetic, textile records they create to reflect their transforming relations to the Westphalian states, and also relations to diverse peoples who also live within the Westphalian states. These community archives function as a complex adaptive system. That is, they too can build awareness of their contemporaneous embeddedness within the Imperial Archive, or the dominant institutional and legal (archival) arrangements that they can transform through creating and archiving their own interpretations and transformative actions within the social order.

II. ARCHIVES & WESTPHALIAN SOVEREIGNTY

CREATE: A HISTORY OF U.S. SOVEREIGNTY

To begin elaborating on the different jurisdictions between the Imperial Archive and the IWNAM archive, I used the Records Continuum model to assist in the analysis of the contexts of archival power from which these records were created. The first principle is

create: The actors who carry out the act (decisions, communications, acts), the acts themselves, the documents that record the acts, and the trace, the representation of the acts. This principle is used to analyze the SOFAs and the VFAs, particularly to ask, who are the actors, what are acts, and what are the documents that record that act? Through analysis of these documents, actors within the U.S. State Department and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs co-create the Status of Forces Agreements between the U.S. and Japan; the U.S. State Department and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the Republic of Korea co-create the Status of Forces Agreements between the U.S. and the Republic of Korea; the U.S. State Department and the Philippine Senate co-create the Visiting Forces Agreement between the U.S. and the Philippines. It is clear that the U.S. has a relationship to all of these countries. This relationship can be explained by a history of U.S. imperialism. Can this history be explained through archival concepts?

First, it is useful to recognize the different values and historical orientations about U.S. imperialism. There are traditionalists versus revisionists. Amongst the traditionalists, the global spread of American influence is seen to be spreading democracy, good and prosperity. Revisionists say, however, that the U.S. supported repressive regimes during their global influential and militaristic expansion, particularly during the Cold War.[53] Another perspective is that the U.S. is an "Empire of Liberty." The U.S. seeks to liberate itself from the oppression experienced in the Old World by separating itself in the New World. It also seeks to prevent the Old World from creating

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[53] Peace, Roger. "Cultivating Critical Thinking: Five Methods for Teaching the History of U.S. Foreign Policy." In *The History Teacher* 43(2) (2010): 271-272.

colonies in the New World.[54] In another take, there are particular groups within the U.S.

that enforce and promote the Westphalia World. These groups intimately abuse Multiple

Worlds, or subalterns, by forcing them to serve and survive generations of foreign

occupations by colonizing powers now replaced by multinational corporations.

Westphalia World denies Multiple Worlds epistemically, or the capacity to listen to

Multiple World's relation to Westphalia World from a position of worlding (the ability to

participate in the creation of world politics), from the position of ontological parity (or

equity) in which Multiple Worlds capacities are different, yet equal, and do not need to

be subjected to relations of masculine competition.[55] Among these various

interpretations of U.S. imperialism and foreign policy, there are references to competitive

power relations between nations as well as within nations. I use this attention to power

relations to discuss the SOFAs as byproducts of an Imperial Archive, the Westphalian

will that legitimizes itself through the legal records, recordkeeping systems that hold

them as official truths, and the material infrastructure and social relations that are

generated through the expression of this will.

In *A History of U.S. Foreign Policy*, Julius Pratt describes how the U.S. State

Department is an organization of individuals whose purpose is to create foreign policies

that protect U.S. sovereignty and security. Pratt writes that foreign policy is the vigilance

of one state to the behavior of another state "until some process of federation or conquest

unites the world under a single sovereignty, or until the human race perishes or reverts to

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[54] Barone, Michael. "A Realistic New World Order," U.S. News & World Report 110 (11): 1-2.
[55] Ling, L.H.M. *The Dao of World Politics; Towards a Post-Westphalian, Worldist International Relations*. (London: Routledge, 2014), 2.

a primitive condition in which nations and nationalism will be no more."[56] Pratt links this philosophy of foreign policy to the objectives of U.S. Foreign Policy, which is to secure independence through demarcating boundaries that contribute to national security; to extend boundaries in the interest of security, navigation, commerce, and space for growing populations, and the spreading of democracy; to promote and protect the rights and interests of American citizens in commerce with and investments in foreign lands; to safeguard trade on the seas, in peace and in war; preserve neutrality and peace by keeping European wars out of the U.S. and preventing European powers from colonizing the western hemisphere or interfering in U.S. or American affairs; and to do good by spreading Christianity and democracy, ending slave trading, halting massacres of minorities, relieving victims of natural disasters, increasing standards of backward countries, and engaging in campaigns against other political ideologies that foster poverty, ignorance and disease.[57] Here, we see the U.S. State Department as a creator of U.S. Foreign Policy. This department defines the teleology of the U.S. nation-state's functional-structural relation to other countries and peoples, as a means to achieve peace and order, based on the specific ideological and cultural interests of the U.S., Christian values, and democracy.

Pratt's functional description of the U.S. State Department reveals it as bound to an organizational system, known as the nation-state. The history of the U.S. nation-state can be traced back to its creation by sovereign European nation-states engaging in imperial relations in North America. The creation of the U.S. nation-state is documented in treaties and legal records that produced its structure through negotiations with

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[56] Pratt, Julius W. *A History of the United States Foreign Policy,* 2nd Edition. (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1965).

[57] Paraphrased from Pratt, *A History of the United States Foreign Policy*, 4

imperialist European nation-states. Each treaty documents and binds agreements

between specific countries under negotiation, to ensure that the interests of these

stakeholders are satisfied. The interests that exist in this universe are those of the

negotiating parties. An example is in the creation of the Treaty of Paris of 1763, whose

function was to end of French and Indian/Seven Years' War between Great Britain and

France and their respective allies.[58] Under this treaty, France would lose its treaties and

control of territories in North America, thereby allowing Britain and its American based

colonists to access territories east of the Mississippi. Spain was to keep its territory of

Cuba, as well as lands west of the Mississippi and French Louisiana. The Treaty also

signaled the increase of British consolidated power in North America.[59] The Treaty

however did not include their alliances with American Indians who often played divisions

between British and French in order to insert their self-interests and to regulate access

into their territories.[60] Although the Treaty of Paris of 1763 was an expression of British

sovereign expansion over the eastern portion of North America, it began to forego the

indigenous jurisdiction and it catalyzed the beginnings of the American Revolution. In

order to pay for the Seven Years' War, Britain increased taxes on the Anglo-American

colonists, spawning discontent.

CAPTURE: IMPERIAL RECORDS & MATERIALITY

The second principle of the RC model is **Capture: the personal and**

corporate records systems which capture documents context in ways

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[58] Office of the Historian. "Milestones: 1750-1775, Treaty of Paris, 1763." Last Modified 2013.
http://history.state.gov/milestones/1750-1775/TreatyofParis.
[59] "Transcript of Treaty of Paris." Hartley, David, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin and John Jay. Accessed
March 22, 2013.
http://www.ourdocuments.gov/print_friendly.php?flash=true&page=transcript&doc=6&title=Transcript+of
+Treaty+of+Paris+%281783%29.
[60] "Milestones: 1750-17755, Treaty of Paris, 1763."

which support their capacity to act as evidence of the social and business activities of the units responsible for the activities. What systems capture the Treaty of Paris of 1763, as a record documenting Westphalian relations between European (and indigenous relations) in North America? What is the make up of these systems? How does the system ingest the meaning of these Westphalian laws, and ensures the social and business activities of units are accountable to it? According to Ronald Weitzer, author of "The Pillars of Settler Rule," the expression of the settler state's sovereign capacity is to 1) achieve autonomy from the metropole in the exercise of political authority and coercive power, 2) consolidate control over the indigenous population, and 3) maintain settler caste's solidarity and the state's cohesion.[61] After the American Revolution, the Treaty of Paris of 1783 was signed between King George III (via David Hartley, Esquire and member of Parliament of Great Britain) and the U.S. (via John Adams, Benjamin Franklin and John Jay).[62] This treaty signaled the end of hostilities between the British Empire and the American colonists, and the relinquishment of British control of government, propriety and territorial rights in North America, east of the Mississippi.[63] This Treaty marked the creation of the U.S. into a settler colonial state, or, an independent, sovereign state, that relinquishes its dependence on its imperial "motherland," Britain, but is composed of British/Anglo Diaspora settlers, who begin to assert their own sovereign capacity.[64] This included establishing legal and commercial

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[61] Weitzer, "The Pillars of Settler Rule," 26-28.
[62] "Transcript of Treaty of Paris."
[63] "Transcript of Treaty of Paris."
[64] Weitzer, Ronald. "The Pillars of Settler Rule," in *Transforming Settler States: Communal Conflict and Internal Security in Northern Ireland and Zimbabwe.* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 26. Kuper, Leo. "Political Change in White Settler Societies" in *Pluralism in Africa,* ed. Leo Kuper and M. G. Smith. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969). Ford, Lisa. Settler Sovereignty: Jurisdiction and Indigenous People in America and Australia 1788-1836. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010), 5.

systems that drew from its European origins.[65]

The Bank of England's practice of loaning bank notes in 1694 influenced Alexander Hamilton's Bank of the U.S. a century later. Thomas Richards argues that 19th century Victorian England's obsession with thermodynamics and mechanical constructs was applied to governance to legitimize industrialization, or the organization of labor and resources, and the colonization of other lands, toward capitalist political-economic governance.[66] Hamilton's Bank, based on private subscription of bank notes that were convertible into metal coins, innovated into public credit that allowed banks to lend money to investors who funded expansion and development projects across North America. This commercial system aimed to build trust between the bank users and the growing nation through the idea that the users would repay the money borrowed, and the nation would allow users to reap returns from their speculation.[67] Here, we see how a treaty begins to define social, economic, labor and political relationships upon the territory of North America. Institutions, such as banks, were established to generate a local economy to harness peoples' will into performing capitalist development.

The expansion of the U.S. colony across the North American continent dishonored previous treaties with the indigenous governments that co-existed on that territory. Although the U.S. Constitution was founded on ideas of the Iroquois Confederation,[68] U.S. ambition to acquire lands West of the Mississippi dashed possibilities of equitable alliances within indigenous peoples in North America. Lisa

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[65] Baker, Jennifer J. *Securing the Commonwealth: Debt, Speculation & Writing in the Making of Early America.* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2005).
[66] Richards, Thomas. *The Imperial Archive.* (Oxford: Verso Books, 1993).
[67] Baker, *Securing the Commonwealth*, 6-15.
[68] Marion-Young, Iris. "Hybrid Democracy: Iroquis Federalism and the Postcolonial Project," *in* Political Theory and Rights of Indigenous People's. Eds. Duncan Ivision, Paul Patton and Will Saunders. (Cambridge Univesity Press, 2000), 237-258.

Ford, author of *Settler Sovereignty*, writes that settler polities, which was comprised of a federation of peripheral states and colonies that asserted sovereignty under an imperial right, practiced a special "explanatory power" through establishing local courts that privileged settler claims to land to legally legitimate indigenous dispossession.[69] Westphalian discourses of sovereignty shaped U.S. aspirations of nation-building, which included military violence against resistant indigenous groups, as "other" nations, in order to gain territories through which Euro-American sovereignty could be expressed. This was through the materialization of settler societies along the westward bound wagon trails, and later, the Transcontinental Railroad, infrastructural lifelines that drew Euro-American immigrants from the East Coast to the West.[70] The Monroe Doctrine was the document, and Manifest Destiny was the movement, that drove U.S. nation building across North America, facilitating military campaigns against indigenous peoples, and other European powers such as the French, British and Spanish that had interests in the Western Hemisphere.[71] These government records are inter-related to the constellation of institution and infrastructure that sustain the perception of Eurocentric and Anglophone material history over the territory that settler memory refers to, to perpetuate and innovate the physicality of space it had imagined and constructed.[72] Here we begin to see how the legal, institutional and infrastructural systems of U.S. Westphalian will begins to discern the logics of its system from other jurisdictions that competed for North American

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[69] Ford, Lisa. *Settler Sovereignty: Jurisdiction and Indigenous People in America and Australia 1788-1836.* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010), 5.

[70] Goetzmann, William. *Exploration and Empire: The Explorer and the Scientist in the Winning of the American West.* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1967).

[71] Pratt, Julius W. *A History of the United States Foreign Policy,* 2nd Edition. (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1965). Wei Deborah and Rachel Kamel, Eds. *Resistance in Paradise: Rethinking 100 Years of U.S. Involvement in the Caribbean and the Pacific.* (Philadelphia: American Friends Service Committee, 1991).

[72] Wolfe, Patrick. "Settler colonialism and the elimination of the native," *Journal of Genocide Research* 8(4) (2006): 402.

territory.

The logic of U.S. sovereignty to become a singular hegemony is actually very old. U.S. foreign policy has been called Pax Americana by conservatives and activists alike.[73] Pax Americana refers to the ideological construction of the U.S. as an imperial government whose roots can be traced back to the Roman Empire. Pax Romana refers to a "peace" that existed between all nationalities within the Roman Empire. This philosophy of peace did not mean the absence of war; it meant that when resistance of previously autonomous nations was subjugated, they then had to submit their men and military innovations to support the security of the Roman Empire. An empire's practice of sovereignty was to secure its position in a dominant relation to other governing entities. The Roman Empire's security was based on accumulating the obedience of foreign subjects through utilizing their knowledge to support the empire's military resilience and expansion from Italy, west to Britain and east to Central Asia.[74]

Michele Foucault's describes how the Holy Roman Empire's practice of power shaped the formation of the modern Westphalian nation-states of Europe. In 1648, the treaty of Westphalia was signed, ending the Thirty Years War, or what U.S. Department of Defense researchers Simon Reay Atkinson and James Moffat call the "sectarian settlement between Protestants from the north of Europe and Catholics from the south."[75] The treaty ushered in the Peace of Westphalia, which was the Holy Roman Empire's "recognition that it had to find new ways to deal with heretical networks that were now

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[73] Gerson, Joseph. "Introduction," in *The Sun Never Sets...: Confronting the Network of Foreign U.S. Military Bases.* Joseph Gerson and Bruce Brichard, Eds. (South End Press: Boston, 1991).
[74] Kelly, Christopher. *The Roman Empire: A Very Short Introduction*. (Oxford University Press, 2006).
[75] Atkinson, Simon Reay and James Moffat. "The Agile Organization: From Informal Networks to Complex Effects and Agility," *Command and Control Research Program (CRP) Publication Series* (2005): 9-10.

existing successfully within their own formal organizations…"[76] On one hand, the Treaty

of Westphalia gave countries the right to define fixed geographic borders that would

theoretically be respected by other sovereign nations. Countries could practice their

sovereignty by creating their own laws, leading to a "patchwork of legal regimes" if seen

at an international level.[77] On another level, the Peace of Westphalia was Rome's way of

recognizing it could no longer "disable or prevent Protestant codes from emerging and

was faced with the grim choice of either working alongside the new codes, and finding

ways of dealing with them, or forever being in opposition."[78] The ability of the Holy

Roman Empire to not necessarily totalize its power over other governments, but engage

in practices of diplomacy and sometimes warfare to align other governments toward its

will, facilitated the emergence of what Michel Foucault calls the "European balance."

This is the idea of the nation-state being invested in a preparedness of war, as a means to

maintain a plurality of power—being cognizant of its inter-relationship to neighboring

states, and use military force if a particular nation seeks to exceed that balance.[79] This

history of empire across Europe contextualizes the Treaty of Paris of 1763. The

succeeding treaties and doctrines that documented the singularity of U.S. nation-state rule

in North America and the Western Hemisphere can be traced back to the Treaty of

Westphalia. The Holy Roman Empire's practice of allowing individual nations to create

their own laws and practice their own sovereignty, while also keeping militaristic

infrastructures in place, reflects the U.S. own legal, institutional and infrastructural

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[76] Atkinson and Moffat, "The Agile Organization," 9-10.

[77] Alva, Aaron, Scott David, Dr. Barbara Endicott-Popovsky. "Popovsky." (Conference Proceedings from The Memory of the World in the Digital Age: Digitization and Preservation: An international conference on permanent access to digital documentary heritage, 2012), 1071.

[78] Atkinson and Moffat, "The Agile Organization," 117.

[79] Foucault, Michel. *Security, Territory, Population: Lectures at the College De France 1977-1978.* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 299.

expansion over North America and the Western hemisphere.

ORGANIZATION: INTEGRATION INTO ARCHIVAL LANDSCAPES

The third principle of the Records Continuum Model is **Organize: The organization of recordkeeping processes. It is concerned with the manner in which a corporate body or individual defines its recordkeeping regime and in so doing constitutes/forms the archive as memory of its business or social functions.** The discussion of this principle builds off of the historicization of U.S. Empire back to the Holy Roman Empire in order to understand the social and cultural productivity of the Westphalian nation-state. How does the legal jurisdiction that builds and organizes institutional apparatuses and infrastructures, as a kind of archive that comes from Europe, extend as a template of nation building and "good citizenship" in non-European contexts? How do people become records embedded within the imperial juridical order? According to Foucault, the function of law in modern nation-states requires at least two persons, rituals of revenge/war, the possibility of buying peace, oaths or enduring tests, and the productive alignment of citizenry to sovereign law.[80] The dynamic of economic competition and warfare between governments would shape the rise of Spanish, Portuguese, Britain, France, Dutch, Italian, and German sovereign nation-states in Europe, as well as their role as imperial powers outside of Europe.[81] As the Treaty of Westphalia sought to address the opposing forces of the Protestant and Catholic states, it facilitated a competition among them to define their own nation-states through channeling the rituals of revenge/war, buying peace, imposing oaths and tests,

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[80] Foucault, Michel. *Power.* (New York: The New York Press, 1994), 1-89.
[81] Foucault, Michel. *Essential Works of Foucault, 1954-1984,* Vol. 3. James D. Faubion, Ed. (Penguin Books, 2002).

and aligning citizenries to their laws, as well as to lands and peoples outside of Europe.

French critical theorist Louis Althusser describes how the institutions that comprise the

modern nation-state are the Ideological and Repressive State Apparatuses (ISAs and

RSAs).[82] The ISAs include institutions like schools, churches and media. The RSAs

include prisons, asylums, police and militaries. These apparatuses are governed by the

nation-state's economic base, capitalism. Althusser argues that the purpose of these

institutions is to socialize people to work within industries that generate capitalist

relations of production, which maintains the will of the modern nation-state. Schools are

to train youths so they can aspire to and gain skills necessary to work in various

institutions and industries in society. However, those who do not easily fit into the

teleology of these institutions, and the nation-state as a whole, are disciplined through

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[82] Philips, David. "Introduction," in *Crime and Authority in Victorian England: the Black Country 1835-1860.* (London: Croom Helm, 1977). (This text traces the historical development of the police in England through studying police records that tracked the flow of landless migrants into urban manufacturing centers seeking employment.) Patrick, Joyce. "The Politics of the Liberal Archive," in *History of the Human Sciences* 12(2) (1999): 35-49. (This article notes that the purpose of tracking them was to determine how to regulate them.) Philips, David. "The Old and New Police," in *Crime and Authority in Victorian England: the Black Country 1835-1860.* (London, Croom Helm, 1977). (This chapter describes how constables were hired out of the local population of shoemakers, blacksmiths, migrants and others to break strikes, riots, and bloodsports that were organized by migrants seeking better work conditions or alternative income. Courts were built and laws were passed to institutionalize constables into the police.) Foucault, Michel. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison.* (New York, Random House, 1977). (This text argues that ideology and record creation worked had in hand to constitute and communicate the meaning and development of space according to a particular subjectivity. In particular, the development of social roles and responsibilities to protect industrial and propertied interests. The jails and prisons became police repositories to deposit criminalized bodies. The repressive function of these institutions was to discipline them into becoming productive citizens, and to instill a culture of surveillance within society so that citizens would internalize the correct order and discipline each other to fit into the social order.) Gilman, Sander L. *The Face of Madness: Hugh Diamond and the Origin of Psychiatric Photography.* (New York, Brunner/Mazel, 1976). (According to this text, asylums were created to ingest the unfortunates of early industrial societies, such as the poor, aged, drunkard and abandoned. Hugh Diamond took photographs of asylum patients to classify mental disorders to produce diagnostic knowledge about their conditions, which created and informed professional disciplines of psychology and psychiatry.) Marx, Karl. *Capital: Volume I.* (New York: International Publishers, 1967). (The maintenance of capitalist relations of production requires extraction of resources and labor in peripheral countries to fuel manufacturing and consumption within the metropoles of the nation-state.) Ketelaar, Eric. "Recordkeeping and Societal Power," in *Archives: Recordkeeping in Society.* Sue McKemmish, Michael Piggott, Barbara Reed and Frank Upward, Eds. (Wagga Wagga: Centre for Information Studies, 2005) (Inventories and receipts were types of records kept among capitalist enterprises to track resources used and commodities produced, and to report profits and losses to investors.)

prisons, police, asylums and militaries.[83] Here, he examines how competition is inherent in the function of nation-states that are driven by capitalist economies.

Let me exemplify Althusser's theory through describing the institution of the U.S. military as a node through which the will of the Westphalian nation-state operates. The U.S. military is a sacred institution integral to the security of the U.S. nation. It functions according to a strict, hierarchical chain of command where superiors' complete control over subordinates cannot be challenged. This is legally supported through the Feres Doctrine, a U.S. Federal law in which all military personnel, or their families, cannot sue the U.S. federal government for any injuries or deaths caused during their service. [84] Legal counsels have argued that if military subordinates legally retaliated against their commanders, this would compromise national security. But advocates and other legal perspectives argued that there have been cases of negligence within the military, such as Military Sexual Trauma, murders, faulty medical diagnoses and chemical toxification committed from within the ranks of the military. [85] However, the Feres Doctrine protects the commanding superiors from legal accountability even though they may be perpetrators of these crimes, or were instrumental in the chain of command that led to soldiers' adverse experiences.[86]

The actualization of the will of the militarized nation-state also impacts another institution, schools. Under the education policy No Child Left Behind, schools receiving

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[83] "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatus (Notes Toward An Investigation)," Louis Althusser, http://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/althusser/1970/ideology.htm, accessed June 10, 2011.
[84] "The Feres Doctrine: An Examination of this Military Exception to the Federal Tort Claims Act." Committee on the Judiciary United States Senate. One Hundred Seventh Congress, Second Session, 2000
[85] "The Feres Doctrine: An Examination of this Military Exception to the Federal Tort Claims Act." Committee on the Judiciary United States Senate. One Hundred Seventh Congress, Second Session, 2000
[86] *Invisible War*, Dick Kirby, Cinedigm, Accessed May 14, 2014.
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rLPLfkUs1Es

federal funds are required to give student personal information to military recruiters.[87]

As state governments struggle to pay teachers and keep schools open, schools become

desperate for federal funds, much like the 2009 federal Race To the Top competitive

grants.[88] Unless students sign Military Opt-Out forms, students' personal information

becomes accessible by U.S. military to contact and recruit them into the various

departments of the Armed Services. The economic crisis after the 2009 economic crash

and the subsequent "bank bail out," caused budgets for public services and non-profit

sectors to be drastically been cut. Meanwhile corporate industries, including the military,

have maintained high budgets, becoming viable career options for young people. At the

same time, public schools are being configured according to testing cultures and data

driven evaluations, which socialize students minds toward numerical ranking, computer

based logics. These become the values that structure students' learning and aspirations

for success. Minds are being prepared to prioritize quantifiable knowledge. The purpose

of going to school is not for the love of learning, but to prepare their entry into other

ideological apparatuses, such as access higher education and a career, in order to earn a

decent living wage in the capitalist society.[89]

Here we see the interconnection of the military and the schools as repressive and

ideological institutions part of the nation-state apparatus geared toward the function of

protecting and actualizing capitalist and militarized security. Here, people become

records, archived within the jurisdiction of the imperial order. People's development

within the dog-eat-dog culture of the imperial order begins at young ages. They are

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[87] Feder, Jody. "Military Recruitment Provisions Under the No Child Left Behind Act: A Legal Analysis." CRS Report for Congress. (The Library of Congress 2008).
[88] *Standardized: Lies, Money & Civil Rights: How Testing is Ruining Public Education*. Dan Hornberger and Jim Del Conte. (Rockfish Productions, 2013)
[89] *Standardized* 2013.

prepared to believe that the imperial order is the only possible order, and it is part of their development to participate in it.

The logic of militarism as integral to the sanctity of the "nation-state" can be traced back to European empires justification for their racist relations to other peoples outside of their geographic borders. The doctrine of sovereign kings having a divine, spiritual power was exemplified between Spain and Portugal and the rest of the world during the 1520s. Spain and Portugal engaged in imperial expeditions to non-European locations such as the continents of Africa, the Americas, the Pacific and Asia, believing they had a divine right to civilize the people they encountered by means of religious evangelism, to legitimize the material control of indigenous territories and to integrate them into their colonial jurisdictions. Spanish imperialism to the Americas was enabled by sending missionaries to learn and report back about indigenous cultures, build churches and missions to evangelize them toward their particular religion. Military personnel created, kept and exchanged records, such as accounts, testimonies and maps, to facilitate communication between colonial frontiers to the imperial center.[90] These records, kept in the Archivo General De Indias, helped King Philip II to create laws to standardize urban design, land tenureship, and inter-cultural relations between Spaniards, other Europeans and indigenous American populations. The processes of reconfiguring space, social relations and legal documentation were generative processes to discipline territories so they could be coordinated in service to the political-economic interest of the Spanish sovereign nation.[91] The Treaty of Saragossa was created to negotiate the rights of

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[90] "Threads of Memory: Spain and the United States." Historic New Orleans Collection, New Orleans, Louisiana, November 2010.
[91] This is exemplified in the Recopilicacion de Leyes de Indias a code of 11,000 laws from 400,000 documents, reduced to 6,400 laws that informed Spanish urban planning in its colonized territories in the

Spanish control of territories in areas in the Molluccas that were also being claimed by Portugal.[92] Treaties of imperial nation-states expressed their negotiations with each other's sovereignties. In the process, populations and territories would be disciplined and configured to materially express that sovereign interest.

Legal scholar Turan Kayaoglu describes how the adoption of positive law in non-European countries required the "clarification of legal rights, their enforcement, and the establishment of government's legal accountability for these."[93] This reflected a quantified way of seeing to identify, specify and organize all assets and resources under a central administration that could track and administer control over them. Kayaoglu describes early Asian law as "fragmented because state rulers shared legal authority with societal groups and local communities."[94] This reveals a different kind of pre-western distribution of power in the Asian region which control of resources would be distributed among multiple groups. However, legal positivism of European governments required the explicit clarification of resources under a single rule, rather than a government based on distributed management, so that negotiation for control and the effects of resource exchange could by-pass accountabilities to local populations or ecologies that also depended on those resources. This legal shift was important in defining how the

Americas and the Philippines. According to Axel Mundigo and Dora P. Crouch, these laws shaped how colonists would interact with the indigenous people they encountered, how they would build colonial settlements and engage in religious instruction (See Mundigo, Axel L and Dora P. Crouch. *The Laws of the Indies.* (Liverpool University Press, 2004); Alarcon, Arch. Norma I. *Philippine Architecture: During the Pre-Spanish and Spanish Periods.* (Manila: University of Santo Tomas Publishing, 2003), 79. Dutton, Davis, Ed. *Missions of California: A Westways/Comstock Guide.* New York: Ballantine Books, 1972); participate in trade and protect colonialist interests through war (Naylor, Thomas and Charles William Pozerx. *The Presidio and Militia on the Northern Frontier of New Spain 1570-1700.* University of Arizona Press. 1986), 18) and racialized law making (Slack, Edward Jr. "The Chinos in New Spain: A Corrective Lens for a Distorted Image," in *Journal of World History* 20(1) (2009), 35.

[92] Moriarty, James R. and Mary S. Keistman. "Philip II Orders the Journey of the First Manila Galleon," *The Journal of San Diego History* Vol XII (2) (1966), 2.

[93] Kayaoglu, Turan. *Legal Imperialism: Sovereignty and Extraterritoriality in Japan, the Ottoman Empire, and China.* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 9, 15.

[94] Kayaoglu, *Legal Imperialism*, 13.

extraction and exchange of resources across the territories of an empire would be convenient for the imperial nation-state, not the local, indigenous populations.

Australian archivist Evelyn Wareham points out that in the Pacific Islands, the presence of archives simultaneously represents the history and trauma of western colonization by the indigenous Oceanic peoples.[95] For many of the indigenous populations, their records of culture and governance were in oral or kinetic form. There is also evidence of other ways of recording, which included written languages and hieroglyphics that were inscribed onto pottery, stones and cave walls, as well as tattooed onto bodies. Knowledge was also embodied, performed through dances and spoken through chants.[96] The process of western imperialism in the Pacific was materialized through the extension of western nations legal jurisdiction in non-western contexts, and the development of institutions and infrastructures to legitimize that rule.[97] Maori Scholar Linda Tuhiwai Smith correlates western administrative records to imperialism. Maps, charts, surveys, claims and genealogies to roads, boundaries, pegs, fences, hedges, stone walls, tracks and perimeters[98] were the assemblages of records, infrastructure and architecture that reflect imperial ideology and its institutional practice. Colonial records, and their corresponding architectural features in colonized landscapes, demarcate lines between the Imperial Centre, and the Outside, the Outside being "the place of the Other that needs to be occupied, charted, known, developed, in order to 'bring civilization.'"[99] Imperialism was the practice of extending, or making interoperable, European nation

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[95] Wareham, Evelyn. "From Explorers to Evangelists: Archivists, Recordkeeping, and Remembering in the Pacific Islands," in *Archival Science* 2 (2002), 187-207.
[96] Wilcken, Lane. *Filipino Tattoos: Ancient to Modern.* (Atglen: Schiffer Publishing, 2010).
[97] Punzalan, "Archives of the New Possession."
[98] Smith, Linda Tuhiwai. *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples.* (London: Zed Books, Ltd., 2002), 53.
[99] Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 53.

building as the standard of "civilization" in non-European contexts.

PLURALIZATION: INTERPLAY OF IMPERIAL & SUBALTERN ARCHIVES

This next section seeks to examine the fourth principle of the Records Continuum Model: **Pluralize: The manner in which the archives are brought into an encompassing (ambient) framework in order to provide a collective social, historical and cultural memory.** This principle examines how the archive, as a constellation of legal records, institutional apparatuses and infrastructures, can illuminate politics between various social, historical and cultural memories of place. I draw from complex adaptive system to explain relations between these various historical and cultural memories. According to Dave Snowden, author of "Complex Acts of Knowing: Paradox and Descriptive Self-Awareness," knowledge production is an example of a complex adaptive system.[100] CAS is an organizational system theory that emerged out of cognitive science and chaos theory to challenge the objectivity and unity of science, and to affirm that knowledge is multiple and disunified, because science is a practice of defining partial views of phenomenon in the world.[101] According to Snowden, CAS includes the following principles

- Complexity – multiplicity; there is variability and diversity within and of systems at every level.

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[100] Snowden, Dave. "Complex Acts of Knowing: Paradox and Descriptive Self- awareness," in *Journal of Knowledge Management* 6(2)(2002): 10.
[101] Sismondo, *An introduction to Science and Technology Studies*,14.

- Spatiality – there is inherent topology where locality matters, there are scales

  independent levels and modules whose spatial relations coproduce further niches and

  spaces.

- Adaptivity – processes in continuous states of becoming and being selected and

  reinforced as structures and entities.

- Temporality – processes are biological and historical, profoundly inflected by the

  irreversibility of time and the contingency of event, which provide dynamic and

  diversity.

- Systematicity – interactive connectivity, no prewritten plans, map, logic, algorithm or

  laws, no direction or purpose. Multiple parts are agentic in that they have capacity

  for distinction or discrimination as elements, states, events or processes in terms of

  spatial or temporal relations—emergent mapping.

- Emergence – performative and constructive systems. Connective activities produce

  systemic spatial and temporal effects and relations that are not in the capacity of the

  components. The emergent effects reflexively feed back, back into the components in

  a process of co-production.[102]

To summarize, the framework of CAS examines that when different systems interact,

they produce effects and transformations in one another. Through interactions with other

configurations, their spatial distributions change, and produce more niches and spaces.

Within this process, particular entities become more reinforced. The effects of this

change become irreversible. However, the parts of these systems have agency in that they

can perform relations that are based on their own distinctions and discrimination. This

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[102] Snowden, "Complex Acts of Knowing," 12.

makes the interaction between different systems emergent, in that the effects of inter-relation shape decisions on how to further develop. These choices then shape the possibilities of development for other entities that they co-produce. CAS is used to examine the pluralization of the Imperial Archive in relation to the archives of subaltern groups that are absorbed into the jurisdiction of the Imperial Archive, and are also subjugated, minoritized and exploited by it. That is, the pluralization of the Imperial Archive represents the innovation of the Westphalian will to extend its generative assemblage of legal, institutional and infrastructure building to further its logic of expansion, by incorporating others to perform this expansion and innovation. But also, the pluralization of the Imperial Archive can represent the will of the subaltern to resist their absorption by interrupting and transforming their performance within the context of the Westphalian will. In this next section, I examine how the Imperial Archive innovates and extends itself through legal, institutional and social reproduction. But also, how the effects of the Imperial Archive begin to produce the reasons for ethical questioning that shifts attention to the reasons behind subaltern groups' resistances.

In "The Politics of the Liberal Archive," Patrick Joyce historicizes how the British Museum Reading Room preceded the U.K. Public Record Office.[103] Edward Edwards and William Ewart wrote the Library Act of 1850 to address the need for public libraries to support society's utilitarian goals. They argued that as immigrants migrated to urban centers seeking employment, places of reading and study were necessary to facilitate self-education and adaptation into the industrial society. Joyce notes Manchester's Collection on the Working Class as records on the history of manufacturing, development of the factory system, and arrival of the working class

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[103] Patrick, "The Politics of the Liberal Archive," 35-49.

organized around the gospel and institutions of self-help.[104] Although information in

libraries were not all composed of archival collections of industries, the existence of these

kinds of records in archives reveals how industrial organizational activities produced

records that described their operations, which were preserved as historical resources that

would come to educate the working class on how to adapt into the industrial society.

This historical representation in these archival records could also shape the identities of

its readers, so that they might learn how to be and aspire in their industrial society. Joyce

argues that the libraries were tools for state surveillance as "the eye of the library is

seeing through the books, and into the eye of the reader."[105] Here, we see how the

Imperial Archive functions as a memory system that transforms the people it displaced,

by educating them to "pick themselves up by their boot straps" within its own parameters

of aspiration, that feeds into the industrial logic of development.

The Imperial Archive does not just operate through brute force and slavery, but

through processes that are automated, extended and self-organized in new contexts.[106]

Here colonizer and colonized relations become naturalized within the institutional and

infrastructural order. Anne Stoler's article, "Colonial Archives and the Arts of

Governance," showed how mixed race Dutch-Javanese were trained and disciplined as

civil servants of the Dutch Colonial Bureaucracy in Java.[107] The aftermath of colonial

subjugation of populations to build institutions of colonial power on occupied territory

coincided with the cultural and biological transformation of local, native populations.

Here, we see how Dutch legal and institutional formation in Java begins to interact with

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[104] Patrick, "The Politics of the Liberal Archive," 46.
[105] Patrick, "The Politics of the Liberal Archive," 44.
[106] Richards, Thomas. *The Imperial Archive.* (Oxford: Verso Books, 1993).
[107] Stoler, Anne. "Colonial Archives and the Arts of Governance," in *Archival Science* 2 (2002): 87-109.

the local Javanese populations, through creating mixed-race classes, and their role as emerging populations to operate the postcolonial Javanese society.

The article "The Globalization of White Supremacy," explains how inter-racial offspring and colorism, or the higher status of lighter skin, was a byproduct of Eurocentric imperialism and capitalism, also known as globalization.[108] The Westphalian nation-state in non-western contexts becomes an:

> ecosystem akin to a viral infection where Othered bodies are treated as host organisms whose essence is hijacked and burst asunder in order to ensure the proliferation and health of white bodies. Nation-states in African and the Americas were spatially developed by Europeans to drain the land of materials and Othered bodies in order to feed white flesh and white desires. Implicit in the production of this geographical hierarchy is the making and marking of bodies as "superhuman" (white) and "subhuman" (people of color), and the crystallization of such codes into national systems of alleged jurisprudence which persist in protecting whiteness as propertied interests.[109]

The symbiosis of legal records establishing and enforcing the dominance of Westphalian nation-state institutions and infrastructure was not possible without forced acquiescence and/or collaboration between transplanted and dominant groups with local populations.[110]

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[108] Allen, Ricky Lee. "The Globalization of White Supremacy: Toward a Critical Discourse on the Racialization of the World," in *Educational Theory* 51(4) (2002), 469-474.

[109] Harris, Cheryl. "Whiteness as Property," in *Critical Race* Theory, ed. Kimberlé Crenshaw, Neil Gotanda, Garry Peller, and Kendall Thomas (New York: The New Press, 1995), 277-278; Allen, "The Globalization of White Supremacy," 480.

[110] Postcolonial Studies illuminates the complex power relations within pre-colonial societies that led to particular ethnic and tribal groups to engage in alliance building with western colonists. A well known example is the history of Spanish colonists and the Aztec empire in which Hernan Cortez married an indigenous woman to serve as a translator with other tribes. Cortez utilized the tactic of divide and rule to utilize the resources and labor of allied tribes to fight against another tribe, thereby spreading Spanish imperial dominion over other indigenous jurisdictions in Mesoamerica and South America. In the West

There were interactions between colonial agents and native populations leading to the production of mixed-race people whose identities were subjected to cultures that hierarchically ranked them according to Eurocentric, male, elite racial, classed, gendered and national standards. Those who created and handled records of the colonial government were people who could be trusted by the colonial order. For example, mixed-race Dutch-Javanese served as civil servants and bureaucrats who could "pass" in the Dutch culture as part white, but could never be seen as "good enough" by the full white and upper class Dutch. This part acceptance, and not full acceptance, would generate competitive power relations among racialized, classed, and gendered groups aspiring to attain the colonial cultural standard. Education systems would teach the language and history of dominant powers to foster the next generation to maintain a culture of aspiration toward the colonial standard.[111] Institutions that dominated the landscape provided infrastructural possibilities, resources, services and prestige to exist and advance within the colonial society.[112]

The racist social interaction of differing political-economic systems has broader entropic effects that permeate through the cognitive mediums of landscape and human bodies. For example, as industrial development was seen as productive of wealth and productivity for capitalist classes, it also produced pollution in the metropole, as well as

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Africa, there were kingdoms that engaged in slave trading. These kingdoms often sold their slaves to Western European slave traders for trade. In the kingdom of Hawaiʻi, King Kamehameha I ordered makaʻainana (eyes of the land, or commoners) to cut down the endemic Sandlewood trees so that they could be traded with westerners, for sale to the Chinese. The point is that pre-colonial times also consisted of power hierarchies that fueled the construction of western empires.

[111] Akibayashi, Kozue. "Okinawa Women Act Against Military Violence: A Feminist Challenge to Militarism." (PhD Diss, Columbia University Teachers College, 2002). McKenzie, D.F. "Oral culture, literacy, and print in early New Zealand," in *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 79-129.

[112] Gonzalez, Vernadette Vicuña. *Securing Paradise: Tourism and Militarism in Hawaiʻi and the Philippines*. (Durham: Duke University Press, 2013).

in the peripheries where industrial models of development were exported.[113] In his article

"To Remember and Forget: Archives, Memory and Culture," archival scholar Kenneth

Foote describes how archives of nuclear production and waste management are

byproducts of the militaristic nation-state that produces toxic wastes in its pursuit of

security and progress. Yet, Foote observes how archives are deployed by institutions of

the Westphalian nation-state to mark where hazardous waste sites exist for future health

and security. Archives and the marked places it refers to hold the social pressure of

hinting, but not explicitly questioning, the logic of the nation-state whose very function

of warfare was what produced the toxic waste.[114] Imperialism's animation through the

functions of militarization, colonization and industrial development produced and

reproduced the entropy of human violence and trauma, within and outside of the nation-

state, through genocide and cultural devastation of indigenous populations,[115] and the

dehumanization of soldiers and bureaucrats to deny the culture and humanity of those

they occupied and subjugated. Aboriginal trauma researcher Judy Atkinson writes that,

"child-harm can result in considerable trauma which has ongoing consequences for the

developing adult."[116] Child-harm can be read as a microcosmic metaphor for harm

against whole societies that have been infantilized under colonization in order to justify

its industrial and militarized development to achieve a Westphalian discourse of

"civilization." The politics of these systems are exemplified in the ways that certain

memories are remembered and celebrated, to keep the system going, as it is seen as the

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[113] Richards, "The Imperial Archive."
[114] Foote, Kenneth. "To Remember and Forget: Archives, Memory and Culture," in *American Archivist* 5 (1990).
[115] Atkinson, Judy. *Trauma Trails Recreating Song Lines: The Transgenerational Effects of Trauma in Indigenous Australia.* (North Melbourne: Spinifex Press, 2002); Ross, Luana. *Inventing the Savage: The Social Construction of Native American Criminality.* (University of Texas Press, 2000).
[116] Atkinson, *Trauma Trails Recreating Song Lines,* 187.

past to be remembered, to guide the future. At the same time, other memories of destruction, violence and abuse are to be repressed from memory at the moment of systems interaction. Oral History researcher, Robert Menninger, writes that suppressed memory is part of keeping the conscious mind from the traumatic experience in the past and lingers as a fear to remember.[117] The suppression of violent memory and resistance to violence has a function—to prevent the dominant system's interruption or transformation. Thus, providing access to the records of imperialism as the institutions and infrastructures that make up the modern nation-state resurfaces the trauma that led to such developments. But the violence in these embodied memories are records of a subaltern cognition that has an aversion to institutional and infrastructural coercion to operate and survive as productive citizens within the entropy of the Westphalian order. I return to Michel Foucault's argument in *Archaeology of Knowledge* that the archive is not just a building that holds a collection of records, it is the cultural ordering and process that shapes people's minds about which memories of the social order can and can't be spoken about.[118] The records of the Imperial Archive are those utterances that support continued productivity of the Westphalian order; the records of the community archive are utterances to interrupt and call into question empire's continued productivity.

III. INSULAR CASES

The use of the records continuum model to understand the Imperial Archive can be contextualized in the history Westphalian nation-state formation and interoperability in non-European contexts during the end of the Spanish-American war. First, I will

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[117] Menninger, Robert. "Some Psychological Factors Involved in Oral History Interviewing," in the *Oral History Review* 3 (1975): 74.

[118] Foucault, Michel. *The Archaeology of Knowledge.* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1972).

discuss how the passage of the Treaty of Paris in 1898 documented the transference of the Spanish island colonies of Cuba, Puerto Rico, Guam and the Philippines to U.S. rule. Then, I will discuss how this legal and infrastructural relation became the foundation for the Status of Forces Agreement, which will be discussed in the subsequent section.

The legal cases that defined the juridical shifts of Cuba, Puerto Rico, Guam and the Philippines to U.S. rule became known as the Insular Cases. According to Circuit Court Judge, United State Court of Appeals Juan Torruella, the doctrine of the *Insular Cases* determined which colonies in Oceania and Caribbean were to be incorporated and unincorporated under the U.S. Constitution. In the framework of the records continuum model, the legal records of the Insular Cases were part of capturing the island territories into the juridical relationships in the U.S. system. When the U.S. acquired these territories in 1898, the *Insular Cases* "encompassed three key components of American colonial law: (1) plenary congressional authority over the Spanish island territories and their inhabitants, (2) a distinction between these territories and all other prior acquisitions, based on a newly discovered theory of incorporation, and (3) rules to deal with the 'Philippine problem,' which once established would continue to be the decisive criteria for the consideration of the issues arising from all the territories, even after the Philippine problem had passed."[119] The *Insular Cases* referred to the relationship of non-contiguous colonies of the U.S. to the U.S. Constitution.

Lanny Thompson, author of *Imperial Archipelago: Representation and Rule in the Insular Territories under U.S. Dominion after 1898*, writes about how histories of

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[119] Torruella, Juan R. "The *Insular Case*: The Establishment of a Regime of Political Apartheid," in *University of Pennsylvania Journal of International Law* 29 (2), 2007: 304.

U.S. colonial development between Cuba, Guam, Hawai'i, Philippines and Puerto Rico were interconnected, as if they were part of an "imperial archipelago." He proposes that

> The history of settlement, the development of national culture, and the forms of resistance or collaboration--were the basic materials for the elaboration of discursive practices in the imperial archipelago...The processes of description, by means of representation and narratives, and of evaluation, through the application of normative standards, were translated into law, which was simultaneously legitimized by these same means. Study, judge, and rule: these were the discursive practices that led to the establishment of governments in Cuba, Guam, Hawai'i, the Philippines and Puerto Rico.[120]

Thompson goes on to describe how U.S. Congressional officials would describe, represent and create narratives of the colonies of Cuba, Guam, Hawai'i, Philippines and Puerto Rico would have implications on how they would be governed in relation to the U.S. According to the records continuum model, we can see how U.S. Congressional officials were involved in creating records about these lands. Thompson argues that decisions to make Cuba a protectorate, and to place Guam under military rule, Hawai'i under a territorial government, and the Philippines and Puerto Rico under imperial governance in 1898 were based on research recorded in Congressional documents that reported on the levels in which the genders and races in each context were "civilizable." For instance, in Cuba, the masculinity of Cuban men was taken to indicate that they were capable of running their own government except that the Platt Amendment would make the island a protectorate under the U.S. government. Puerto Rico was seen as not having

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[120] Thompson, Lanny. *Imperial Archipelago: Representation and Rule in the Insular Territories under U.S. Dominion after 1898.* (University of Hawai'i Press: Honolulu, 2010), 254.

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a strong national culture. But because Puerto Rican women were considered "pretty" by those American congressional officials, and Puerto Rican elites collaborated with the U.S. protectorate status to access markets, Puerto Rico became a part of U.S. commercial and Civil Law jurisdiction, and subject to the U.S. Supreme Court.[121] Guam was seen as "child-like," not having any strong national culture, and therefore not capable of self-government. The U.S. assumed control of Guam by establishing a Naval government that was in charge of civil and military affairs, and the island became an un-incorporated territory under U.S. administrators.[122] Philippines armed resistance against American rule after the Spanish-American War, or the Filipino-American War, shaped the Congressional officer's judgment of the women as "ugly," reflecting his argument that Filipinos were not liked, but in need of control. Therefore, the Philippines was given limited self-government as an un-incorporated territory under U.S. administrators. Under strict tutelage, the Philippines established local court systems, under U.S. administrators. The U.S. Supreme Court had ultimate authority over the Philippine Supreme Court.[123] Thompson further argues that during the Spanish-American and Filipino American War, Hawai'i became important to the U.S. Navy because Pearl Harbor was an important coaling station. Thompson describes how congressional reporters described Hawai'i as a beautiful paradise with exotic women and passive men. Since many Euro-Americans had already begun to settle there, Chinese and Japanese immigrants required regulation, and the Hawaiian annexation protest was a minority issue, Hawai'i was seen as an ideal U.S. territory.[124] This desire for Hawai'i to be part of the U.S. compelled the McKinley

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[121] Thompson, *Imperial Archipelago, 50.*
122 Thompson, *Imperial Archipelago*, 253-254.
123 Thompson, *Imperial Archipelago*, 251.
124 Thompson, *Imperial Archipelago,* 247.

administration to send a contingent of U.S. Marines to imprison and overthrow Queen

Lili'uokalani, and incorporate Hawai'i as a territory of the U.S. under the Newlands

Resolution of 1899. Scholars have argued this historical occurrence as an illegal

overthrow because there was no consent of the Hawaiian kingdom to this transference of

power.[125] Then in 1959, Hawai'i was integrated into the U.S. union, although this vote

disregarded the indigenous population's human rights under International Law.[126]

Here we can see how the creation of records that represented these island

countries were part of organizing U.S. jurisdiction over these territories—either

incorporating and non-incorporating them, based on the description of the Congressional

officers. Thompson reveals that the Insular Cases were how the political statuses of Cuba,

Puerto Rico, Guam, the Philippines and Hawai'i were products of U.S. Congressional

officers' subjectively appraising if these peoples and lands should or should not be

incorporated under the U.S. Constitution. The U.S. Constitution can be seen as the

"repository" of legal records that tracks and manages representations of territories under,

or subjects of U.S. legal jurisdiction.[127] But, the effects of U.S. relations with these

territories were not just things written on paper. Rather, there were material implications,

such as the building of military bases, creating legal systems, instigating wars, and

occupying pre-existing jurisdictions. The current political systems of these island

countries today are the pluralization of what U.S. Congressional Officers subjectively

appraised and recorded about these populations at the turn of the 20th century.

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[125] Trask, Mililani. "Hawaiian Sovereignty," In *Asian Settler Colonialism: From Local Governance to the Habits of Everyday Life in Hawai'i.* Candace Fujikane and Jonathan Okamura, Eds. (Honolulu, University of Hawai'i Press, 2008).

[126] Trask, Mililani. "Hawaiian Sovereignty," In *Asian Settler Colonialism: From Local Governance to the Habits of Everyday Life in Hawai'i.* Candace Fujikane and Jonathan Okamura, Eds. (Honolulu, University of Hawai'i Press, 2008).

[127] Sparrow, Bartholomew. *The Insular Cases and the Emergence of American Empire* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2006), 13.

IV. THE STATUS OF FORCES AGREEMENTS (SOFAs)

In *The Insular Cases and the Emergence of American Empire*, Bartholomew Sparrow writes how the imperial legacy of the *Insular Cases* was that the "United States did not have to expand geographically; it could rule informally, instead through other governments, with the help of U.S. forces and international institutions." [128] The doctrine of the Insular Cases gave the U.S. the ability to "divest itself of territories" such as "Cuba, the Philippines and other U.S. territories."[129] This quote reflects the adaptive expansion of the U.S. Imperial Archival jurisdiction before and beyond the Insular Cases, into new eras and regions, much like the strategy of the Holy Roman empire of allowing nation-states to practice their own sovereignties, but to institutionalize militarism as a mechanism to assert balance between nation-states. This next section examines the provenance of the Status of Forces Agreements (SOFAs), and its role in defining U.S. bi-lateral relations with countries that host U.S. military facilities to enforce regional security arrangements. The records' authenticity is enforced through enabling the development of infrastructural and institutional systems that becomes the physical embodiment of the interpretation of security documented on the record. The records' meaning of security is then deployed through those institutions, and the people employed in those institutions, thereby shaping the population's own understanding of security, as they are being organized to operate and innovate within that physical, juridical order. However, the rights of citizens within U.S. base hosting nations are not necessarily protected under the U.S. constitution. In this context, I use the records continuum model to examine the SOFAs as a record that was created to document a kind of orientalist

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[128] Sparrow, *The Insular Cases*, p. 12
[129] Sparrow, *The Insular Cases*, p. 12-13.

relationship between nations. The orientalistic nature of the SOFAs embody the

pluralizations of the Treaties of Extraterritoriality which shaped the racist logic that

subjects Asian nations as inferior to western law and Westphalian discourses of security.

SOFAs are multilateral and bilateral agreements on the status of U.S. Armed

Forces in more than 100 countries. SOFAs are based on previous treaties and agreements

regarding military defense and political-economic cooperation among countries in

Europe, Middle East, Africa, South America, North America and the Pacific.[130] Military

researcher Chalmers Johnson historicizes the SOFAs in Japan and Korea as byproducts of

imperial relations between western nation-states and "orientalized"[131] Asian countries.

The Opium War of 1839-1842 and the Anglo-Chinese War of 1856-1860 were examples

of "British gunboat diplomacy that forced China to open its ports to trade."[132] The Treaty

of Nanking first allowed British to access Chinese ports for trade. But, when the British

were caught smuggling opium from India across China, the Chinese took away British

rights to port.[133] In response, the British asserted a Treaty of Extraterritoriality to

legitimize their use of military violence against the Chinese for resisting their right to

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[130] "Congressional Oversight and Related Issues Concerning International Security Agreements Concluded by the United States." Congressional Research Services, Michael John Garcia and R. Chuck Mason, accessed 22 March 2012. http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/misc/R40614.pdf.

[131] Edward Said's concept of Orientalism discusses how the west produced knowledge about Asian countries as once having had great civilizations, but were backward or feminized, in order to uphold the supremacy, civility and masculinity of western nation-states. (Said, Edward. *Orientalism.* (New York: Vintage Books, 1978).

[132] Fujikane, Candace and Jonathan Okamura, Eds. *Asian Settler Colonialism: From Local Governance to the Habits of Everyday Life in Hawai'i.* (Honolulu, University of Hawai'i Press, 2008), 17.

[133] In 1879-1842, Opium War breaks out between China and Britain as Treaty of Nanking of 1689 defines how China would open its borders to the West. But by amending the Treaty of Nanking in 1842, China cedes Hong Kong to Britain post Opium War. British attack Chinese who finds out they were smuggling Opium from India into China. The U.S. quick to follow Britain's military tactics to push for their dominance in the Asian region. (See Johnson, Chalmers. *Blowback: The Costs and Consequences of American Empire.* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2000). Stoler, Ann. "Colony," in *Political Concepts: A Critical Lexicon* 1 (2010). Accessed February 16, 2011. http://www.politicalconcepts.org/issue1/colony/ Pratt, Julius. *A History of United States Foreign Policy,* Second Edition. (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1965).

access. Kayaoglu writes that extraterritorial courts were the organs of Western juridical extension in racialized, non-Western countries. Westerners in non-western territory would lobby for immunity for crimes committed in non-western territory because they claimed that the territory was lawless, or inferior to western legal judgments of what constituted criminal acts.[134]

The U.S. inherited Britain's imperial tactics of utilizing military violence to assert their power against "Asian Others," such as in Korea, Japan and the Philippines, during the Filipino-American War, World War II and the Cold War.[135] During the Cold War, South Korea, Okinawa and the Philippines were sites of major U.S. bases to store weaponry and fuel ships and airplanes, as well as for the training and Rest and Recreation of troops preparing to go to, or returning from war.[136] The Status of Forces Agreements first emerged during the U.S. Cold War international diplomacy. Some scholars argue that these security agreements emerged to protect the spread of communism. Others assert that it was to expand and protect democracy and the U.S. capitalist regime[137] through transforming politically divided, war torn countries, to support U.S. intervention in anti-colonial liberation and the proxy wars, such as in Southeast and East Asia.[138] The SOFAs were agreements between the U.S. and "friendly" nations to host U.S. military facilities in countries that were strategically located where battles were taking place. The

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[134] Kayaoglu, "Legal Imperialism," 2, 9
[135] Wei and Kamel, *Resistance in Paradise*.
[136] Sturdevant, Saundra P. and Brenda Stoltzfus. *Let the Good Times Roll: Prostitution and the U.S. Military in Asia*. (New York: New York Press, 1992), 48-165. Okinawan Women Act Against Military Violence, "The Declaration of the 'Children-Women-Citizens' Rally on the Violence and Human Rights Violations Against Girls and Women." (Press statement addressed to U.S. President Bill Clinton, Japanese Prime Minister Tomiichi Marayama, U.S. Consul-Okinawa Aloyius M. Oneal and Commander, U.S. Forces-Okinawa Wayne E. Hollings, for presentation in the Okinawan Women's American Peace Caravan, San Francisco, Washington D.C., New York, Honolulu, February 3-17, 1996)
[137] "What is Nato?" North Atlantic Treaty Organization Public Diplomacy Division, accessed March 22, 2012, http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/what_is_nato.htm.
[138] Johnson, *Blowback*.

SOFAs function as co-created and binding documents between the U.S. and national governments in Korea, Japan and the Philippines, so that the latter supports U.S. Westphalian sovereign interests in the region, and also, develops their capacity to emulate this expression of sovereignty.[139]

JAPAN

The emergence in SOFAs appeared in Japan after World War II. After the U.S. dropped the atomic and hydrogen bombs in Nagasaki and Hiroshima, the U.S. helped to shape post-war Japan reconstruction. This was particularly through Article 9 of the Japanese constitution that prevented it from participating in collective-defense operations overseas.[140] In 1951, Japan signed the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation with the U.S., which stated that both Japan and the U.S. would come to each other's defense in case of any attack. It also defined how the U.S. could maintain jurisdiction over U.S. troops if they committed criminal acts on Japanese soil, but that it could defer to Japanese jurisdiction if it so chooses. In 1960, this treaty was concluded and amended because of a case in which a U.S. soldier was tried for killing a Japanese woman.[141] This event catalyzed protest in Japan compelling the U.S. Supreme court to defer its jurisdiction to the Japanese government in order to protect the security alliance between Japan and the U.S.[142] The SOFA was integrated into the amendment of the Treaty, as Article VI, which stated that the U.S. is granted to use land, air, naval forces of facilities and areas in Japan to contribute to the security of Japan and the maintenance of peace and security in the Far

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[139] Kirk, Gwyn and Carolyn Francis Bowen. "Redefining Security: Women Challenge U.S. Military Policy and Practice in East Asia," in Berkeley Women's Law Journal 229 (2000).
[140] International Institute for Strategic Studies, The Military Balance 170 (1996/1997)
[141] "Congressional Oversight and Related Issues Concerning International Security Agreements Concluded by the United States." Congressional Research Services, Michael John Garcia and R. Chuck Mason, accessed 22 March 2012. http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/misc/R40614.pdf, 11.
[142] Congressional Oversight," 12.

East.[143] This treaty was important aspect of supporting national security, the core of Japan-U.S. relations, and the basis for Japan's international relations.[144] In this example, we see how SOFAs tie the landscapes and legal systems of Japan into a U.S. organizational logic of Westphalian nation-state development.

The history of Japan's political subjugation under the U.S. can be traced back to the history of western and U.S. gunboat diplomacy in Asia. Japan began to nationalize during the latter half of the 19th century. It sought to defend its own sovereignty, during at time of increasing western encroachment into Asia, through emulating the form of power being performed by western sovereign nations. In 1879, Japan annexed Okinawa, an island off the southern part of three main Japanese islands, and 0.6% of Japan's territory, as part of its process of becoming an imperial power in Asia. Japan engaged in the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895 and the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905, and World War II of 1939-1945.[145] Today, 75% of Japan's bases are concentrated in Okinawa. The high concentration of military facilities in Okinawa meant that it functioned as a buffer for wars between the U.S. and Japan, particularly during World War II. The presence of bases in Okinawa also led to the instances of sexual violence against local Okinawan women. There have been popular movements in Okinawa to address the chain of command that leads to the double colonization of Okinawa—colonization by Japan's national security policies, and also by U.S. national security policies, which informs Japan's security discourse.[146]

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[143] "Congressional Oversight," 11.
[144] Sasae, Kenichori, *Rethinking Japan-U.S. Relations,* Adelphi Papers (1994), 19. Kirk and Francis, "Redefining Security," 234.
[145] Akibayashi, Kozue and Suzuyo Takazato. "Okinawa: Women's Struggle for Demilitarization." In *The Bases of Empire.* Catherine Lutz, Ed. (New York: New York University Press, 2009), 248.
[146] Akibayashi and Takazato, "Okinawa: Women's Struggle for Demilitarization," 253.

KOREA

After the Japanese occupation in World War II, Korea began to host U.S. bases in the southern part of the peninsula, while the Soviet Union controlled the northern part. This was the split between North and South Korea. In the 1950s, North Korea invaded South Korea, leading to the Korean War. South Korea signed the Mutual Defense Treaty with the U.S. in 1953. This allowed U.S. bases to operate in South Korea. The Status of Forces Agreement updated this treaty.[147] The U.S. invested $12 billion in economic aid to South Korea between 1945-1965. When the South Korean economy grew, the U.S. pressured them to pay for the U.S. bases stationed in their country. In 1999, South Korea provided $334 million equivalent of direct contributions and $441 million in indirect contributions to U.S. forces' non-personnel stationing costs.[148] Here, we see how war was used to destroy pre-existing institutional and infrastructural arrangements and then establish another legal order to legitimize the re-arrangement of institutions and landscapes according to a different order.

PHILIPPINES

The legacies of layered imperialisms contextualize the Visiting Forces Agreement, a version of the SOFA, in the Philippines. The Philippines was a colony of Spain from 1521-1898. Then, the U.S. took control of it since 1899, after the Filipino-American War. Japanese occupation of the Philippines lasted from 1942 to 1945. Centuries of being subjected to other government administrative systems and interests

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[147] Ahn, Soon, et al., *Great Army, Great Father: Militarized Prostitution in Korea* 23 (Kyung S. Hong trans., 1995). Also, Art. 5, cl 1. of the Mutual Defense Treaty of the Republic of Korea and the United States of American states, "It is agreed that the Republic of Korea will furnish for the duration of this Agreement without cost to the United States and make compensation where appropriate to the owners and suppliers thereof all facilities and areas of rights of way." Kirk and Bowen, "Redefining Security," 232.
[148] Carr, Edward, *Yesterday's War, Tomorrow's Peace*, (Economist 1999) 5. Kirk and Bowen, "Redefining Security."

began to shape the Philippine's co-dependent future. After the U.S. regained balance in Asia after World War II, it began to participate in the redevelopment of the Philippines as an independent republic. It developed administrative systems, deployed international economic development projects, and trained Philippine armies.[149] After the Philippines achieved independence in 1946, it signed the U.S. Philippines Mutual Defense Treaty. Through this Treaty, the U.S. used the Philippines to host U.S. bases and facilities for the sake of "their sense of unity and their common determination to defend themselves against external armed attack, so that no potential aggressor could be under illusion that either of them stands alone in the Pacific Area."[150]

Under the Mutual Defense Treaty of 1947, the U.S. furnished military assistance to the Philippines to train and develop their armed forces. Around 23 bases, the 2 largest having been the Subic Bay Naval Base and the Clark Airforce Base in Central Luzon, were created.[151] In 1986, a pro-democracy, anti-bases movement compelled the Philippine government to not renew the Mutual Defense Treaty and close the major U.S. bases in the Philippines.[152] However, from 1991 to 1998, the Visiting Forces Agreement (VFA) was being crafted, to define the treatment of U.S. armed forces visiting, and not stationed in the Philippines.[153] In 1999, the Philippine government ratified the VFA, which grants U.S. military access to unspecific Philippine ports for refueling, supplies,

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[149] Kessler, Richard. *Rebellion and Repression in the Philippines* 34 (Yale University Press 1989). Bello, Walden, David Kinley and Elaine Elinson. *Development Debacle: The World Bank in the Philippines.* (Institute for Food and Development Policy: San Francisco, 1982).
[150] "Congressional Oversight and Related Issues Concerning International Security Agreements Concluded by the United States." Congressional Research Services, Michael John Garcia and R. Chuck Mason, accessed 22 March 2012. http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/misc/R40614.pdf.
[151] Kirk and Francis, "Redefining Security," 239.
[152] Schirmer, Daniel. *Fidel Ramos—The Pentagon's Philippine Friend, 1992-1997* (Friends of the Filipino People, 1997), 7-15.
[153] Garcia and Mason, "Congressional Oversight and Related Issues Concerning International Security Agreements Concluded by the United States," 14.

repairs, and rest and recreation (R & R), increasing U.S. military access into the country since before 1991.[154]   In this example, we see how imperial interests and war made the Philippines a space of contested power. However, legal regimes of the neo-colonial state reflected the continuity of old colonial power that sought to continue the use of the land for foreign interests, such as the hosting of U.S. military bases.

The SOFAs are a product of the history of Imperial Archives' orientalization of Asian sovereign law. It is also a record of the act of reproducing and automating a Eurocentric Westphalian discourse of sovereignty, which is the embodiment of system of government that has racist and orientalist relations with other nations that do not exhibit western legal and security characteristics. The British and U.S. imperial governments legitimized dominance over Asian sovereignty through military force and legal discourse. The SOFAs define how U.S. military bases exist in these countries by addressing provisions such as uniforms, taxes, fees, weapons, radio frequencies, license, customs and criminal jurisdiction over crimes committed by U.S. military personnel in Asian soil.[155] The SOFAs are records that capture how the U.S. relates to countries, not under the U.S. Constitution, to be integrated into the Westphalian international relations. The acceptance of both nations into the SOFA bi-lateral agreements is that it discursively binds the nation under the U.S. "model" of national security. Through co-creating the SOFA/VFA with the subject nations of Korea, Japan, and the Philippines, the latter nations begin to emulate U.S. sovereign power, as it is prescribed within the SOFA. That is, the SOFA is a record that documents and enforces the reproduction of Westphalian sovereignty between the bi-lateral nations by integrating a non-U.S. nation into its

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[154] Kirk and Francis, "Redefining Security," 239.
[155] Garcia and Mason, "Congressional Oversight and Related Issues Concerning International Security Agreements Concluded by the United States."

Imperial Archival apparatus (the legal, institutional and infrastructural arrangement through which Westphalian jurisdiction is performed). Then, the discourse of militarized security as it is described in these bi-lateral agreements becomes the official source, as byproducts of legal archives, through which the possible proofs of security can be achieved.

V. ARCHIVES OF TRANSFORMATION

This next section will discuss the literatures that discuss other typologies of sovereignty that inform the organizational systems of those who have been marginalized within the Westphalian nation-state. The opening of the archival field into the archival multiverse must deal with the political realities that are byproducts of past imperial and colonial inequalities. In this section, I correlate people's movements to my concept of community, which are collectives that are not bound to the logics of institutional apparatuses of the Westphalian nation-state, and who engage in activity and record creation as they transform themselves out of the socializing effects of the Westphalian order. I return to the complex adaptive system as another way to explain how community archives are archival systems that are byproducts of different systems interacting with the Imperial Archival apparatus. Through this interplay, transformation occurs within and between the two entities as they produce new niches of relations of power, as well as irreversible effects that can shift the trajectory of each entity. This section examines the shift from custodial to post-custodial archival paradigms to track how different meanings of the shared term "sovereignty" can be analyzed through studying organizational

contexts of the Westphalian nation-state[156] and community based archives. Attention is placed on the historical experiences of racialized and indigenous groups under the Westphalian nation-state to explain their relationship to the Imperial Archive. This leads to the description of other sets of values and systems that embody community archives, which articulate a different notion of sovereignty.

POST-CUSTODIAL ARCHIVAL FRAMEWORK

One reason for the shift in archival thinking is technological change. Custodial theory functioned in top-down bureaucratic communication settings where archivists were mainly responsible for taking care of records that were no longer of operational use to the organization. However, they would be responsible for keeping relevant records in the repository, and gatekeeping access to them, for the organization's institutional memory.[157] But, with the advent of the computer, electronic records could exponentially proliferate and multiply backlog. In the context of data deluge, archivist's position as a passive receiver of records became increasingly impractical. In addition, electronic transfer of records allowed actors to engage in peer-to-peer communication, bypassing brokered models of communication that were modeled after siloed or hierarchical organizational systems. The shift from custodial to post-custodial archival discourse began to inspire new ways of thinking about the archive that would not be controlled by

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[156] In this section, I discuss how the U.S., U.K. and Australia are Westphalian nation-states. The previous section elaborated on how the U.K. and U.S. are Westphalian nation-states because of drawing from Europe to shape its idea of national sovereignty, and also through settling and establishing administrative systems in other territories to manifest its belonging to the Westphalian standard of international relations. This section will include Australia as a Westphalian nation-state because the contemporary Australian government was a byproduct of British imperial processes, and it established settler administrative systems upon aboriginal Australian territory. Although it was not elaborated on in the earlier discussion of the SOFAs, Australia and the U.S. entered into an agreement concerning the state of U.S. forces in Australia in 1952, through the ANZUS Pact. (Garcia and Mason, "Congressional Oversight and Related Issues Concerning International Security Agreements Concluded by the United States," 18).

[157] Penn, Ira A., et. al. 1989. Records Storage. In Records Management Handbook, 181-212.

gatekeepers; the archivist's role would also not be limited to a specific function within the information creating culture of a broader institution.[158] Post-custodial archivists became interested in the big picture of the record's life in order to provide advice on how the system of information creation, preservation and disposal could be optimized for the overall function of the organization.

The Records Continuum (RC) model traces the contours of an archive through examining record creation and recordkeeping at the evidential, transactional, recordkeeping and identity dimensions.[159] Under the evidential axis, a record becomes evidence of an act that is then archived as the organization's memory of that act. Under the transactional axis, the record documents the type of exchange that occurred between the organization and the act. Under the recordkeeping axis, the record is ingested and kept within an archive. Lastly, under the identity axis, the way that the actors were recorded at the moment of evidential and transactional axes come to shape the identity of the organization. The RC model assists in identifying how events are represented and remembered within an archival system. An event can be interpreted and documented in a multitude of ways within various departments of an organization, or across different organizations. While the previous section characterized the sovereign interests of the Westphalian nation-state, this section seeks to characterize the sovereign interests of community archives, particularly those created by groups racialized and minoritized within Westphalian nation-states. This use of the post-custodial framework will focus on experiences of interaction between actors of the Westphalian nation-states and minoritized communities in order to identify the values through which the latter interprets

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[158] Ridener, *From Polders to Postmodernism,* 70-71.
[159] Upward, "Structuring the Records Continuum Part Two."

sovereignty, and how this defines the jurisdiction and nature of their archives.

THE POLITICAL MISSION OF COMMUNITY ARCHIVES

Among the shifts that technical changes brought to the archival paradigm was the access and interpretation of marginalized groups of national and government archives. Marginalized people gained a sense of power through developing social movement organizations that began to question history. They identified how national and established archives were predominantly reflecting histories of people in power.[160] Global decolonization movements in the 1950s spurred activism in various forms—armed struggle, riots, non-violent civil disobedience, and cultural, educational, political self-determination of indigenous and racialized communities in order to advance social change experiments in countries that were colonies of European nation-states. This was a catalyst for the Civil Rights movements.[161] African American, Asian American, American Indian and Chican@ communities in the U.S., and other marginalized or oppressed communities elsewhere, sought to decolonize themselves.[162] Through resisting segregationist laws and advocating for affirmative action, people from formerly marginalized groups entered into institutions of power, with the vision to change policies and laws. But the evolution of these decolonization movements would show that they would continue to question the very nature of the nation-state, and not just seek representation within its parameters. This will be explored through examining the work of community archives in the U.K., Australia and the U.S. Particular attention is placed

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[160] Yaco, Sonia and Beatriz Betancourt Hardy. "Historians, archivists, and social activism: benefits and costs," in *Archival Science* 13 (2013).

[161] Boggs, Grace Lee. *Living for Change: An Autobiography.* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998).

[162] Louie, Steve and Glenn Omatsu, Eds. *Asian Americans: The Movement and the Moment.* (UCLA Asian American Studies Press, 2006)

on the will of indigenous community archive creators, and how they seek to define their relations outside of the relations prescribed by Westphalian sovereignty.

U.K. archival scholar Andrew Flinn documents how marginalized communities, such as African, Asian and Caribbean, Black LGBT, Moroccan and the local East London communities began to create their own community archives because they did not trust the established archives; instead, they could best represent their histories themselves to inform the national memory.[163] They created their own archival spaces outside of institutional auspices because they felt keeping their records within established archives would misinterpret their history and limit their community's access to their own records.[164] This is how they believed their identities and narratives could be represented within national memory.

In Australia, the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Rights Movement questioned the records being kept in state institutions because of the assumption of Terra Nullius within Australian government legal records that claimed that aboriginal people were not existent, or were sub-humans, part of flora and fauna, at the time of European settlement.[165] The Stolen Generation refers to Australian state policies that stole aboriginal children from their families and put into White homes to "breed" them to be a whiter color and culture. As a result of these policies, generations of aboriginals lost connection to their heritage, and to the families and countries where they were from.

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[163] Flinn, Andrew. "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).

[164] Flinn, Andrew. "Community Histories, Community Archives: Some Opportunities and Challenges," in the *Journal of the Society of Archivists* 28(2) (2007): 151-176.

[165] Gooda, Mick. "The Practical Power of Human Rights: How International Human Rights Standards Can Inform Archival and Recordkeeping Practices." in Archival Science (2011). Duff, Wendy Andrew Flinn, Karen Emily Suurtamm, David Wallace. "Social Justice Impact of Archives: A Preliminary Investigation," in Archival Science (2013).

Despite the violence that these records represented, aboriginal peoples began to see that these records should be made accessible to them, because they referred to them.[166] It also told them about their history of colonization and trauma they experienced under European Australian settler state. Therefore, the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders began to recognize these records as reasons to create their own archives that reflect their communities' processes of resisting these representations and setting value back to their aboriginal cultures and practices.[167]

COMMUNITY BASED ARCHIVAL JURISDICTION

Terry Cook interprets the act of creating community archives as a "shift in core principles…from dominant-culture language, terminology," and with an "awareness of the emotional, religious, symbolic and cultural values that records have" to each community.[168] He goes on to further conceptualize community archives as having their own "juridical significance."[169] Juridical refers to the rules, regulations and best practices understood to be governing a particular archive, and also, the judicial proceedings, or administration of the law. What would be juridical significance of U.S., U.K. and Australian social movement archives given the effect of dominant institutional records on their histories and societal perception about them? As stated earlier, a decolonial episteme critiques the monopoly of western ideas in defining the law, [170] which also

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[166] McKemmish, Sue, Shannon Faulkhead and Lynette Russell. "Dis-Trust in the Archive." (Presented at FARMER conference September 9, 2010).

[167] "About Us," Koorie Heritage Trust. http://www.koorieheritagetrust.com/about_us Accessed 29 June 2013.

[168] Cook, Terry. "Evidence, memory, identity, and community: four shifting archival paradigms," in *Archival Science* 13 (2013): 115-116.

[169] Cook, "Evidence, memory, identity, and community," 117.

[170] Dussel, Enrique. *Philosophy of Liberation.* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1985). Mignolo, Walter D. "Epistemic Disobedience, Independent Thought and Decolonial Freedom," in *Theory, Culture and Society* 26 (2009): 159-181.

informs how the archive itself would function. This re-defining of archival nature relates to archival theories such as parallel provenance[171] that recognizes differing ambiences in which records' origins and meanings are created and contextualized, therefore signifying the multiple orders that contextualize their plural meanings and interpretations.[172] The examples of U.K., U.S. and Australian community archives are complex adaptive systems that contemporaneously co-exist and are embedded within the institutional, infrastructural and legal nature of the Imperial Archive that governs them. But through community archives different jurisdiction, they produce new records and recordkeeping systems through different relations of power, as the tacit, ambient force through which they contextualize the explicit records and information objects that represent their historical memories and identities. Within the apparatuses of the Imperial Archive, namely higher education, communities can produce records and recordkeeping systems as kernels through which shifts in knowledge and value systems can be performed to transform institutions. This is done particularly through changing approaches in social perception and relationality, which impacts institutional leadership and governance.

Another aspect of decolonial jurisdiction is through the recognition of records and memory systems that affirm a fluency with others paradigms of existence, identity and inter-relationship that decenters the "official" cultures of the Westphalian order. Kelvin White described how Afro-Mexicans are underrepresented in Mexican national archives because the archival discipline is based on preserving textual material, reflecting its

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[171] Hurley, Chris. "Parallel Provenance (If these are your records, where are your stories?)," *Archives and Manuscripts: Part 1* ("What if Anything is Archival Description?") 30:1, and *Archives and Manuscripts: Part 2* ("When Something is Not Related to Everything Else") 33:2(2005).
[172] Iacovino, Livia. "Rethinking archival, ethical and legal frameworks for records of Indigenous Australian communities: a participant relationship model of rights and responsibilities," *Archival Science* (2011).

founding on Eurocentric practices. [173] Although the Mexican national philosophy of

mestizaje celebrates the mixing of the Spanish European and the indigenous, racism

continues to discriminate against those who are darker skinned, such as indigenous,

blacks, and black indigenous peoples. White saw how Afro-Mexicans peoples have

passed on their history through songs, *corridos* or dances.[174] White argues that these

kinetic records are evidence of the African presence in Mexico, and their contribution to

Mexican culture.[175] Performance Studies scholar Diana Taylor offers a decolonial

intervention into archival studies by arguing for equitable recognition of the Archive and

the Repertoire. To build equality between the written record with performed expression—

the assemblage of body, clothing, objects, orality and kinetic practices that a cultural

performer uses to communicate an experience—is to critique the supremacy of the textual

or recorded material, over performed, oral knowledge. [176] This politics of knowledge, she

argues, reflects the history of European colonialism over indigenous peoples in the

Americas, and the subjugation of their own ways of knowing and knowledge practices.

Kinetic and oral records, as elements within archives of marginalized

communities, "radicalize public memory"[177] by foregrounding the values that underpin

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[173] White, "Mestizaje and Remembering," 1-2.

[174] White, Kelvin. "Mestizaje and Remembering in Afro-Mexican Communities of the Costa Chica: Implications for Archival Education in Mexico," in *Archival Science* 9 (2009): 1-2.

[175] For more information on pre-columbian contributions of African culture to the Americas, see Van Sertima, Ivan. *They Came Before Columbus: The African Presence in Ancient America.* (New York: Random House, 1986). Ivan Van Sertima is an Africanist and author of *They Came Before Columbus*, a text that argued trade and cultural interaction between Africa and Latin American peoples prior to western contact. He based a part of his argument on what he described as the African features of ancient Olmec heads found in Veracruz, Mexico. Van Sertima's work was criticized as research "without validity." However, Afrocentric scholars argued that resistance to Van Sertima's work was a product of Eurocentrism that dominates the scholarly fields of archaeology and history. Van Sertima's argument generates the possibility of a different global imagination that precedes and goes beyond western historical memory.

[176] Taylor, Diana. *The Archive and the Repertoire: Performing Cultural Memory in the Americas.* (Duke University Press: Durham, 2007).

[177] Flinn, Andrew, Mary Stevens, and Elizabeth Shepherd. "Whose Memories, Whose Archives? Independent Community Archives, Autonomy and the Mainstream," Archival Science 9 (2009): 71-86.

certain ways of remembering, knowing and communicating. Helen Verran notes how the

Aboriginal Yolngu of Australia collects and distributes specific foodstuffs according to a

collective memory to continue and support the survival of their local community.

Contrastingly, academic environmental scientists collect data through their empirical,

field research and distribute them as written texts, tables, and graphs for a broader

national and international scientific community. This example reveals different networks

of knowledge, and accountabilities, between the scientists and Yolngu communities. The

Yolngu prioritize accountability to their local community, paying attention to how their

classificatory actions impact the people and the environment around them. On the other

hand, the scientists' application of standardized classificatory models is to collect

information for a translocal community, at national and international levels.[178] This

example reveals different interests between how classification of the environment is

applied and communicated. Yolngu classification is toward local self-governance that

bases its accountability on interpersonal communication, and local human-ecological

relations. Scientists accountability are to apply classifications of the environment

according to translocal standards, so that what is found in the local can be understood by

translocal audiences.[179] The difference of the purpose behind classification of the

environment is based on what that knowledge will be used for. Will the local knowledge

be used to help people that are locally based? Or, will the knowledge be taken and used in

another context, removed from the peoples and needs it originated from?

If we consider the local environment as a kind of archive, and the various

[178] Verran, Helen. "A Postcolonial Moment in Science Studies: Alternative Firing Regimes of
Environmental Scientists and Aboriginal Landowners," in *Social Studies of Science* 32 (2002): 753
[179] Stillman, Amy Ku'uleialoha, "Of the People Who Love the Land: Vernacular
History in the Poetry of Modern Hawaiian Hula, " in *Amerasia Journal* 28 (2002): 85-108.

practices of how Yolngu and scientists classify features in the environment according to a specific goal, decolonial jurisdiction reveals the multiple ambiences that can surround this archive. There is no one way, or a singular ambience, of interpreting it.[180] However, as racialized and indigenous people's movements have shown, the recognition of this plural knowledge is a first step in a longer process of structural change--how can this recognition of plural knowledge transform how the physical space has been organized according to a singular system of knowledge that previously relegated the "Other" as inferior?[181]

Indigenous rights advocates describe how the Westphalian nation-state juridical order not only has implications for defining knowledge and memory of a specific cultural group; it also shapes inter-cultural relations. Taiake Alfred has called for the need to "disconnect the notion of sovereignty from its Western, legal roots, and to transform it." He notes how indigenous human rights knowledge and memory systems of inter-relation are emerging based on "respect, not on imperial, totalizing or assimilative impulses."[182] Cherokee Scholar Andrea Smith describes American Indian women's notions of sovereignty as an "active living process" that "encompasses responsibility, reciprocity" among all living beings and related connections to the earth, such as "other human

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[180] Feminist Scholar Sandra Harding advocates for the plurality of science, rather than the singularity of science. Drawing from Thomas Kuhn's on Scientific Revolution, she argues against the fallacy of a unified science that assumes a universal logic that underpins scientific practice in order to highlight how scientific practice also exists in non-western, non-academic and non-male contexts. She sees these Other contexts as having methodologies and historical contexts that determine what is sound scientific practice, rupturing the dominance of positivistic science as the only method in which reality can be examined to produce facts, which would then be deployed to construct social, political and economic realities. (Harding, Sandra. *Sciences from Below: Feminisms, Postcolonialities and Modernities*. (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008).

[181] Fals-Borda, Orlando and Mohammad Anisur Rahman. "Some Basic Ingredients," in *Action and Knowledge: Breaking the Monopoly with Participatory Action Research*. (New York: Apex Press, 1991). Aquino, Maria Pilar and Maria Jose Rosado-Nunes, Eds. *Feminist Intercultural Theory: Latina Explorations for a Just World*. (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 2007), 45.

[182] Alfred, Taiaiake. "Sovereignty" in *A Companion to American History*. Ed. Philip J. Deloria and Neal A. Salisbury. (Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2002), 460-474.

beings, buffalo, wolves, fish, trees." All of these entities and their communities are nations that are part of a different kind of sovereignty in which there is no competition or domination across differences because each are an "equal part of the creation, interdependent, interwoven." Under this sovereignty, no one is excluded--if even one of the individuals or nations are imprisoned, it would mean that everyone and everything else who is interconnected is also not free.[183] Here, Alfred and Smith critique totalizing, assimilating, competing and domineering relations that characterize Westphalian hegemonic notions of sovereignty and international relations, as argued earlier in this chapter.

However, Smith recognizes that since global imperialism and colonization, people of different ethnicities, genders, classes and nationalities have become implicated and complicit within the laws and structures of the nation-state, causing people to be divided and competing against each other to access scarce benefits. Therefore, she notes "flexible sovereignty," that is not about separatism, or the sole focus on advancing a particular group's interest, but about relating to other groups. Cultural Studies scholar James Clifford cites Jean Marie Tjibaou, who writes that sovereignty could never be separatist as an end in itself: "It's sovereignty that gives us the right and the power to negotiate interdependencies."[184] This process of negotiating relations to other groups becomes the transformative process because it requires unlearning imperial, totalizing or assimilative relations taught living within the institutions that comprise the Westphalian nation-state. This requires people to recognize and reflect on how their own heritages may have internalized cultures of capitalism of the Westphalian nation-state, and they

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[183] Smith, Andrea. "U.S. Empire and the War Against Native Sovereignty," in *Conquest: Sexual Violence and American Indian Genocide*, (South End Press 2005), 186-187.
[184] Clifford, James. "Indigenous Articulations," in *The Contemporary Pacific* 13 (2) (2001): 468-90.

must struggle against those tendencies in order for flexible sovereignty to be achieved across cultures.[185] These indigenous articulations of sovereignty become a different jurisdiction that drives community archives--activity of racialized and minoritized groups that creates and keep records toward a decolonial vision. This activity is based on the process people's social movements transforming out of the hegemonic, objectifying, and assimilative impulses of Westphalian nation-state's militaristic and capitalistic relations of production that attempt to socialize them into a particular type of inter-relation.

Community organizing took forms such as identity-based movements to facilitate the decolonization of communities that had been educated and socialized over multiple generations about their ethnic and cultural inferiority to other groups in society.[186] There was also cross-cultural organizing, such as collaborations across ethnic, gender, class and national lines, in order to reconnect communities to larger visions of resistance through transformation of governance systems that organized individual and collective lives within systems of oppression.[187] Leah Lievrouw describes how activists use new media to reconfigure, modify and adapt technologies to resist fixation, stabilization and centralization.[188] Similarly, the academy can be seen as a technology of the nation-state that produces knowledge through its function of facilitating research and of keeping archives. The university was another terrain for activists to support the larger struggle for under-represented and discriminated social groups' human rights through accessing the university and participating in knowledge production as intervention to "subvert

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[185] Smith, "U.S. Empire and the War Against Native Sovereignty," 186-187.
[186] Louie and Omatsu, "Asian Americans."
[187] Boggs, Grace Lee. *The Next American Revolution: Sustainable Activism for the Twenty-First Century.* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012). Boggs, *Living for Change.* Higashida, Cheryl. *Black Internationalist Feminism: Women Writers of the Black Left 1945-1995.* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2011).
[188] Lievrouw, "Oppositional and Activist New Media," 8.

commonsense or taken-for-granted meanings"[189] about who they are. These movements produced intellectuals and writers[190] who sought to advance social justice through access to knowledge production and higher education. By shaping disciplinary and professional knowledge, they would transform an institution within the apparatus of the Westphalian nation-state that is a site where societal memory, present and future is defined.[191]

However, academia and access to the academic archive, continues to be a contested space in the work for social justice. In the U.S., the university functions as an institution within the nation-state underpinned by the law of capitalism. Archives, as spaces of institutional memory and repositories of data, are governed by commoditized space and access. First, in order to access American higher education, tuition is necessary. Although some universities, like the University of California Los Angeles, give scholarships for low-income and minority students, the increasing cost of tuition makes it difficult for students from low-income or marginalized backgrounds who are not scholarship recipients to access the university. The university is a scarce space that is limited in the number of people it can allow into its auspices. Access to economic resources is among those defining features. This logic of scarcity to academic access is reflective of the scarcity of archival space. Similar to the fact that not everyone can access higher education, not everything can be admitted into archives—academia and archives are expensive real estate. There is a need to purchase or rent buildings or rooms that are climate controlled 24 hours a day, 365 days a year. Non-rusting shelves, acid free boxes and folders, computers, servers, office supplies and staff labor all need to be

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[189] Lievrouw, "Oppositional and Activist New Media," 6.
[190] Keown, Michelle. "The 1970s and Beyond," in *Pacific Islands Writing: The Postcolonial Literatures of Aotearoa/New Zealand and Oceania.* (Oxford University Press, 2007), 112-113.
[191] Hu-DeHart, Evelyn. "The History, Development, and Future of Ethnic Studies," in *The Phi Delta Kappan* 75 (1) (1993): 50-54.

paid for. The scarcity of space lends to the development of memory-keeping

infrastructure to protect that space, and maintain its exclusivity from the outside, in order

to designate the value of what is within it. The records within the archival repository

become subjected to objectification and commoditization as their identities must be

inventoried, and access controlled, in order to protect the value of the collections

importance for the future, which drives what is worthy of investment for the archive's

funders and managers. Therefore, although particular Ethnic Studies collections may be

created, practices of inclusion and exclusion will still occur, and ways of preserving them

will have to conform to the parameters of institutional infrastructure.

The establishment of Ethnic Studies within particular U.S. universities was a

product of social movement activity that sought to access, and transform the function of

the university, which, at the time, was seen as a Eurocentric and classed enterprise. For

example, in San Francisco and Los Angeles, community movements of the 1970s were

crossing racial, class, gender and national boundaries in order to understand the systemic

nature of structures of imperialism that were causing wars in Vietnam and implicating

American people and institutions in the process.[192] In addition, communities were

organizing services for their own communities because their governments were not

providing them. The vision for Ethnic Studies was to extend the values of community

organizing into scholarship, toward dismantling systems of institutionalized oppression.

Accessing the university would be a way for some activists to gain meritocratic power to

develop policies and institutional spaces to provide infrastructure and educational

resources for their communities. However, social movement access to the university

meant the clarification of purpose to fit within the commoditized function of an

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[192] Louie and Omatsu, "Asian Americans."

institution bound to market forces. This occurred through establishing essentialized

identitarian boundaries to focus the purpose of social movement research. African

American Studies, Asian American Studies, Arab American Studies, Latino/a Studies,

American Indian Studies, Postcolonial Studies,[193] Women Studies, Lesbian Gay Bi

Sexual and Transgender (LGBT) Studies were fields of study created[194] to identify where

specific "minority" issues could be studied. Although these institutional structures may

reflect the racialization, gendering and siloization of identity, histories, cultures and

memories, Feminist Scholar Sandra Harding argues that these identity based formations

have been crucial for students who identify with those groupings to link themselves and

their scholarship to the community collective from which they identify.[195] In addition, the

emergence of these specific disciplinary spaces have been linked through cross-listed

courses and intellectually networked departments that encourage students to examine an

issue from interdisciplinary perspectives.

However, the Critical Ethnic Studies Association (CESA) emerged as a critical

innovation of Ethnic Studies scholarship, to mark how

> On the one hand, as ethnic studies has become more legitimized in the university,
>
> it has frequently done so by distancing itself from those very international social
>
> movements that were the triggers for its genesis. On the other hand, ethnic
>
> studies departments have always existed at the periphery of the academic
>
> industrial complex in the university undercommons, but they have been further

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[193] "About," Critical Ethnic Studies Association, accessed October 16, 2013,
https://criticalethnicstudies.org/content/about.
[194] I draw from my observation of the function of Women and Gender Studies and LGBT Studies at UCLA,
and also from John Ridener, to include how these other disciplinary formations were product of women and
LGBT movements intervened in the university. (See Ridener, *From Polders to Postmodernism).*
[195] Harding, *Sciences from Below*.

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marginalized through funding cuts in the wake of the 2008 global economic

crisis.[196]

An example of the marginalization of Ethnic Studies was the 2010 Arizona State Senate

Bill 2281 that made it illegal to teach information that "promotes the overthrow of the

U.S. government, promotes resentment toward a race or class of people, are only

designed for pupils of a particular ethnic group, and advocates for ethnic solidarity

instead of treatment as individuals."[197] This bill reflected a collective assumption among

legislators in Arizona that all histories are equally understood. The American social

movements of the 1960s and 1970s, including those that led to the founding of Ethnic

Studies research programs, protested the U.S. military and corporate interventions abroad

because these were about furthering the profit making agendas of capitalist industries

abandoning workers in the U.S., and moving abroad to acquire labor and resources at

cheaper costs.[198] Since then, many immigrants from developing nations such as Central

America and Southeast Asia have come to the U.S. because their own societies have been

destabilized by U.S. (and other imperial) interventionist policies that created the context

for civil wars, corrupt governments and depressed economies.[199] HB 2281 was produced

out of a value system determined by economic interests that obscure other historical and

political understandings of why immigrant border crossings are taking place. This is an

example of what Critical Ethnic Studies is saying—when knowledge of Ethnic Studies is

marginalized in society by lawmakers, it has a direct effect on the acceptability of its

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[196] "About."

[197] Arizona State House of Representatives. House Bill 2281. 49th Legislature, 2nd Regular Session. Accessed May 30, 2010. www.azleg.gov/legtext/49leg/2r/bills/hb2281s.pdf. Arizona State Senate. Fact Sheet for S.B. 1070. 49th Legislature, 2nd Regular Session. Accessed May 30, 2010 http://www.azleg.gov/legtext/49leg/2r/summary/s.1070pshs.doc.htm.

[198] Louie and Omatsu, *Asian Americans*. Rosca, Ninotchka. *At Home in the World: Portrait of a Revolutionary*. (North Carolina: Open Hand Publishing, 2004).

[199] Galeano, Eduardo. *Open Veins of Latin America*. (New York: Monthly Reviewed Press, 1973).

presence within education systems. This pressure compels some Ethnic Studies interests to rethink former practices of radically questioning and challenging the law in order to protect their presence in the universities. This means compromising some aspects of the revolutionary fervor of Ethnic Studies' original vision to conform to institutional demands. To wholly sacrifice Ethnic Studies position within the university will cause set backs in broader U.S. society that still has disparities in historical and cross-cultural understanding.

CESA also comments on an increasing withdrawal of Ethnic Studies scholarship to address these broader societal issues: "While CESA does not romanticize social movements or prescribe a specific relationship between scholars and activists, we seek to call into question on professionalization within ethnic studies and the concomitant refusal to interrogate the politics of the academic industrial complex or to engage with broader movements for social transformation."[200] In his book *American Higher Education: A History*, Christopher Lucas explains the terrain upon which the vision of Ethnic Studies must negotiate: the purpose of knowledge production is to get a job in the commercializing university where academic standards balance between opportunity to achieve excellence and the market model where tuition transforms education into a commodity. Information is seen as a "product" to be packaged and marketed, knowledge bundled into credits and "delivered" via an instructional "system" and students are seen as "consumers" or "resources" or "human capital" awaiting batch processing …"[201] Social movement entry into the university has been fraught with tensions as it negotiates the functions of institutions that are contextualized within a Westphalian nation-state

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[200] "About."

[201] Lucas, Christopher. *American higher Education: A History*, Second Edition. (Palgrave MacMillan, 2006), 319.

apparatus. Institutional vision is not congruent with the foundations of social movements that gave rise to Ethnic Studies. The history of Ethnic Studies, as an example of a community based archival jurisdiction, grapples with the tension of access and representation within the academic institution as kind of disciplinary archive processing students to conform into the market system. Since, the academic institutional archive is part of the nation-state apparatus, access and representation in this archive is not the end goal to achieve equity and respect. The founding and continuation of Ethnic Studies programs reveal how scholar-activists have navigated the explicit structures and institutional memory of academic institutions to create space and scholarship from which marginalized communities' experiences and memories can be validated, studied and built upon.[202] But Critical Ethnic Studies reveals that there is a need to cultivate that tacit awareness and vigilance about the space that they have accessed, and how it is subtly shaping and re-shaping relations differently from the founding visions of the Ethnic Studies movement.

The vision of Ethnic Studies, based on a decolonial archival jurisdiction, is to play a role in the transformation of the academic archival apparatus through generating what Bill Readings calls "communities of dissensus."[203] Communities of dissensus are communities of scholars that refuse capitulation as passive subjects to the neoliberalizing university. These types of scholars work in academia's machinery to access space and resources to conduct research that deconstruct boundaries that produce ethnic, class, gender, and national divisions, and to produce scholarship on the systemic nature of oppression that cuts across and implicates various identities and positionalities. The

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[202] Calhoun, Craig. *Engaging Contradictions: Theory, Politics and Methods of Activist Scholarship.* Charles R. Hale, Ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008).
[203] Readings, Bill. *The University in Ruins.* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996), 191.

critical vigilance of the material, political, economic and ideological structures of knowledge these scholars inhabit and navigate becomes the practice of decolonization. They seek to rupture the universalization of colonization, as it orders time, order, and selfhood, to draw from different and suppressed knowledge systems, to shed light on the pathways in which non-hegemonic, non-assimilating epistemologies and ontologies of seeing and being in the world can be articulated, practiced, and innovated. In this way, the university, as once a technology of oppression, can become an instrument in the production of liberation that expresses the values and aesthetics of the oppressed, to communicate and produce conditions that fulfill their aspirations and visions of wellbeing.[204]

VI. CONCLUSION

My approach to this literature review was shaped by initial analysis of content on the IWNAM records as byproducts of a community archive, and the SOFA and VFA records as byproducts of the Imperial Archive. This method allowed me to recognize the politics and inter-relation between the IWNAM archive and the Imperial Archive. This literature review defines the "archive" broadly, a jurisdiction that drives record creation and recordkeeping that structure a material and ideological reality that people inhabit to interpret the past, understand the present, and envision the future. This definition allows the existence of an archival multiverse, or the infinite ways that records and archives can be defined. But this definition also recognizes the politics between these records and archives. It is in these politics that the archival nature of the Imperial Archive and the community archive can be defined.

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[204] Dussel, Enrique. *Philosophy of Liberation.* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1985).

This chapter examined parallels between the practices of governance within conventional archives and the Westphalian nation-state: the competition to be remembered within the scarce space of a repository is a microcosm of the macroprocesses of competition among nation-states to achieve sovereign power over contested territory. Examination of the Westphalian nation-state contextualizes European and Anglo-American governance, international relations, and memory-interests. Examining the jurisdiction of Westphalian sovereignty reveals how the legal, institutional and infrastructural apparatuses of European and European-settler nation-states as an archival system. To express the identity of a sovereign nation, European elites engaged in record creation, or making treaties and agreements, to maintain international relations, to document the rights and responsibilities to territories they gained jurisdiction over, and to define their relation to territories not yet under their jurisdiction. The globalization of Westphalian discourses of sovereignty replicates in non-European contexts through imperial nation-states delegitimization and destruction of coexisting governance systems via military violence, and the establishment of colonial settlements or administrative infrastructures that create and uphold legal systems to assert the imperial Westphalian government's sovereignty over that territory. The conceptualization of the Imperial Archive as an archival system is comprised by the generative power of legal records in producing and upholding institutional and infrastructural apparatuses, which are seen as three-dimensional records of the dominant sovereign power upon the archival landscape of contested territory. This broad conceptualization of the "archive" explains how inhabitants' bodies and memories become records that are archived to perform and perceive their position in territory, in ways that are interoperable to the dominant order.

The shift from custodial to post-custodial archival practice creates space to recognize the dynamism of the archival multiverse, particularly when the Imperial Archive was created by and gains its legitimacy through community archives. But community archives are driven by another jurisdiction of sovereignty, which I defined as the memory and present of racialized and minoritized groups according to pre-existing jurisdictions that precedes and co-exists in the dominant order. Given their present awareness of the settler jurisdiction, the jurisdiction of these community archives is based on activity, record creation and recordkeeping toward a decolonial vision to resist embodying the assimilative, totalizing relations of the Westphalian order. Rather, this vision seeks to affirm a notion of sovereignty that reclaims self-hoods and nation-hoods based on respecting the diversity, autonomy and flexible interdependence of all beings. An example of how this community based archival jurisdiction is materialized and applied is in the Ethnic Studies movement in academic institutions. The Ethnic Studies movement is exemplified as a community archive that contests the meaning and purpose of producing knowledge in academia, as one kind of institution that produces the memory, present awareness and future of the Westphalian nation-state apparatus. The record creation and recordkeeping that documents Ethnic Studies' transformative will does not only materialize as paper and digital records, but engages with oral and kinetic knowledge. These mediums are contested spaces where the politics between the Imperial Archive and community archive are located.

CHAPTER 2: RESEARCH DESIGN

Indigenous researcher, Linda Tuhiwai Smith, and Postcolonial Theorist Dipesh

Chakrabarty critique colonial research that seeks to "know" something by capturing and

fixing a dynamic subject so that it can be exhaustively known by the researcher. The

researcher becomes the expert on the subject when his or her knowledge is documented

in books and records that are then made publically accessible within established libraries

and archives. This approach to research is seen as a reproduction of colonial

epistemologies in that the researcher is placed in an elitist position that brings civility to

the "Other" by denying that it has its own epistemology and jurisdiction,[205] and then,

insisting that it, as an infantilized, primitive subject, needs to enter into the researcher's

gaze in order to be integrated into western knowability.[206] This research design seeks to

challenge the idea of the researcher seeking to know the totality of a subject so that its

parts can enter into the archive for more scientific dissection. Rather, this research design

seeks to model a type of inquiry in which the researcher attempts to positions herself

within the epistemological and ontological view that the subject describes of the world, in

order to describe the implications of the subject's knowledge for the researcher's own

position in the world. I draw from John Budd's interpretation of philosopher Edmund

Husserl's definition of epistemology and ontology, which he describes in the context of

> "information seeking experiences….[which is] contingent on, among other things,
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> prior knowledge and other information." Thus, "Husserl does not propose a
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> theory of knowledge; rather he seeks to detail a science that could result in

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[205] Smith, Linda Tuhiwai. "Research Through Imperial Eyes." In *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (London: Zed Books, 1999).
[206] Chakrabarty, Dipesh. "Minority Histories, Subaltern Pasts," in *Perspectives*. (American Historical Association, 1997) http://www.historians.org/perspectives/issues/1997/9711/9711VIE1.cfm

knowledge.... It could be argued that his ontological project is not divorced from epistemology; he attempts to provide a way to gain a deeper understanding of being....."[207]

I also draw from Budd's interpretation of Merleau Ponty's conjoining of epistemology and ontology to discuss the IWNAM's epistemology of militarized security as a "phenomenological world" that has a physical ontology created and caused by a kind of consciousness that seeks to build upon and reproduce it. Ponty notes that the phenomenological world can be "sensed" through the paths of various experiences intersecting, and where personal and other people's experience intersect and engage each other like gears."[208] Similarly, the IWNAM "senses" the elements of militarism as people of different countries and cultures intersect, sharing their local experiences in order to illustrate the material and psychic natures of global militarization.

This chapter will discuss the research methodologies used to answer the following questions: 1) What is the International Women's Network Against Militarism's (IWNAM's) political epistemology of security? 2) What are the archival systems to evidence this epistemology? First, the chapter recounts literature written by IWNAM participants to describe the functions of their activity. This provides the context to explain the IWNAM's identity. This background information will help to explain the research methodologies used to examine the IWNAM archival system, which are technical, social and cultural systems that embody the IWNAM's knowledge production process (research, data collection, documentation and presentation). Archival

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[207] Budd, John. "Phenomenology and information studies." In *Journal of Documentation* 61(1)(2005): 47-48.
[208] Merleau-Ponty, M. *The Phenomenology of Perception,* trans. by Smith, C., (Routledge, London, 1962), xx). Budd, John. "Phenomenology and information studies." In *Journal of Documentation* 61(1)(2005): 51.

methodologies, autoethnography, interviews and action research were used to examine

the IWNAM as a community archive that is contextualized within the Imperial Archive.

But the IWNAM activity creates archives that document how people currently embedded

in militarized orders understand and respond to militarism. The goal of this research

design is to describe an inquiry of the IWNAM not as a subject to archive, but as a

subject that knows and archives itself.

I. WHAT IS THE IWNAM?

FUNCTION

First, I draw from the records continuum model to contextualize the

transactionality dimension--transaction/act, activity, function and purpose[209]--of the

IWNAM. What are the acts that characterize the transactions of participants at IWNAM

meetings? What are the activities they engage in? How do these activities help to

understand what is the function and purpose of IWNAM meetings? Chapter 3 will go

into depth on the activities that the IWNAM engages in. But for this section, I will

discuss written literature by members of the IWNAM to describe their function and

purpose. This will help to provide a context for theorizing its identity based on the

records they have created to represent how they understand the militarized world they

live in.

The IWNAM transactions are based on relationships among people from different

countries who engage in activity to put an end to militarism. After being in

communication, they decide who will host a meeting to get into deeper conversation

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[209] Upward, Frank. "The Records Continuum." In *Archives: Recordkeeping in Society*. Sue McKemmish, Michael Piggott, Barbara Reed and Frank Upward, Eds. (Wagga Wagga and New South Wales: Centre for Information Studies, 2005), 203.

about the issue so they can create a strategy for collective action together. A small committee collaborates on writing grant applications reflecting on the theme of the meeting, who will be attending, and the specifications for hosting. This includes sleeping rooms for delegates, meeting rooms for internal discussions, venue for public presentations, site visits, transportation and meals (breakfast, lunch and dinner). The IWNAM engage in transactions with invited delegates, as well as local services and institutions.

Sociologist of Science Robert Merton described "invisible colleges" as self-organized spaces of knowledge between scholars from different disciplines that do not necessarily get the academic support from their departments to engage in such collaborations.[210] Similarly, the IWNAM functions as an "invisible college" because their activities are self-organized by women who exchange information and produce critical knowledge on their experiences under U.S. militarism in nations that engage in war and host bases. The IWNAM activities may or may not be centered on academic institutions. However, there is a commitment to learning about the local community history, and from one another. The place of learning is "deterritorialized"[211] from conventional sites of knowledge production, such as academia; learning also occurs in the broader landscape of cities, towns and rural areas, where the phenomenon of militarism has developed, continues to operate, or left its impact. The IWNAM meetings locate sites of knowledge within and beyond commodified and bureaucratized sites, to sites where knowledge is being created but difficult to locate because its seeks to be autonomous from societal

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[210] Merton, Robert. "The Matthew Effect in Science II: Cumulative Advantage and the Symbolism of Intellectual Property," in *ISIS*, 79 (1988): 606-623
[211] Critical Art Ensemble. "Nomadic Power and Cultural Resistance." In *The Electronic Disturbance*. (New York: Autonomedia, 1994), 17-20.

authority.[212]

The main activity of the IWNAM is to network, share experiences of militarism and strategies of resistance. The purpose of this is to organize coordinated action across countries to address militarism. The women come from different classes who share experiences of what it means to live in a militarized order.[213] The founders and delegates of the IWNAM cultivate a subcultural literacy on militarism through "hyper self-reflexivity to events, styles, ideas and issues"[214] of militarization. Through meeting activities, such as the sharing of country reports, site visits to impacted sites, art and cultural sharing, public events with media and local communities, they select, capture, subvert, recombine and re-represent infrastructures and experiences of militarization to generate new meanings that inspire people to transform this order.[215] The sharing of these different viewpoints reveals a systemic view of militarism that is very intimate and local, but also goes beyond each of their social locations. The design of IWNAM meetings attempt to transmit transformative knowledge on what it means to live within militarism in order to rupture the blindness of privilege that disregards the dangerous pervasiveness of this type of structural and ideological oppression.

By bringing together women from structurally unequal parts of the world, the meetings facilitate a "solidarity perspective" which

[212] Ibid.

[213] Enloe, Cynthia. "A Feminist Perspective on Foreign Military Bases," in *The Sun Never Sets...: Confronting the Network of Foreign U.S. Military Bases.* Joseph Gerson and Bruce Brichard, Eds. (South End Press: Boston, 1991). De Schmidt, Aurora Camacho. "Voices of Hope and Anger," in *The Sun Never Sets...: Confronting the Network of Foreign U.S. Military Bases.* Joseph Gerson and Bruce Brichard, Eds. (South End Press: Boston, 1991). Fals-Borda, Orlando and Mohammad Anisur Rahman. "Some Basic Ingredients," in *Action and Knowledge: Breaking the Monopoly with Participatory Action Research.* (New York: Apex Press, 1991).

[214] Lievrouw, Leah. "Oppositional and Activist New Media: Remediation, Reconfiguration, Participation." (Department of Information Studies, University of California, Los Angeles, 2006), 6.

[215] Lievrouw, "Oppositional and Activist New Media," 6.

requires understanding the historical and experiential specificities and differences

of women's lives as well as the historical, and experiential connections between

women from different national, racial and cultural communities ... it suggests

organizing ... around social and economic processes and histories of various

communities of women in particular substantive areas like sex work,

militarization, environmental justice, the prison/industrial complex, and human

rights, and look for points of contact and connection as well as disjunctures...[216]

At the meetings, site visits to a militarized place within the host country helps to expose

participants to the historical and experiential specificities of local communities under

militarization. Another meeting activity includes women from different countries sharing

reports about what is happening in their own country with regards to militarization. This

facilitates points of connection through which one can reflect on the negative effects of

militarization in one place and in other places, breaking the sense of isolation and

alienation. But, the meetings also raise dissimilarities among women, which illustrates

where each individual stands in the continuum of national and global hierarchies.

Consciousness raising occurs within individuals and the broader collective as they

recognize the system of oppression that interconnects their lives. Assumptions of each

other, learned through national education or medias, shift.

      The IWNAM's community based archival jurisdiction is based on the values and

epistemologies of decolonization and demilitarization. Juridical refers to a legal system of

rules that bind social groups and regulate legal facts dealing with social and legal

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[216] Mohanty, *Feminism Without Borders.*

relationships.[217] The activity that characterizes IWNAM's jurisdiction reflects a critical relationship to the law that currently legitimizes militarized orders as it is integral for the Westphalian nation-states' security. The critical relationship to the law means that although the IWNAM understands their embeddedness within militarized orders, their activities are still bound to the militaristic national and international orders in order to pragmatically organize meetings. One of the articles authored by IWNAM participants, "Women Working Across Borders for Peace and Genuine Security," describes the concrete challenges in organizing international meetings.[218]

First, the monetary currency exchange is unequal across nations so it is harder for women from poorer women to have the funds to travel outside of their country. Therefore, the U.S. based partner, and to some degree, partners in Japan, have played roles in fundraising to host these meetings. These countries' imperial pasts position them as having more economic power and thus capable of accessing funds. However, on the part of partners from these industrialized nations, funding for this type of work is not easy to come by. In order to address this disparity, U.S. activists translated social movement values into market systems and capitalist knowledge in order to build alternative philanthropic and wealth building institutions focused on funding community based, social justice projects. Although this work has been critiqued as part of the shifting landscape of the neo-liberal economy,[219] these institutions generated the possibility for community leaders to create spaces where formerly voiceless groups could diversify

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[217] Iacovina, Livia. "Recordkeeping and juridical governance" In *Archives: Recordkeeping in Society*. Sue McKemmish, Michael Piggott, Barbara Reed and Frank Upward, Eds. (Wagga Wagga and New South Wales: Centre for Information Studies, 2005), 259.

[218] Cachola, Ellen-Rae, Gwyn Kirk, Lisalinda Natividad and Maria Reinat Pumarejo. "Women Working Across Borders for Peace and Genuine Security," in *Peace Review: A Journal of Social Justice*, 22 (2010): 164-170.

[219] INCITE! Women of Color Against Violence. *The Revolution Will Not Be Funded: Beyond the Non-Profit Industrial Complex.* (Boston: South End Press, 2009).

efforts and visions of development. The Global Fund for Women is an example of alternative philanthropic organizations that distributed grants to women led social justice projects such as the IWNAM.[220]

Second, attendance at international meeting requires visas, revealing the unequal political-economic relationships between countries. For example, U.S. and European women have an easier time traveling because their passports are issued by nation-states that have stronger political and economic advantage than other countries in the world. Once they have their passports, they can just book a flight, go to the airport, and arrive at their destination, relatively without hassle. But for women holding passports from other countries like the Philippines, travels to the U.S. and its territories requires them to apply for visas, queue at embassies, and pay for processing fees—time and resources that may be scarce for them. The inequality of power among national passports, as records of citizens' jurisdictions, is actualized in the differences in mobility and access across borders, among citizens of particular countries of origin.

Third, although translation from English to Japanese, Korean, Spanish, and Filipino is performed at the IWNAM meetings, English is still the dominant language. Given that English is the common language among most participants, non-English speakers cannot directly participate in the face-to-face meeting; they are dependent on translators to interpret from the English conversation to their languages and vice versa. When non-English speakers are a step behind in the conversation, it is difficult for them to speak to comments that are raised in a particular moment, especially if the conversation moves quickly. It is the responsibility of each IWNAM participant to be

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[220] Kirk, Gwyn. "Building Genuine Security: The International Women's Network Against Militarism." In *Feminist Africa* 10(2008): 125.

sensitive to the politics of language and the processes of translation, in order to contribute to balancing the inequalities of language and semantic nuances amongst the multi-lingual group.

Fourth, the IWNAM meetings first aimed to work with survivors of violence against women, such as prostituted women, Amerasian children (children of prostituted women in Asian countries and U.S. military fathers), and rape survivors—not just women from Non Governmental Organizations (NGOs) or universities. This was to prevent the network meetings from turning into touristic events or conferences that attracted the highly educated. The IWNAM wanted information to be accessed and relevant to non-academic grassroots organizers and community members who are of low-income and working-class backgrounds.[221] This requires participants of the IWNAM, as representatives of their own country, to work at local levels to build relationships with members of their community who come from these backgrounds, and to build communities that interrupt elitism and discrimination against the most vulnerable in their society. Being part of the IWNAM is not just about attending meetings, but about actively educating and working locally. Country representatives to IWNAM meetings should develop local community members' capacities to represent at future meetings, or to participate in the shaping of the IWNAM over time.[222]

IDENTITY

The identity of the IWNAM can be analyzed according to the records continuum dimension of identity: actor, work, group/unit, organization/corporate body, and

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[221] Kirk, Gwyn. Interview by Ellen-Rae Cachola. Audio Recording. Oakland, February 23, 2012.
[222] International Women's Network Against Militarism, "Forging Our Structure," (documented findings from the 8th International Women's Network Against Militarism, Vieques, Puerto Rico, February 21, 2012).

institution.[223] Identity is related to the authorities by which records are made and kept, including their authorship; the established particularities of the actors involved in the acts of records creation; and the empowerment of the actors and their identity viewed from broader social and cultural perspectives.[224] The identity of the IWNAM is defined by the participation of individuals and organizations from Vieques, Puerto Rico, U.S., Hawaiʻi, Marshall Islands, Republic of Belau, Guahan (Guam), Australia, Philippines, Okinawa, Japan and Korea. Through the IWNAM meetings, women shared their research on militarism in their home countries, conducted research on militarism in the host country, produced knowledge in the form of statements, and archived these records when they arrived home. Here is a list of some of the partner organizations existing websites and web presences:

1. Puerto Rico: Collective Ilé: Organizing for Consciousness in Action: http://www.blog.conciencia-en-accion.org/

2. San Francisco: Women for Genuine Security: www.genuinesecurity.org

3. Hawai'i: Women's Voices Women Speak: wvws808.blogspot.com

4. Guam: Guahan Coalition for Peace and Justice has a newsletter on http://famoksaiyanwc.wordpress.com/2010/05/12/guahan-coalition-for-peace-justice-newsletter/

5. Philippines: Women's Economic Development and Productivity (WeDpro) http://wedprophils.org/

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[223] McKemmish, Sue. "Traces: Document, record, archive, archives." In *Archives: Recordkeeping in Society*. Sue McKemmish, Michael Piggott, Barbara Reed and Frank Upward, Eds. (Wagga Wagga and New South Wales: Centre for Information Studies, 2005), 14.
[224] Upward, Frank. The Records Continuum. In *Archives: Recordkeeping in Society*. Sue McKemmish, Michael Piggott, Barbara Reed and Frank Upward, Eds. (Wagga Wagga and New South Wales: Centre for Information Studies, 2005), 202.

6. Okinawa: Okinawan Women Act Against Military Violence (OWAAMV) does not have its own website, but has statements in other websites. A dissertation by Kozue Akibayashi, a Japanese woman who did her dissertation research on OWAAMV, has been outlined in a Violence Against Women database here: http://usmvaw.com/bibliography/akibayashi-outline/.

7. S. Korea: SAFE Korea http://safe.jinbo.net/

These websites are managed by the local organizations. Currently, there is no central organization of the IWNAM that manages these websites. These websites are autonomous expressions of each organization as actors rooted within specific contexts. The IWNAM meetings are where individuals from these organizations engage in inter-relationships. It is through this process of interpersonal networking that IWNAM's identity as a bricolage, a pieced-together set of representations fitted to the specifics of a complex situation,[225] emerges. The IWNAM's identity is constructed by the voices of women who are invited to participate in meetings and who bring their ideas to construct its agenda and analysis. Over the years, the network demographics expanded. Women from South Korea, Okinawa, the Philippines, and the U.S. first met between 1997 to 2000; Puerto Rican women joined in 2002; women from Hawai'i joined in 2004; and women from Guam Australia, Republic of Belau and Marshall Islands participated in 2009. The IWNAM's polycephalous identity expands and shifts with its processual identity. By sharing their analysis of militarism at local levels, it deepened the collective awareness on how they are interconnected by systems of militarism. Likening to what feminist scholar Chandra Mohanty describes, a

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[225] Denzin, Norman K. and Yvonna S. Lincoln. "Introduction: The Discipline and Practice of Qualitative Research," in *Handbook of Qualitative Research,* 2nd Edition. (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, Inc., 2000), 4.

coalitional space is created when diverse actors within progressive social

movements come together to practice an oppositional politics, or the recognition

of differences across movements, in order to facilitate complex analysis of

structural issues, such as militarism or the prison industry complex, and to

activate and coordinate various strategies to address these systemic issues at

multiple fronts. [226]

By using information and methods from their local country contexts, participants share

their experiential understandings of militarism. There are similarities of violence against

women and environmental contamination that inform collective idealisms for solidarity

building. The meetings also emphasize relationship building and honoring each woman's

voice through artistic, cultural and spiritual practices. Their bricolage expressions

construct a montage of stories of resistance that generates collective hope on the need to

continue working against the local and transnational nature of militarism. IWNAM

meetings act as a coalitional space where women share research on militarism at an

international level.

But as chapter 1 discussed how each country has a specific legal relationship to the

U.S., IWNAM participants may experience an embodiment of these political differences

as "separation, inequality, suspicion, prejudice, ignorance, shame, silence and being

silenced."[227] The IWNAM meetings become what Mary Louise Pratt calls a contact-zone,

"social spaces where cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in contexts

of highly asymmetrical relations of power, such as colonialism, slavery, or their

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[226] Mohanty, Chandra Tapalde. *Feminism Without Borders: Decolonizing Theory, Practicing Solidarity.* (Duke University Press: Durham, 2003), 243.
[227] Cachola, Ellen-Rae, Gwyn Kirk, Lisa Linda Natividad, 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: 168.

aftermaths as they are lived out in many parts of the world today."[228] The specificity of

each actor's experiences illuminates the nature of Westphalian rule that produces soldiers

to send them abroad, while other nations are configured to host them as they occupy their

lands. When the logic of militarized security is imported into foreign countries, it

eventually shapes the development of host countries and their production of "home-

grown" soldiers. This begins to multiply where the problems of militarism are coming

from. As U.S. imperialism extends itself in new contexts, militarism is not just about

"Americans imposing themselves upon another people and land." Postcolonial nations

have been adapting to forms of militarized governance that compel political elites to

invest in militaries that also commit violence against people in their own countries in the

name of national development.

In order to understand the solidarities and tensions as expressions of IWNAM's

networked identity, I examine the framework.html[229] page on the genuinesecurity.org

website, which reflects an analysis that was generated among participants early in the

network's development. This web page positions the IWNAM's identity within a broader

social and cultural perspective by describing how U.S. militarism is an expression of

global imperialism, through domineering and coercing South Korean and Philippine

governments to support U.S. military security policies, particularly through the Status of

Forces Agreement and Visiting Forces Agreement. But how does the U.S. get constructed

as a "domineering nation" internationally? "Voices of Hope and Anger," another

international tour of women activists opposing military bases, featured African American

activist, Fulani Sunni-Ali who examines how raced and classed inequities in the U.S. lead

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[228] Pratt, Mary Louise. "Arts of the Contact Zone," in *Profession* (1991): 34.
[229] "Race, Class, Gender, Nation," Women for Genuine Security. Accessed January 13, 2014.
http://www.genuinesecurity.org/aboutus/framework.html

to the recruitment of soldiers that lead to effects abroad. She describes that poor

education systems and lack of well-paying jobs is the context for U.S. southern states'

dependency on military funding:

> [Military recruiters] will promise job training, educational benefits, travel
>
> opportunities, improvement in the quality of life, and more. The ads will not tell
>
> women who are considering careers in the military that they can expect little
>
> respect from the male-dominated armed forces. They will not tell Black recruits
>
> that they will be victimized by racism.[230]

The dependence on military funding and employment persists because, as Sunni-Ali

argues, "society takes no responsibility for creating alternative sources of income for

regions and alternative employment for individuals," thereby making the military a "self-

perpetuating structure." Women live in countries where colorisms, or cultural and racial

hierarchies that discriminate against those with darker skin tones, are pervasive.[231]

Populations in racially hierarchical societies can absorb these values through internalized

oppression, or the identification with the oppressor's culture through being coerced to

aspire within its institutional structures. The IWNAM meetings reveal the complexity of

dealing with militarism. The inequalities brought about by the colonial establishment of

capitalism drove the impoverishment of minoritized communities. However, these

communities become vulnerable to participate in militarized labor as a means for them to

access economic resources to survive within the cash based society that coincides with

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[230] De Schmidt, "Voices of Hope and Anger," 113.

[231] Hall, Ronald. *Bleaching Beauty: Light Skin as a Filipina Ideal.* (Quezon City: Giraffe Books, 2006).
Rodríguez, Edwin R. Quiles. *San Juan: tras la facahda. Una mirada desde sus espacios ocultos (1508-1900).* (Instituto de Cutural Puertorriqueña, 2007). Quiñones Rosado, Raúl. *Consciousness-in-Action: Toward an Integral Psychology of Liberation and Transformation.* (Caguas, Ilé Publications, 2007); Kirk, Gwyn and Carolyn Bowen Francis. "Redefining Security: Women Challenge U.S. Military Policy and Practice in East Asia," in *Berkeley Women's Law Journal* (2000).

the presence of militarism.

Sunni-Ali adds that the "U.S. military is a multi-layered structure with complex power relationships that replicates and magnifies the problems of U.S. society at large."[232] It is possible to read South Korean and the Philippines' dependence on hosting U.S. military bases similar to the logic of U.S. populations joining the military for economic reasons. The framework.html page analyzes how global capitalism has positioned racialized hierarchies in Asia. For example, the Philippines own sovereignty has been compromised since western colonialism, and also, by the imperialisms of other Asian countries as they industrialized. Philippine activists in the IWNAM have argued that since U.S. (and plausibly, Spanish) colonialisms, the Philippines has been structured to be impoverished; their human and natural resources have been made cheaply accessible for more developed countries like Spain, the U.S., Japan, and now, South Korea. As a result, Filipinas, as human resources, migrate abroad for jobs, to earn money and remit back to their families. The framework.html page documents how Philippine women are often trafficked to work in bars, brothels and clubs in South Korean G.I. economies that serve military bases. The health issues such as sexually transmitted diseases, social ostracization, unwanted pregnancies, abandoned and sold babies, mental health problems, abuse, sickness, poverty and death[233] have occurred in the base communities in the Philippines, South Korea, and other countries where military bases are hosted.

IWNAM participants emerge from militarized societies that experience these oppressions on a daily basis. There are issues of trust and privilege between activists

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[232] De Schmidt, "Voices of Hope and Anger," 113.
[233] De Schmidt, "Voices of Hope and Anger," 113.

coming from structurally unequal countries. For example, activists may be coming from

countries that have histories of colonizing other countries. Women may not easily trust

that the other will be their ally. Or, there may be assumptions of shared goals and

definitions when in fact there are differences in interpretation. The IWNAM confronts

these oppressions in order to embody a transformative identity based on anti-oppression.

Militarism is seen as a function of an aggressive system of governance policies and

principles, rather than on morals or ethics. [234] Through coming together, they create

international communities of dissensus, which is to disrupt the normalization of

masculine realpolitiks that currently define notions of inter-nationhood, nationhood and

self-hood. They disrupt by re-learning, remembering and reminding others that the

dominant infrastructural, economic, political and social order is not a natural order, but a

product of systems of imperialism and colonialism that have been coerced and

internalized by people. However, people can choose to not go along with this order and

create new possibilities. The act of re-generating personal and collective investment in a

new way of being and relating to others requires building trust, collaboration and

communication with others as humans with equal rights, not as "othered" subjects whose

commercialization or militarization is inevitable. A member of Okinawan Women Act

Against Military Violence, one of the co-founding organizations of the IWNAM, said:

"My understanding is that security of people can be created by people's connection,

which is an alternative to nation-to-nation relationships. What I want to think about now

is what women can do in the process and how women can be connected to each

other..."[235] The IWNAM's own identity is constructed and reconstructed as participants

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[234] *New Oxford American Dictionary*, Version 2.0.2. , s.v. "realpolitik."
[235] Akibayashi, Kozue. "*Okinawa Women Act Against Military Violence: A Feminist Challenge to*

engage in processes of personal and collective transformation that teach them why they should shift their socialized sense of identity and relationality.

II. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Previous documentations of IWNAM's function and identity reveal how meetings embody the complexity of power-relations among the countries from which IWNAM participants originate. Tacit and explicit ways of knowing and communicating are activated in order to sense the material and embodied nature of militarized realities. Filipino Indigenous psychologist Katrin DeGuia notes how tacit memory are the ways to access:

> 'history from below,' or the collective recall of a people, memory written in the sweat and blood of the ordinary [wo]man…This memory is anchored in tacit knowing and renders a felt sense of an event or a certain era. This type of memory is systemic. It thrives on the fusion of many isolated events which when put together render a better overview.[236]

A tacit way of knowing is how an event feels. The emotions that arise within the experiencer of an event comprise the data that helps to situate the self within the broader ideological and material systems of power that are being brought to attention.

I focused on Women for Genuine Security, the U.S. based partner of the IWNAM, and Women's Voices Women Speak, the Hawaiʻi based partner of the IWNAM, because these organizations were where I based my participation in the IWNAM. As a volunteer participant in organizations that generated IWNAM activity, I

Militarism." (PhD Dissertation, Columbia University Teachers College, 2002), 124.
[236] DeGuia, Katrin. *Kapwa, The Self in the Other: Worldviews and Lifestyles of Filipino Culture-Bearers.* (Pasig City: Anvil Publishing, 2005), 226.

video documented, organized meetings, took notes, developed websites, and facilitated

discussions at local and international meetings. As I began conducting this research, I

realized that I was creating and had access to records and recordkeeping systems that

documented how the IWNAM engaged in activity to resist militarism in local and

international contexts. The main data sets of this research focused on the websites like

genuinesecurity.org and wvws808.blogspot, my personal records as a participant of the

IWNAM since 2004, and the personal records of one of the network's cofounders. The

research methodologies used to examine the IWNAM archival system were archival

methodologies, autoethnography, interviews and action research. I used these

methodologies to describe archive creation from within the political epistemology of the

IWNAM. I sought to examine IWNAM, not as a subject of study, but as a subject that

conceptualizes and creates archives in its own particular way. I utilized post-custodial

archival approaches to conceptualize the IWNAM as an archiving entity that interacts

with other archives.

ARCHIVAL METHODOLOGIES

I used archival methodologies such as diplomatics, the Records Continuum (RC)

model, and macroappraisal to understand the IWNAM as an archiving entity that

interacts with other archives. Diplomatics has been used in the study of the authenticity

of a record based on studying the content, architecture and materiality of the record.

These aspects are examined if they correspond with the organizational structure, creator,

ink and material of the medium consistent with the time and culture it purports to be

from. Italian archivist, Luciana Duranti wrote *Diplomatics: New Uses for an Old

Science*, to explain how diplomatic concepts can be used to study records as byproducts

and enablers of ideas and actions within a bureaucracy. She describes how diplomatic theory is the study of the "distinction between the moment of action and the moment of document" whereby the "document is linked by a unique bond to the activity (be it fact or act, juridically relevant or irrelevant) producing it, a bond qualified by the function served by the document."[237] She goes on to explain, "it is possible to go directly to the document to the entire fact generating it" because "there is a bilateral relationship between the each document and the fact it is about."[238] She defines the fact as "manifested in written form, the document resulting from it," or the document "will guide us directly to the fact." For example, the fact can be created by subjects, such as "the juridical system, the fact, the act, the will and the effects."[239] However, some have argued that the impact of the written document may not be the same as the will of the original record creator. She notes that persons, who are tightly linked to the juridical conceptions and systems driving the record creating system, can be influenced by their experiences under that system. For example, the "person competent to document an act is different from the author of the act itself. In contract sale, the author of the act is the seller and the author of the document is the lawyer…Chanceries or offices entrusted with the documentation function can never be authors of documents in so far as they act in the name of the person they serve."[240] She lays out the different positions within a bureaucracy in order to clarify the "author of the act whose will produces the act," the "instruments for the realization of the will of persons," the "addressee of the document,"

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[237] Duranti, *Diplomatics,* 79.
[238] Ibid.
[239] Duranti, *Diplomatics,* 80.
[240] Duranti, *Diplomatics,* 84.

the "person responsible to obligate to answer for an act."[241] In addition, it is important to articulate that the "writer of the document, as the person competent to articulate the writing," may not be the same as "the person to whom the document is issued or delivered."[242] Using diplomatics, I examined the content and structure of IWNAM records, to understand the will of its record creator, as she sought to respond to the phenomenon of militarism. Through the records, I sought to understand the nature of the social organizational system that enabled people to carry out the will of resisting militarism that was also documented on the records. Lastly, I sought to understand the technical system that the record creator used to document, communicate and enable group activities as they carried out and reflected on their will.

According to the New Oxford Dictionary (2007), will, defined as a noun, is "the faculty (or inherent mental or physical power) by which a person decides on and initiates action." This definition is used to understand the values of the participants that shape the IWNAM meetings' activities and purposes, which is expressed through their culture, and how they use technical systems, to co-construct and communicate a political epistemology about militarism. Although diplomatic analysis of the IWNAM records also includes textual analysis, this method was also supported through interviews and action research methods of IWNAM participants, which will be elaborated in the sections below.

I also drew from the records continuum model's dimensions of create, capture, organize and pluralize to examine the different dimensions that the IWNAM archival records exist in its organizational activity. This was used to support the conceptualization

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[241] Duranti, *Diplomatics,* 85-96.
[242] Duranti, *Diplomatics,* 96.

of the IWNAM's archives as its own independent subject, but also, how its own identity

was informed by the dimensionality of the Imperial Archive that influenced the record

creators of the IWNAM archive. For instance, the creation of IWNAM archives was very

much based on analyzing the activities of the military and the SOFA bi-lateral

agreements. The IWNAM activities are very much based on understanding the

militarized landscapes they inhabit and visit, and how these contexts shape populations'

living conditions. Therefore, the recorded expressions of IWNAM's activity are tightly

bound to the activity of the Imperial Archive because in many ways the actors within the

IWNAM are subjects of it (citizens of nation-states investing in militarized development)

(See figure 1). But the IWNAM's own independence as an archiving subject is that it

seeks to transform its relationship to the Imperial Archive by actively de-normalizing its

prescribed relationality by expressing a different kind of relationship among one another.

They become subjects resisting their subjectification within the Imperial Archive, and

they catalyze the definition of another kind of jurisdiction to justify new social identities

and relational practices.

Macroappraisal analyzes the contexts in which records are created such as the

administrative structures, macro-functions, functions, activities, transactions and client

interactions, as well as records-creating processes and records systems,[243] to reveal the

patterns of knowledge and structures of power upon which entities are created, [244] such as

the relations between citizens and the state. This methodology was used to examine the

institutional and infrastructural elements of the Imperial Archive that have shaped the

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[243] Cook, Terry. "Appraisal Methodology: Macro-Appraisal and Functional Analysis." Library and Archives Canada (2000) http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/government/disposition/007007-1035-e.html Accessed March 7, 2014
[244] Ridener, John. *From Polders to Postmodernism: A Concise History of Archival Theory*. (Duluth: Litwin Books, LLC, 2009), 129
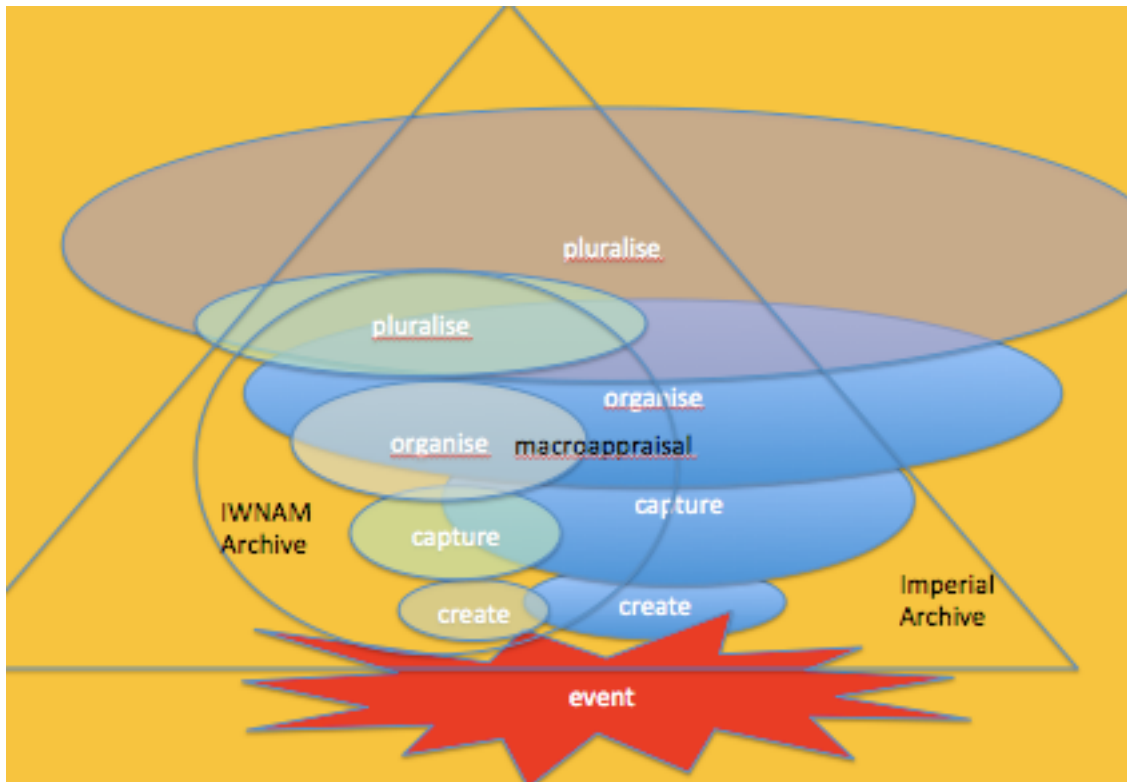
Figure 1. Interplay between the IWNAM and the Imperial Archives.

militarized landscapes of places such as Subic Bay Philippines, San Francisco Bay Area

California and Oahu, Hawai'i. I use macroappraisal to name how the buildings that the

IWNAM pointed to during their site visits become records through which country hosts

transmit their memory of how they became, and are, militarized, and to solicit

dialogue with other participants on how the presence of those institutions and

infrastructures are inter-related with other places interoperable with that environment.

These archival methods reveal the IWNAM archival system as embedded within

the Imperial Archive in the way that their records refer to the hegemonic nature of the bi-

lateral security agreements that justify the hosting of bases and enable the militarized

contexts that they resist. The IWNAM have met in 1997 to share information about the

events of military violence, rapes, environmental contamination, perpetrated by U.S.

military personnel, and the presence of the military facilities. They also meet to share strategies of resistance. They create records to document their epistemology of the causes and effects of militarized security as part of the process of engaging in transformative activity. This type of observing, critical reflecting and documenting becomes their methodology of defining genuine security as the principle that explains their resistance to the normalization of militarized security. The IWNAM records are captured within the personal archives of the individual participants of the IWNAM, such as in offices of their NGOs, non-profits, grassroots organizations and academic departments. Some records of the IWNAM have been kept in genuinesecurity.org website for public access.

Chapters 3 will examine the genuinesecurity.org website, as an archive of WGS activity as a co-constructor of the IWNAM international meetings. The records kept in personal, organizational and institutional archives then become pluralized, as they are cited in the production of new media, such as journal articles, books, film, websites, and fashion shows. Chapter 4 will examine the wvws808.blogspot.com, as an archive that was created by a collaboration between indigenous and immigrant women from Hawaiʻi who participate in IWNAM meetings. The wvws808.blogspot.com was an archival system created to document the formation of the WVWS between 2004 to 2012. The blog became a place to keep the WVWS delegations records about events that led up to their participation at IWNAM meetings, and the ideas that were learned from the IWNAM meetings. Chapter 5 examines the Resistance to Militarism Fashion Show to examine the pre-production, production and post-production of fashion shows as processes of events that produce archives specific to a place and time, yet transferrable across multiple spaces

and times. Chapter 5 theorizes how records are outfits, upon bodies as archives, as they

represent how communities participating in the production of the fashion shows, critically

analyze how they have been historically "archived" by imperialistic orders. But, they can

choose to be aware of themselves as archives, filled with other histories and memories in

themselves. Creating new archives illuminates their agency through activities that reflect

how they choose their own identities, relationalities, and future trajectories.

AUTOETHNOGRAPHY

I return to the point that my data sets were generated through my participation as an

active participant of IWNAM meetings, as well as of two local organizations that are part

of the IWNAM. Autoethnography is part of examining the tacit nature of IWNAM's

political epistemology that shapes how I, as the archivist, come to interpret the

provenance of the IWNAM archives, in their historical context, as well as in the present

and future becoming. Autoethnography relates to archival practice, particularly to the art

and science of appraisal. The debates occurring in archival studies to deconstruct ideas

of objectivity and universality in archival science come from the arguments of

interpretivist archival scholars who recognized the subjective nature of appraisal and

description. Hans Booms was an archivist during the integration of East and West

Germany. He noticed how his views of what should be archived and how they should be

described differed from those who sought to establish the unified German state. This

experience led him to discuss the importance of archival transparency given:

> …the way that archivists design, mold, and shape the documentary record to
>
> reflect on the historical record. Historical objectivity is relative to the archivist's

view of society that is conditioned by a multitude of factors, determined by one's

view of the world."[245]

This dissertation's description of the IWNAM's archival system is based on my own experience and interpretation. According to autoethnographers Carolyn Ellis, Tony E. Adams and Arthur P. Bochner, autoethnography draws from an ethnographer's specific epiphanies born out of participant observation or participatory research that become framed in ways to illustrate facets of cultural experience, make a culture familiar for insiders and outsiders, and present it so it may be relevant to others who may share similar epiphanies.[246] Narrative ethnography and native autoethnography are two autoethnographic methods that I used to describe the IWNAM's political epistemology. Narrative ethnography incorporates my experience of patterns and processes within the IWNAM to explain my description of the IWNAM archives. To understand the transformative aspects that occur within IWNAM's research activities, reflexive, dyadic, and interactive interviews were used to draw out the emotional dynamics of interviews or thoughts. I will elaborate more on this in the interviews and action research sections of this chapter.

Native autoethnography is the interpretation of people who experience colonization or economic subordination.[247] The IWNAM political epistemology foregrounds the layers and networks of imperial histories that produces the colonial contexts across the countries of Puerto Rico, California, Hawai'i, Guam, the Philippines Okinawa, Japan and South Korea. Chapter 1 delineates how the process of U.S. imperialism implicates groups of

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[245] Booms, Hans. "Society and the Formation of a Documentary Heritage: Issues in the Appraisal of Archival Sources," in *Archivaria* 24 (1987): 81.
[246] Ellis, Carolyn, Tony E. Adams, Arthur P. Bochner "Autoethnography: An Overview," in *Forum: Qualitative Social Research* 12(1) (2011): 3.
[247] Ellis, Adams, and Bochner, "Autoethnography," 3.

countries as a set of "othered" nations that are subjected to support U.S. interests, such as through the Insular Cases and the Status of Forces Agreements. The organization of land according to the foreign interests destabilized local economies and cultures, and the globalization of certain indigenous[248] peoples to become mobile laborers that then settle within another indigenous people's lands. I explain my use of native autoethnography through describing my background as a member of the Ilocano diaspora that settled on Maui, Hawai'i.

  Asian Settler Colonialism, edited by Candace Fujikane and John Okamura, provides a framework that guides this insider description of the IWNAM from an Ilocano diaspora perspective. This text examines how Asian immigrants settled into the U.S. occupied Hawai'i as laborers within Euro-American owned plantation systems, which socialized them to aspire for access into American rights and benefits. Therefore, Asian immigrants, such as Filipino[249] plantation immigrants, were coerced into participating in the occupation of indigenous Hawaiians. My own family's Ilocano[250] history is one of

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[248] I use the term "indigenous" according to what Gayatri Spivak calls "strategic essentialism," or the strategy of nationalities, ethnic groups and minorities to temporarily "essentialize" their group identities to address certain goals, or to stand in in collective opposition against a forces of modern culture that have adverse effects on these groups (B. Ashcroft et al, *Key Concepts in Post-colonial Studies* (1998) p. 159-60). This term has been thoroughly critiqued, such as by Kavita Philipp, who argue that the identities by which strategic essentialism has been organized around were in fact boundaries of identities defined by colonial racial science descriptions, and became the foundation for nationalist exclusivisms. (Philip, Kavita. "Race, Class and the Imperial Politics of Ethnography in India, Ireland and London, 1850-1910." In *Irish Studies Review* 10(3) (2002).) For the purposes of this paper, I use the term indigenous to mean the knowledge and practices of place-based groups that engage in a relationship of responsibility to living in harmony with land as the basis of development, rather than mass, capitalist development (Castanha, Anthony. "Roles of Non-Hawaiians," in *The Hawaiian Sovereignty Movement: Roles of and Impacts on Non-Hawaiians*. (Masters Thesis, Political Science Department, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa.) http://www.hookele.com/non-Hawaiians/chapter8.html).

[249] The term Filipino actually came about from the Spanish colonial contact to name the archipelago under King Philip II of Spain. Filipino is thus not an indigenous term, but a political term to essentialize the peoples of the archipelago now known as the Philippines under western discourses of national identity. Prior to western contact, ancient Filipinos did not have a unified government. Rather there were jurisdictions of multiple ethno-linguistic and cultural groups resulting from many years of migration and settlement by peoples from East Africa, Southeast Asia, East Asia, North Asia and Oceania.

[250] Ilocano is a ethno-linguistic group of Northwest coast of Luzon island, Philippines. In 1571, this

economic disenfranchisement in the Ilocos region due to histories of structural

impoverishment caused by Spanish, U.S. and Japanese colonization and militarization,

and their migration to Hawaiʻi as sugar and pineapple plantation laborers. The author's

paternal grandfather was a prisoner of war during the Japanese occupation of World War

II. After the war, he was recruited to work in the plantation fields of Maui. After the

U.S. Naturalization Act of 1965, he petitioned for his wife and three sons to move in to a

new house in "Dream City" Kahului, a post-World War II subdivision created by

Hawaiian Commercial & Sugar and the Kahului Railroad.[251] Subdivisions such as

"Dream City" were built to house plantation workers that formerly lived in the plantation

camps, such as those of Puʻunene, Sprecklesville, and Paʻia on Maui. These subdivisions

were designed according to the American car-based society. Schools were established in

these residential areas, indoctrinating plantation immigrant and indigenous youth's own

identity as American. Before I attended school, I spoke Ilocano fluently. But as schooling

continued under English instruction, my knowledge of speaking Ilocano diminished.

Although Ilocano could be aurally comprehended, it was increasingly difficult to speak it.

In high school, I took Spanish as my foreign language requirement because other

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mountainous, coastal region was colonized by Spain. The lowland regions became heavily missionized. (Scott, William Henry. (1974) The Discovery of the Igorots. Quezon City: New Day Publishers. Phelan, John Leddy. *The Hispanicization of the Philippines: Spanish Aims and Filipino Responses 1565-1700*. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1967). The Ilocanos became integrated into the encomiendas and played roles in the Manila Acapulco Galleon trade. (Owen, Norman. "Fomento and the Free Market: The 19th Century Philippine Economy." In *Imperios y Naciones en El Pacifico, Volumen 1: La formacion de una colonia: Filipinas*. (The University of Hong Kong, 2001, Schurz, William Lytle. (1939) The Manila Galleon: The Romantic History of the Spanish Galleons Trading between Manila and Acapulco. (New York: E.P. Dutton and Co., 1937); Apostol, Virgil Mayor. *Way of the Ancient Healer: Sacred Teachings from the Philippine Ancestral Traditions*. (Berkeley: North Atlantic Books, 2010). Ilocanos were also recruited for colonial settlement projects and agribusinesses in Central Luzon, Mindanao, Hawaiʻi and the West Coast U.S. (Morales, Royal F. Makibaka 2: the Pilipino American Struggle. (Laoag: Crown Printers, 1974).

[251] Maui Weekly, "Dream City: Kahului," *Maui Weekly*, July 13, 2009, accessed October 16, 2013 http://www.mauiweekly.com/page/content.detail/id/500016.html?nav=56. Maui Almanac, "Dream City-the Birth of Modern Maui," May 14, 2011, accessed October 16, 2013 http://mauialmanac.com/2011/05/14/dream-city-the-birth-of-modern-maui/.

languages offered were Japanese and French; at least Spanish had terms familiar to Ilocano.[252] Being in the schoolyard among multi-ethnic classmates, I developed a fluency in pidgin English. Pidgin was a language created out of the plantation era to facilitate communication between Japanese, Chinese, Portuguese, Hawaiian and Filipino workers on the plantation fields.[253] Although American educational indoctrination did not provide knowledge of immigrant plantation people's own indigenous histories, pidgin was a way for these communities to communicate with one another and create a collective "local" identity that differentiated them from elites and foreigners.

The Native Hawaiian perspective of Haunani K. Trask in *Asian Settler Colonialism* identifies Chinese, Japanese and Filipinos as among the "settlers of color" who were given access to American rights and benefits—systems of value and privilege that were created at the expense of the Hawaiian kingdom and the Native Hawaiian people's access to land and culture.[254] This history awakened me to my own position of privilege in Hawai'i, even though my family had a history of colonial displacement, military violence and economic exploitation in the Philippines. David Turnbull suggests

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[252] The Spanish colonization process in the Ilocos region included the integration of Spanish words into Ilocano language to communicate to the native population so they would be indoctrinated into their religious and serve as slave labor for their development projects (See Dery, Luis Camara. *Pestilence in the Philippines: A Social History of the Filipino People, 1571-1800.* (Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 2006). The Ilocos region, and other locations in the Philippines, was created into Spanish colonies during the Manila-Acapulco Galleon trade to facilitate trade between Spanish colonies in the Americas to Asian traders, and European traders in Asia. (Schurz, William Lytle. *The Manila Galleon: The Romantic History of the Spanish Galleons Trading between Manila and Acapulco.* (New York: E.P. Dutton and Co., 1939); Shaw, Carlos Martinez. *Imperios y Naciones.* In, *El Pacifico,* Volumen 1: La formacion de una colonial Filipinas. (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Cientificas, 2001). During this time, Philippine culture was transformed through the imposition of Spanish order and introduction of Spanish and Meso-American cultures. Ilocanos were Christianized much like the indigenous peoples under the Spanish colonial regime in the Americas (See Phelan, John Leddy. *The Hispanicization of the Philippines: Spanish Aims and Filipino Responses 1565-1700.* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1967). Ilocano terms, such as days of the week and day-to-day utensils, such as pencil (lapis) shoes (zapatos), were influenced by Spanish language (Alarcon, *Philippine Architecture.* Apostol, Virgil Mayor. *Way of the Ancient Healer: Sacred Teachings from the Philippine Ancestral Traditions.* (Berkeley: North Atlantic Books, 2010).

[253] *Pidgin: the Voice of Hawai'i.* Directed by Marlene Booth and Kanalu Young. Honolulu, HI: Pau Hana Films.

[254] Fujikane and Okamura, *Asian Settler Colonialism.*

thinking through these tensions between identities and histories, particularly between immigrant and indigenous histories, through being reflexively attendant "to competing narratives and ontologies to interrogate each other so that the hidden spatial and temporal orderings can become apparent."[255] My participation in the IWNAM helped me trace the spatial and temporal orderings to understand the relationship between militarism and corporate development in the Philippines and Hawai'i as functions of imperial nation-states that occupy and colonize territories at different times and with different methods.

Capitalist relations of production is animated when colonization, indoctrination and displacement in one periphery at a point in time, becomes a node through which labor and resources are generated to engage in the colonization, indoctrination and displacement in another, newly marked periphery at another point in time. For instance, the Spanish empire saw Mesoamerica as their colonized periphery from the metropole of Spain. Then, from their found colonies of New Spain (Mexico), the Spanish sought to expand trade with Asia. The Philippines became a "newer" periphery to Spain, from the jumping off point of New Spain.

After the Spanish-American War, former Spanish colonies, such as Cuba, Puerto Rico, Guam and the Philippines, were transferred over to U.S. rule. The shift to U.S. imperial jurisdictional expansion across the Pacific is the context to understand the interconnections between the Philippines and Hawai'i. The Hawaiian kingdom's own occupation by the U.S. in 1893, and the illegal annexation of 1898 was to gain further

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[255] Turnbull, David. "Messy Assemblages, Emergent Protocols, and Emergent Knowledges: Complex Adaptive Systems and the Possibilities of Sustaining Multiple Ontologies and the Cultural Commons in New Ways of Assembling and Creating Knowledge," (Paper presented at 4S Conference, Pasadena, 2005) 9.

control of Puʻuloa, or Pearl Harbor, as the key to U.S. command of the Pacific.[256] The

control of Pearl Harbor was crucial for the repression and occupation of the Philippines

as Filipinos resisted U.S. colonialism during the Filipino-American War of 1899 to

1902.[257] Situating immigrant and indigenous tensions within global contexts of

differently timed imperialisms reveals that the causes of indigenous politics are not

confined within the borders of specific nations.[258] Rather, there are international

processes that cause one group to dominate another group, causing ripple effects in other

parts of the world.

It is important to address the long history of western imperial nations engaging in

blackbirding, or appropriating or kidnapping, Pacific Islander natives to sail the ships of

early European imperial trade and exploration because of their navigating skills. This led

to the creation of Pacific Islander diasporas in other parts of the Pacific. Today, there are

Kanaka Maoli (Native Hawaiian),[259] Chamorro,[260] and Filipino diasporas[261] in different

parts of North America. Differently timed imperialisms may cause subjects who have

been colonized for longer periods of time to be more "interoperable" to imperial orders

because they have been socialized to adapt to it. Those who have been recently colonized

may have a clearer memory of political and cultural orders before colonial contact, and

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[256] Kajihiro, Kyle. "A Brief Overview of Militarization and Resistance in Hawaiʻi," in *Asian Settler Colonialism: From Local Governance to the Habits of Everyday Life in Hawaiʻi.* Candace Fujikane and Jonathan Okamura, Eds. (Honolulu: University of Hawaiʻi Press, 2008), 176-177.

[257] Torruella, "The *Insular Case*," 300-316.

[258] Gonzalez, Vernadette Vicuña. Securing Paradise: Tourism and Militarism in Hawaiʻi and the Philippines. (Durham: Duke University Press, 2013).

[259] Nihipali, Elizabeth "Nani", Lessa Kanani'opua Pelayo, Christian Hanz Lozada, Cheryl Villareal Roberts, Lorelie Santonil Olaes. *Images of America: Hawaiians in Los Angeles.* (Charleston: Arcadia Publishing, 2012).

[260] The settlement of the Chamorro diaspora in the West Coast is a byproduct of recruitment into the U.S. military. See Bennett, Jesi Lujan "Apmam Tiempo Ti Uli'e Hit (Long Time No See): Chamorro Diaspora and the Transpacific Home" (Master's Thesis, University of Hawaiʻi at Mānoa, 2013).

[261] During the Manila-Acapulco Galleon trade, Filipinos were called "chinamen" or "manilamen" and jumped ship to locations on the other side of the Pacific, such as in Acapulco and New Orleans. Halagao, Patricia Espiritu, "Teaching Filipino-American Students," in *Multicultural Review* (2004): 43.

thus, a clearer reason to resist an encroaching order. Autoethnography was used in this research to portray the Imperial Archive not as something outside of oneself. It is the national and infrastructural ordering of lands and countries that have informed the experiences, displacements and mobilities of people. Autoethnography is the method that I used to navigate the Imperial Archive, which contextualizes the IWNAM's own archive creating process; it was the method I used to understand the relations of power that constitute the histories and identities of people who inhabit, and resist, militarized places.

Autoethnography allows me to foreground values of decolonization as the driver of this inquiry and analysis. Library Scholar Clara Chu writes that service learning can facilitate "radical democratic engagement" in which the student begins to "take a critical inventory of one's social location in terms of power and privilege and by understanding her relationship and responsibilities to others."[262] Given that I am not indigenous to Hawai'i, and define my identity as an Ilocano settler shaped by the "local identity" that emerged out of the indigenous Hawai'i's colonized contexts, I situate my value of decolonization by paying attention to histories of regional imperialism that cause the political intersections of Hawaiian, Asian and Pacific Islander cultures. This process of decolonization does not seek to return to a romanticized view of being an essentialized Ilocano, in terms of only caring about issues and concerns of the Ilocano people or the Philippines; rather, it seeks to understand Ilocano indigenous heritage as being related to other Pacific Island heritages.[263] Therefore, a decolonial identity of a Hawai'i born

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[262] Chu, "Working from Within," 107.

[263] The hesitance to fix Ilocano identity to a specific territory is because the culture itself is a byproduct of waves of migration of cultures and peoples from the China, Japan, Southeast Asian, India, Pacific Islands, Europe and America. Ilocano is part of a root language called Austronesian, which includes the languages of Taiwanese aborigines, ethnic groups of Malaysia, East Timor, Philippines, Indonesia, Brunei, Madagascar, Polynesia, Melanesia, and part of Singapore, Thailand, Cham Vietnam, Cambodia and Hainan China. (Solheim, Wilhelm G. *Archaeology and culture in Southeast Asia: unraveling the Nusantao.*

Ilocano is to understand how imperialism causes a culture to identify with a dominator culture, and how might there be a recuperation of indigenous histories, to support cultural interaction based on indigenous-indigenous relationality, rather than colonizer-colonized relationality. Autoethnography facilitates attention to this internal shift in values and purpose. Becoming aware of what it means to be colonized (in the Philippines) and then a colonizer (in Hawaiʻi) is useful to translate this possibility to others so they may know how they can shift out of dominator/dominated cultural relations, and find ways to interact according to just relational dynamics.

ACTION RESEARCH

Action research was used to describe how I came to participate in the IWNAM research agenda. Through engaging in record creating and recordkeeping processes, I

(Diliman, Quezon City: University of the Philippine Press, 2006); "Austronesian Migration: Crossroads-Civilizations" Directed by.Monteros, Jobert. Ayala Museum, accessed 11 December 2013. http://vimeo.com/17188540) Pre-colonial Ilocano identity is a mixture of various ethno-linguistic groups who came through the Northwest coast of Luzon, the northern Islands of the Philippines, that was called Ilocos during the Spanish colonial era. Tomas D. Andres writes that "There were roughly two migratory waves that started in eastern Java and settled along the Ilocos coast in the north. It seems the second wave was more aggressive, for when it arrived they drove the earlier settlers inland, to the hill country in the east. The earlier settlers were the Tinngians while the later migrants were the Ilocanos." (Andres. Tomas D. *Understanding Ilocano Values (book 9)*. (Quezon City: Giraffe Books, 2003) 55.) Low-land Ilocano identity was Catholicized and Hispanicized in 1521, causing present day Ilocanos to have their indiegnous cultures syncretized with western cultures. (Apostol, Virgil Mayor. *Way of the Ancient Healer: Sacred Teachings from the Philippine Ancestral Traditions*. (Berkeley: North Atlantic Books, 2010)). Ilocanos are considered postcolonial because many affirm their Catholic heritage and hispanized cultural difference from indigenous tribal groups in the uplands of the Cordilleras. Postcoloniality helps to recognize the complex effects of western contact that supplanted indigenous references with markers from the Catholic tradition, although the structure and logic of postcolonial Ilocano cultural practice is informed by indigenous animism. However, the Christianization and Hispanicization of the Ilocano people facilitated internalized Eurocentrism and a sense of modernist supremacy because they were considered suitable laborers for Spanish and U.S. colonial enterprises, particularly in settlement projects in central Luzon, Mindanao, and Hawaiʻi (Owen, Norman. "Fomento and the Free Market: The 19th Century Philippine Economy" In *Imperios y Naciones en El Pacifico, Volumen 1: La formacion de una colonia: Filipinas* (The University of Hong Kong, 2001). Saranillio, Dean I. "Colonial Amnesia: Rethinking Filipino 'American' Settler Empowerment in the U.S. Colony of Hawaiʻi," in *Positively No Filipinos Allowed*. Antonio T. Tiongson Jr., Edgardo V. Gutierrez, and Ricardo V. Gutierrez, Eds. (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2006).

came to support and extend the IWNAM's research inquiry about militarism over time.[264]

My use of action research methodology draws from Paolo Freire's notion of "critical

consciousness" in which leaders serve as facilitators, rather than as brokers or hoarders of

knowledge. That is, facilitators seek to engage with concerned groups as stakeholders in

a collective project, and that communication is done in a dialogical manner.[265] No one

has total expertise on how something is done. Expertise is distributed among all those

concerned in the group.[266] My perspective can only see a particular aspect of the problem.

Therefore taking action cannot be done alone, but through developing group awareness to

paint a collective picture, and generating the consensus to act together.[267] Action

research facilitates transformation within the researcher who must recognize the culture

of expertise that academia often indoctrinates within its researchers. This culture of

expertise may emerge as the collecting of data from subject communities in order for that

knowledge to support institutional approaches, rather than returning that knowledge back

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[264] Williamson, Hirsty. *Research methods for students, academics and professionals: Information management and systems, Second Edition.* (Wagga Wagga, Centre for Information Studies, 2002). Smith, Linda Tuhiwai. *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples.* (London: Zed Books, Ltd., 2002).

[265] Freire, Paolo. *Education for Critical Consciousness.* (New York: Continuum, 1980).

[266] Chatterji, Angana P. "Postcolonial research as relevant practice," in *Tamara: Journal of Critical Postmodern Organization Science.* Vol 1(3) (2001): 1-13.

[267] This way of organizing has been described as *caminando preguntando* by the Zapatistas, and applied to the Critical Resistance form of 'on the ground organizing around the prison industrial complex. Through *caminando preguntando* the researchers are people directly impacted by the issue and also scholars. They do "not move with one set of answers," and rather, "move with critical questions." This prevents the "expertise-building scheme of restorative justice" that is often caused when data collection is transferred to the legal apparatuses to implement the solution, taking away the agency of change from those who are directly impacted, and their capacity to implement more grassroots and people-to-people systems of accountability and sustainable change. *Caminando preguntando* "prevents devolution and debilitating avenues" by allowing those directly impacted to use their knowledge of the issue to shape an approach for solutions that is applicable to their everyday contexts, as well as scholars to use their knowledge to support these everyday approaches, or to engage in institutional approaches to be relevant to everyday approaches, and also the cross-fertilizations of these ideas between the lived and institutional contexts. This would thereby generate multiple avenues, and validate multiple approaches, to address the issue. (Peace, Stevie. "The Desire to Heal: Harm Intervention in a Landscape of Restorative Justice and Critical Resistance," in *Uses of a Whirlwind: Movement, Movements, and Contemporary Radical Currents in the United States.* Team Colors Collective, Eds. (Edinburgh: AK Press, 2010), 151-152.

to the source community for their own development.[268] This critical awareness was important to embody in the study of IWNAM's archives. In particular, how might archival knowledge be translatable to the IWNAM's own practices of researching, documenting and interrupting militarized realities. There is a deep "relational ethics" through this autoethnographic and action-oriented process. On one level, participants are not "impersonal subjects only to be mined for data,"[269] but are friends and allies who hold knowledge that is integral to the development of the group. But on the other hand, the knowledge developed within this group is also deserving of circulation and exchange with other groups, to raise awareness among others who might be experiencing similar issues, or who might be (consciously or unconsciously) part of the problem.

The value behind action-oriented research is to respect the knowledge generated out of community based research processes. Access to knowledge production has historically been the realm of white, elite males, and the contributions of women have been marginalized. [270] Knowledge production has also been driven by industry needs rather than needs of people and marginalized groups. The work of social movements in the U.S. universities was to make knowledge production accessible to more people, causing shifts in research methods and what knowledge can be used for. It was this history for knowledge access that made it possible for women from different parts of the world to be engaged in research as part of activism against militarism. It was during my undergraduate years in Political Science when I learned about the East-Asia-U.S.-Puerto Rico Women's Network Against Militarism (EAUSPRWNAM, an earlier name of the

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[268] Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies.*
[269] Ellis, Adams, and Bochner, "Autoethnography," 7.
[270] Rossiter, Margaret. "The ~~Matthew~~ Matilda Effect in Science." In *Social Studies of Science* 23(2) (1993): 325-341.

IWNAM) and began collaborating with women who later became founders of a collective

called Women's Voices Women Speak (WVWS), the Hawai'i based partner of the

IWNAM. Terri Kekoʻolani, Bernadette "Gigi" Miranda, and Julia Estrella, and the author

represented Hawaiʻi in the East-Asia-U.S.-Puerto Rico Women's Network Against

Militarism meeting in Manila, Philippines. During that meeting, we interviewed women

and documented our experiences during site visits to Mapanique, Angeles and Olongapo,

Philippines, impacted by histories of Spanish, Japanese and U.S. militarism. This was

documented in a video called "Women Against Militarism: Reclaiming Life, Land and

Spirit."

After my undergraduate years, I went to graduate school in California. I was able

to reconnect to the work of the IWNAM by getting involved with the U.S. based partner,

Women for Genuine Security (WGS). The author built relations with Gwyn Kirk, Debbie

Lee, Michiko Hase, Annie Fukushima, Eriko Ikehara, Diana Cabcabin, and others, who

were long-time activists involved with the beginnings of the IWNAM, or were new

comers. According to Christine Cress, author of "What is Service-Learning,"

community-based learning entails students to actively address mutually defined

community needs (as a collaboration between community partners, faculty and students)

as a vehicle for achieving academic goals and course objectives.[271] Through my Masters

of Arts studies in Cultural Anthropology, and organizing experiences with WGS and with

other local community organizations, I explored the nature and purpose of knowledge in

cross-cultural women's activist work. Although women's knowledge has been

marginalized within academic spaces and academia has been implicated in systems of

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[271] Cress, Christine. "What is Service-Learning?," in *Learning though serving: A student guidebook for learning across the disciplines.* Eds., Christine M. Cress, Peter J. Collier, Vicki L. Reitenauer, and associates. (Sterling, VA: Stylus, 2005), 7.

militarism[272], women researchers have created communities of learning and meaning making in and outside academia. The ability to navigate in and out of institutions of power built an awareness on the purpose of knowledge, and to gain access to information that could interrupt the normalization of militarism in different spaces. For example, as academics engaged in research and writing, we could apply those skills for community efforts, such as writing op-ed articles as part of raising public awareness on the issues of militarism. Action research and archival knowledge brought an acute sense of IWNAM's process of inquiry, and how findings could be circulated in other contexts where that knowledge is not visible.[273]

In the article "Working from Within: Critical Service Learning as Core Learning in the MLIS Curriculum," Clara Chu describes service learning as a

combination of service objectives with learning objectives with the intent that the activity will change both the recipient and the provider of the service. This is accomplished by combining service tasks with structured opportunities that link the task to self-reflection, self-discovery, and the acquisition and comprehension of values, skill and knowledge content.[274]

Although my experiences with the IWNAM were not a formal service learning opportunities offered by a class, but a community-developed educational opportunity, my consciousness was raised to the point where I saw the importance of continuing to

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[272] Giroux, Henry. "Arming the Academy: Higher Education in the Shadow of the National Security State." In *The University in Chains: Confronting the Military-Industrial-Academic Complex* (Boulder: Paradigm Publishers, 2007).

[273] Pathak, A. A. "Opening my voice, claiming my space: Theorizing the possibilities of postcolonial approaches to autoethnography," in *Journal of Research Practice*, *6*(1) (2010). Accessed 9 December 2013http://jrp.icaap.org/index.php/jrp/article/view/231/191; Ellis, Adams, Bochner, "Autoethnography," 3-9.

[274] Chu, Clara M. "Working from Within: Critical Service Learning as Core Learning in the MLIS Curriculum," in *Service Learning: Linking library education and practice*, Eds. Loriene Roy, Kelly Jensen, and Alex Hershey Myers (Chicago, IL: American Library Association, 2009), 107.

volunteer time with the organizations even after that initial opportunity. Self-reflection on the process of creating community records through community based research revealed how alternative education is creatable and Do It Yourself in nature. In this way, the values of learning become self-determined by its participants who begin to define what the purpose of learning and knowledge production is for, and how it should be used in the world. As participation in the IWNAM revealed how colonized and militarized subjects become dependent on the very institutions that oppress them, the creation of community based archives reveal how research and knowledge production might be instrumental to building grassroots organizations capacity to realize their visions of social transformation and justice.

INTERVIEWS

> Michael Polyani defined tacit knowledge as
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> embodied knowledge, like that of how to ride a bicycle… It can be also be
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> knowledge that is embedded in material and intellectual contexts, being
>
> dependent upon particular material and intellectual arrangements for its success
>
> and meaningfulness.[275]

The author utilized semi-structured interviews and interactive conversations during action-research processes, to understand how other IWNAM participants' tacit understandings of the purpose and intent of the records and archives they created. One set of interview questions was posed to the content developer of the first genuinesecurity.org website in order to understand how the information was generated. The following questions were asked: why is the IWNAM history is on the WGS website? What steps

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[275] Sismondo, Sergio. An Introduction to Science and Technology Studies. (Wiley-Blackwell, 2004), 89.

were necessary to document the IWNAM history? What did it feel like being a woman from the U.S. representing the IWNAM history? How do international meetings contextualize information on the web? What is missing from the website? How does the website support the IWNAM larger goal of redefining security? Another set of questions was meant for representatives from the U.S. and Hawai'i who participated in IWNAM meetings. I engaged in semi-structured interviews with four research participants of Women for Genuine Security, one of whom was a founding member, a second and third who were translators and a fourth who was a relative newcomer. The questions asked what they thought the purpose of the international meetings were, who goes to international meetings and why; their understandings of the organizational culture; if there were tensions experienced at meetings; the purpose of final statements and country reports; and how can security be redefined. I interviewed these individuals separately. Face-to-face interviews with these individuals were important to interpret their stories in their context. I am not originally from California, and became a participant of WGS in 2007. I wanted to learn more about their cultural backgrounds and lives being or living in the U.S., and how that shaped their experiences in the IWNAM.

With WVWS, the author engaged in interactive conversations during action-research processes. Action-research combines anthropology, sociology and participant observation. It seeks to be intentional and reflective within a group as we engaged in processes to produce material and actions.[276] The author explored the research questions on WVWS members' participation in the IWNAM through engaging in activity with twelve women who were delegations of the IWNAM since 2004, 2007, 2009 and 2012.

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[276] Calhoun, Craig. "Forward," in *Engaging Contradictions: Theory, Politics and Methods of Activist Scholarship.* Charles R. Hale, Ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), xxii.

In the summer of 2007, I returned back to Hawai'i, after attending graduate school in California, and was helping to manage the genuinesecurity.org website. Through this experience, I asked other members of WVWS if we should have a website to archive our own experiences. When it was agreed, I helped to create the wvws808.blogspot.com that served to archive some WVWS activity between 2004 to 2012. These blog pages provided information on how WVWS identity, as a Hawai'i based organization, was constructed over time through its relationship with the IWNAM. Local processes of identifying individuals who would be interested in participating in IWNAM meetings, writing political statements, and organizing actions and events brought together women of various ethnicities, revealed tensions of identity, and generated possibilities of solidarity. I focused on a book of poetry, which was created in 2007 by the WVWS delegation to the IWNAM meeting in San Francisco, to examine how immigrant women documented their family and community members working within the military for the economic opportunity it provided, and the discursive tension it posed to indigenous women's opposition to military bases as physical symbols of their colonization. I used the Asian Settler Colonialism historical framework to analyze this tension between immigrant and indigenous groups in Hawai'i, and its possibility for naming immigrant and indigenous decolonization processes.

I used action-research along with archival methods to examine archives sharing between WVWS in Hawai'i and WGS California, particularly through the Resistance to Militarism Fashion Show. I came to this data set as a volunteer archivist who was asked to build an archive of the photos and scripts of past fashion shows on the WGS website. This experience was instrumental in documenting the outfits and scripts that were the

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kernel-records of future fashion shows. The significance of the fashion show was that it furthered the IWNAM's mission of extending their political epistemology of security to other locations. The process of creating records and recordkeeping systems was a mechanism to talk about militarism with each other, and the wider community.[277] Records, such as fliers and emails, were instrumental to organize meetings and events. Scripts and creations of outfits became records documenting each person's analysis of militarism. Photos and scripts became records archived in websites and social media that expressed how an individuals and collectives from a specific locality analyzed militarism. The process of archive production was a way to build communities' will to research the redefinition of security.

III. CONCLUSION

To begin the process of answering the research questions 1) what is the IWNAM's political epistemology from an archival perspective and 2) what are the archival systems to evidence this epistemology, I defined the function and identity of the IWNAM. This was important to contextualize the IWNAM's social and technical landscape through which the research methodologies were used. The complex cultural differences and inequalities required an acute sense of power that drove the record creation and recordkeeping process. Significant information did not have to be explicitly documented, but was tacitly experienced. Interviews and autoethnography were used to reflect on this tacit knowledge. Archival methodologies, such as diplomatics, the records continuum model, and macroappraisal were used to understand how this tacit knowledge, or the will or intention behind the IWNAM's records creation and recordkeeping process,

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[277] Meyer, Manulani. *Ho'oulu: Our Time of Becoming*. (Honolulu: 'Ai Pohaku Press, 2003), 149.

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were documented in the records and recordkeeping systems, as the material traces of communities building awareness of the Imperial Archive, and their capacity to transform it.

CHAPTER 3: GENUINESECURITY.ORG, A TRACE OF TRANSFORMATIVE ARCHIVAL ACTIVITY

I. INTRODUCTION

This chapter explains how the IWNAM meetings engage in complex analysis of militarism through conceptualizing place and peoples as archives. The IWNAM meetings function as a coalitional space that brings together diverse actors within progressive social movements, toward practicing oppositional politics, or the recognition of differences across movements, in order to see militarism from complex perspectives, and to activate and coordinate various strategies to address these systemic issues at multiple fronts. [278] The meeting histories archived on genuinesecurity.org website is actually just one archive that exists within the IWNAM archival multiverse. The records continuum model is used to track the different archives that the IWNAM accesses and creates. The genuinesecurity.org website is a product of research and documentation during biennial IWNAM meetings. The meetings are another kind of archival system where place and people are seen as elements of this archive.

The records continuum model provides a way to understand how when an event occurs, a record is created by an organizational entity to remember that event. The record is then captured by an organizational system. The record can then shape policy that

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[278] Mohanty, *Feminism Without Borders*, 243.

shapes the development of that organization. The subsequent records that are produced

out of that organization are then pluralizations of that original record; their meanings and

perspectives can be contextualized into the historical memory of the originary event that

was documented on that early record. It is in this model that I examine the

genuinesecurity.org website within IWNAM's archival research and records creation

processes. More specifically, I am interested how the continuum model multiplies the

locations and physicalities of IWNAM archives. For example, the web archive refers to a

series of events that document when IWNAM participants express their epistemology of

imperialism through organizing site visits that transmit an epistemology of land as having

been archived, or arranged by an apparatus of institutions and infrastructures, for

particular U.S. military functions. I am interested in how these site visits are a kind of

socializing system that capture and reconfigure the memories and relationships of those

who participate. The site visits organize participants into the epistemology of the

IWNAM. The site visits pluralize as the epistemology of reading the land, as an archive,

is documented on records kept in IWNAM participant's personal collections, and is

applied into reading other landscapes, transmitting this epistemology to other contexts.

II. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The focus on the interplay between humans and their recording technology is to

study the values by which IWNAM researches security, and the technologies through

which they come to communicate their epistemologies and document it. In the *Archive*

and the Repertoire, Diana Taylor wrote,

> The archive and the repertoire have always been important sources of
>
> information, both exceeding the limitations of the other, in literate and

semiliterate societies. They usually work in tandem and they work alongside

other systems of transmission--the digital and the visual, to name two.

Innumerable practices in the most literate societies require both an archival and an

embodied dimension: weddings need both the performative utterance of "I do"

and the signed contract; the legality of a court decisions lies in the combination of

the live trial and the recorded outcome; the performance of a claim contributes to

its legality...Even though the archive and the repertoire exist in a constant state of

interaction, the tendency has been to banish the repertoire to the past

…We need not polarize the relationship between these different kinds of

knowledge to acknowledge that they have proved antagonistic in the struggle for

cultural survival or supremacy.[279]

Taylor explains how the tacit performed action reinforces "truth" when they are

documented on explicit records. She emphasizes that the repertoire, or the performed

communication, have their own way of confirming truth that needs to be given equal

attention as much as the archive. This becomes important in the IWNAM meeting

cultures that communicate, using archives, but for the purpose of building a community

of a particular tacit awareness.

The IWNAM meeting culture's communication practices, includes art making,

culture sharing and multi-lingual interpretation. The creative and interpretive natures of

IWNAM meetings allow hosts and participants autonomy in how they want to present

information. Orlando Fals-Borda and Anisur Rahman discuss how two Participatory

Action Research (PAR) principles 1) the acknowledge and respect folk cultures, and 2)

production and diffusion, validates creative, cultural and interpersonal communication

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[279] Taylor, *The Archive and the Repertoire,* 21-22.

within research processes. Acknowledging and respecting folk culture is the recognition of the

> essential or core values of people in the region," such as of the "cultural and ethnic elements frequently ignored in regular political practice, such as art, music, drama, sports, beliefs, myths, storytelling and other expressions related to human sentiment, imagination and ludic or recreational tendencies.[280]

The recognition of folk culture is the way in which the IWNAM fosters subject-subject[281] relations among participants of diverse backgrounds. The IWNAM meetings allow people from a specific community to communicate and frame their findings about militarism and security based on their local experiences and expressions, not from a cultural framework from the outside. For example, the IWNAM meetings are designed according to host community's "scenarios and meaning-making paradigms that structure" how to understand experiences of militarism and creations of "social environments, behaviors, and potential outcomes"[282] of genuine security.

Respect for folk culture emerges in IWNAM's archival practice through its attention to place. The South African "Refiguring the Archive" movement encouraged exploration of

> the archive outside the archival inheritance of colonialism, and later, apartheid [through] the oral record, literature, landscape, songs, dance, ritual, art,

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[280] Fals-Borda, Orlando and Mohammad Anisur Rahman. "Some Basic Ingredients," In *Action and Knowledge: Breaking the Monopoly with Participatory Action Research.* (New York: Apex Press, 1991), 9.
[281] Fals-Borda and Rahman, "Some Basic Ingredients."
[282] Taylor, *Archive and Repertoire,* 28.

artefacts...[because] the archive–-all archive—is figured...[and] the country's archives require transformation, or refiguring...[283]

These authors mention that landscape can be an archive, or a medium upon which institutions and infrastructures become recorded, or built, into the landscape as an artifact of colonial history. The IWNAM meetings have been "reading" militarized landscapes, such as the presence of military bases, roads, industrial and civilian institutions as byproducts and artifacts of imperial policies such as the Status of Forces Agreements. They recognize how these institutional and infrastructural contexts generate subject-object relations within local population, as well as with foreigners and locals.   As the SOFAs between the U.S. and South Korea, for example, represents the history of U.S. security interests in South Korea, there is also the cultural change in and around the base environment that caters to the social and cultural needs of the U.S. military personnel who come through those bases. The development of U.S. military base upon another country reflects how the U.S. is seen as a subject that can occupy the land and societal function of another country, an object. Subject-object relationships can be traced back to histories of colonization, which includes developing religious, commercial, military, legal and educational institutions that legitimate and structure the presence and settlement of the occupying culture.[284] This structuring and performance of colonial, subject-object power relations facilitate mistrust among local inhabitants and those coming from foreign places, such as the U.S. This mistrust is also present in interactions between women from the U.S. when interacting with women from the Philippines, Okinawa, South Korea,

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[283] Hamilton, Carolyn, Verne Harris, Jane Taylor, Michele Pickover, Graeme Reid & Razia Saleh. *Refiguring the Archive.* (Norwell: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2002), 3.
[284] Wareham, "From Explorers to Evangelists" 187-207. And Wolfe, "Settler colonialism and the elimination of the native," 387-409.

Puerto Rico, Guam and Hawai'i—the latter countries have a history of being colonized or attacked by the U.S. There are also histories of subject-object relations between Japan, and Okinawa, Korea and Guam because of the history of Japanese imperialism. If the political status of Okinawa is not known as a colony of Japan, the Japanese speaking and "looking" people from Okinawa may be distrusted by participants from Guam, South Korea and the Philippines—countries that have experienced colonial regimes under Japan. The IWNAM meetings are designed for participants to learn about local sites of military history, but also to share their own histories. The foregrounding of land as a kind of archival evidence fosters subject-subject relations among participants because understanding the material nature of militarism in one place that they inhabit together can then create meaning to interconnect the lands and local resistances from which they come.

To engage in subject-subject relations among IWNAM participants is not easy to accomplish. PAR does not hide from the tensions of subject-object relations, but contextualizes the inequalities across national, cultural, economic, and political differences in histories of imperialism and colonialism. The IWNAM meetings are sites where national and cultural politics play out. This is a byproduct of PAR methods in IWNAM communication practices that raise awareness on structural and historical inequities and facilitating attention to internalized and structured dynamics of oppression.[285] Participation entails creating intention and space for those who have been treated as "objects of knowledge" to speak from their own subjectivity, and intervening in acts of privilege among those who readily assume default positions as "subjects who know" and who can talk as they please.

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[285] Freire, *Education for a Critical Consciousness.*

Secondly, PAR's principle of production and diffusion is defined as the feedback and evaluative objective of research. It recognizes a division of labor among and within base groups. PAR strives to end the monopoly of the written word by incorporating various styles and procedures for systematizing new data and knowledge, such as in written, oral or visual messages. This is created according to the level of political conscience and ability of the base groups and public.[286] Production and diffusion characterizes how participants in the IWNAM plan meetings using records, take notes during meetings, and keep records in personal archives to recall meetings passed. Production and diffusion characterizes how IWNAM participants collect data at meetings, and how data is recorded on the website. The website becomes a pluralization of the IWNAM's knowledge experienced before, during, and after meetings. The website is how knowledge is documented and presented for the IWNAM base group and broad audiences in general.

> Fals-Borda and Rahman note that
>
> people can be mobilized with PAR techniques from the grassroots up and from the periphery to the center so as to form social movements which struggle for participation, justice and equity without necessarily seeking to establish hierarchical political parties in the traditional mold.[287]

The IWNAM participants use meetings as opportunities for grassroots communities to have an impact at local and international levels. The collection of data from the IWNAM meetings is not just to facilitate legal reform but to redefine security by documenting the evidence and meaning of another jurisdiction of security. IWNAM meetings are designed

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[286] Fals-Borda and Rahman, "Some Basic Ingredients," 9.
[287] Fals-Borda and Rahman, "Some Basic Ingredients," 6-7.

by those adversely affected by Westphalian orders. The website records these sentiments. The accumulation of this evidence generates the pattern of knowledge that explains why militaristic security is not secure for everyone.[288]

III. METHODOLOGY

The records continuum model examines how a record creator can record an event and keep that record in an organizational system. This recorded interpretation can be drawn from to develop the organization's function. Other kinds of records can be pluralizations of that original record in that their creation is shaped by the organization whose identity and function is informed by that original record.[289] I use this framework to examine the dynamic interplay of humans and their recording technology to describe the significance of meeting histories archived on the genuinesecurity.org. This also includes a description of IWNAM archival access processes.

DATA COLLECTION

I analyzed web pages on genuinesecurity.org that documents the history of IWNAM meetings from 1997 in Okinawa, 1998 in Washington D.C., 2000 in Okinawa, 2002 in South Korea, 2004 in the Philippines, 2007 in San Francisco, 2009 in Guam, and 2012 in Puerto Rico. Each page documents the context for the meeting as well as the

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[288] I draw from L.H.M. Ling's application of Daoist concept of interbeing as a way in which different cultural and national subjects can find ways to relate to each other without essentializing and creating binaries between their differences. For example, aspects of themselves exist in each other, particularly due to histories of trade and exploration that facilitated cultural exchange and co-existence. Ling, L.H.M. *The Dao of World Politics: Towards a post-Westphalian, wordlist International Relations*. (London: Routledge, 2014), 22.

[289] Frank Upward, "Structuring the Records Continuum (Part One): Postcustodial Principles and Properties," *Archives and Manuscripts* 24, no. 2 (1996), http://infotech.monash.edu/research/groups/rcrg/publications/recordscontinuum-fupp1.html; Upward, Frank. "Structuring the Records Continuum (Part Two): Structuration Theory and Recordkeeping," *Archives and Manuscripts* 25, no. 1 (1997), http://infotech.monash.edu/research/groups/rcrg/publications/recordscontinuum-fupp2.html. Lau, Andrew, " Collecting Experiences," (PhD Dissertation, University of California Los Angeles, 2013).

participating organizations that hosted and sponsored the meeting. Then, activities and types of issues discussed at the meeting are listed. There are links to the statement produced at the end of the meeting. Sometimes, there are links to other related information, such as campaign updates and articles. Lastly, there is a memorable quote and some pictures. I used diplomatic analysis[290] to study the contents of the web pages and the statements produced out of each meeting. I focused on the types of activities and issues discussed to understand the cultures and values of the meetings.

I examined notes and itineraries generated as a participant of the IWNAM meeting in the Philippines in 2004 and in San Francisco in 2007, to map out how the Imperial Archive existed within particular places. These records documented experiences in Subic Naval Base in the Philippines, and Bayview Hunter's Point in San Francisco Bay Area as two places for site visits. The configuration of these places are byproducts of Westphalian nation-building and international relations, which also shapes the social relations of inhabitants and visitors to those places.

I conducted interviews with four women from WGS. One was a co-founder and two were translators at network meetings. I give these women code names, Interviewee #1, Interviewee #2, Interviewee #3, and Interviewee #4 to protect their identity. Interview questions asked about the type of work they do in the U.S., why they got involved in the network, the purpose of the meetings, their sense of the organizational

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[290] Luciana Duranti used diplomatic analysis to confirm the authenticity of records by studying the materiality of the record. She examined if penmanship, and the structure and format of content on records matched the bureaucratic context, agents and cultures that gave rise to them. If so, the record was authentic. If not, the record was a forgery. (See Duranti, *New Uses for an Old* Science.) I use this interpretation of diplomatics to study the genuinesecurity.org web pages not just for content, but also to trace the past and living organizations and communities that participated in the formation of particular records. Attention is placed on the organizations not as fixed entities, but as groups of people, or record creators, within specific cultures and histories, and dynamic in their thoughts and actions.

culture, who goes to the meetings, tensions they experienced, the purpose of information creation, such as the creation of country reports and statements, the records in their possession that would be worthy for other people to know about, the effectiveness of the network to achieve their goal of redefining security, and their insight on the development of the network. These interviews were to understand how they understood the social and cultural aspects of the IWNAM meetings as well as the record creation and recordkeeping processes.

It was challenging to interview more women in WGS because many moved to other parts of the country. Others did not respond to my interview requests. I did not interview international partners of the IWNAM because that required traveling to other countries and learning Tagalog, Japanese and Korean--languages I am not fluent in. My reason for interviewing WGS members was to deepen my understanding of this organization that I was involved in from 2007 to 2012. Through these interviews, I wanted to understand how U.S.-based participants of the IWNAM interpret tacit aspects of IWNAM meetings, such as tensions in the record creation and recordkeeping process and in the processes information exchange. The focus on the U.S. group is significant because WGS is made up of individuals who reside in a nation that is seen, in the IWNAM discourse, as largely responsible for the negative effects of militarism. I was interested in understanding how WGS, as a U.S. based group, came up with their strategies of representing the IWNAM on the website given their access to technology and their awareness of U.S. Foreign Policy in other parts of the world.

The purpose of using these multiple methods is to examine social and technical interplay that generates the IWNAM archival multiverse. The records continuum model

is a framework used to examine how the IWNAM creates archives, such as the website. But, the website itself is a pluralization of experiences at meetings. One of the meeting activities include going to site visits to develop a literacy of reading militarized landscapes. The website is a Pluralization of the meetings in that it records occurrences at the meetings, documenting the knowledge IWNAM generates over time.

IV. THE HERSTORY OF GENUINESECURITY.ORG

The genuinesecurity.org website is not a full representation of the IWNAM. The website was created by members of WGS for the 2007 meeting in San Francisco, 10 years after the first meeting in Okinawa in 1997. WGS wanted to provide an online resource for grant funders and the public to see that the IWNAM had a history. Participants of the U.S. group used their time and resources to coordinate the 2007 meeting. Some women of WGS worked with Tactile Pictures, "an integrated design and engineering studio, founded in 1995 in San Francisco,"[291] to develop the genuinesecurity.org website. Tactile Pictures has worked with clients "ranging from neighborhood community organizations to technology startups to global companies."[292] WGS women's access to a web developer was one way for the IWNAM's global work to be known through the Internet.

The website is in English because WGS did not plan to represent the whole network. Rather, their goal was to represent relation to the network as a U.S. based organization. In an interview with Interviewee #1,

> We wanted to show people the work women were doing in other countries... we
>
> didn't want to present people like victims, but to show the analysis and activism

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[291] "Welcome." Tactile Pictures, accessed January 31, 2013 http://www.tactilepix.com/
[292] "Welcome," Tactile Pictures.

that was going on in different countries because we thought of ourselves as network based on solidarity. Chandra Mohanty uses that phrase 'common context of struggle' so we were antimilitary here in the U.S. and seeing the ways that U.S. military affects communities in this country as well as communities abroad. But we had some difficulty, and this difficulty will always be with us, about figuring what's the U.S. part in this, and what's the international network part of it and what our responsibilities as people who live in the U.S. to help represent or facilitate voices of other women in other parts of the network… But because we were in the U.S….[w]e felt we had two roles: and one was to think about and oppose militarism here, and the other was to help amplify the voices of women in other countries here in the states. So, we had an educational role to play here as well."[293]

During the early years of the IWNAM, the U.S. group's own sense identity was blurry because of the relationship of solidarity with partners in the Philippines, Okinawa and South Korea. But eventually, the U.S. group saw the need to differentiate themselves from the others because of the particular role their country played in the creation and maintenance of militarism in other places. Although there were talks about creating a website during those early years, the website did not come into fruition until 2007 because there was no one with adequate skill sets to coordinate and maintain the website.[294] When genuinesecurity.org was created, it became an archive that chronicled the history of the International Women's Network Against Militarism, as well as the development of local country group's identities.

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[293] Interviewee #1
[294] Interviewee #1.

When asked how the content and structure of the website came about, the co-founder stated,

> I had a little template…some of the issues, context, where did they happen, key
> things that happened [at past network meetings]… so the pattern was—it really
> started in the Okinawan meeting in 1997, part of the meeting was open, so there
> was a public day, so anybody from the community could come. And there were
> country reports, and other presentations were made during that day. And the
> focus of that was on education. There was at least another day, which was really
> internally focused. So, it was conversations among women who were already
> active in some of these issues, particularly stuff to do with military violence
> against women. The situation of Amerasian children, abandoned by military
> fathers, and environmental contamination caused by military bases. And, we
> wanted there to be a time where women could learn from each other, and have a
> conversation that would be more in depth than you would share in a public
> setting. So the public event was more information sharing to the wider
> community. And the internal meeting was more about strategies and exchanging
> information among women who were already active."[295]

The design of the Okinawan meeting in 1997 set the template for the structure of the
preceding meetings. Meetings emphasized sharing presentations on the issues for group
and public education, as well as internal discussions to build deeper analysis and strategy
building around the issues. On the genuinesecurity.org website, the IWNAM is presented
as a project of WGS, a representation that is actually misleading. The formation of the

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[295] Interviewee #1

IWNAM was through a collaboration of women from Okinawa, Philippines, South

Korea, and the U.S. in 1996.

The genuineseurity.org website is actually the tip of the iceberg to understand the

IWNAM's work. If the genuinesecurity.org is a co-creation of women from the U.S.,

South Korea, Okinawa, Japan and the Philippines, it is more accurate to see the

genuinesecurity.org website as just one archive within the IWNAM's archival multiverse.

By using the records continuum model, I trace ways to read different dimensions of the

IWNAM archival multiverse. The website was created in 2007, by a particular record

creator who documented the historical memory of the IWNAM over time. To illuminate

where the co-constructed nature of the IWNAM's knowledge can be found, I place

attention on the dimension of the meeting as an archival system. The meeting, as an

archival system, creates experiential events that shape the cognition of participants and

heightens access to an epistemology to read militarized places. This epistemology

becomes "archived" in their own body memories, which they can recall in reading other

militarized places, making links across nodes of the Imperial Archive. The intention of

this awareness is to puncture the ideological hegemony that makes the Imperial Archive

"hidden in plain sight." The IWNAM does this by calling into question the normalcy of

militarized security that structures the physical space, and re-narrating the meaning of

that space by affirming, amongst one another, a commitment to redefine security.

V. ANALYSIS OF MEETING CULTURES

The integration of art, cultural knowledge and spirituality, as part of their political

practices, are defining characteristics of IWNAM meetings. Interviewee #1 stated that

traditional cultural dances and music were shared at the first meeting in Okinawa.

Interviewee #2 stated that during the meeting in South Korea in 2002 and in the Philippine meeting in 2004, art making was integrated as an activity for communication among multi-lingual delegations. When asked about the purpose of art and culture in the meetings, a co-founder stated,

> My sense of it was that it was a way of expressing hopes for a more peaceful world, a world of genuine security. It was something of beauty where militarism was ugly. It was a way of expressing that wasn't reliant on language and the need for translation, so people could communicate more directly. And it was something that tapped the heart, and people's feelings about optimism [and] hope. It was a way of visioning something creative and colorful and beautiful, rather than being analytical, only analytical.[296]

This explanation reveals how IWNAM's political culture respected empathetic "right brain" communication, acknowledging emotions and creativity as legitimate forms of knowledge exchange and expression, to balance the "left-brain" analytical expression of facts and figures. The meetings valued a tacit knowing, which Philippine Indigenous Psychologist Katrin DeGuia describes as a "knowing without maps," "participating in the feeling of others," and a "systemic memory that thrives on the fusion of many isolated events, which when put together render a better view of the subject."[297] DeGuia writes that foregrounding emotion and creativity places attention on the capacity of people to communicate without speaking, but through rituals that "create a sacred time and space for deeper communication with life or the unseen forces." These rituals also include "dancing, music, trance drums, flutes and chanting, in private or public," which allows

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[296] Interviewee #1.
[297] De Guia, Katrin. *Kapwa: the Self in the Other: Worldview and Lifestyles of Filipino Culture-Bearers.* (Baguio: Anvil Publishing, Inc., 2005), 225-227.

exchange of information based on "patterns and metaphors."[298] Allowing participants to communicate what they are feeling through art, along with the process of recalling different pieces of their history, become ways to communicate experiential understandings of violence and hope. In the book *Consciousness-in-Action: Toward an Integral Psychology of Liberation and Transformation*, Raul Rosado Quiñones writes that, "while liberation could be characterized as the *struggle against* oppression, transformation could be characterized as the *movement toward* a future vision."[299] Dismantling systems of oppression is by first understanding one's embeddedness within them, and from that self-awareness, interrupting habits that liberate their subjection under those systems of oppression. Art can be a mechanism through which participants can express their struggles against oppression. The creative nature of art inspires participants of their capacity to create different patterns to guide steps forward.

The culture and identity of the IWNAM is shaped by the experiences that take place at local meetings. When a country has volunteered to host a meeting, organizers bring together local groups to collaborate in the planning of the meeting. For example, they decide the ways in which local histories and experiences of militarism and resistance will be appropriately shared to the international delegates. During the first meeting, Interviewee #1 shared that some members of the U.S. group called themselves part of the Okinawan Peace Network. The first meeting in 1997 was organized in Okinawa to bring attention to the acts of U.S. military violence occurring there. When the women organized a meeting in 1998 in Washington D.C., they named themselves East-Asia-U.S.-Women's Network Against Militarism to be identifiable to U.S. Congressional

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[298] De Guia, *Kapwa: the Self in the Other*, 225-227.
[299] Quiñones Rosado, Raúl. *Consciousness-in-Action: Toward an Integral Psychology of Liberation and Transformation.* (Caguas: Ilé Publications, 2007), 127.

Representatives, advocacy organizations and non-profit organizations. [300] In 2002, SAFE

Korea was the name of South Korean coalition that hosted the international meeting.[301]

During that meeting, participants from Puerto Rico and Vieques joined in the network;

the network's name changed to the East-Asia-U.S.-Puerto Rico Women's Network

Against Militarism. In 2004, Philippine Women's Network for Peace and Security was

the name of the network of Filipino organizations that came together to host the

international meeting.[302] During this meeting, Hawai'i women joined the network and

the network's name changed again to the International Women's Network Against

Militarism. The Hawai'i delegates called themselves Women's Voices Women Speak, to

mark their identity as a Hawai'i based group that participates in IWNAM meetings.[303] In

2007, the U.S. based group named themselves Women for Genuine Security when they

volunteered to host the 5th meeting in San Francisco, clarifying their own unique identity

separately from other organizations in the IWNAM.[304] During that meeting, women from

Guam joined the network. In 2009, the women from Guam organized the next meeting in

their island country. At that meeting, there was a debate if the network name should have

a more affirmative tone, such as International Women's Network for Genuine Security.

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[300] These included Friends of the Earth, Institute for Policy Studies, Kay Spiritual Life, American University, Methodist Federation for Social Action, National Coalition Against Domestic Violence, National Network to End Domestic Violence, Washington College of Law, and Washington Peace Center. "Past Meetings: Redefining Security for Women and Children." Women for Genuine Security, accessed June 10, 2013. http://www.genuinesecurity.org/projects/network/past_meetings/1998_washington.html
[301] "Projects: Past Meetings: 'Struggling for Peace in My Life, In All Our Lives: Militarism and Human Rights for Women.'" Women for Genuine Security, accessed February 13, 2013. http://www.genuinesecurity.org/projects/network/past_meetings/2002_skorea.html
[302] "Projects: Past Meetings: International Meeting on Human Security and Development." Women for Genuine Security, accessed February 13, 2013. http://www.genuinesecurity.org/projects/network/past_meetings/2004_philippines.html
[303] "WVWS Attended 5th East Asia U.S. Puerto Rico Women's Network Against Militarism Meeting, in Philippines." Women's Voices Women Speak, accessed May 24, 2013. http://wvwshistory.blogspot.com/2009/09/our-herstories.html. I can also qualify this as a co-founder of Women's Voices Women Speak.
[304] Interviewee #1. Interview by Ellen-Rae Cachola. Transcript. Oakland, CA. May 27, 2012.

But representatives of other countries felt that the title, International Women's Network Against Militarism, sent a stronger message to their constituents. The shifting name of this network, and the creation of local country groups over the years, reflect the network's dynamic structure and emergent identity.

Drawing from James Clifford, Okinawan scholar Ayano Ginoza writes about how indigenous identities, not caught within fixed or essentialized identifications, can engage in "inventive cultural processes," through which they situate their embodied histories and memories as the "living bodies" that comprise organizations."[305]   Local people and identities engage in communication and organizational technologies to shape the organic structure of the network.[306] The voices, experiences and documentations of security produced from one meeting become the tacit and explicit archives that are layered upon another meeting. The need to redefine security is approached from multiple cultural, perspectives, historical contexts and methodologies. There is a history of anti-nuclear organizing among indigenous women in the Pacific that preceded the first meeting in 1997. In the 1980s, women from Hawaiʻi, Marshall Islands, Australia, French Polynesia, East Timor, Bougainville, West Papua, Aotearoa and Belau[307] networked within one another, as well as with people in Britiain, to link mining and nuclear testing as a continuation of their colonization. Their movement was called the Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific, and they documented their speeches in books that were circulated

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[305] Ginoza, Ayano. "Okinawanness as a Form of Indigeneity in Transnational Anti-Militarist Feminist Movement," in *CSW Update Newsletter*. UCLA Center for the Study of Women (2011): 478.

[306] Clifford, "Indigenous Articulations," 468-490. Via Ginoza, "Okinawanness as a Form of Indigeneity in Transnational Anti-Militarist Feminist Movement," 48.

[307] dé Ishtar, Zohl, Ed. *Pacific Women Speak out: For Independence and Denuclearization.* (Aotearoa (New Zealand) and Australia: Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, the Disarmament Security Center, and Pacific Connections, 1998). Women Working for a Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific "Introduction," in *Pacific Women Speak: Why Haven't You Known?* (Oxford: Greenline, 1987), 38-39.

among various networks. The IWNAM continues the legacy of these early networks. A network structure of communication links people across time and place, especially when they discuss experiences of militarism as a continuation of their colonization by western and industrializing countries invested in militarism and corporate development. The point of the IWNAM meetings is to empower women to speak in their voice, and to cultivate a culture of listening to understand the connections between each other's struggles, and why sustaining relationships are important to addressing the issue of militarism collectively rather than individualistically. The IWNAM meetings seek to make "heart connections," not just come together around a "list of issues," in order to build and maintain sturdy and meaningful relationships that keep people invested in organizing over time.[308] The network structure resists temporal fixation because it recognizes a pre-history of past organizing that generated the possibility for the present to build on that knowledge and pass it on to future generations. In addition, the network structure resists spatial isolation. The ability for people to physically meet and build meaningful relationships, then to return back home or to other places, facilitates the spread of information across wider spaces. This can allow more people to hear the message, and allow the contextualization of the message in new spaces where they are located. This is another way of communicating and relating to one another internationally, other than according to masculinist real politik.[309]

Interviewee #2 described that

In Puerto Rico, there was emphasis on spirituality… In Guam, connection with ancestors, ancestral culture, a lot of spirituality. So, maybe to generalize these

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[308] Cachola, Kirk, Natividad, Reinat-Pumarejo, "Working Across Borders," 1.
[309] Interviewee #1. Interview by Ellen-Rae Cachola. May 27, 2012.

different meanings, in terms of organizational culture, definitely incorporat[ing] these art, spirituality, areas would not be included in a U.N. meeting. So, that's one of the distinct character[istics] of this network. Acknowledging the importance of this seemingly non-political areas, like spirituality... It's more wholistic, I would say…Its hard to describe or define. Its' very very important. There was some very intangible—I don't want to say benefits, because it feels so utilitarian—but there was such intangible… benefit… in a more spiritual sense."

This quote reveals the integration of spirituality and ancestral connection as a unique aspect of the IWNAM group culture. Interviewee #2 identifies U.N. meetings as a kind of group governance that contrasts the IWNAM's culture. U.N. meetings can be described as more bureaucratic and focused on executing tasks that are explicitly defined. However, she emphasizes that IWNAM has an intangible benefit that is hard to define, but is something felt. She elaborated, "spirituality is also political" because it is "doing something that's good for the soul…expressing thoughts, feelings, ideas more holistically through bodies, imagination…through our creativity."[310] The political nature of spirituality is to address internal capacity for people to believe in themselves, to face monumental issues like militarism. The role of spirituality is to generate faith because the IWNAM theory of change is not a quick and fast solution. Rather, the IWNAM group culture implies that change occurs through building relationships of solidarity and commitment to personal and collective change over time.

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[310] Interviewee #2. Interview by Ellen-Rae Cachola. June 17, 2012.

PLACE AS ARCHIVES

The IWNAM meeting cultures integrates of art, relationships and spirituality in meeting cultures to express a meaningful relationship to the places they visit to learn about histories of militarism and resistance. Interviewee #2 expressed,

> "Having a chance to step outside your local context, and share that local experience with women from other countries. I think it's important. Not just getting out information from other countries what you're doing in this national context, but also, to actually experience, to witness, to feel, that the work you do in your country is important to the people in other countries…. I mean, technically, you could do that through email, phone conversations, sharing documents. But I think it's different when you meet face-to-face, and just when you say something, you get a response right away. Having that kind of back and forth exchange, interactions seems really important. That's how our understanding of the connections, parallels, can deepen in a more profound way.[311]

In this quote, there is a marked importance of being physically present at meetings. Dr. Joanne Doi, from the Pacific Asian North America Institute, is a theologian who developed pilgrimages as a way for Japanese-American dialogue and healing on the impacts of World War II Japanese internment camps. She describes how "pilgrimages evoke layers of meaning, collective memory, healing and ongoing commitment for reconciliation, justice and compassionate services…" It catalyzes a "return to memory-- recovering history and recovering from history, mourning and resistance--participates in

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[311] Interviewee #2. Interview by Ellen-Rae Cachola. June 17, 2012.

the tearful release of rain waters for life that flow into a new quality of time."[312] The method of pilgrimage is useful in describing how the IWNAM meetings are designed to allow local hosts to transmit their own histories of colonialism and war, while also facilitating connections with other histories that participants might weave into the storytelling about that place. There is an allowance to be self-reflective in the process. It might unlock repressed memories of trauma as they talk about experiences living within contexts where war and violence occurred. But as Doi describes, the recognition of pain is the first step of healing from traumatic histories, rather than deny or ignore the effects of that past.[313] Thus, emotional release is seen as a way to unblock the flow of energy, to renew hope and create something different.

These frameworks help to conceptualize how IWNAM meetings facilitate social access to militarized place as an archive. In 2004, the Philippine meeting hosts created itineraries intentionally designed for international delegates to experience the negative effects of militarism from the perspective of local people who live alongside military facilities. To describe the concept of place as archive, I use macroappraisal to trace how the infrastructures and institutions are records that link the former U.S. Subic Naval Base to the neighboring town of Olongapo, as two nodes within the network of U.S.-led bi-lateral security agreements in the broader Asian region. In 2007, the San Francisco meeting hosts also created itineraries intentionally designed for international delegations to learn how Bayview Hunter's Point became a site of naval shipyards that were used to enforce U.S. military relationships with countries in Asia and the Pacific.

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[312] Doi, Joanne, Dr. PANA Pilgrimages to Manzanar. Website. PANA Institute. Accessed at *http://panainstitute.org/pilgrimage-manzanar*, December 11, 2010.

[313] Atkinson, *Trauma Trails Recreating Song Lines,* 253.

Macroappraisal was also used to treat the institutions and infrastructures in the San Francisco Bay Area as records of Spanish and U.S. imperial archival jurisdiction in the area. The IWNAM's facilitation of access to these militarized places as nodes in the Imperial Archive become the experiential archive that gives substance to the web archive, genuinesecurity.org.

A. OLONGAPO AND SUBIC AS ARCHIVES

During the Cold War, the U.S. built two massive bases at Subic Naval Base and Clark Air Force Bases located in central Luzon; three support bases (San Miguel Communications Center, Wallace Air Station, and Camp John Hay); and 19 smaller communications and intelligence facilities in the Philippines.[314] Subic Bay Naval Base was designed to house and transport nuclear weaponry, base for counterinsurgency efforts, and provide Rest and Recreation need.[315] According to a 1968 map of Subic Bay,[316] there were housing quarters for military officers and barracks for personnel, swimming pools, theaters, officer clubs, athletic fields, gymnasiums, bowling alleys, administrative buildings, dispensary clinics, Special Service Library, a chapel, restaurants, post office, clothing stores, galleys, fleet landing, bus terminals, high schools, commissaries, club houses and mess halls. Macroappraisal of these institutions and infrastructures reveal how that the land of Subic Bay was developed for military personnel to sleep, eat, train, entertain, transport and educate themselves, in addition to carry out its military function. The institutions and infrastructures of Subic Bay Naval

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[314] Bello, Walden. "Moment of Decision: The Philippines, the Pacific, and the U.S. Bases," in *The Sun Never Sets...: Confronting the Network of Foreign U.S. Military Bases.* Joseph Gerson and Bruce Brichard, Eds. (Boston: South End Press, 1991), 152-154.

[315] Bello, "Moment of Decision," 152-154..

[316] "1968 map of the Naval Station Subic Bay from the web pages 'Subic Bay Revisited‖ as re reference point for us Old Hands." PI-Sailor. Accessed April 13, 2014. http://s74.photobucket.com/user/PI-Sailor/media/SBFZ%20Ex%20Naval%20Base%20Subic%20Bay/SBFZ%202009/090827%20Waterfront/090824Sgt021968SubicBayKarlimproved.jpg.html

base can be seen as an archival system receiving, training and preparing military personnel to embody and carry out the function of U.S. security arrangements in the Philippines and the broader Asian region. Since the closure of the U.S. bases in the Philippines in 1991, Subic Bay has gone through "base conversion programs" transforming it into a Freeport zones and agro-industrial sites. Although Subic's function has slightly changed from a military function toward a more economic function, the place is still a pluralization of its past function because it still depends on foreign businesses to maintain its economy.

To read the function of Subic Bay as part of the U.S. Imperial Archive illuminates how local people are also subjected to the configuration of land. About 90% of the labor forces in Subic include ship workers, entertainers and housemaids.[317] Olongapo, Philippines, a town neighboring Subic Bay Naval Base, has developed an economy that depended on the presence of the U.S. Naval Base. Former U.S. military servicemen and locals established bars, nightclubs and massage parlors to serve the Rest and Recreation needs of the neighboring naval base. These institutions comprised the G.I. Economy.[318] Women, *bakla* (Filipino for gay or transgender people) and children have worked in Olongapo and its Rest and Recreation businesses as prostitutes, hostesses, bar girls, or go-go dancers, or streetwalkers.[319] Alma Bulawan, co-founder of Buklod, a women's human rights organization in Olongapo, provides insight on how women find themselves in the G.I. economy:

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[317] Gonzalez, Eduardo. "Economic Alternatives for the U.S. Bases in the Philippines," in *The Sun Never Sets...: Confronting the Network of Foreign U.S. Military Bases.* Joseph Gerson and Bruce Brichard, Eds. (Boston: South End Press, 1991), 348.
[318] Sturdevant and Stoltzfus, *Let the Good Times Roll*, 48-165.
[319] Sturdevant and Stoltzfus, *Let the Good Times Roll*, 48-165.

We would like to refer to them as women in prostitution or prostituted women

because we know that it is not their own will that they got into that kind of work.

Most likely they were forced by the circumstances of our society.

Bulawan was originally from the island of Samar an eastern island in central Philippines.

But due to her impoverished community, she migrated to Olongapo to escape the

hardships and look for work. She did not expect to get into the sex industry. But due to

the lack of decent paying employment to support her family, she ended up working in the

industry.[320] She explains,

Before I worked in a bakery, but my salary was only 150 pesos a month. I worked

in a Grocery Story for 200 pesos a month. It was not enough to raise my children

on these earnings.[321]

Here, the town of Olongapo can also be seen as an archive composed of institutions that

function as a system to capture the labor energy of local populations to serve the G.I.

economy. The G.I. economy's viability depends on the function of the Subic Naval Base.

On one level, the poverty and lack of job opportunities in local communities create a

sense of insecurity. But the presence of the military bases, as a provider of national

security, ends up also becoming a potential source of economic security for job less

women. These industries are based on the sexual labor of women who provide a sense of

comfort and stress release for soldiers coming to and from the dehumanizing theaters of

war and military training.[322] The labor of prostituted women reflects capacities to endure

invasions of personal boundaries; many women in this area of work have experienced

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[320] *Living Along the Fenceline*. Directed by Gwyn Kirk, Lina Hoshino and Debbie Lee. (Petaluma: Many Threads, 2011).
[321] *Living Along the Fenceline* 2011.
[322] Sturdevant and Stotlzfus, *Let the Good Times Roll, 300-342.*

rape and incest previously in their lives.[323] The sexual liaisons around military bases have led to the birth of Amerasians, or mixed race children born of U.S. soldiers and local women. Many of these children, particularly those of African descent, have been stigmatized in Eurocentric societies that discriminate based on racial appearances and economic class, increasing the challenges for these populations to leave the industry and culture.

Subic and Olongapo's function according to military jurisdictions can be linked back to the Visiting Forces Agreement. The VFA is a variation of the Status of Forces Agreement that the U.S. holds with foreign countries that host its military bases. Usually, SOFAs are created when there is a base present. The VFA was signed into law by President Joseph Estrada in 1998, after the two major bases, Clark Air Force Base and Subic Naval Base, were closed in 1991. The implementation of the VFA differs from other SOFAs in that the U.S. military has access to the whole archipelago, and not just to areas where bases are operating.[324] The VFA defines U.S. soldiers' privileges regarding entry and exit into the Philippines, driving and vehicle registration, importation and exportation of items purchased, and criminal jurisdiction of U.S. soldiers if they commit a crime in Philippines.

In 2005 the Subic Rape Case caught global attention. A young woman under the pseudonym "Nicole" stated that she was gang raped by U.S. servicemen visiting Subic Bay for shortened military exercises from Okinawa. Activists from the Philippines contacted IWNAM delegates from other countries, sharing press statements about their analysis of the issue. Nicole was not working in these R&R industries, but was actually

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[323] Sturdevant and Stoltzfus, *Let the Good Times Roll*, 48-165.
[324] Lacsamana, Anne E. "Empire on Trial: The Subic Rape Case and the Struggle for Philippine Women's Liberation," in *Works and Days* 57-58(29) (2011).

visiting a friend in Olongapo. One night, she strayed from her friends, and was found

later crying with her clothes disheveled, stating that she had been raped. Her story was

reported to national and international news. Women's rights activists saw her case as a

rallying point to call attention to the VFA and U.S. militarism, as the root cause of

violence against women and infringement of Philippine sovereignty.[325]

The defendants of the Subic Rape Case were Lance Corporals Daniel Smith,

Keith Silkwood, Dominic Duplantis and Staff Sergeant Chad Carpentier, members of the

31st Marine Expeditionary Force stationed in Okinawa. The four soldiers had just

completed Balikatan (shoulder-to-shoulder) exercises with members of the Philippine

military. The VFA implemented joint training between the Philippine and U.S. militaries

and funds the Armed Forces of the Philippines.[326] As Nicole's case circulated in the

media, there was backlash from the broader public. Opinions in blogs and newspapers

accused Nicole of lying about her sexual assault to punish her "G.I. Boyfriends" so she

could go to the U.S., and that she was bringing shame to her family. Danicar Mariano

describes these documented media commentaries as byproducts of patriarchal ideologies

in the Philippines instituted since Spanish colonialism that shamed women for speaking

out against their oppression. [327] Nicole was also speaking out against the neo-colonial

relationship between the U.S. and the Philippine government. Silkwood, Duplantis and

Carpentier had their charges dropped, and Smith was eventually released back to the U.S.

because Nicole recanted her case.

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[325] Lacsamana, "Empire on Trial."
[326] Lacsamana, "Empire on Trial."
[327] Mariano, Danicar. "The Nicole Subic Rape Case and the Chingada in the Philippine Imaginary," in *Transnationalism and the Asian American Heroine: Essays on Literature, Film, Myth and Media*. Lan Dong, Ed. (Jefferson: McFarland & Company, 2010).

The Nicole Case sheds light on what Filipino scholar Walden Bello calls the "U.S. transnational garrison state" that interconnects military installations in the Philippines, to Okinawa and to Korea.[328] South Korean and Okinawan women also reported sexual violence perpetrated by U.S. military personnel. But many were unable to receive legal justice. Military historian Joseph Gerson describes how the U.S. established a structure of power in these Asian countries to protect its military interests. U.S. imperial expansion in the region occurred from 1890 to World War II, when the U.S. began to compete with Europe and Japan as an imperial power, and from World War II to the present, through the creation of a Pax Americana strategy of nuclear deterrence. He argues that the goal of the second phase of U.S. imperialism was to prevent other competing nations to develop their own nuclear capacity, build a global coalition to "contain" the Soviet Union, intervene in the "Third World" to maintain U.S. hegemony, and dominate free trade agreements. Free trade agreements would be created through regional governing entities such as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, Central Treaty Organization and Southeast Asian Treaty Organization, Australia, New Zealand and U.S. Security (ANZUS) Pact, and bilateral treaties with Japan, South Korea and Taiwan. These regional coalitions tie these countries to neoliberal economies. These countries began to host U.S. bases, particularly after World War II, to put down resistance that would block the interests of corporate industries seeking access to natural resources and cheap labor.[329] These transnational formations are the backdrop for why the Philippines, South Korea and Okinawa are parts of military base and free trade networks. When national governments become complicit in an imperial order that has

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[328] Bello, "Moment of Decision."
[329] Gerson, Joseph. "The Sun Never Sets," in *The Sun Never Sets...: Confronting the Network of Foreign U.S. Military Bases.* Joseph Gerson and Bruce Brichard, Eds. (Boston: South End Press, 1991).

adapted into their national security and economic development agendas, rapes around the military bases are seen as collateral damage. The social networks created through the IWNAM circulate these events and acts of resistance so that more women can recognize the patterns of their experiences and develop strategies to address the systematic nature of their conditions.

B. SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA AS AN ARCHIVE

Accessing militarized places like Subic and Olongapo, and its connection to countries of Okinawa, South Korea, and the Philippines, raised questions about the culture of the U.S. that generates people to become soldiers who engage in abusive acts around foreign bases. The 2007 meeting in San Francisco created an itinerary called the "Hidden in Plain Sight" tour. U.S. based partners organized visits to Emeryville, Richmond, and Bayview Hunter's Point, to meet with local organizers on how each of their sites have become militarized, and how the diverse populations have been impacted. The San Francisco Bay Area provided a context for understanding the layered histories of militarism under the jurisdiction of two different imperial powers, the Spanish and the U.S.

Emeryville is in Oakland, across the Bay from San Francisco. We met representatives from Indigenous People Organizing for Change (IPOC) at Emeryville Street Mall. IPOC protested this mall because it desecrated ancient shell mounds that were ancestral burial grounds. The mall developers featured a miniature shellmound hill, a historical exhibit on the side of the building, as well as little shell motifs throughout the mall architecture. The mall entry is located at the intersection of Shellmound and Ohlone Way. These "references" and appropriated symbols that attempt to mark the indigenous

presence in that place are offensive to IPOC. They protest how western society continues to commit structural violence on them, as indigenous peoples of California, from the genocide and evangelism during the Spanish occupation, into the persistent capitalist, privatized development of American occupation.[330] The IPOC's narration of Emeryville created the framework to experience the built environment of San Francisco Bay Area as a byproduct and generator of war.

San Francisco's Presidio was established by the Spanish as a military garrison for Spanish troops to battle resistant tribal groups in the region, and to support indigenous relocation and evangelization in the missions.[331] After the Mexican-American War and the Spanish-American War, the American Southwest and West, San Francisco in particular, was taken under the control of the Anglo-American settler government. Euro-American and colored pioneers settled San Francisco, one of the Spanish missions along the California Coast.[332] The settlers were pulled by the Gold Rush, performing Manifest Destiny through their U.S. westward migration. By the turn of the 20th century, California became part of the American union.[333] The Presidio was used as a U.S. Naval base to send off ships and troops across the Pacific, as Manifest Destiny extended across the Pacific, to take control of the Spanish Pacific colonies of the Philippines and Guam,

[330] Gould, Corinna. "Hidden in Plain Sight: Emeryville" (5th International Women's Network Against Militarism meeting, San Francisco, 2007). "Save the Shell Mounds" Indian People Organizing For Change. Accessed April 20, 2014. http://ipocshellmoundwalk.homestead.com/shellmound.html.
[331] "Mission Dolores: Birthplace to the City of San Francisco & San Francisco Bay Area." Mission Dolores. Accessed July 3, 2011. http://missiondolores.citysearch.com/. Dutton, Davis, Ed. *Missions of California: A Westways/Comstock Guide.* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1972).
[332] Colored pioneers include African American, Native, Chicano and mixed race descendants who came as slaves and servants of Euro-American settlers, and those who were displaced from their original homes. See Hayden, Dolores. "The View from Grandma Mason's Place," in *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History.* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1996). Pérez, Emma. *Forgetting the Alamo, Or, Blood Memory: A Novel.* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2009).
[333] Wei and Kamel, *Resistance in Paradise.*

and to acquire American Samoa and Hawai'i in the 1890s.[334] The histories of violence

experienced by various ethnic, class and genders of Native Americans, Chicanos, African

Americans, Asian Americans, Pacific Islanders and Euro-Americans were collateral

damage, swallowed by the institutional, infrastructural and legal manifestation of U.S.

nation building.[335] The trauma, unresolved, informs the intergenerational development of

militarized people to normalize violence as the expression of power, as they link their

unhealed pain, and that of their ancestors, as the "stripes" to gain belonging into the

dominant order.[336]

    If places in California can be seen as archives, military buildings and

infrastructures comprise the records that evidence Spanish and American occupation.

Stephen Mikeswell created an inventory of California Historic Military Buildings and

Structures from 1769-1989 for the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers.[337] The development

of California military bases and facilities can be categorized in seven eras: 1) the Colonial

Era (1769-1846), which was during the Spanish colonial era as colonists migrated north

from Mexico toward their last installation in Northern California; 2) The Frontier Era

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[334] Wei and Kamel, *Resistance in Paradise.* Thompson, Lanny. *Imperial Archipelago: Representation and Rule in the Insular Territories under U.S. Dominion after 1898.* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2010). Lee and Salas, *Unfaithing U.S. Colonialism.*

[335] Gyanendra Pandey describes how the process of decolonization in India included the partition of India and Pakistan, which was characterized with such violence between Hindus and Muslims. It is in this process of nation-building that the complexity of relations within diverse societies such as pre-partition India, becomes forgotten to achieve the ideal, yet rigid, construct of a decolonial nation-state. In the case of the U.S., the extension of U.S. jurisdiction across North America and the Pacific was not without its critics and also, disregarding the experiences and voices of those exploited to achieve that extension. However, the homogeneity of U.S. national memory to only preserve and recollect the narratives of the U.S. nation-state silences the memories of exploited and silenced populations in order to legitimize and normalize the idea of that the U.S. has a right to be imperial, and that its citizens should support and benefit this logic to survive. Pandey, Gyanendra. *Remembering Partition: Violence, Nationalism and History in India.* (Cambridge University Press, 2001). Pérez, Emma. *Forgetting the Alamo, Or, Blood Memory: A Novel.* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2009).

[336] Atkinson, *Trauma Trails Recreating Song Lines.*

[337] Mikeswell, Stephen. "California Historic Military Buildings and Structures Inventory," in *Volume II: The History and Historic Resources of the Military in California, 1769-1989.* U.S. Army Corps of Engineers (2000).

(1846-1865), which was during American colonization and occupation of California; 3) the Traditional Era (1866-1902), which were U.S. Army and U.S. Navy post-Civil War forces and installations built according to 19th century model of military organization, and the design of barracks, shops, family quarters and stables. These facilities were used for Indian Wars and the Spanish-American War; 4) the Modernization Era (1903-1918) was marked by facilities that supported new technologies such as airplanes, submarines, motorized vehicles and radio communications, as well as Army use of trucks, tanks and machine guns. Monterey County and Fort Ord are examples of the modern training facilities; 5) the Interwar Era (1919-1938) saw the development of new branches in different regions of the San Francisco Bay Area. For example, Mare Island, the San Francisco Presidio and Benicia Arsenal underwent modernization from World War I, to accommodate developments such as Naval Air Stations, Army Air Corps fields, armored cavalry training bases; 6) The World War II Era (1939-1945) saw the use of military facilities for wars across the Pacific and the Atlantic. Land was acquired in California to develop new installations. Manufacturers were hired to produce weapons, clothing, food, and any other soldier's needs. California universities, such as University of California and California Institute of Technology, were developed to host high-tech laboratories to conduct advanced weapons research; 7) The Cold War Era (1946-1989) saw the development of China Lake, Edwards Air Force Base, and Vandenberg Air force Base to serve as California's technological war during the Cold War. California's role in the U.S. Department of Defense high technology military strategies shaped its infrastructure to become the high tech capital of the U.S.[338]

The institutional and infrastructural systems of Spanish and American

[338] Mikeswell, "California Historic Military Buildings and Structures Inventory."

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imperialisms recruited citizens to operate and build upon this order. During World War II, government and industry collaborated to develop communities all around the U.S. to mobilize American citizens for the war effort. People of diverse ethnic, gender and class backgrounds were employed by these industries. San Francisco Bay Area was a major site for U.S. military shipbuilding and ammunition factories.[339] According to the Rosie the Riveter Exhibit, whole towns, like Richmond, California were built to house and employ workers for Kaiser's shipbuilding and ammunition factories. Amenities like housing, schools, fire stations, police stations, childcare and health care services were provided.[340] Despite the energy of populations galvanized for a national cause, discrimination prevailed. People of color and other lower income earning workers, lived in shacks, crates, trailers and automobiles; they felt fortunate to move into barrack-like dormitories for World War II workers.[341]

After the war, the shipbuilding and ammunition factories closed down. Many of the towns that housed the factory workers and ship builders were demolished by the shipbuilding corporations, as the industry's need for labor declined. David E. Dowall, author of "The Suburban Squeeze, Land-Use Policies in the San Francisco Bay Area," writes that returning war veterans took advantage of the Veterans' Administration home loans, which were accommodated by developers who availed themselves of low-cost land on the urban fringe, such as in Alameda County, San Mateo County, Santa Clara County, South of Oakland, San Leandro and Hayward.[342] Here, the institutions and infrastructures

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[339] Veronico, Nicholas. *World War II Shipyards in the Bay.* (Charleston: Arcadia Publishing, 2007).
[340] National Park Service. "Rosie the Riveter: Self-Guided Audio Tour," in *Rosie the Riveter/WWII Home Front National Historical Park.* (Department of Interior, 2010)
[341] National Park Service, "Rosie the Riveter," 13.
[342] Dowall, David E. "The Suburban Squeeze: Land-Use Policies in the San Francisco Bay Area," In *Cato Journal* 2(3) (1982).

of the Imperial Archive extended from military facilities into housing subdivisions. This then created the perception that being recruited to participate in the war effort would be rewarded with access to homes and middle class mobility. However, not all military employees experienced upward mobility. Some former civilian military employees stayed in the areas where former ship building sites were, such as Bayview Hunter's Point, many of whom were of African-American descent. When World War II ended and the shipyards closed, the previously industrious communities were abandoned and left to be economically depressed, low-income areas. Green Action, a contemporary organization in Bayview Hunter's Point has been tracking the environmental hazards of the Hunters Point Naval Shipyard Superfund Site. In their fact sheet, they write,

> The Hunters Point Naval Shipyard Superfund Site was used for shipbuilding, repair and maintenance, submarine servicing and testing until it was closed in 1992. The shipyard, divided into 6 parcels A through F, contains fuels, pesticides, heavy metals, PCBs, volatile organic compounds and radioactive radium. All of these toxins pose serious health risks to residents and the water quality of the San Francisco Bay.[343]

Here, evidence for another memory of the Imperial Archive exists. Bayview Hunter's Point is an archive of war infrastructure, a node amidst other sites in California that have been configured for militaristic efforts. The history of war, shipbuilding and ammunition storage has contaminated the air, soil and water tables, which presently affect the health of communities who live next to this former naval shipyard.

On one level, the IWNAM meeting cultures integrate art, relationship building

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[343] "Greenaction for Health and Environmental Justice." Greenaction, accessed May 19, 2013. http://greenaction.org/bvhp-navalhipyard-clean-not-cap/.

and spirituality to facilitate the creation of strong ties[344] based on a different value system

other than transnational, militaristic real politik.[345] The social ties, over time, seek to

build trust among participants to engage in long term, collaborative research and activity,

based on understanding the unequal contexts that shape their relationship under

militarized global systems, either as people embedded in societies structured to receive

the military, or to send militaries elsewhere. The IWNAM meetings treat "place as

archive" showing how the Cold War construction of Subic Bay Philippines, and World

War II construction of the San Francisco Bay Area, as sites of colonialism, military

interoperability and forward deployment. The IWNAM meetings function as a contact

zone, which Mary Louise Pratt defines as "the space of colonial encounters, the space in

which peoples geographically and historically separated come into contact with each

other and establish ongoing relations, usually involving conditions of coercion, radical

inequality, and intractable conflict."[346] Subic Bay and Olongapo at the margins of U.S.

empire, and Bayview Hunter's Point and San Francisco Bay Area in the boundaries of the

U.S., embody the disjuncture between Filipinos and Americans. But at the same time,

reading these places as archives illuminate layered histories of imperialisms that

interconnect oppressions and draw reasons for alliance.

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[344] Granovetter, Mark. "The Strength of Weak Ties: A Network Theory Revisited," in *Sociological Theory* 1 (1983): 204.

[345] Akibayashi,"Okinawa Women Act Against Military Violence." "Theory Talk #13: Immanuel Wallerstein on World-Systems, The Imminent End of Capitalism and Unifying Social Science," Schouten, P., accessed May 24, 2013. http://www.theory-talks.org/2008/08/theory-talk-13.html.

[346] Pratt, Mary Louise. *Imperial Eyes: Travel and Transculturation.* (New York: Routledge, 1992), 6-7.

PEOPLE AS ARCHIVES

A. ALLIANCE BUILDING

People can be conceptualized as records in the Imperial Archive when it recruits them to express its function through their labor. People's identities as rights holding citizens are interpellated by the discourses of the Westphalian nation-state that juridically and infrastructurally define how citizenship and rights can be accessed or achieved. In short, people can be "arranged" as records that flow within the function the Imperial Archive through the labor they provide, operating its institutions and building its infrastructures. However, people can also be archives, or see that their identities are not flat to perfectly fit within a preexisting structural and ideological arrangement. People are archives, or have access to many records, many narratives, and many histories within themselves. This conceptualization suggests that people can practice their right to access other narratives and imaginations of jurisdictions to justify their being in the world. They have a right to find in themselves evidence, or reasons, why they can engage in new ways of thinking, being and relating to others and themselves other than what is made obviously possible. The IWNAM meetings confrontation of material and ideological oppressions generate emotional disjunctures and tensions. Interpersonal performances of disjunctures have included feelings of suspicion, mistrust and doubt, especially among participants who come from countries that historically colonized or were colonized.[347] Having always lived in an Imperial Archive may scorch verdant imaginations of other possible ways of being, and may be suspicious of others who exhibit a freedom of being.

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[347] Cachola, Kirk, Natividad, and Pumarejo, "Resistance, Resilience and Respect for Human Rights," 164-170.

Alliance building[348] can be a method to share how the Imperial Archive has structured people's lives, and unconsciously shapes people's relations. But also people's own assumptions of others can change when they learn more information through sustained relations over time. These principles of alliance building can sense possible connections and collaborations across diverse individuals and power relations:

1) Know who you are, what is important to you, what your non-negotiables are. Know your strengths and what you bring to this shared venture. Recognize, accept and honor the ways you are different from the others.

2) Figure out why you want to become allies with a particular person or group. What do they stand for? What are their values? What are they interested in doing politically? How do you know this? How do you find out? What is the purpose for coming together?

3) Commit yourself to communicate. Hold judgment until you understand what is going on. Ask the other person to say more. Listen, talk, and listen more. This may be accomplished through conversations, reading, films, events and meetings. And learning about each other's community.

4) Share the past. Talk about what has happened to you.

5) Be authentic and ask for authenticity from others. If this is not possible, what is alliance worth?

6) Check out the person/group as the acquaintance grows. Are they who they say they are? Do they do what they say they believe in? Do you have reason to trust

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[348] Boggs, Grace Lee. "Beyond Corporate Bondage," in (*The Witness* 1994), 18-20. Boggs, James. "We Need to Create Neighborhood Businesses," in (*The Northwest Detroiter* 1993), 9.

them? Judge them by their track record and what actually happens, not by your fears, hopes, or expectations that come from old experiences.

7) Keep the process "clean." Call each other on difficult issues as they come up—preferably with grace, teasing maybe, firmly but gently. Don't try to get to the bottom of things when it's impossible to do so meaningfully, but don't use externals (too late, too tired, too busy, too may other items on the agenda) to avoid it.

8) Be open to being called on your own stuff, even if it's embarrassing or makes you feel vulnerable. Tell others when their opinions and experiences give you new insights and help you see things differently.

9) Do some people in the group take up a lot of space talking about their own concerns? Are they aware of it? What is the unspoken power dynamic between people? How does age, gender, class, or race play out? Can you talk about it openly?

10) What is the "culture" of your group? What kind of meetings and decision making style do you have? If you eat together, what kind of food do you serve? What kind of music do you listen to? Where do you meet?

11) Look for the common ground. What are the perspectives, experiences, insights, and dreams we share?[349]

Being "archived" within structures of oppression is sometimes unconscious to people. The relations they express and exhibit may be a byproduct of what they have learned or experienced in their lives. But alliance building is a kind of exercise for self and group

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[349] Kirk, Gwyn. "Ecofeminism and Environmental Justice: Bridges Across Gender, Race and Class," in *Frontiers: A Journal of Women's Studies,* 18(2) (1997): 15-16.

conscious. Structures of oppression might cause a one-sided relationship to occur

because one party assumes that they are entitled to talk and act however they want, and

assumes that others have nothing to say or will disagree with their actions. Alliance

building is a way to conceptualize people as archives because it advances an

understanding of one's own context and defining one's non-negotiables in the process of

entering an ethical relationship. Alliance building challenges participants to develop their

capacity to transform one self, by moving beyond comfort zones, in order to truly hear

the non-negotiables of the other side. In order for collective transformation out of the

unequal contexts, individuals need to build trust in people's commitment to respect each

other. If things are not compatible, clarifying and communicating withdrawal is

necessary. But much of this communication requires individuals to be aware of the social

cues of trust building, respect and discomfort. In this next section, language

interpretation is one way the IWNAM practices alliance building. This is so the IWNAM

meeting's practice of alliance building is not ceremonial, but a way for participants to

embody, model and transmit their socio-political values.[350]

B. INTERPRETATION

The IWNAM have used technical devices to aid in the multi-lingual translation at

meetings, to practice alliance building. Translation devices have been invested in and are

brought to international meetings, particularly by those who need international

translation. To aid the accuracy and appropriateness of their communication,[351] Yoko

Fukumura, Nobu Tomita and Michiko Hase created a Japanese-English dictionary; Elli

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[350] Interviewee #2. Interview by Ellen-Rae Cachola. June 17, 2012.
[351] "Languages." Women for Genuine Security, accessed June 10, 2013.
http://www.genuinesecurity.org/aboutus/translation.html

Kim and Don Mee Choi created a Korean-English dictionary; Maria Reinat Pumarejo and Raul Quiñones Rosado contributed toward a Spanish-English dictionary; Nher Sagum constructed a Pilipino-English dictionary.[352] The dictionary is comprised of 400 terms to support consistent translation of government titles, offices, treaties, agencies and policies.[353] Translation/interpretation is a social practice, that is "slow and cumbersome, requiring time, patience and concentration as well as skilled interpreters." Translators are the most important aspect of the IWNAM in that they keep different language groups together in the conversation. They must pay attention to English conversation and translate to the second language, then from the second language back to English.

Since my participation in 2004, I witnessed how participants of the network use Skype and email to communicate in between meetings. I noticed how those who spoke or understood English participate more dominantly in email chains and Skype calls. The network has used different technologies to facilitate communication between network participants over time, such as fax machines, written and typed letters, phones and mail. The increased use of technology has increased the use of English language because it was the common language among people in the different countries.

When we return to the social context, oral communication becomes more challenging. But it allows the IWNAM's organizational culture to be aligned to its historical memory and goal of transformation. The translator's role is not to translate words; they also must interpret and communicate the historical and political context of speaks and who listen. For example, Interviewee #1 reflected on how

[a partner from a Korean organization] gave me talking when I was in Korea in 2006,

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[352] Choi, Don Mee, Yoko Fukumura, Michiko Hase and Nobu Tomita, "Interpretation is a Political Act."
[353] Cachola, Kirk, Natividad, Pumarejo, "Resistance, Resilience and Respect for Human Rights," 167.

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and it was partly because of my own monolingualism, and how I don't take much

effort to learn much Korean [because] its a really complicated language, and she said,

speaking English in Korea is privilege and only privileged people in Korea can do it

because it means huge amount of further college education.

Here, a Korean participant interrupted the U.S. participant's English monolingualism to

challenge the unequal power between U.S. and Korea. The fact that English language has

only been acceptable to elite classes positions the supremacy of English within their

society and marks the privilege of the monolingual English speaker. It is through this

interruption that the U.S. participant is able to experience the structure of oppression that

she benefits from in Korea. It is through that interruption by the Korean partner that

compels the U.S. partner to draw from a different narrative from within herself to pay

attention to, think critically of why she is comfortable speaking English in non-English

contexts as a sign of her privilege. What must she do if she seeks to be an accountable to

the political history that was explained by the Korean partner?   What must English

speakers do to be in solidarity with the history of imbalances between the U.S. and other

countries that militarily occupied by them?

Multilingual interpretation in Japanese, Korean, Pilipino, Spanish and English has

been another way that the network institutes alliance building in their work. In an article

entitled "Interpretation is a Political Act," the creators of the Peace Activist Dictionary

wrote,

For us, interpretation does not belong in a neutral, apolitical realm but in the

political realm. Our conscious decision to see interpretation this way means that

we examine the power relations embedded in the use of language. We understand

that language is also not a neutral medium; like interpretation, it is located within particular social, political, and historical contexts.[354]

Each person from a country is an embodiment of an archive that holds memories and understandings of how militarism has come to impact them. But if English speakers continue to speak because, how might non-English speakers actually share what is in their archives, share how they interpret their countries experience with militarism, and build alliances across the globalization of militarism? The insistence on multi-lingual translation is integral in interrupting the dominance of English language. [355] The effectiveness of the IWNAM's transformational cultures, requires intentional and careful communication, which requires face-to-face meetings and translators.

VI. CONCLUSION

This chapter conceptualizes events as an archival system that is made possible by records. Records document the plans for an experience that capture people into being aware of militarism upon landscapes that have been previously "hidden in plain sight." The website serves as a system that organizes the notes and statements emerging out of these events, in order to document the kind of international relations that the IWNAM is generating at multiple localities. However, the website is just one of many pluralized records that can be used to inform others about the IWNAM's own historical memory about militarized security, and the possibility of genuine security. By situating place and people as part of IWNAM meeting's archival system, they bring to light how lands have been structured as part of imperial systems. In order to create subject-subject relations among participants from different parts of the world, a common context of struggle is

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[354] Choi, Fukumura, Hase and Tomita, "Interpretation is a Political Act."
[355] Cachola, Kirk, Natividad, Pumarejo, "Resistance, Resilience and Respect for Human Rights," 168.

needed to foster alliance-building among people of different national, cultural and linguistic backgrounds. Drawing from Quiñones, IWNAM can be described as having an

> intentional and skilled use of attention…[that] not only breaks the reactivity in the moment, but also begins to interrupt the psychological pattern of internalized oppression. In turn, this release may open the path to more responsive alternatives, to a greater sense of connection to self and others, and advancement of the overall process of liberation and social transformation.[356]

The genuinesecurity.org website archives traces of meetings, as a living archive. The meetings are where epistemologies of militarized place can be accessed, experienced and linked to another place in the world. If people can examine where they position themselves in the IWNAM's epistemology of militarism, they can gain knowledge on how to impact its systemic nature from within their context.

CHAPTER 4: WVWS808.BLOGSPOT.COM: INDIGENOUS AND IMMIGRANT WOMEN'S DESCRIPTION OF THE IMPERIAL ARCHIVE IN HAWAI'I

I. INTRODUCTION

This chapter analyzes a blog as one archive within the Women's Voices Women Speak (WVWS) archival multiverse. The WVWS community archive is created by a group of indigenous and immigrant women who exchange and document their epistemology of the Imperial Archive in Hawai'i with each other and with broader social networks. This chapter utilizes the records continuum model to track the contours of the

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[356] Quiñones, *Consciousness-in-Action,* 122.

WVWS archives through the dimensions of create, capture, organize and pluralize. The contours of the WVWS archive include the blog, but its records therein points to other archives that are byproducts of, and resources for, its record creators. These archives are part of the WVWS archival multiverse in that they are contextualized within a jurisdiction of decolonization through demilitarization.

Like all archives, the WVWS blog is a partial archive, only showing traces of information from particular people who had the access to technology and the will to post information about the activity they were engaged in.[357] The meanings of records are specific and unique for each individual who created, received, or accessed that record. Even the arrangement of records for their presentation and preservation are subjective, based on the cultural, intellectual and social context of the individual who archives.[358] I can only interpret these archives significance according to my immigrant perspective. Hans Boom suggests that archival appraisal should include transparency of the archivist because that colors their interpretation and description of records. I use the Asian Settler Colonial framework to base my interpretation of records in the WVWS archive to point to historical context that explains how immigrant Filipinos, as Asian settlers, can relate to discourses of Native Hawaiian sovereignty through confronting how militarism adversely affects their community.

II. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

My interpretations of the WVWS archive is based on the knowledge gained

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[357] In 2004, Terri Kekoʻolani created a Women's Voices Women Speak (WVWS) Yahoo Groups page and listserv to keep the women who participated in the 5th East-Asia-U.S.-Puerto Rico Women's Network Against Militarism (EAUSPRWNAM) meeting in the Philippines, and supporters, in communication. Photos from the meeting were posted, and information shared. In 2009, Ellen-Rae Cachola created the WVWS blog to serve as a website that holds information of WVWS activity since 2004, including the 2007 IWNAM meeting in San Francisco and the 2009 meeting in Guahan (Guam).

[358] Booms, Hans. "Society and the Formation of a Documentary Heritage," *Archivaria* 24 (1987): 69-107.

throughout the years as an Ilocana settler mentee of Indigenous and Asian settler[359]

activists in Hawai'i organizing for Kanaka Maoli[360] sovereignty, decolonization and

demilitarization. Dean Itsuji Saranillio writes,

> "The word 'settler' is a means to an end. The goal is not to win a game of
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> semantics or to engage in name calling, but rather for settlers to have a firm
>
> understanding of our participation in sustaining U.S. colonialism and then to

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[359] My use of the term settler is contentious and not all individuals I worked with would describe themselves with that term. I am using that term to explain the differentiate native and non-native historical relation to place. It is important to note that there are also other discourses in which Asians who have lived in Hawai'i for many generations are not "settlers" but "locals" (See Castanha, Anthony. "Roles of Non-Hawaiians," in "The Hawaiian Sovereignty Movement: Roles of and Impacts on Non-Hawaiians" (Masters Thesis, Political Science Department, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. http://www.hookele.com/non-Hawaiians/chapter1.html.) In addition, it can be argued that certain Asians are indigenous but have experienced land and cultural disenfranchisement in their ancestral lands, which caused them to out migrate to seek better opportunities. Also, it can be argued that indigenous Hawaiians are also immigrants from the Marquesas. There is also an indigenous Hawaiian diaspora, such as in the West Coast California, through their participation in whaling ships, and military industries (See Nihipali, Elizabeth "Nani", Lessa Kanani'opua Pelayo, Christian Hanz Lozada, Cheryl Villareal Roberts, Lorelie Santonil Olaes.   Images of America: Hawaiians in Los Angeles. (Charleston: Arcadia Publishing, 2012)). Asians and Pacific Islanders are linguistically and cosmologically related through the Austronesian language and dispersion theory (See Wilcken, Lane. *Filipino Tattoos: Ancient to Modern*. (Pennsylvania: Schiffer Publishing, Ltd., 2010; Oppenheimer, Stephen. *Eden in the East: The Drowned Continent of Southeast Asia.* (London: Phoenix, 1998). This shows that the strict identification of particular people to specific territory reifies boundaries that were instituted through western racial and spatial classification of Asian and Pacific peoples. Theories such as the Austronesian language and dispersion theory can provide a way to conceptualize indigenous ways of defining identity in the Asia-Pacific context that has more fluid and continuum-like qualities, rather than rigid, essentialist definitions. However, for the purposes of this paper, I draw from Candace Fujikane to differentiate indigenous and settler to destabilize a common assumption that lumps non-white immigrants, such as Asia-Pacific plantation workers and their descendants, with indigenous Hawaiians, as Hawaiians. This obscures the White supremacist racialization projects in modern Hawai'i that culturally indoctrinated and assimilated Asian populations in Hawai'i to aspire in, and identify with, the U.S. settler government, since the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy and the development of plantation economies (See Fujikane, Candace. "Introduction," in *Asian Settler Colonialism: From Local Governance to the Habits of Everyday Life in Hawai'i,* Candace Fujikane and Jonathan Okamura, Eds. (Honolulu, University of Hawai'i Press, 2008).
[360] Kanaka Maoli translates as full-blooded Hawaiian person. Kanaka means man, and maoli as native. ("kanaka maoli." Ulukau Hawaiian Electronic Dictionary nā puke wehewehe ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi, accessed December 12, 2013. http://wehewehe.org) Since there has been a decease of full blooded Kanaka Maoli since western contact, the term has been popularized by various Hawaiian nationalist and sovereignty groups to reclaim their identity as the indigenous population of Hawai'i. Kanaka Maoli is differentiated from the term Native Hawaiian because the latter is the State definition of indigenous Hawaiian according to blood quantum (See Kauanui, Kēhaulani J. *Hawaiian Blood.* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008)). For the purposes of this paper, I use Kanaka Maoli to refer to indigenous Hawaiians active in the sovereignty movement and Native Hawaiian to refer to the general population of indigenous peoples of Hawai'i.

support Native Hawaiians in achieving self-determination and the decolonization of Hawaiʻi."[361]

The identification of indigenous and settler is necessary to examine the effect of the Imperial Archive in Hawaiʻi. Within the discourse of the Imperial Archive, Asian immigrants are lumped together with Hawaiians as part of a liberal, multicultural state that obfuscates the realities of raced, classed and gendered tensions in Hawaiʻi's diverse society. In order to obscure the racialization of the capitalist system that was established in Hawaiʻi in the mid to late 19th centuries, the Imperial Archival apparatus produces a perceived public discourse of equality. This is done through the celebration of the "mixed-ness" of Hawaiʻi's culture, represented in the "hapa" or mixed race identities born of inter-racial relationships, the linguistic bricolage of pidgin, composed of Hawaiian, Japanese, Chinese, Filipino, Portuguese and English terms, and the local "mixed plates," composed of foods from Hawaiian, Filipino, Chinese, and Japanese diets. These are products of Hawaiʻi's construction as a crossroads of the East and the West, particularly during western colonial development. The plantations were one of the many types of colonial industries established by Euro-American missionary and entrepreneurs in Hawaiʻi.

The postcolonial framework of Dipesh Chakrabarty ruptures the perceived equality of multiculturalism through identifying the various levels of the subaltern—the elite subaltern, working class subaltern, and the subaltern. This helps to explain the hierarchies that play out among diverse, racialized social groups within colonized contexts. The Euro-American elites who established industries on Hawaiʻi's lands lobbied for and passed legislation for the importation of Chinese, Japanese, Filipino,

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[361] Saranillio, "Colonial Amnesia," 258.

Pacific Islander, African American, and Mexican settlers for the missionary, plantation, cattle, hotel and military industries. Given that the Chinese was among the early imported laborers who toiled in the plantations, they were given earlier exposure to set up businesses in Hawai'i before other immigrants, creating ethnic enclaves such as Honolulu's Chinatown. The wealth they generated could position them in the category of elite subaltern. New immigrant arrivals, such as Japanese, were not as established as the Chinese, and could be categorized as the working class subaltern. Similarly, the later waves of Filipino immigrants could also be seen as the working class subaltern. This process of becoming an elite and working class subaltern is a moving one, as some leaders in the Japanese community rose up in power, to become politicians and business leaders. Then as some Filipinos adapted to their new society, they would aspire to upwardly mobile opportunities by achieving positions within the elite subaltern category as business leaders and politicians. Meanwhile, the majorities of newer immigrant arrivals, such as Samoans, Tongans, Marshallese, Chukeese and other Pacific Islanders, occupy the position of working class subalterns starting from the "bottom of the ladder." In this context, Native Hawaiians can be seen as the subaltern class, a group of people who were experiencing increasing disenfranchisement as Euro-American industrialists began to acquire their lands, and imported foreign laborers to work on them. But there would be some Native Hawaiians that were able to aspire within the apparatuses of the U.S. government, particularly through schools set aside to them from the Bishop Estate, funds set aside for the development Hawaiian children by the late Bernice Pauahi Bishop.

This postcolonial framework helps to explain how the cultural and historical development of Hawai'i's landscape illuminates the ordering of populations within the

Imperial Archive. The colonial apparatuses of Euro-American owned industries

employed the immigrant populations to work upon them, and became the institutional

and infrastructural records of occupation for the indigenous population. It is also through

racialized population's adaptation to these apparatuses that their ethnic group is able to

progress, but within the parameters established by the Euro-American order. It is within

this tense context that I situate my interpretation of the WVWS archive. The possibilities

of alliance between indigenous and postcolonial settlers can be forged when they engage

in activity and documentation that critically communicates how Eurocentric logic

pervades their lands and lives, to integrate Hawai'i into a global imperial scheme.

III. METHODOLOGY

In the archival field, there is a distinction between recordkeeping and archives.

Recordkeeping is the process of creating and managing records so they can be used for

the function of the organization.[362] Archives are "entombed"[363] records, or records that no

longer play an active role in the function of an organization. Some may be selected and

shipped to another location for long-term preservation because of their historical and

cultural value.[364] However, this division has created elitism in conceptualizations of the

archive creating hierarchies among the many ways that archives are created, and

selectively choosing which information has more enduring value over others. For

example, records creation, management, preservation and access have been part of living

cultural activities over time. But the over-conceptualization of the western government

archive and elite cultural institutions as the "archive" takes attention away from small-

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[362] Penn, Ira A. et al. "Records Storage," in *Records Management Handbook* (1989): 181-212.
[363] Hamilton, Carolyn, Verne Harris, Jane Taylor, Michele Pickover, Graeme Reid & Razia Saleh. *Refiguring the Archive.* (Norwell: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2002)
[364] Penn, "Records Storage," 181-212.

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scale or community based activities that also produce records and archives that document

nuanced information about life, history and culture within societies.[365]

WVWS can be recognized as a community based recordkeeping and archival

organization. The difference between WVWS and government records is the difference in

institutional power and "validity." The process of imperialism included the creation of

legal, political and economic systems to govern the function of society.[366] As a result,

dominant institutional records are created and validated within the paradigm of the

colonial governments that have imposed and asserted control over the territory through

defining laws, history and economy through the institutions it builds, and the records it

creates to continue and validate its function. The WVWS records may not be validated

by dominant government or established cultural institution archives. However, WVWS

records comprise a Do It Yourself (D.I.Y.) archive created by one community to

communicate their message to another community. According to Information Studies

scholar Leah Lievrouw, D.I.Y. is the ways in which communities "turn to new media

technologies to extend their social networks and interpersonal contact, to produce their

own information that "talks back" to or engages with the prevailing culture."[367] How

might the WVWS archives be a way for communities, unrepresented by dominant media,

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[365] Flinn, Stevens, and Shepherd, "Whose Memories, Whose Archives?" 71-86; Flinn, "Community Histories, Community Archives," 151-176.

[366] Wareham, "From Explorers to Evangelists," 187-207. Wareham describes how archives in the Pacific are traces of colonizing activity, and are different than indigenous recordkeeping and memory practices. Also see Duranti, *Diplomatics*. Duranti describes the function of Italian institutional archives, and elaborates how content and form of a record can provide clues in understanding its function within a bureaucracy. See Althusser. "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatus (Notes Toward An Investigation." Althusser describes how schools, media and religious institutions are ideological apparatuses; and prisons, the military, and to some degree hospitals and asylums, are repressive apparatuses, that socialize and discipline people to function according to the will of the state. Wareham, Duranti and Althusser provide a framework to understand the role of archives in the function of modern-nation states as colonial governments, and also the transformation and assimilation of colonized societies to mimic the colonized state because of the information that was created and circulated to validate and innovate the established colonial nation-state.

[367] Lievrouw, " Oppositional and Activist New Media," 1.

talk back to the prevailing culture by contextualizing its communication within the logic

of Hawaiian sovereignty and its offshoot discourse of Asian Settler Colonialism? Mark

Dery describes that activist communities engage in cultural jamming, or jamming the

public's attention with information that counters dominantly accepted ideas. They do this

by appropriating low cost technologies, like consumer camcorders, to document police

brutality or government corruption.[368] The record creators of the WVWS archive use low

cost technology, such as a blog, to communicate to broader publics about how

immigrants and indigenous women in Hawai'i are engaging in conversation about how

sovereignty, through the demilitarization of Hawai'i, is in the benefit of each of their

communities. Mark Deuze, Axel Bruns and Christoph Neuberger describe how

conventional media outlets, that are top-down, then "partner with or deliberately tap into

these participatory media cultures to produce co-creative, commons based news

platforms."[369] The creation of the email listservs, blog and book of poetry were media

platforms that could circulate the WVWS news and analysis to community networks

locally and internationally.

The Records Continuum Model dimensions of create, capture, organize and

pluralize explain the contours of the WVWS archive. In the first dimension of create: the

actors who carry out the act (decisions, communications, acts), the acts themselves, the

documents that record the acts, and the trace, the representation of the acts. Through this

dimension, we can understand the actors who carry out the act, the acts they are engaged

in, and the documents that record the acts. This will be elaborated in the first part of this

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[368] "Cultural Jamming: Hacking, Slashing and Sniping in the Empire of Signs." Mark Dery, accessed November 16, 2013. http://www.markdery.com.
[369] Deuze, Mark, Axel Bruns and Christoph Neuberger. "Preparing for an Age of Participatory News," in *Journalism Practice* 1(3) (2007): 325.

methodology. The second dimension is capture: the personal and corporate records systems which capture documents context in ways which support their capacity to act as evidence of the social and business activities of the units responsible for the activities. In this dimension we can understand what are the documents that the records system capture. People whose senses of self are caught within the narratives of the Imperial Archive are "records" that the WVWS want to capture into their epistemology. The WVWS seeks to recruit them into how they analyze the present conditions of Hawai'i. The third dimension is organize, or the organization of recordkeeping processes. It is concerned with the manner in which a corporate body or individual defines its recordkeeping regime and in so doing constitutes/forms the archive as memory of its business or social functions. The structural analysis of the WVWS blog and book of poetry embody WVWS functions. The fourth dimension of pluralise is the manner in which the archives are brought into an encompassing (ambient) framework in order to provide a collective social, historical and cultural memory. I appraise the WVWS archives as from a Filipino settler perspective, to explain how these are records are created by people driven by a will of peace and justice for all residents in Hawai'i and beyond.

CREATE

WVWS was created after four women from Hawai'i, the author, Julia Estrella, Terri Keko'olani and Bernadette Gigi Miranda attended the 5th East-Asia-U.S.-Puerto Rico Women's Network Against Militarism (former name of the IWNAM) gathering in Manila, Philippines in 2004. Since its conception after the international women's gathering in 2004, WVWS has been one of the community projects led by volunteers of

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DMZ Hawaiʻi/Aloha ʻĀina,[370] "a network of organizations and individuals working to counter the military's negative social, cultural and environmental impacts in Hawaiʻi."[371] Some initiators of WVWS were affiliated with a pre-existing demilitarization movement in Hawaiʻi. American Friends Service Committee provided a non-profit support for this work. DMZ Hawaiʻi/Aloha ʻĀina, is a network of individuals and grassroots organizations across Hawaiʻi who resist military expansion throughout the Hawaiian archipelago and globally.[372] The DMZ Hawaiʻi/Aloha ʻĀina network works toward four goals:

> 1) Stopping Military Expansion in Hawaiʻi.
>
> 2) Cleaning up, restoring and reclaiming military controlled land in Hawaiʻi.
>
> 3) Promoting the development of environmentally sustainable, socially just and culturally appropriate economic alternatives for Hawaiʻi.
>
> 4) Seeking just compensation for the military use of Hawaiian land and for damages to the environment and communities caused by decades of military occupation."[373]

WVWS was created as a project of individuals informed by DMZ's goals, but specifically focusing on developing women's leadership and analysis on militarism. WVWS's documented mission is to "organize for Kanaka Maoli sovereignty and demilitarization from women's perspectives." The WVWS also describe themselves as "members of the International Women's Network Against Militarism." WVWS has sent

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[370] "Women's Voices Women Speak." DMZ-Hawaiʻi/Aloha 'Aina, accessed October 17, 2012. http://www.dmzHawaiʻi.org/?page_id=371.

[371] "About Me," Womens' Voices Women Speak (WVWS), accessed October 21, 2012. http://www.blogger.com/profile/02912681445162063331

[372] An archive of this demilitarization movement work is located at http://www.dmzHawaiʻi.org.

delegations to the IWNAM meetings in 2007 (San Francisco), 2009 (Guam) and 2012 (Puerto Rico).

The first WVWS delegation documented their participation in the 2004 meeting in a documentary called "Women Against Militarism: Reclaim Life, Land and Spirit," which covered the environmental and social impacts of military bases and training in Clark Air Force Base, Mapanique, and Olongapo/Subic Naval Base, Philippines. Photographs and video interviews were taken of the people within these communities. When the delegation returned home, the documentary was produced and shared at a report back meeting at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa Kamakakūokalani Center for Hawaiian Studies. A Women's Voices Women Speak YahooGroups listserv was created to keep the women connected, as well as with other women who participated in the meeting. In 2007, the WVWS blog was created to aid the memory of WVWS women on the past participation in the IWNAM meetings.

CAPTURE

The WVWS archive is made up web pages, articles, photographs, videos and books. They represent the WVWS continuum of records,[374] from born digital records[375]

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[374] I draw from Frank Upward's Recordkeeping Continuum Model which describes how an event can occur that triggers its recording; the record can become ingested in an archive or copied into a book, which extends a memory of an event into different mediums or a repository to be remembered in a future time. If the memory of the event accumulates, it reaches a saturation point in which it becomes part of collective, societal knowledge. See McKemmish, Sue, Michael Piggott, Barbara Reed and Frank Upward, Eds. *Archives: Recordkeeping in Society.* (Wagga Wagga: Centre for Information Studies, Charles Stuart University, 2005).

[375] According to the Society of American Archivists Glossary, born digital is "information created in electronic format." They note that "born-digital information is distinguished from digitized, the latter describing a document created on paper that has been scanned (and possibly transformed into character data using OCR). A document created using a word processor may be described as born digital." ("born digital." Society of American Archivists, accessed November 21, 2012, http://www2.archivists.org/glossary/terms/b/born-digital.)

to conventional records.[376] This archive holds records about indigenous and immigrant women's interpretation of place. In order to understand WVWS interpretation of place, I conducted content analysis of records they created. One data set I focused on were the blog pages created to document WVWS participation in IWNAM meetings that took place in 2004 in the Philippines, 2007 in San Francisco, 2009 in Guam, and 2012 in Puerto Rico, which reveals how women from Hawaiʻi understand how women in other countries see militarism occurring in their lands. I analyzed the types of media and content on the web pages. The records on the WVWS blog are by-products of information sharing at meetings. Information was posted in the blog to serve as an aid to remember the issues learned during and after each meeting. These pages describe how WVWS participants documented their process of community discussion and feedback, and gained knowledge on issues of militarization in Hawaiʻi internationally.

Table 1 represents an analysis of the types of records, and their item level descriptions. The record mediums—text, photograph and video—reveal the types of technology that individuals in the WVWS had access to in order to post on their blog. Some people had mobile phones with the capacity to take photos and to access the Internet to post into the blog. Others had access to digital cameras to take photographs, connect to laptops or computers, producing born digital files to be uploaded to the blog account and commented on. The records on the blog represent the ability of particular women in WVWS to access computing technology in order to post their representations online.

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[376] According to the Society of American Archivists Glossary, conventional records are "textual records," and are "records that are human readable." ("Conventional Records." Society of American Archivists, accessed May 13, 2014. http://www2.archivists.org/glossary/terms/c/conventional-records.)

Table 1. Types of Records and Item Level Description

5th Meeting in the Philippines blog page. (2004)		

Record Type: Text (includes textual content on web pages and pdfs)
Text on the principles of the EAUSPRWN
   2004 was the year women from Hawai'i learned and participated in the EAUSPRWN. This document helped Hawai'i delegates understand what this network was about and their values.
Statement of the Initiatives for Peace in Mindanao on the First People's Forum on Peace for Life
   Information gathered from the Philippine meeting on impacts of U.S. militarism exacerbating human rights violations on indigenous people in Mindanao. The statement is part of campaign to call for a fact finding mission to investigate on the causes of these human rights violations.
Link to article "Left Behind the Philippines"
   Information gathered from the Philippines meeting about Amerasian children who were writing to their U.S. servicemen fathers, but often were ignored or did not get responses back. Amerasian children are the children fathered by U.S. servicemen, and left behind with their mothers who were prostituted Filipina women, or abandoned common law wives and girlfriends of U.S. servicemen.
Link to web page "America Peace Caravan"
   Information gathered from the Philippine meeting about the Okinawan women's history of coming to America to tell American people about the impacts of U.S. foreign policy in their countries.
	Record Type: Photographs
	   Picture of Hawai'i delegation with other women at the Philippine meeting at Press Event.
	The article "Left Behind in the Philippines" has photos of Amerasian children
	BBC News article's photograph, caption emphasized that the 'exotic' features of Amerasian children were the reasons why they are sought after in the sex trafficking idustry.	

WVWS Attends 6th Meeting in San Francisco (2007)		

Record Type: Text
Text about the book of poetry called "Ho'omo'omo'o"
   It was placed on the website to announce a Call for Submissions to indigenous and non-indigenous women and girls for art work, drawings, paintings, poetries and short stories regarding militarism in Hawai'i.
The physical, hand-bound book was gifted to participants of the 2007 meeting in San Francisco.
   Includes poetry, art work and stories. Cover is made of *kapa*, and hand bound. *Kapa* is an indigenous process of cloth making in Hawai'i that required bark to be pounded.
	Record Type: Visual Aids (Photographs and Flyers)
	Ho'omo'omo'o Call for Submissions digital flyer
		Record Type: Moving Image
		Youtube video *Na Wahine Koa*
		   Summer Nemeth's poetry complemented with photos into video poetry form.
		Youtube video *Mapping Histories: Militarization of the Asia-Pacific and U.S.*
		   Author's personal history, linking militarization in Philippines, Okinawa, Korea, and Hawaii, and the U.S.

Table 2. Types of Records and Item Level Description

5th Meeting in the Philippines blog page. (2004)		

Record Type: Text (includes textual content on web pages and pdfs)
Text on the principles of the EAUSPRWN
  2004 was the year women from Hawaiʻi learned and participated in the EAUSPRWN. This document helped Hawaiʻi delegates understand what this network was about and their values.
Statement of the Initiatives for Peace in Mindanao on the First People's Forum on Peace for Life
  Information gathered from the Philippine meeting on impacts of U.S. militarism exacerbating human rights violations on indigenous people in Mindanao. The statement is part of campaign to call for a fact finding mission to investigate on the causes of these human rights violations.
Link to article "Left Behind the Philippines"
  Information gathered from the Philippines meeting about Amerasian children who were writing to their U.S. servicemen fathers, but often were ignored or did not get responses back. Amerasian children are the children fathered by U.S. servicemen, and left behind with their mothers who were prostituted Filipina women, or abandoned common law wives and girlfriends of U.S. servicemen.
Link to web page "America Peace Caravan"
  Information gathered from the Philippine meeting about the Okinawan women's history of coming to America to tell American people about the impacts of U.S. foreign policy in their countries.
	Record Type: Photographs
	  Picture of Hawaiʻi delegation with other women at the Philippine meeting at Press Event.
	The article "Left Behind in the Philippines" has photos of Amerasian children
	BBC News article's photograph, caption emphasized that the 'exotic' features of Amerasian children were the reasons why they are sought after in the sex trafficking idustry.	

WVWS Attends 6th Meeting in San Francisco (2007)		

Record Type: Text
Text about the book of poetry called "Hoʻomoʻomoʻo"
  It was placed on the website to announce a Call for Submissions to indigenous and non-indigenous women and girls for art work, drawings, paintings, poetries and short stories regarding militarism in Hawaiʻi.
The physical, hand-bound book was gifted to participants of the 2007 meeting in San Francisco.
  Includes poetry, art work and stories. Cover is made of *kapa*, and hand bound. *Kapa* is an indigenous process of cloth making in Hawaiʻi that required bark to be pounded.
	Record Type: Visual Aids (Photographs and Flyers)
	  Hoʻomoʻomoʻo Call for Submissions digital flyer
		Record Type: Moving Image
		Youtube video *Na Wahine Koa*
		  Summer Nemeth's poetry complemented with photos into video poetry form.
		Youtube video *Mapping Histories: Militarization of the Asia-Pacific and U.S.*
		  Author's personal history, linking militarization in Philippines, Okinawa, Korea, and Hawaii, and the U.S.

Table 3. Types of Records and Item Level Description Continued

WVWS Attend the Guam Meeting (2009)		

Record Type: Text
Text on a flyer inviting people to a "Despedida" orfarewell event for T. and M. at a specific date, time and location. T. and M. were delegates to the 2009 meeting.
Link to Agenda for the Guam Meeting.
  Informing people about the activities planned for the international gathering in Guam.
	Record Type: Visual Aid (Photographs and Flyers)
	"Send Off Our Sistahs" flyer
	  Utilizes sunset image from the WVWS blog header background
		Record Type: Moving Image
		Youtube video "Guam Confronts Americanisation"
		  About contentious public opinion about militarism in Guam; explains Chamorro activists stance against militarism.

WVWS Attends the Puerto Rico Meeting (2012)		

Record Type: Text
Blog page include the biographies of Hawai'i delegates going to Puerto Rico.
Blog page about the chant for cultural report. The chant was dedicated to King Kāwika Kalākaua who brought back the hula in Hawai'i when it was probihited by the colonial government and culture.
Blog page about the preparing the makana (gifts for the international delegate) of bracelets made of sea shells and the bark of the *hau* tree.
Blog post soliciting donations from the community to support fundraising efforts of Hawaii delegation's flights to P.R.
 	
 Blog post about a visit to Mākua Valley by some of the Hawai'i delegates and discussion with activists resisting militarism in Hawai'i
  Discussing the militarized sites in Hawaii, like Makua, and Kaho'olawe. How communities resist, through creating organizations like Malama Makua Valley, to serve as watch dog, monitor and liasion with the U.S. military training in that valley. Since this organization's advocacy work, military training has been controlled to certain areas because the community has used certain laws to protect the environment, cultural access by Native Hawaiians to sacred areas.
Blog post about Day 1 in Puerto Rico: Going to Canto Libre radio station. Includes poem by David Whyte.
  About KKB's experience going to Ponce to Canto Libre radio station. Learned about the cultures in puerto Rico, and the radio station experience bringing some women from the delegations to speak on the radio, and the way people were moved because of their long struggle. Knowing other people were hearing them, it moved them.
Blog post about No Gasducto! Protest in P.R.
  Link to NY Times article about people's critique against the Natural Gas Line.
    Explains people's critique against the Gas Line, even though it was P.R. Governor Fortuno's way to address sustainability. Bascially, Fortuno was implementing the project without consulting the community, or being careful in how he implemented the project.
Blogpost with the IWNAM 2012 Declaration.
  Synthesizes the findings from the IWNAM meeting, the issues learned in P.R., the issues of build up in other countries, and call to action for economies of peace.
	Record Type: Photos
	WVWS Attends Puerto Rico Meeting
	On Bio page, there are photos of some participants
	On page about the cultural page, there is a photo of King Kālakaua
	On the page about preparing makana, there are photos of process of people making the hau string shell bracelets, and the tree source from which the hau string is made, and the finished products.
	Photos of some WVWS delegates in Makua with other community members
	  Shows the trek that women made, pictures of Mākua Valley landscape.
	
	Photo of Canto Libre's logo
	Photo of No Gasducto! March
	  Shows the different protest actions – the delegates standing behind a banner at the march, a painted girl dancing, the crowds of people marching.
	Photo of IWNAM delegation
	  Shows us together at the Fort.
		Record Type: Moving Image
		Youtube video on Militarism in Hawaii
		  Eri's video collecting community stories of what militarism is in Hawaii

Table 1 and 2 reveal that blog pages were created according to years that IWNAM

meetings took place—2004 in the Philippines, 2007 in San Francisco, 2009 in Guam and

2012 in Puerto Rico. The WVWS is an online infrastructure where records are

accumulated. The records on the WVWS blog reflect information shared at the

international meetings. They were posted on the blog to remember the types of issues

learned during and after each meeting. The meetings also served as a kind of

infrastructure that brought people together to bring information to share in a face-to-face

manner. From the Philippine meeting in 2004, a press statement was received and posted

on the WVWS blog, reporting how indigenous people in Mindanao organized tribunals

against the re-militarization of their island. A BBC news article about Amerasian children

of Subic Naval Base, Olongapo seeking recognition by their U.S. military fathers was

archived on the blog.[377] A record about Okinawan women organizing a Peace Caravan to

the U.S. to dialogue with the American people about the impact of their military in their

country was archived on the blog.[378] A video speaking to the connection of

Americanization in Guam and militarism was archived on the blog.[379] An article about a

Natural Gas Line in Puerto Rico that was planned for implementation, but without

consulting the impacted community, was archived on the blog.[380] The records archived

on the blog record information WVWS gathered in international meetings. The blog

traces how meetings brought together women from different countries so that this

information could be circulated among women of other countries. Here two "archives"

are identified—the blog and the meeting event. The blog archives records. The meeting

is an experiential archive that captures people's attention to care about an issue enough to

take it home with them and repost information about that issue in another context.

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[377] Meo, Nick. "Left behind in the Philippines," BBC News, 2005.

[378] "America Peace Caravan." Okinawan Women Act Against Military Violence, accessed December 5, 2013, http://www.walrus.com/~dawei/articles/apc-e.html.

[379] "Guam confronts 'Americanisation.'" Al Jazzera. http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ym6yDJcb_v8 No longer accessible.

[380] Alvarez, Lizette. "Puerto Rico's Plan for Gas Pipeline Has Many Critics," The New York Times, 2011. "No Gasducto!" Women's Voices Women Speak , accessed February 2012. http://wvws808.blogspot.com/search?q=Natural+Gas+Line.

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Records were archived on the blog because they were byproducts of collective, experiential processes that participants of WVWS thought were important for others to know about. Other records include photographs that evidence people coming together in those meetings. Flyers were created to invite people to community-organized gatherings to share information. People exchanged reports and statements at these gatherings. These gatherings, the experiences and information shared, became the basis for what was archived on the blog. These records reveal that WVWS is comprised of people in Hawaiʻi who network with international communities. WVWS has been engaged in a research process about militarism in countries where international meetings were held. The blog was used as a medium to record and reflect on the effects of militarism elsewhere, and how the issues abroad applies to the country[381] that WVWS comes from--Hawaiʻi.

Another data I set I focused was a hand made book of poetry, called *Hoʻomoʻomoʻo*, that was inter-related to the blog through a digital flyer that referred to it. The book serves as a record of WVWS own identity and mission as a group of indigenous and immigrant women in the militarized Hawaiʻi. Using textual analysis, I examined the contents as records of people archived in a book. When seeing the book as an archive, we can position that collection within the context of the Asian Settler Colonialism framework that describes how militarism's presence in Hawaiʻi impacts indigenous and immigrant women. There is a body of knowledge that contextualizes the

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[381] The IWNAM's research on militarism in the Asia-Pacific, U.S. and Puerto Rico is based on a historical and political understanding that these lands are sovereign countries that have experienced imperialism under Western European and Anglo-American governments that name and organize these countries within their own jurisdiction. Within the IWNAM's own proceedings, each participating country are recognized as sovereign, in order to respect the community histories of resistance against colonialism and militarism that informs the demilitarization values in the network. For example, Hawaiʻi is recognized as a sovereign state, and not the 50th State of the U.S. Okinawa is recognized as a sovereign state and not a perfecture of Japan. The island of Guahan is not called Guam because the former is the indigenous name meaning "we have," while Guam was a name imposed by colonists.

book of poetry, which can be traced back to the anti-colonial and decolonization

movements in the 1960s.[382] But the book of poetry also is a record of WVWS own

function, bringing together indigenous and immigrant women to dialogue on militarism.

By focusing on poetry written by Kanaka Maoli and Filipina settler women, I trace the

different embodiments of archives that they point to and create to discuss how WVWS

researches and resists militarism in Hawai'i.

    Ho'omo'omo'o: Piecing Together Expressions of Resistance is a hand made book

of poetry that serves as a record of indigenous and postcolonial settler women and girls'

resistance against militarism in Hawai'i. This book was created and given as a *ho'okupu*

(offering) to delegates of the 6th IWNAM meeting in San Francisco. Here, the book has a

function of representing the identity of who WVWS to a broader audience that would

attend the San Francisco meeting.   Darlene Rodrigues and Summer Nemeth, editors and

coordinators of this book project, describe the significance of this record:

> "The term *ho'omo'omo'o* was given to the first beating in the traditional *kapa*
>
> making process, and is also appropriate for the first edition of this collection.
>
> Because women were traditionally responsible for the making of *kapa* (the
>
> goddess Hina was a k*apa* maker), a book of poems by women is well represented

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[382]   In Postcolonial Studies, the 1950s was the time of decolonization movements world-wide, particularly in the continents of the Global South—Africa, Asia, Eastern Europe, Latin America, Oceania—when cultures, previously colonized by Western European countries, began to protest against their imperial masters. Part of this resistance was the creation of information, such as the texts of famous "Third World" scholars, Frantz Fanon and Amilcrar Cabral, among others. (See Williams, Patrick and Laura Chrisman. *Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory: A Reader.* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994). These texts also drew from revolutionary thinkers in Europe, such as Karl Marx, as many Third World revolutionary thinkers were educated in the West. It is in this body of knowledge in which the phenomenon of imperialism, colonialism and militarism can be historicized, and has also influenced Hawaiian sovereignty activists in Hawai'i (See Trask, *From a Native Daughter*).

by a word connected to *kapa* making. There is a lot of *kaona*[383] in the title

ho'omo'omo'o as it encompasses the word *mo'omo'o*, the name for the bundles of

fibers which stick together. Like these fibers, the individual voices in this

collection will be pieced together to make a stronger statement against the

militarization of our homeland. The title can also be connected to the *mo'o*,

protectors of sacred bodies of water, who were identified throughout Hawai'i in

both *'oli* and *mo'olelo*.[384] These *mo'o* were usually identified as being women,

and were revered by the people of Hawai'i. Like these *mo'o* who protected our

sacred sites in the past, the voices of women collected in this book are meant to

expose the impacts of militarization on our communities, and to protect our

'aina[385] from further militarization."

The editors of this book describe it as the first edition of a collection of writings.

The book is a record of an organizational function--women crossing the racial and class

divisions of indigenous and immigrant, in order to create something together. This act of

creation is linked to women's work. The double meanings of this work are in its content

and structure. The description of the material structure of the book begins the exploration

of it as an archive. The book is made of fibers that are pounded so that they stick

together. This process of "beating" is a metaphor of a rigorous, self-reflexive process, of

looking deep into our colonial wounds and traumas, to see the ways in which imperialism

and militarism tie us together in uneven and uncomfortable ways. But this is precisely

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[383] According to Mary Kawena Pukui and Samuel Elbert in the *Hawaiian Dictionary: Hawaiian-English, English-Hawaiian* (2003) kaona means "hidden meaning, as in Hawaiian poetry; concealed reference, as to a person, thing, or place; words with double meanings that might bring good or bad fortune."
[384] In Hawaiian language, meaning "chant" and "story" respectively.
[385] In Hawaiian language, meaning "land."

why these unlikely groups of indigenous and immigrants need to stick together, to engage in an oppositional politics, through which something different is to be created from their discourse. This becomes the voice that will make a stronger statement against the militarization of the homelands of Kanaka Maoli in Hawai'i, as well as the homelands from which immigrants come. The reference to the *mo'o* or the protectors of sacred bodies of water, are figures in Native Hawaiian chants and stories. Chants and stories are indigenous oral and kinetic archival systems that hold memory of these cultural figures. The contributors of this book are hinted at, as the textual, paper-based articulations that continue the intention of the *mo'o,* those who seek to protect the physical land from further militarization. Here we see that the book is a record of a particular organizational function. But also, the book is an archive of a sign system that extends Hawaiian epistemology of oral and kinetic archives, into the paper-based, text dimension of archives. The significance of this archive however is linked back to what it represents--a social function--the bringing of people together to confront difficult histories as a means to deepen relationships, so those involved can see their connection to protecting the land from militarization. Within the book, there are poems, artistic work and short stories, women and girls' testimonies of how Hawai'i has become militarized, and the nature of militarism impacting the environment and society. The works are records of women witnessing how militarized development has unfolded in their everyday lives in Hawai'i. The book is an archive that embodies ways in which women record their interruption of the unfolding of militarism.

Kanaka Maoli poet, Jamaica Osorio writes,

In 1848 our landscape was plagued with sugar plantations

Owned by rich men who ultimately overthrew our nation

They shipped foreign men

Filipino, Chinese and the Japanese

to Hawaiʻi bringing more disease,

pollution, and population...[386]

This excerpt speaks to the latter half of the 19th century, when Kanaka Maoli culture had

been increasingly eroded by Euro-American development and foreigners. The indigenous

population decreased due to the introduction of diseases brought by contact with Euro-

Americans since Captain James Cook in 1776. The Great Mahele of 1848 was an

example of western worldviews infiltrating into the Hawaiian kingdom's land tenure

systems. Land became commodified and Euro-American settlers used their capital to buy

them. With these lands, they set up their own capitalist enterprises, such as plantations

and cattle ranches.[387] The new order sought to replace Kanaka Maoli people from their

right to their ancestral lands. Sugar plantations were operating since the reign of King

Kāwika (David) Kalākaua, who was engaged in international treaty making in order to

build international recognition for the Hawaiian kingdom. King Kalākaua sought to build

political and trade relations to the emperor of Japan, and allowed the immigration of

Japanese laborers to Hawaiʻi. But, the gunboat diplomacy of U.S. imperial interests in the

Asia-Pacific during Kalākaua's reign pressured the Japanese emperor to favor relations

with the U.S.[388] U.S. imperial interests increased its grip on Hawaiʻi during the reign of

the succeeding monarch, Queen Liliuʻokalani. Euro-American business interests in

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[386] Osorio, Jamaica. "eJAMAICAtion," in *Hoʻomoʻomoʻo: Piecing Together Expressions of Resistance*, (Honolulu: Women's Voices Women Speak, 2007), 29.
[387] Osorio, Jonathan Kay Kamakawiwoʻole, *Dismembering Lāhui: A History of the Hawaiian Nation to 1887*. (Honolulu, University of Hawaiʻi Press, 2002).
[388] Fujikane and Okamura, *Asian Settler Colonialism*.

Hawaiʻi lobbied the President William McKinley administration to integrate Hawaiʻi into the union, which would make sugar production in Hawaiʻi free of tariff, and an alternative source of sugar than from the American South. In addition, *Puʻuloa*, also known as Pearl Harbor, was seen as a key to the Pacific Command by the U.S. Navy. On January 17, 1893, American business interests in Hawaiʻi put Queen Liliuʻokalani under house arrest with an armed contingent of U.S. Marines.[389] President Grover Cleveland recognized the illegality of the U.S. military invasion of Hawaiʻi. There were acts of resistance by the Kanaka Maoli people, such as the Kuʻe petitions, reflecting the populations desire to not be occupied by the U.S. However, a joint resolution was passed on July 6, 1898 by the U.S. Congress to authorize the seizure of Hawaiʻi.[390] In the eyes of the McKinley administration, the overthrow of the Hawaiian kingdom was a necessary piece of U.S. rise to power in the Pacific.

As Euro-American settlers increased their power in government and land owning positions, different ethnic groups were increasingly brought in to work into their enterprises, such as the plantations. Chinese, Japanese, Irish, Scottish, Portuguese, Filipino, Puerto Rican, African American, and Mexican people were recruited to work in the missions, agricultural plantations, and cattle ranches of Hawaiʻi. Many of the Asian immigrant laborers were bachelors who came to Hawaiʻi seeking job opportunities so they could make enough money to return home. But many stayed in Hawaiʻi. They contributed to the capitalist system as laborers for the colonial enterprises owned by Euro-American landowners. Plantation histories have been romantically remembered as the trials and tribulations of specific plantation labor ethnic groups in Hawaiʻi as they

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[389] Kajihiro, Kyle. (2007) "A Brief Overview of Militarization and Resistance in Hawaiʻi." Kyle Kajihiro, accessed September 12, 2013. http://www.dmzHawaiʻi.org.
[390] Silva, *Aloha Betrayed*.

"picked themselves up by their boot straps" and became part of the middle and upper class local population.[391] Many also resisted the poor working conditions in the plantations and ranches, and were beaten, killed and exiled for organizing strikes. The memory of their protests have been largely remembered as demands to increase pay and to improve work conditions, rather than resisting the Euro-American political-economic and socio-cultural structure that sought to integrate Hawai'i into the U.S. imperial scheme across the Pacific and Asia.[392]

Kanaka Maoli scholar and Hawaiian nationalist leader, Haunani K. Trask, has critiqued how Asian plantation classes have ascended into spaces of political power, such as in the U.S. Congress and Hawai'i State Government. She points out that Japanese Congressman Daniel Inouye planned and developed the freeway systems on the island O'ahu to connect Pearl Harbor Naval base in the southern coast, to Kane'ohe Marine Corp Base on the eastern side of the island and Schofield Barracks in the central part of the island. Military infrastructure development on O'ahu often exhumed Native Hawaiian burial sites. She, and other contributors of the text *Asian Settler Colonialism*, critique how Asians have aspired to be part of the U.S. state, by romanticizing their plantation history and military veteran status, and by seeking recognition by the U.S., a state that refused to recognize Kanaka Maoli people's human rights.

Mililani Trask, Attorney, Governor of Hawaiian nationalist government Ka Lāhui, cites Chapter XI of the Charter of the United Nations dealing with Non-Self Governing Territories, Article 73 to explain how the current state government of Hawai'i is in violation of Kanaka Maoli human rights:

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[391] Saranillio, "Colonial Amnesia."
[392] Fujikane and Okamura, *Asian Settler Colonialism.*

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Members of the U.N. who have or assume responsibilities for the administration

of territories whose peoples have not yet attained full measure of self-government

recognize the principle that the interests of the inhabitants of these territories are

paramount, and accept as a sacred trust the obligation to promote to the utmost,

within the system of international peace and security established by the present

Charter, the well-being of the inhabitants of these territories, and to this end:

a. to ensure, with due respect for the culture of the peoples concerned, their

political, economic, social and educational advancement, their just treatment, and

their protection against abuses;

b. to develop self-government, to take due account of the political aspirations of

the peoples, and to assist them in the progressive development of their free

political institutions, according to the particular circumstances of each territory

and its peoples and their varying stages of development...

e. to transmit regularly to the Secretary-General for information purposes, subject

to such limitation as security and constitutional considerations may require,

statistical and other information of a technical nature relating to economic, social

and educational conditions in the territories for which they are respectively

responsible other than those territories to which Chapters XII and XIII apply."[393]

Mililani Trask cites this U.N. Charter to argue that Hawai'i should be placed back on the

list of Non-Self Governing territories. In 1956, Hawai'i was given a plebiscite to vote for

statehood, but did not give any opportunity for Kanaka Maoli self-determination. The

plebiscite results showed that the vote for statehood was open to non-indigenous residents

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[393] From the "Hoʻokupu a Ka Lāhui Hawaiʻi—Ka Lāhui Master Plan" in the appendixes of Trask, *From a Native Daughter*, 221-236.

of Hawaiʻi. In addition, the ballot only asked if Hawaiʻi should or shouldn't be integrated into the U.S. union. Under international law, Kanaka Maoli were supposed to have exclusive right to vote on this issue. In addition, as non-self governing territories, they should have been given the options for free-association, independence, commonwealth, integration (statehood), and independence or "other separate systems of self-government."[394] But, as a result of the plebiscite, Hawaiʻi was taken off of the U.N. List of Non-Self Governing Territories. If they had remained, Hawaiʻi would have been eligible for the internationally recognized process for Decolonization, or a U.N. monitored process in which former colonial states would be given the responsibility to release their control over the territories they colonized, to ensure their own self-governance. Kanaka Maoli sovereignty movements critiqued Hawaiʻi's statehood because it did not follow international law, and because it did not recognize its own colonized status under the U.S. In addition, the vote for statehood was not monitored by the U.N.[395] As these sovereignty activists work to dispel the myth of Hawaiʻi's statehood, non-indigenous immigrants have to reckon with their own processes of socialization in Hawaiʻi that have increasingly assimilated them to affirm American rights and access to those benefits, making them complicit within a governance system that disenfranchised the rights of the indigenous people of Hawaiʻi. What would be an archive that these immigrants can draw upon to make personal and collective decisions to support or not Kanaka Maoli sovereignty?

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[394] Trask, Haunani. "Settlers of Color and "Immigrant" Hegemony," in *Asian Settler Colonialism: From Local Governance to the Habits of Everyday Life in Hawaiʻi.* Candace Fujikane and Jonathan Okamura, Eds. Honolulu, University of Hawaiʻi Press, 2008, 60.

[395] Trask, Mililani. "Hawaiian Sovereignty," in *Asian Settler Colonialism: From Local Governance to the Habits of Everyday Life in Hawaiʻi.* Candace Fujikane and Jonathan Okamura, Eds. (Honolulu, University of Hawaiʻi Press, 2008) .

The popular continental American imagination sees Hawaiʻi as a tropical paradise where they can freely travel to as part of the union. The tourism and military industries employ the indigenous and settler populations. The collaboration between the tourism industry and the military is that tourism legitimizes materialistic cultures that depend on militaries to perform the predatory extraction of resources from other territories, to fuel the consumptive way of living.[396] The discursive materialization of this touristic-militaristic symbiotic development is exemplified in Hawaiʻi. In addition to hotels, pristine beaches, and shopping malls, there are Marines, Air Force, Army, and training facilities, military weaponry facilities throughout Hawaiʻi. Housing and services are provided to soldiers and their families, such as commissaries and family services. There are also facilities and programs to recruit more soldiers from the local population through the schools and media outreach programs. Haleakala, Maui and Barking Sands, Kauaʻi are two high tech computing and satellite sites to conduct Airforce research, interconnected with satellite and data centers within and outside of Hawaiʻi.[397] The military's existence is hidden in plain sight[398]—intertwined with the everyday life, transportation, and careers of the people who live in the Hawaiian archipelago.

The book *Hoʻomoʻomoʻo* reveals how militarization impacts indigenous and postcolonial settlers. Summer Nemeth writes from a Kanaka Maoli women's perspective

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[396] Trask, Haunani. "Corporate Tourism and Prostitution of Hawaiian Culture," in *From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawaiʻi.* (University of Hawaiʻi Press: Honolulu, 1993): 137-147.

[397] United States Pacific Command. (1995) Hawaiʻi Military Land Use Master Plan.

[398] Ferguson, Kathy and Phyllis Turnbull (1999) Oh, Say, Can You See? The Semiotics of the Military in Hawaiʻi. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, p. 91. The term "Hidden in Plain Sight" was first brought to my attention during the 2007 IWNAM meeting in San Francisco when part of the activities was take a bus tour of militarized sites in San Francisco. We went to San Francisco Presidio and Emeryville, sites of Spanish militarization and colonization of the Ohlone and other indigenous tribes in the area. Presidio was used as a point of departure for the U.S. Military during American imperial expansion into the Pacific, such as to fight the Filipino-American War in 1898. Then, we went to Treasure Island Naval Base, Richmond Naval base, and Bayview Hunter's Point, places used to construct U.S. Naval Ships and house weapons of war, during World War II.

about the impacts of U.S. militarization in Hawaiʻi.

"A woman

Who summons Pikoiakaʻalala

to draw his bow

against those who hōʻiole[399]

who erect barbed wire fences

around the ʻāina of our ancestors

       claiming with ordnance

       littering with toxics

our Mākua[400]

       Līhue,

        Lualualei,[401]

         Pōhakuloa,[402]

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[399] Hawaiian for ratlike, fig. steal, cheat. See "hōʻiole" Kepano Kepano's Combined Hawaiian Dictionary for Browsers, accessed November 22, 2012, http://www.trussel2.com/haw/intro.htm.

[400] This refers to Mākua Valley on the leeward coast of the island of Oʻahu, in Waiʻanae that has been used for U.S. military training, and named Mākua Military Reservation (MMR) (Harrelson, Danny and Mansour Zakikihani. *Environmental Assessment of Mākua Military Reservation in Hawaiʻi.* Vicksburg, MS: Environmental Laboratory, U.S. Army Engineer Research and Development Center, 2006). Mākua includes two ahupuaʻa, or indigenous land tenure zones that linked the mountains to the ocean, Kahanahā iki and Mākua. ("Mākua Valley's Cultural and Natural Resources." U.S. Army Garrison-Hawaiʻi, accessed November 22, 2012. http://www.garrison.Hawaiʻi.army.mil/sustainability/Documents/CulturalResources/Brochures/MakuaPanoramicValleyView.pdf). Also according to Mary Kawena Pukui, the word makua means parents. To Hawaiians, Mākua Valley represents their parents, or the physical body form of the parents of all Hawaiians (Watson, Trisha Kehaulani. "Hoʻi Hou iā Papahāanaumoku: A History of Ecocolonization in the Puʻuhonua of Waiʻanae." PhD Dissertation, University of Hawaiʻi, American Studies Department, 2008), 118).

[401] Lualualei is the location of two Naval antennas and naval magazines. In 1921, 2,000 acres were designated as Hawaiian homelands. But in 1930 and 1933, Territorial Governor Lawrence Judd signed an executive order to transfer all but 475 acres to the U.S. Navy for ammunition depot and radio station. In 1986 the State filed suit to recover the land, but the court threw out the suit. The Hawaiian Home Lands Recovery Act attempted to set dollar value to the 1,356 acres confiscated at Lualualei. As a result, in 1998, the Department of Hawaiian Homelands received 894 acres for surplus federal land, while the Navy continued use of Lualualei. ("Lualualei: The Navy owns more than 9,000 acres in the Waianae Valley." Greg Kakesako, Star Bulletin, accessed November 22, 2012. http://archives.starbulletin.com/98/10/05/news/story1.html).

Nohili,[403]

Waikāne,[404]

Waimomi[405]

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[402] The area of the Pōhakuloa Training Area (PTA) lays in the ahupuaʻa of Kaʻohe, Hāmākua District. Portions of Hāmākua, Hilo, Kona and Kōhala cross the PTA region. PTA is on the plateau region and traditional agricultural systems of dry land taro or sweet potato have not been adapted to this area, however, Hawaiians utilized the upland plateau for various types of resource acquisition, such as adze and stone tool manufacturing. At European contact, the use of the plateau diminished due to trade with European metals. Cattle ranching was introduced into the area at contact with Captain Vancouver. Historic evidence, such as petroglyps and pictographs, are found in the northern parcel of the PTA area, referred to as the Keʻāmuku parcel. The U.S. Military began to use the area beginning World War II. (Taomia, Julie M. E., et al. "Cultural Resources Management Projects Performed at the Pōhakuloa Training Area, Island of Hawaiʻi, Hawaiʻi," in Pacific Cooperative Studies Unit, University of Hawaiʻi, (2008): 4-5).

[403] Nohili, also known as Mana Sands or Barking Sands, is the site of the Pacific Missile Range Facility on the west coast of the island of Kauaʻi. Nohili is known by Native Hawaiians as a burial ground and the point where the souls of the dead leap into the underworld through the sea. In 1999, the U.S. Navy proposed a plan to integrate Nohili into the testing of the Theater Ballistic Missile Defense System in which a land-based "dummy" missile, would be launched from the proposed land-based sites of Nohili, South Point Big Island, Midway Island, Wake Island, Eniwetok Island, Christmas Island and Canton Island, and intercepted with Aegis guided missile destroyers or cruisers ("Kauai at odds over missile tests: Officials like the economic contributions, but protestors have a bevy of concerns." Greg Kakesako, Star Bulletin, accessed November 22, 2012, http://archives.starbulletin.com/97/06/13/news/story1.html). Despite protests, Filipino Governor of Hawaiʻi Ben Cayetano approved the proposal saying that it would bring jobs.

[404] In the 1940s, 2,000 acres of land in Waiʻahole and Waikane was leased to the U.S. military for jungle training, artillery, mortar, small arms fire, maneuvers and as a bombing range for air-to-ground fire. This lease included an agreement to return the land in its original condition. One of the families was the Kamaka family, who had 187 acres in Waikane valley, where the heaviest fire artillery training took place. In 1944 and 1963, people were killed and injured by a mortar and rifle grenade found in the valley. When the land was return to the Kamaka family in the 1970s, Raymond Kamaka found unexploded ordnance while he was farming. When he asked the U.S. Marine Corps to clean up munitions as stated in the earlier agreement, the Marines instead moved to condemn the property. After a long political battle, the land was condemned in 1989. ("Military Studies Waikane Valley bomb clean up." U.S. Army Corps of Engineers: Marine Corps and William Cole, Star Advertiser, accessed November 22, 2012 http://www.staradvertiser.com/news/20110619_Military_studies_Waikane_Valley_bomb_cleanup.html?id=124151488). In 2003, the Marines announced plans to use Waikane for jungle training warfare in preparation for fighting insurgencies in the Philippines. A community of Hawaiian, demilitarization activists and supporters protested this proposed training and called for clean up and return of the land. The jungle warfare idea was scrapped, but the Marines refused to discuss clean up at the time. Then in 2006, the Marine Corps closed Waikane as an active range, which triggered the Department of Defense Installation Restoration Program (IRP) and the commencement of clean up procedures. This included community-military Restoration Advisory Committees to monitor the design and execution of the clean up. The Waikane Valley Restoration Advisory Board (RAB) began in 2007 and oversees Marine Corp clean up of the Kamaka parcel in Waikane, while an Army Corps of Engineers munitions clean up is being doing in other portions of Waikane valley under a different program, the Formerly Used Defense Sites (FUDS) ("Waikane Valley Restoration Advisory Board Meeting." Kyle Kajihiro, DMZ Hawaiʻi/Aloha ʻAina, accessed November 22, 2012. http://www.dmzHawaiʻi.org/?taxonomy=post_tag&term=waiahole).

[405] This is the Hawaiian name of what is now called Pearl Harbor, meaning "Water of Pearl." In 1826, the U.S. Navy recognized Pearl Harbor as an ideal port. But it wasn't until 1887 when the U.S. claimed Pearl Harbor as a permanent way station to maintain control of the Philippines during the Spanish-American War. It is the site of U.S.S. Arizona, a U.S. warship that sunk and killed 1,1777 crewmembers during the

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<div align="center">Waiʻanae…[406]</div>

our waiwai

> our ʻāina

>> our kai

as personal playgrounds

in the name of "Homeland Security."[407]

In this excerpt, Summer Nemeth describes the politics of culture and memory that are inscribed in Oʻahu's landscape. As an indigenous woman of Hawaiʻi, Nemeth writes how militarization restricts access to lands where Kanaka Maoli peoples' ancestors lived and died, and where connection to them and their culture should be practiced. The lands of Mākua, Līhue, Lualualei, Pōhakuloa, Nohili, Waikāne, Waimomi, and Waiʻanae are just some of the places in Hawaiʻi that have been contaminated with ordnance and toxics from past and present military training and artillery storage, thereby making them inaccessible or precarious for safe cultural and public use. Nemeth's piece also points out how militarization inscribes a different meaning to land. *Waiwai*, meaning wealth in Hawaiian, is associated with ʻāina and kai, or land and sea. But in times of militarization, these have become individualized and commercialized, as "personal playgrounds" because of the re-interpretation of Hawaiʻi under U.S. settler culture epistemology that sees lands as empty, "un-used" spaces that can be destroyed and poisoned through the practice of warfare, or as sites of elite recreation through hotels, golf courses and multi-

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Japanese attack of Pearl Harbor. ("Places – The History of Pearl Harbor. World War II Valor in the Pacific," National Park Service, U.S. Department of Interior, accessed November 22, 2012, http://www.nps.gov/valr/historyculture/places.htm). Prior to its use as a naval base, Native Hawaiians relied on Waimomi as a fertile estuary to fish and gather sea food. Due to chemicals from artillery and ships, Pearl Harbor is now a toxic superfund site. (Hoshino, *Living Along the Fenceline*.).

[406] The leeward side of the island of Oʻahu is where Mākua Valley and Lualualei are located.

[407] Nemeth, Summer. "Ho'omo'omo'o: Piecing Together Expressions of Resistance," (Honolulu: Women's Voices Women Speak), 26.

million dollar homes. American Studies scholar Vernadette Gonzalez also shares this association through describing the tie between militarization and tourism between Philippines and Hawai'i, through the ways that military technologies, such as the helicopter during the Vietnam War, was decommissioned from the Department of Defense. Then, it was used for veteran owned tourism companies who offer helicopter tours for scenic sky views of Kaua'i's landscape, characterized as the quintessiential fertile, lush paradise. Colonization, militarization and tourism conflate settler's "pleasureable" relationships to the land in ways that obscure experiences of epistemological and physical violence of these institutions on occupied indigenous lands.[408] The restriction of Kanaka Maoli access and contamination of their familial lands, are just collateral damage to keep the U.S. settler nation-state protected.

Ho'omo'omo'o also provides evidence that Kanaka Maoli and Asian settler women have been working to create local and international activity to resist U.S. militarism because issues of militarism impacts indigenous people and settlers of Hawai'i. In *Ho'omo'omo'o*, Nicki Sahagun Garces, a Filipina poet, writes a poem about a student in her classroom of mixed Hawaiian, Filipino and African American descent.

In mid-May, he announced,

"Miss,[409] I'm going to boot camp."

I thought you were anti-military.

Aren't you a warrior of peace

decked out in hip hop couture?

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[408] Gonzalez, Vernadette Vicuña. *Securing Paradise: Tourism and Militarism in Hawai'i and the Philippines.* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2013).
[409] This is a term that students use to call their teachers.

"My pops and ma said I'm doing nothing with my life.

They disagree with me following the break dancing contests

and doing slam poetry. They don't want me to major in English."

What's wrong with creative writing

and exploring what you want to do at this age?

"I have to contribute to the family.

Working at McDonald's isn't going to cut it."

What? A young man like you risking your life for oil?[410]

Garces writes about the student who has chosen to go to the military because his family did not believe in his creative abilities or fast food job to contribute to the family. Within militarized societies, career options for youth are restricted according to what the nation-state has invested in. According to the National Priorities Project (NPP) analysis of U.S. Discretionary Spending, FY 2013, plans to be distributed in these ways: 1) Military 57%, 2) Education—6%, 3) Government—6%, 4) Housing and Community—6%, 5) Veterans' Benefits—5%, 6) Health—5%, 7) International Affairs—4%, 8) Energy and Environment—3%, 9) Science—3%, 10) Labor—2%, 11) Transportation—2%, 12) Food & Agriculture—1%.[411] In 2005, Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders have been overrepresented in the U.S. Military by 649 percent.[412] In addition, NPP found that during fiscal year 2010, there was no strong correlation between an increase in military

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[410] Garces, Nicki Sahagun. "Michael of the Illest Rhymes." in *Ho'omo'omo'o: Piecing Together Expressions of Resistance.* (Honolulu: Women's Voices Women Speak, 2007).

[411] "Federal Budget 101: Where Does the Money Go?" National Priorities Project: Bringing the Federal Budget Home, accessed September 28, 2012. http://nationalpriorities.org/en/budget-basics/federal-budget-101/spending/.

[412] Kane, Tim, Ph.D. (2006) Who are the Recruits? The Demographic Characteristics of U.S. Military Enlistment, 2003-2005. http://www.heritage.org/research/reports/2006/10/who-are-the-recruits-the-demographic-characteristics-of-us-military-enlistment-2003-2005 Accessed 2 September 2013.
[412]

recruitment and unemployment. Rather, they found an increase in applicants that were better qualified than in the past.[413] What these statistics show, in relation to the poems above, is that when over half of the U.S. discretionary spending is going into the U.S. military for research, operation and development it greatly influences the development of other spheres in society. The story of the young man who decides to join the military due to familial pressure is not an uncommon experience. The dominance of militarism, as a national need, shapes the public imagination of what are practical careers that can bring income to the household. However, diminishing the value of creative arts among future generations may impair society's capacity to reflect on the direction of a militarized society, and to envision and create alternatives.[414]

In another piece, Darlene Rodrigues, another Filipina poet writes,

I struggle to turn around

What you tell the mothers, fathers, and the families

Who have paid the "ultimate sacrifice"

I struggle to turn around when you gave Auntie a check to go with her body,

Placed a flag on her casket

Held choke[415] memorial services and say we will never forget

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[413] "Military Recruitment 2012." National Priorities Project: Bringing the Federal Budget Home, accessed September 28, 2012. http://nationalpriorities.org/en/analysis/2011/military-recruitment-2010/.

[414] See also Turley, Jonathan. *Pax Militaris: The* Feres Doctrine *and the Retention of Sovereign Immunity in the Military System of Governance*, George Washington Law Review 1(89) (2003). He is also quoted in *Litigation With the Federal Government* by Gregory C. Sisk and Michael F. Noone stating: "beyond disenfranchising military service members from recovery for injuries caused by governmental wrongdoing, the *Feres* doctrine has had "two systemic effects": (1) that with immunity from personal injury lawsuits, "the level of [medical] malpractice and negligence in the military appears much higher than in the private sector," and (2) "reduced liability has encouraged the expansion of the military into collateral areas of governance such as medicine, entertainment, and transportation," in which the military often "openly competes with private businesses for both military and civilian customers" (186-187).

[415] In Hawai'i's pidgin English, this means "a lot" or "plenty." But the term could also mean the verb of choke, as in to strangle, as these memorials hinder people from really getting to the root cause of why Americans should die for U.S. foreign policy.

I struggle to turn around when you told us "we're proud and

You should be proud" of

Your dead daughter who died serving our country

Even if it was for a pack of your lies[416]

Rodrigues' piece reflects on the contradictions of her cousin's death when a Rocket-Propelled Grenade (RPG) killed her during military service. The military told her family that her cousin's death was the "ultimate sacrifice" and gave them monetary compensation and a heroic funeral. But Rodrigues exclamation of her cousin serving her country for a "pack of your lies" reflects her critique of the heroic narrative that sends family members to participate in U.S. aggression into other countries. She "struggles to turn around" to face her Auntie going through military funeral protocols for the death of her daughter. Family members' grieving processes are funneled into a meta-narrative that discursively exonerates the function of the military from being the reasons for the service member's death. Instead, the military continues to uphold itself as an approved institution in society that citizens should proudly sacrifice their lives for. The hegemonic narrative of militarism is institutionalized through the Feres Doctrine, a Supreme Court decision that protects the U.S. federal government from being sued for the adverse impacts of military activities on civilians, soldiers and families of soldiers.[417] The frustration in Rodrigues' piece confronts the construction of Hawai'i that coerces people to go along

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[416] Rodrigues, Darlene. *Ho'omo'omo'o: Piecing Together Expressions of Resistance* (Honolulu: Women's Voices Women Speak, 2007), 31.

[417] Turley, *Pax Militaris*. This issue came to my attention after the IWNAM 2012 meeting in Puerto Rico when we learned of a community of Viequenses suing the U.S. government for the health effects in Vieques due to contamination caused by years of bombing practice on the island. The case was dismissed by the 1st Circuit Court. One of the three judges on the panel, Chief Judge Sandra Lynch, commented that courts should be cautious about interfering with the exercise of military authority. See "Court shields U.S. military from health suit." Terry Baynes, Thomson Reuters News & Insight, 2012. And see also Juanita Sánchez v. United States S. Ct. 10-1648 (2012).

with an unquestioned narrative of militarized development in which war is the norm, despite the suffering of people within states that send soldiers and states that receive them.

In her dissertation, Eiko Kosasa writes how the apparatus of the settler society include public and private institutions such as schools, industries (including tourism and the military), development agencies, and families all working together to disseminate ideologies of the settler state.[418] Kosasa writes about Hawaiʻi as an example of a settler society. In her case, she discusses Japanese immigrants as settlers who have participated in the colonization of Native Hawaiian people. She describes that settlers have been coerced and educated to believe they are immigrants, and that Hawaiʻi is a land for immigrants to access American rights and benefits, thereby obscuring the jurisdiction of the indigenous Hawaiian government. Through the apparatuses of the Imperial Archive, ideologies of the U.S. settler state are taught to and internalized by immigrant populations who are shaped to perform labor to operate and extend the settler state.[419] The writings of Garces speak to the apparatuses of education and family expectations ushering youth into the military. Rodrigues questions how familial grief of a soldier's death is touted as heroism, and not toward critical reflection on the normalization of the military. The poems of Garces and Rodrigues, and the dissertation of Kosasa, describes how the settler state impacts the minds and bodies of settlers.

ORGANISE

The blog and book of poetry are records and archives of the WVWS. The blog is

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[418] Kosasa, Eiko. "Predatory Politics: U.S. Imperialism, Settler Hegemony, and The Japanese in Hawaiʻi." (PhD Dissertation, University of Hawaiʻi at Mānoa, Political Science, 2004). See also, Althusser, "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatus (Notes Toward An Investigation)."

[419] Kosasa draws from Louis Althusser's Ideological State Apparatus to make the connection between functions of dominant institutions in settler societies, and particularly through education and media.

an archive of records collected when WVWS participants attended IWNAM meetings. The blog is a record of WVWS participants using D.I.Y. communication technology to publically express their view of international and local militarism. The book of poetry archives writings of indigenous and immigrant women. The book of poetry is a record of WVWS function, facilitating social dialogue and collaboration between indigenous and immigrant women. These WVWS archives and records document WVWS practice of "oppositional politics."[420] WVWS action of creating records and archives is based on the jurisdiction of Hawaiian sovereignty through demilitarization. This activity reflects how indigenous and immigrant communities have a role to play in this process. The WVWS archives hold evidence for this view.

Hawai'i is a site where indigenous and settler people experience the effects of militarism, based on their own histories in the archipelago. Kanaka Maoli can make genealogical connection to the Hawaiian archipelago to resist losing their right as indigenous peoples to this place, and to resist the normalization of colonialism. Postcolonial settlers, such as Filipinos, cannot make direct connections to Hawaiian land as their own ancestral domain, because of their own descent from the Philippine islands and their history of immigration to Hawai'i. But, despite these differences, indigenous and settler women still have important roles to play to interrupt the normalization of militarism in Hawai'i. In "Varieties of Indigenous Experience: Diasporas, Homelands, Sovereignties," James Clifford writes,

> Without radical visions and maximalist claims indigenous movements risk
> cooptation. Without ad-hoc arrangements and coalitions, where economic and
> military power remain overwhelmingly unequal, little can be gained in the short

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[420] Mohanty, *Feminism Without Borders,* 247.

term. And the risk of backlash is great. One of the values, perhaps, of bringing

diaspora into the complex domain of the indigenous is to import a constitutive

ambivalence. Diasporic experience is necessarily both nationalist and anti-

nationalist. Absolutist invocations of blood, land, and return coexist with arts of

conviviality, the need to make homes away from home, among different

peoples.[421]

This quote argues that there is a productive relationship between indigenous nationalism

and the diaspora. The WVWS archive holds evidence of how Kanaka Maoli and Filipino

experiences of militarization illuminate the local and global forces that sustain the

imperial occupation of Hawai'i and the broader Asia-Pacific.

Loosening up the strict boundaries of identity to a specific territory allows the

potential for local indigenous-diasporic indigenous narratives, and not indigenous-settler

narratives, to inform Kanaka Maoli and Filipino interactions in Hawai'Ii. Ann Fienup-

Riordan, an American anthropologist who worked with the Yup'ik people in Alaska,

wrote that although Yup'ik

traditional hunting, fishing and gathering, [were] threatened and regulated, [they]

have not been wiped out by capitalist modes of production and distribution. They

take new forms alongside, and in conjunction with, modern economies.

Communal (familial, village-level) affiliations and exchanges are extended by

movements into and out of cities. Rather than a linear process of disembedding

(or de-territorializing), one observes a transformation and extension of culturally

distinctive spatial and social practices: re-embedding, extending territories,

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[421] Clifford, "Varieties of Indigenous Experience."

dwelling with airplanes.[422]

This idea of indigenous knowledge as mobile is reflected in Native Pacific Cultural Studies on the Edge, where Native Hawaiian Scholar J. Kehaulani Kauanui states,

> "As Hawaiians living outside Hawai'i are often referred to as 'transplants,' one might argue that this label assumes the familial and genealogical connection between those living on and off the islands. Transplanting implies a binary, operation as a relational construct. But transplanting also marks the possibilities in taking root and growing in a different soil while continuing to maintain an originary location and emphasizing indigeneity as a central form of identification."[423]

In these examples, indigenous cultural knowledge is not fixed in a specific territory, but can travel into different contexts because it is resilient and adaptable in our globalizing world. This differs from the ideas of the fragility and disappearance of indigenous cultural knowledge in times of globalization and change that require western anthropologists or archivists to "save" these cultures. Rather, indigenous cultures evolve and are creative over time, adapting to the contexts and cultures they live in.

Filipinos also have indigenous knowledge that they can also access outside of their "ancestral" lands. According to Philippine indigenous psychology researcher Katrin DeGuia, *kapwa* is a Filipino epistemological concept in which the self is seen in the other, articulating indigenous Philippine cultural abilities to relate and be empathetic to

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[422] Clifford, James. "Varieties of Indigenous Experience: Diasporas, Homelands, Sovereignties," in *Indigenous Experiences Today*. Orin Starn and Marisol de la Cadena, Eds. (Berg: Oxford, 2007).
[423] Diaz, Vicente M. and J. Kehaulani Kauanui. "Native Pacific Cultural Studies on the Edge," in *The Contemporary Pacific,* 13(2) (2001): 320.

others who are different from them.[424] This concept of *kapwa* resonates with Dean

Saranillio's documentation of a historical moment when 10 Filipina Settlers Grace Alvaro

Caligtan, Darlene Rodrigues, Melisa S. L. Casumbal, Catherine Betts, Grace Duenas,

Gigi Miranda, Cindy Ramirez, Sonya Zabala, Tamara Freedman and Maile Labasan[425]

wrote a statement in support of the Kamaka family's resistance against the U.S. military

use of their land for jungle war fare. The U.S. Army would be trained to engage in

combat in the Philippines. In the statement archived in an Indymedia email listserv

archive, and also documented in the video documentary "Women Against Militarism:

Reclaim Life, Land and Spirit," the Filipina activists made the connection that the

training in Waiahole and Waikane was in preparation for the Balikatan (Tagalog for

soldier-to-soldier) training between U.S. and Philippine armed forces in the rainforests of

Mindanao. In their statement, the Filipina activists listed the effects of U.S. military

Balikatan Exercises against the Mutual Defense Treaty in the Philippines, as actually

increasing human insecurity and human rights violations in Mindanao due to its

remilitarization by the U.S. and the Philippine national government. Saranillio describes

this action by Filipina settlers as a positive example for settlers to be in relationship to the

Kanaka Maoli struggles. As the Filipina settlers stood up for the military occupation of

indigenous peoples in the Philippines at the hearing in solidarity with the Kamaka family,

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[424] DeGuia, Katrin. *Kapwa, The Self in the Other: Worldviews and Lifestyles of Filipino Culture-Bearers.* (Pasig City: Anvil Publishing, 2005).
[425] Darlene Rodrigues is one of the coordinators of *Hoʻomoʻomoʻo* and delegate to the 6th IWNAM meeting in San Francisco. Bernadette *"Gigi"* Miranda was one of the four delegates to represent Hawaiʻi at the 5th East-Asia-U.S.- Puerto Rico Meeting in Manila, Philippines in 2004 and was an ʻOlelo Community Television video instructor who directed and co-produced "Women Against Militarism: Reclaim Life, Land and Spirit." Grace Caligtan, Melisa Casumbal, Sonya Zabala, Maile Labasan, and Cindy Ramirez, Darlene Rodrigues and Gigi Migranda are also part of the Urban Babaylan, a collective of Filipina women living in Hawaiʻi who are inspired by and mentor youth in Philippine indigenous cultural practices (See Strobel, Leny. *Babaylan: Filipinos and the Call of the Indigenous.* (Davao City, University Research and Publications Office, 2010).

they illuminate the systematic violence of imperialism that links the militarized lands of Hawai'i and the Philippines. This act, on the part of Filipina settlers, illuminates the transnational system of militarism that takes away access to land for Kanaka Maoli to practice their cultures, and displaces Filipinos from their land as they are forced to flee war fare and settle in another place to survive. The memories of violence, colonialism and militarism become points of discussion to interconnect different experiences in a broader system of imperialism.

WVWS blog and the book of poetry are records that reflect WVWS member's articulation and practice of oppositional politics. The experiences of indigenous and immigrants within the militarized order of Hawai'i need to be in conversation in order to understand the landscape of militarization and colonization, the different ways people are impacted by it, and socially implicated to drive it. It is through this process that a broader base can be generated to interrupt the adverse effects of the Imperial Archive. The call for sovereignty and self-determination is not just for Hawaiians, but also for settlers to think about. Kekuni Blaisdell and other Native Hawaiian thinkers see sovereignty beyond legal matters. Sovereignty is also people developing spiritual relations to oneself, the land and each other.[426] Indigenous and immigrant coalitional work requires a spiritual fortitude to look at the traumas of the militarized past and present, in order to develop the experiential knowledge to articulate how demilitarization, decolonization and sovereignty is applicable to the lived experiences of multi-ethnic communities. This coalitional thinking can be inspired by the regeneration of faith in one's own ancestral knowledge, something that has been systematically repressed, in processes of colonization and

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[426] Castanha, Anthony. "The Hawaiian Sovereignty Movement: Roles of and Impacts on Non-Hawaiians." (Masters Thesis, University of Hawai'i at Manoa, Political Science Department, 1996). http://www.hookele.com/non-Hawaiians/chapter1.html.

modernization in Hawai'i, as well as in lands from which immigrants come, such as in the Philippines. By examining militarism as a structural violence against indigenous people in Hawai'i, it is also an issue that impacts settlers, as well as the countries from which they come. Access to spirituality is what provides indigenous and settlers the courage to draw from different historical narratives so they can rethink previous investments in the privileges of militarized, settler societies. It is in the act of choosing the narrative to question and challenge militarism that settlers can stand in solidarity with indigenous struggles at home and in the diaspora.

PLURALISE

When examining the WVWS blog and the book of poetry according to the Records Continuum Model, I find that they are archives that make up the broader archival multiverse that women in WVWS access and create. Indigenous and immigrant women from Hawai'i who participated in IWNAM meetings can develop the capacity to see the everydayness of militarism. This knowledge ties Hawai'i's institutional and infrastructural systems to a broader Imperial Archive that link countries like Okinawa, the Philippines, Guam, Puerto Rico and the U.S. From that moment, WVWS began to engage in organizational activity to record what they learned at international and local levels on the blog and a book of poetry. These are D.I.Y. archives in that they embody a validity and authenticity that might not be legible to the U.S. nation-state apparatus that governs Hawai'i. This is because WVWS archives emerge from the jurisdiction of demilitarized sovereignty. The WVWS archives embody decolonization histories of indigenous Hawai'i that are based on a history of Kanaka Maoli resistance against the imperial colonization of their lands, and for their independence from the U.S. nation-

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state. WVWS archives offers a description of how indigenous women see military occupation in their ancestral lands, as the Imperial Archive, and how immigrant women see the occupation of their young people through their militarized growth and death, as the Imperial Archive. The WVWS archives are community archives that are pluralizations of archives documenting the Hawaiian sovereignty discourse.   When contextualized in the Asian Settler Colonial discourse, WVWS archive can be used to evidence why indigenous and immigrants can work together to speak to the issue of demilitarized sovereignty. Immigrants/settlers can also be part of a community of action, record and archival creation, to contribute to more knowledge about why demilitarization and decolonization matters to sovereignty—for indigenous Hawai'i and for other peoples and lands suffering under the boot of military occupation.

CHAPTER 5: RESISTANCE TO MILITARISM FASHION SHOW AS AN ARCHIVAL SYSTEM

I. INTRODUCTION

Throughout this dissertation, I have been using the records continuum model to trace the contours of archives. The archive begins as the creative will of an entity who creates a record, captures it within a system, which then informs the policies through which the entity organizes itself. Through this process, more records are created by the activities of the entity, representing the pluralization of the original record that was created, informing the trajectory of all the records that came after it. It is through this conceptualization of the archive that we can imagine governing structures and systems as an archive. Archives and recordkeeping systems have been the informational life-blood

for the development, coordination, communication and memory of bureaucratic

institutions, particularly imperial governments that managed vast expanses of territory

and population.[427] The culture of power that is practiced through governance is expressed

discursively and explicitly through the archival structure and its recorded contents; the

archival system remembers, performs and communicates the institution's logic, thoughts

and values, which inform its structure and activity.[428] In Imperial Archives, a hierarchical

logic is performed when an exclusive record creator determines the meaning of a parent

record, which causes subsequent records to be created, organized and interpreted within

its parameters. This is to ensure that the will of the original record creator would be

extended through coordinated activity across space and time.

In this dissertation, I wanted to emphasize the socialization effects of the Imperial

Archive that inculcates human actors to perform its creative innovation and emergence.

In this chapter, I describe how fashion becomes a kind of record, created and used by

citizens, as a means to express their alignment with the apparatuses and jurisdictions of

the dominant order, or the Imperial Archive. Fashion is an aesthetic and functional

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[427] Spain is an example of a highly bureaucratic government that left behind archival traces of its imperial and colonizing activities in the western hemisphere and the Pacific. For a history of Spanish in the American West, see Stawski, Patrick Alexander. "Records for God and King: The Documentary System of the California Mission Period." (Master's Thesis of Library and Information Science, University of California, Los Angeles, 2006). The American Southeast, South and Southwest are also documented as being impacted by Spanish contact. Evidence of this can be found in the Archivo General de Indias. A traveling exhibit of records from this archive presented this information. See "Threads of Memory: Spain and the United States." Historic New Orleans Collection, New Orleans, Louisiana, November 2010.

[428] I draw from Johanna Drucker who explains how structure has a discursive power in shaping the understanding of meaning. She explains how white spaces on a page, like headers and identations, structure dialectical meanings with the text that influence the act of reading. (Drucker, Johanna, "Entity to Event: From Literal, Mechanistic Materiality to Probabilistic Materiality," in *Parallax* 15, 2009, 8.) Luciana Duranti studies how records hold traces of the institutional Context from which they were produced. This allows the bureaucratic reader of that record to understand Its official function, in order to understand which "correct" action the reader should take to contribute to The "correct" functioning of the institution (Duranti, *Diplomatics*.)

creation that clothes people's bodies and reflects their cultural relation to place.[429] Place

is shaped by economy, industry, politics and culture. How citizens choose to clothe and

decorate their bodies is an outward expression of how they internalize and relate to their

surroundings.[430] Obsession with fashion in a capitalist society may reflect a people's pre-

occupation with appearance. The consumption of material wear has been a tactic to

address personal insecurities. Wearing the latest fashion or top name brand signals social

status and wealth. Fashion, as a commodity to acquire, can keep consumers busy seeking

the trendiest outfit to capture social attention, obscuring the larger processes of resource

extraction and industrial production that they are implicated in driving.[431] The

consumption of fashion is just one way that the operation of imperial societies sustains

itself as people seek affirmation by its standards of beauty, participate in systems of

commodification, and fail to recognize the ways in which they are complicit in producing

the effects of such societal purpose.[432]

But another aspect of this chapter is the description of the provenance of the

Resistance to Militarism Fashion Show, which has been archived on the

genuinesecurity.org website. I volunteered to archive a collection of records that

represented the history of the fashion show since its inception in 2007 as a byproduct of

the Women of Color Resource Center's (WCRC) organizing activities. Due to drastic

budget cuts in Oakland that impacted multiple progressive non-profit organizations,

WCRC closed its doors. A co-founder of Women for Genuine Security was a board

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[429] Scott, Allen J. "The Cultural Economy of Cities," in *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 21(2) (2002): 323-324.
[430] Scott, "The Cultural Economy of Cities," 323-324.
[431] "Fashioning Resistance to Militarism," Christine Ahn and Gwyn Kirk, Common Dreams, accessed January 21, 2004, https://www.commondreams.org/view/2009/03/10-5.
[432] Hermannsdóttir, Marta Björg. "Self-Identity in Modernity." (Final Thesis in the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Haskolinn a Akureyri, 2011), 15.

member of WCRC and volunteered to keep the history of the fashion show alive because of its potential as a feminist, arts-based, political education tool. It was through this context that I was asked to create a space on the genuinesecurity.org website to archive digital versions of photos, scripts, of fashion shows, as well as methodologies of how to organize fashion show events.

In the creation of this archive, I was given content that emphasized the significance of the Resistance to Militarism fashion shows. In a documentary film entitled "Fashion Resistance to Militarism," the narrators describe how within militarized societies camouflage designs circulate in high fashion catwalks of Milan, Macy's, and Diesel. They are sold at neighborhood fabric stores where families buy and create camouflage curtains for their children's rooms, or pajamas for their sons. Camouflage is a fashion statement by youth of color to feel and express a sense of strength and security as they feel under siege by dominant institutional powers. In these instances, people don't realize how they are promoting the military industrial complex through their consumption of camouflage as a fashionable commodity. These uses of military camouflage reflect the pervasiveness and normalization of military culture within American(ized) people's every day lives.[433] The producers of the Resistance to Militarism Fashion Show sought to address this pervasiveness of militarism in U.S. popular culture through bringing attention to this complicity in militarism by getting people to reflect on how they embody this culture through the fashion they choose to wear. To reflect on the embodiment of military culture gets to the "deeply entrenched military mindset that so dominates

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[433] "Fashion Resistance to Militarism," Kimberly Alvarenga and Christine Ahn, accessed October 4, 2012. http://imaginingourselves.imow.org/pb/Story.aspx?id=1266&lang=1#.

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American society and culture."[434] The point of this reflection is for U.S. citizenry to see their agency to take responsibility for how wars and violence are waged through intimate and passive normalcy amongst the population, in how they choose to dress, and how they use tax dollars and family members to participate in the military.

The Resistance to Militarism Fashion Show Archive was created out of a transformative will—the desire of U.S. based feminists of color to facilitate self-reflection within their community about their embeddedness within militarism that produces violence abroad, and at home. The fashion show archive was not necessarily interested in collecting information about people, as if people were objects that could be managed and arranged within another order. Rather, the fashion show was interested in generating thinking and creation amongst people, so that they could express how they epistemologically read the social, political, economic orders they are embedded in, as a first step to transforming it. To describe this phenomenon, the Complex Adaptive System (CAS) is a description of a system that exhibits certain behaviors like learning, self-organization, emergence and co-evolution.[435] This chapter will show how the fashion shows expressed continuity, innovation and emergence over space and time. Cognitive theorists Humberto Maturana and Francisco J. Varela describe learning and self-organization as continuity, or autopoiesis, the "biological process of connection and interaction, whereby life or the system furthers itself."[436] Critical Theorists Gilles-

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[434] "Fashioning Resistance to Militarism."
[435] "Insights from Complexity Theory: Understanding Organizations Better," Gupta, Amit and S. Anish. Institute of Management, accessed October 5, 2012, http://tejas iimb.org/articles/12.php.
[436] Turnbull, David "Other Knowledges, Other Spaces, Other Rationalities: Heterarchy, Complexity and Tension, Norte Chico, Amazonia and Narratives of Prehistory in South America. (Paper presented in Assembling Colombia: Natures, Cultures, Technologies. Colloquium launch of Colombia Assembled: Production of Knowledges and Construction of Citizenships Project. University of Colombia, Bogota, August, 2010).

Deleuze and Féliz Guattari describe emergence and co-evolution as a "new way of writing and thinking that allows the competing narratives and ontologies to interrogate each other so that the hidden spatial and temporal orderings can become apparent."[437] That is, when different systems and ontologies interact, new knowledge is learned from each other. What occurs is a critical reflection on previous information, to generate new interpretations of old and new data, to arrange their structuring and presentation for innovative and emergent information. I define innovation as building upon pre-existing ideas and concepts, and emergence as the development of completely new concepts and ideas.

The fashion show is an example of feminist, arts-based political organizing that is driven by a jurisdiction of empowering subaltern voices, to resist subjection under heteronormative roles of dominance and submission. Feminist International Relations scholar, L.H.M. Ling writes how Westphalia World, which I correlate to the Imperial Archive, "commits violence by abusing multiple worlds...[through denying it] epistemically… Westphalia Worlds relies on Multiple Worlds intimately to be what it is and to last as long as it has."[438] She describes Multiple Worlds as the

> hybrid legacies produced by subalterns to serve, and thereby survive, generations
> of foreign occupations by colonizing powers now replaced by multinational
> corporations. Subalterns navigate nimbly among the Multiple Worlds of tradition
> and modernity, the sacred and the secular, native and foreign, not to mention
> several languages, on a daily bases. Yet subalterns rarely receive formal

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[437] Ibid.

[438] Ling, L.H.M. *The Dao of World Politics; Towards a post-Westphalian, worldist international relations*. (London: Routledge), 2.

recognition for their critical role in *making* world politics.[439]

It is in this context that I correlate community archives, such as the fashion show archive, as creations of Multiple Worlds. I also draw from Indigenous feminist scholar Andrea Smith's description of organizing that is not only just about "taking power," but also "making power." She writes,

> On the one hand, it is necessary to engage in oppositional politics to corporate and state power by taking power. Yet if we only engage in the politics of taking power, we will have the tendency to replicate the hierarchical structures in our movements. So it is also important to "make power" by creating those structures within our organizations, movements, and communities that model the world we are trying to create… If we "make power" without also trying to "take power," we ultimately support the political status quo by failing to dismantle the structures of oppression that will undermine us."[440]

Smith's philosophy of taking and making power reflect a "transformative will" of communities to create their own activity that inspires them to change the status quo that oppresses them. It is these philosophies of feminist organizing that I analyze the fashion show as expressions of the IWNAM's archival continuum. The fashion shows generate thinking and creation among communities about their embeddedness in militarized orders, thereby facilitating their creation of various types of records, such as oral, kinetic communication, photos, fabric, quilt making and photographs, to be captured in archives such as events and web pages. But the significance of this archive is in its juxtaposition, inter-relation, and/or association across different contexts illuminating an archival system

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[439] Ling, *The Dao of World Politics*, 2.
[440] Smith, Andrea (2005) "U. S. Empire and the War Against Native Sovereignty" from *Conquest: Sexual Violence and American Indian Genocide* (Boston: South End Press, 2005), 187.

that draws from knowledge learned from international, national and local contexts.[441]

Knowledge is made accessible at personal and community based levels, while also

facilitates further reflection, learning, action and creation of new archives through

inviting people's participation.

II. METHODOLOGY

One aspect of my research was to trace the contours of the fashion show as an

archival system. I played other roles in the fashion show productions, such as a model

during the 2009 fashion show and as a co-producer of the 2011 fashion show. The

records continuum model provides a definition of an archive through which the fashion

show's unconventional archival system could be illuminated. Through participating in

this action-oriented process, I was able to observe how records are created, captured,

organized and pluralized.[442]

Another aspect of my research was to study the type and content of records

created through the Resistance to Militarism Fashion Show archives. I examine how the

transformative will exists among militarized women and men, from the U.S. and Hawai'i.

Transformative will is the process of community self-reflection on their embeddedness in

militarized orders. Through public disclosure of their positions through fashion shows,

they show how militarily complicit communities to have the capacity to change. I

examined four documentations of fashion shows in 2007, 2009, 2010 and 2011 that were

archived on the genuinesecurity.org website, other websites, and personal records

accumulated through my participation in fashion shows. The names of these various

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[441] "Publications." Women of Color Resource Center (WCRC), accessed October 4, 2012, http://coloredgirls.live.radicaldesigns.org/userdata_display.php?modin=17&uid=1.
[442] Upward, "Structuring the Records Continuum Part One."
Lau, "Collecting Experiences."

fashion shows were the Runway Peace Project on Myspace 2007, "Security without Empire" Conference in Washington D.C. February 28, 2009, "Fashion Resistance to Militarism" University of Oregon, November 10, 2010, and "Passionista! Undressing Militarism and Globalization"[443] Moana Nui Conference, Church of the Crossroads, Honolulu, November 10, 2011. As a volunteer archivist, I was able to access these records, and conduct structural and content analysis of these records.

III. ARCHIVING COMMUNITY BASED ARTS ORGANIZING

This section will clarify how the records continuum model can trace the process of records creation, capture, organization and pluralization. One fashion show becomes part of a broader spatial-temporal organizing phenomenon. The Fashion Show was launched in Oakland, California as the Runway Peace Project (RPP), on May 2005. The RPP included an Interactive Multimedia toolkit: a 10-minute documentary, *Fashion Resistance to Militarism*, a slide show on "15 Steps to Create Your Own Fashion Show," information and statistics called "The 411: What Every Girl Should Know (about militarism)," and discussion questions and projects to talk about militarism in groups. [444] From then on, the RPP was produced at conferences and community events all across the country and internationally. Although WCRC created the idea of packaging the ideas of militarism and agency to resist into a fashion show, the ideas can be traced further beyond the WCRC. For example, women in WGS were part of the board of the WCRC. Members of WGS were also participants of the IWNAM. The IWNAM is also just one ripple within a continuum of past women's organizing around denuclearization,

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[443] Cachola, Ellen-Rae, Grace Caligtan, Kim Kompoc, Darlene Rodrigues. "Undressing Militarization and Globalization Passionista Show." (Theatrical Production presented at the Moana Nui: Pacific Peoples, Lands and Economies Conferences, Church of the Crossroads, Honolulu, May 10, 2011.)
[444] "Publications."

indigenous human rights and decolonization in the Asia-Pacific and the west, as stated in Chapter 3.   The various records that are produced by all the different fashion shows become pluralizations of the original records, which are the voices and long histories of feminist anti-military organizing. The fashion show production facilitates a kind of organizational structure that looks at how militarism is intertwined into people's every day lives, and reminds us of the negative effects, which then facilitates more communities to reflect and possibly produce a fashion show that expresses their own complex relation (and agency) to resist militarism. The fashion show is an archival system that reflects the multiple stories and contexts and generates further archives.

People become record creators through creating scripts and outfits that tell their stories. For example, in the Fashion Show archive, a methodology is documented in "Create Your Own Fashion Show" section of the web page,

> We encourage students and community groups to create your own show using sample scripts and designs archived here as a starting point. At a minimum you'll need models, outfits, and a narrator to read the scripts. Beyond that, your imagination can take off! Send a link or photos of your show to info [at] genuinesecurity.org to be added to this growing archive. But much of the excitement of producing a show is in designing your own outfits that are relevant to your community and that tell the story you want to tell. This is a great way to involve local artists and designers, art students, yard-sale and thrift-store bargain hunters, and anyone who is handy with a needle, a stapler, or duct tape. Local

peace groups may also want to co-sponsor and bring information to your

event."[445]

This methodology states that if a group was interested in putting together a fashion show, facilitators would show examples of the past outfits, archived on the genuinesecurity.org website, as records of various communities' ways of thinking about militarism. Then, through discussing those records, they could ask questions among themselves to generate their own outfits and scripts about how militarism impacts the lives of people in their community.

I personally experienced how the fashion shows circulated. This was through individuals passing ideas to other country groups, such as myself, who would travel between the U.S. and Hawaiʻi group.[446] The fashion show process was inherently a collective, community building process that required people to come together, to share stories, to produce outfits, and co-produce fashion shows. Thus, events became the system that captures stories, which produce the collective message of the self-reflecting community. The process of outfit creation was based on people sharing their stories, listening to one another, and inspiring others to tell their story. It took time for people to build relationships and trust with each another, to feel comfortable to share their stories and their representations onto the outfit. What is different about the fashion show's organizational structure from a top-down, bureaucratic institution is the non-alienating, inclusive discourse around who can participate in its production. Non-military and military, women, men, LGBT, children, adults, elders and people of different ethnicities

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[445] "Create Your Own Fashion Show." Women for Genuine Security. Accessed April 23, 2014.
http://www.genuinesecurity.org/projects/fashionshow/fashionshow.html#createfashionshow
[446] This reflects my action research methodology, which I elaborate more in Chapter 2 (Williamson, *Research methods for students, academics and professionals.*)

could participate and were represented through their outfits and scripts, because the fashion show production was based on an alliance building organizational model. Alliance building is a form of organizational development that prioritizes relationship building. Juxtaposing stories reflecting the negative impact of militarism, are military personnel's stories. The latter is valued just as much as the former because their experiences is what feminist scholar-activist Margo Okazawa-Rey calls "first-hand details and concrete examples of theoretical discussions" about what militarism is, and how it sustains itself; they "cut to the heart of militarism: the necessary dehumanization – in myriad ways – of both military personnel and 'the enemy.'"[447]

The process of sewing outfits follows the grammar of storytelling. A record creator wrote down their story about their relationship to militarism. This became the script to help them conceptualize the design of the outfit. Elements of the story were visualized through a particular symbol or design on the outfit. The edges of different kinds of textile are sewn together, to construct broader, layered or textured fabric. This is reminiscent of connecting a single story with other stories, into a bricolage narrative.

Written and electronic records were created throughout the pre-production stages of the fashion show, to take notes of brainstorming sessions, to keep people accountable to their tasks, and to help meet deadlines. Flyers were created to promote each fashion show.[448] As models wore the outfits as they strut down the catwalk one by one, these outfits, as records, were interrelated through the show. Words on the outfit's accompanying script would be spoken aloud by an emcee, narrating the meaning of the

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[447] Roberts, "Runway Peace Project Goes to Syracuse,"1; Enloe, Cynthia, *Maneuvers: the International Politics of Militarizing Women'sLives.* (London: University of California Press, 2000).
[448] An example is the Runway Peace Project postcard that was promoted on the US Labor Against the War website ("Publications.")

outfit to the onlookers.[449] Each record creator, outfit, script, and model played particular roles in the producing of the fashion show.

On the day of the fashion show, different people were brought together, facilitating consciousness-raising among the participants and onlookers to reflect how they are interconnected through systems of militarism. But also, through their shared presence at the event, they defy their socialization to be silent and divided about militarism. The meaning of the event itself awakens people's capacity to think for themselves, and the potential to create something different together. Photographs of models wearing each outfit were taken. In some instances, photographs and associated scripts were archived on websites and blogs. Some videos and photographs of fashion shows were uploaded to social media platforms. Some videos, photos and websites served as records to create histories of the fashion shows, compiling the different shows over time, or other events with which fashion shows were affiliated. Some fashion shows became installations in other institutions, expressing the continuum of the fashion show's message as they moved from context to context, attempting to bridge the information in the fashion show to as many people and areas.

IV. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE ARCHIVES

The production of the fashion shows created opportunities for people to tell their story about their relationship to militarism. I draw from the pro-peace/anti-war fashion show staged at Syracuse University's Feminism and War Conference on October 12-21, 2006, and the Passionista! Undressing Militarism and Globalization fashion show during

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[449] I correlate this practice of worn, designed cloth and storytelling to the production and performance of hula as an archival system. The elements of hula, the music, song, worn cloth, and moving body, are communicating memory-based information being communicated in auditory, visual and tactile ways (Stillman, "Of the People Who Love the Land," 85-108).

Moana Nui Conference on November 10, 2011, to present examples of women of color's experience in the military communicated through the fashion show.

For the Syracuse University's Feminism and War Conference, Eli Painted Crow, a retired Army veteran with 22 years of service, altered a desert camouflage uniform into a traditional *ghi* called the "Warrior for Peace" outfit. She replaced official military badges with symbols of peace like an illustrated peace dragon seal sewn onto the back of the shirt. Eli said, "This nation was founded on violence, it does not know peace."[450] She enlisted before her 21st birthday, as a single mother with two children and no high school diploma. She served in many positions and locations, but her last was to Iraq where she "observed Iraqi culture being erased by U.S. soldiers, just as Native American culture had been."[451] Anuradha Bhagwati became a Marine because she wanted to push her boundaries. "I wanted to be G.I. Jane," she said. But, her experience as a Captain in the Marines for five years taught her something different. I found rampant sexism, racism, classism and homophobia. I was left wondering, 'What does a strong woman look like? A confident woman? [In the military,] I became something hateful, not human.'"[452]

For the Passionista! Fashion show, an Army reservist created a design called "Military Straight Jacket: Commitment to the Nation?" The script accompanying this outfit said,

> "Commitment to the Nation" [was] repeated over and over again during her
> ROTC enlistment. Her outfit questions the motivation under those words and
> behind those who choose military service. According to the National Priorities

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[450] Roberts, Maryam. "Runway Peace Project Goes to Syracuse," in the Newsletter of the Women of Color Resource Center 12(3) (2006).
[451] Roberts, "Runway Peace Project Goes to Syracuse," 1.
[452] Roberts, "Runway Peace Project Goes to Syracuse," 1.

Project, of the 70,026 military recruits in Fiscal Year 2010, 1,111 came from U.S.

Possessions and Territories, including the Federated States of Micronesia, Guam,

Puerto Rico, the U.S. Virgin Islands, and foreign addresses, including military

postal addresses. The promise of a green card and citizenship is what commonly

attracts Asia Pacific migrants to join the military because to be a U.S. citizen

means they can access health care, higher education, and a decent standard of

living for their families. While cash and US citizenship are powerful enticements

for joining, she wants viewers to recognize soldiers underneath the numbers of

dead, and honor the complex human beings under the uniform as sisters and

mothers, brothers and fathers, and as all our children."[453]

These women of color who served or are serving in the U.S. military speak to histories of

colonialism and neo-colonialism that underpin their participation in the military. Eli

Painted Crow explains that she joined to support her family. But also that serving in Iraq

caused her to remember her own history of Anglo-American colonialism over Native

Americans, and realize the patterns of colonialism that was being reproduced as she

participated in the campaign in Iraq. Anuradha illuminated how military culture is

internalized prior to joining the military, because ideas of strength as a woman was fed to

her by mass media depictions of military serving women. The designer of the Military

Straight Jacket designer illuminates the U.S. global hegemony that has determined

development narratives overseas. As U.S. possessions and territories struggle to find

their own development models, they also reckon with the development narratives and

pressures of colonial and elite powers that seek to use these lands for their own global

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[453] "Passionista's Resisting: Sistahs and Braddahs Uniting to un-dress Globalization and Militarization."
Women's Voices, Women Speak (WVWS), accessed October 4, 2012.
http://www.wvws808.blogspot.com/2011_11_01_archive.html

strategies.[454] The designer emphasized that the people from U.S. possessions and

territories under the uniform should also be humanized in anti-war struggles because they

are products of colonial and neo-colonial structural system. In all these stories U.S.

military culture has become "exceptional" because it provides access to jobs and career

opportunities. What the military offers is to join an institution that allows people to build

and actualize a particular discourse of security. In this case, it is the extension of U.S.

colonial rule, and the establishment of interoperable neo-colonial rule, to other contexts.

In order to build this reality, military personnel must internalize the logic of the nation in

order to carry out the destruction of "enemies" or "threats." The presence of military

personnel in the fashion show deepens understandings of what it means to resist

militarism; there is a need to resist the imagination of a structural and cultural order that

recruit people to play a role in that system. The military personnel's stories demonstrate

that resisting militarism is not to blame a particular individual, but the need to redefine

the system that recruits people to build and operate a particular order. The fashion show's

role is to recruit people's imagination to build upon and perform a different narrative of

security.

V. CONTINUITY

Each fashion show drew upon themes from previous fashion shows, such as using

outfits from before. But also, later fashion shows created new outfits. Figure 2[455] lists the

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[454] I draw on post-colonial militarization in the Pacific according to Teresia Teiwa who argues that militarism is also "something that is made as well as co-constructed; and in parts of the Pacific, indigenous people have been active participants in such co-constructions" Teaiwa, Teresia. "Articulated Cultures: Militarism and Masculinities in Fiji during the Mid 1990s," in *Fijian Studies* 3(2) (2005): 201-222. She quotes Underwood, R. "Excursions Into Inauthenticity: The Chamorros of Guam," in *Mobility and Identity in the Island Pacific, A special issue of Pacific Viewpoint* 26(1) (1985): 160-84.
[455] This does not include all the fashion shows produced by women affiliated with, or with women, in the IWNAM.

names of outfits between the Fashion Shows in 2007, 2009, 2010, and 2011. I examined

the titles of outfits across these years to show how fashion shows exhibited continuity and

emergence of various themes of militarism in different productions.

Runway Peace Project on Myspace 2007.	"Security Without Empire" Conference in Washington, DC, February 28, 2009.	"Fashion Resistance to Militarism, University of Oregon, November 10, 2010.	Passionista! Undressing Militarism and Globalization, Moana Nui Conference, Church of the Crossroads, Honolulu, HI, November 10, 2011.
•Coutre Camo •Camouflage Dress •"Wife Beater" tank top with Camouflage pants •"The Military Bride" •Boobs Not Bombs One-sies •Militarized National Budget •The People's Budget •Pro-Peace Children's Capes •The Military Coverup •Rosie the Riveter •Bikini Clad Woman •Patriotic senior woman with flag	•Militarized National Budget •The People's Budget •The Military Cover-Up •The People's Budget •Carbon Foot Print •Rosie the Riveter •War is Not Sexy •War Bride •Patriotic Woman •Lyndie England •Pink Protest •Granny Peace Brigade •Witness Against Torture	•Camouflage is all the rage, shirts, tops, dresses •Militarized National Budget •Military Carbon Footprint •The Bomb Gown •War is Not Sexy •Don't Ask, Don't Tell •Box Woman: The Story of Jamie Leigh Jones •Military Bride •Mourner: Represented by Women in Black around the World •The Future of War as war becomes computerized •Dressed Fit to Overkill •Blackwater •Star Wars •Banana Republic •Reaching Peace •Let's Get Moving	•Peace Force •Tapis and Topless •Daughters of Lien Apinam •Occupied Bride •Unko Spam/Unko Ai Pono •Miss Moana Nui •Military Straight Jacket: Commitment to the Nation? •The Military Budget •Hula Rise Up •Remembering Labor History and Resistance •Ea reconstructed and For Realz Kine Genuine Security Blanket

Figure 2. Names of outfits in the 2007, 2009, 2010 and 2011 Fashion Shows

Overtime, some outfits were shared across fashion shows.

Image a. 2007 Militarized National Budget
Outfit Designer: Christine Ahn
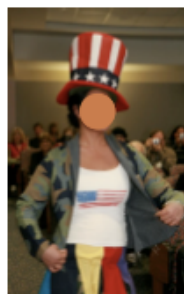Photo Credit: Peter Samuels 2009

Image b. 2009 Militarized National Budget
Outfit Designer: Christine Ahn
Photo Credit: Araceli Curiel 2009

Image c. 2011 Militarized National Budget
Outfit Designer: Christine Ahn
Photo Credit: Jeff Acido 2011

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Figure 3. Militarized National Budget

 For example, Figure 3 shows the Military Budget outfit was shared in 2007, 2009, and

2011. This outfit reflects the hidden costs of military spending. This outfit contrasts with

Image d. 2007 People's Budget
Outfit Designer: Gwyn Kirk
Photo Credit: Peter Samuels 2007

Image e. 2009 People's Budget
Outfit Designer: Gwyn Kirk
Photo Credit: Araceli Curiel 2009

Figure 4. The People's Budget

the People's Budget which appeared in 2007 and in 2009. The two outfits were shared

together to show that if people knew how federal governments were spending their tax

dollars for military spending, people could change that by redefining how their money

could be spent, such as through the People's Budget.

Image i. 2007 Military Bride
Outfit Designer: Unknown
Photo Credit: Peter Samuels 2007

Image j. 2009 Military Bride
Outfit Designer: Unknown
Photo Credit: Araceli Curiel, 2009

Figure 5. The Military Bride

The Military Bride appeared in 2007 and 2009. The Military Bride reflects the marriages between G.I.s and women who live along military bases in Asia. There are instances of domestic violence between G.I.s and their brides, due to Post Traumatic Stress that soldiers experienced during duty.[456] There have been cases of G.I. wives being murdered by their husbands. Or, military wives losing their husbands during their service.

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[456] "Fashioning Resistance to Militarism."

Image f. 2007 Bikini	**Image g. 2009 Bikini**	**Image h. 2011 Bikini**
Outfit Designer: Unknown	Outfit Designer: Unknown	Outfit Designer: Unknown
Photo Credit: Peter Samuels 2007	Photo Credit: Araceli Curiel 2009	Photo Credit: Jeff Acido 2011

Figure 6. The Bikini

The Bikini outfit was presented in 2007, 2009 and 2011. The Bikini, as a scant outfit worn that is associated with the sexualization of women's bodies, reflects a discursive trivialization of the Marshallese Atoll of Bikini that was used for nuclear testing between 1946 and 1958.[457] The continuity of these outfits is because organizers of one fashion show would have relationships to organizers of an upcoming fashion show, allowing them to pass down or mail certain outfits.

These outfits were continuous over time and space because they represent the "universal issues" that can be applied to different contexts. For example, the contrast between the Military Budget and People's Budget helps to communicate issues of military spending in many places that host military bases. The War/Military Bride and the Bikini outfit also reflect the gendered nature of militarism, which is a perspective relevant to this network of feminist activists.

VI. INNOVATION

The figures below reflect innovations in the fashion show outfits, or the adding-on

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[457] Teaiwa, Teresia. Bikinis and Other S/pacific N/oceans. In *Militarized Currents: Toward a Decolonized Future in Asia and the Pacific*. Setsu Shigematsu and Keith Camacho. Eds. (University of Minnesota Press: Minneapolis, 2010).

of new features, or building upon the concept of a previous outfit.

Image 1. 2009 Carbon Foot Print
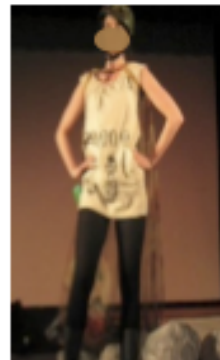Outfit Designer: Annie Fukushima
Photo Credit: Araceli Curiel 2009

Image 2. 2010 Carbon Footprint.
Left: Front. Right: Back.
Outfit Designer: Susan Cundiff
Photo Credit: Unknown

Figure 7. Carbon Footprint

The 2009 Carbon Foot Print khaki cotton dress with the Number 1 represents how the

U.S. is the number one consumer of energy in the world. The number "320,000" printed

on the shirt represents the amount of barrels of oil a day that the military uses for

vehicles. 50% represents the amount of energy the military consumes for jet fuel

planes.[458] The 2010 rendition to Carbon Footprint includes a cape that emphasizes a

"train of debris and pollutants, from trash, water bottles and jet fuels, chemicals, dead

fish, and depleted uranium" that follow the statistics of military energy consumption.[459]

Innovation was present here because the 2009 Carbon Footprint outfit becomes further

elaborated with the 2010 rendition. The relationship between military consumption of

oil, and the debris of civilian and military pollutants, reflects the function of militarism--

extending capitalist, consumerist societies upon places ravaged by war or natural

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[458] Fukushima, Annie, "Carbon Footprint," (outfit and script presented at the Security Without Empire Conference, American University, Washington D.C. September 28, September 2012).
[459] Cundiff, Susan, "Carbon Footprint." (outfit and script presented at the Fashioning Resistance to Militarism fashion show, University of Oregon, Portland, 2010.)

disasters.[460]

Image 3. 2007 Patriotic Woman
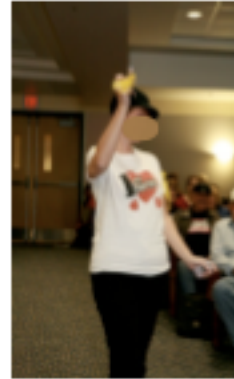Outfit Designer: Unknown
Photo Credit: Peter Samuels 2007

Image 4. 2009 Patriotic Woman
Outfit Designer: Unknown
Photo Credit: Araceli Curiel 2009

Figure 8. Patriotic Woman

The 2007 Patriotic Woman represents the fashion of women during World War II,

when "sixteen million U.S. soldiers served and every individual was expected to

contribute to the massive war effort--including women who worked in factories,

assembled munitions, and manufactured ships and planes...It was a woman's patriotic

duty to 'look like a lady' for her soldier to come home to--'through curls, lipstick,

stockings and deportment.'"[461] This speaks to the U.S. War effort attempting to feminize

representations of the U.S. military, to gain wider community support for military

deployment, and to define how women can play a role in supporting the war effort.[462]

The 2009 rendition of Patriotic Woman wears a $25 "I Love My Marine" low-neck crew

tee-shirt that shows her "pride, faith and spirit for her fighting guy." She looks frazzled,

trying to balance her belief in the military policies that deploy him, and recruit her

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[460] Klein, Naomi. *The Shock Doctrine: The Rise of Disaster Capitalism.* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2007).

[461] "Patriotic Woman," version 1. Aileen Hernandez, accessed October 7, 2012, http://www.myspace.com/wcrcrunwaypeaceproject/photos/2458811#{%22ImageId%2 %3A2458811}.

[462] Godson, Susan H. *Serving Proudly: A History of Women in the U.S. Navy.* (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 2001).

children, to the dangers of a war zone.[463] There is innovation present in these two outfits

because the 2007 Patriotic woman continues to exist in the 2010 rendition, although the

fashion aesthetic is different. The continuity is in the exceptionalism of the U.S. military

among women to marry into a military serving household because military personnel are

eligible for benefits such as housing, travel, education, insurance, and health.[464] This

continuity represents the intimacy of the military that is the lifeblood of many American

households. The high investment in militarism by national governments makes it seem

like a secure career for many American families. This then produces the complicity of

many Americans into the military.[465]

Although the history of U.S. social reproduction has been influenced by

militarized values, there is a way in which the Resistance to Militarism Fashion Show,

articulates different values in a system of production. Sewing is among the many types

of art practices that women, affiliated with the IWNAM, create. Historically, however,

the evolution of sewing from needle to sewing machine was a process of socializing

women into materialistic, technologically driven notions of modernity. Julie Wosk writes

that in early magazine advertisements and literature from the 1800s to the 1940s,

> "sewing by hand…was often made women sickly; the inexorable needle was a
>
> "source of consumption—crooked spines, side aches, stomach derangement." But

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[463] Ahn, Christine. "Patriotic Woman," Version 2. (outfit and script presented at the Security Without Empire Conference, American University, Washington D.C., February 28, 2009).

[464] For instance, the U.S. Pacific Command in the U.S. has created land use functions for the U.S. military presence in Hawai'i, which includes family housing, military training, ordnance strage, communications, airfields, bulk fuel storage, waterfront ports and outdoor recreation. United States Pacific Command. *Hawai'i Military Land Use Master Plan*. (United States Pacific Command, 1995). Similarly, David Dowall explains why people join the military because if they complete their service, some can access home loan subsidies to live in new housing developments to raise their families. (Dowall, David E. "The Suburban Squeeze: Land-Use Policies in the San Francisco Bay Area," in *Cato Journal* 2(3) (1982).

[465] National Park Service. "Rosie the Riveter: Self-Guided Audio Tour," in *Rosie the Riveter/WWII Home Front National Historical Park* (U.S. Department of Interior, 2010), 13.

"Sewing-machine companies…held out the promise that by using their new
products women could become not only more relaxed housewives but also
glamorous beings…"[466]

This quote reveals that women's adoption of sewing was part of the process of being
beautiful, modern and healthy. However, women do not always agree with the
description of values in technology given by dominant media and cultural sources. There
are women who prioritize local values to drive what they create through technology.
During the first meeting in Okinawa in 1997, Okinawan dancers dressed in their
traditional outfits and fabrics. Here fabrics were seen as a technology for local cultural
expression to communicate their resistance to U.S. military occupation. In the 2000
meeting in South Korea, fabrics from different countries represented in the meeting were
used to adorn meeting spaces.[467]

Image 5. ca. 2000 Puerto Rican woman solidarity quilt
Designer: Viequenses Women's Alliance

Image 6. 2011 - Ea* Reconstructed and Fo Realz Kine**
Genuine Security Blanket
Designer: Passionista Fashion Show Collective
* Ea is Hawaiian for sovereignty, rule or independence.
** Fo Realz Kine is a Hawai'i based pidgin English phrase, which can
be translated as "the real" or "authentic."

Figure 9. Solidarity Quilt

Figure 9, Image 5 represents how during the 2000 meeting, Puerto Rican and Viequenses

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[466] Wosk, Julie. *Women and the Machine: Representations from the Spinning Wheel to the Electronic age.*
(Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2011), p. 28.
[467] Interview with Gwyn Kirk. Interviewed by Ellen-Rae Cachola. Transcript. Oakland,
CA.May 23, 2012.

activists presented a quilt to others in the delegation as a symbol of local solidarity to other women in the network. Many of the women in Vieques and Puerto Rico engage in sewing as their every day work.[468] Through the process of sewing, women document their stories about their experiences and struggles against the effects of the military in Vieques into a portable medium, such as a quilt, that was then brought with Puerto Rican delegates to the 2000 meeting in Okinawa. The quilt was a record of solidarity by women activists in one part of the world, presented to other women also speaking out against the negative effects of militarism in their own lands.

This tradition of quilting re-emerged again in 2011 in Image 6 *Ea* Reconstructed and *Fo-Realz Kine* Security Blanket. The 2011 quilt reflects the continuity of IWNAM practices that legitimizes sewing as a method of creating a record. The innovation of this practice is in the way the quilt was made by a local group in Hawaiʻi that also sought to interrupt the feelings of alienation and hopelessness among their population that they could not do anything to address the negative effects of militarism. Through the presentation of the *Fo Realz Kine* Security Blanket during the 2011 fashion show, the presenters sought to challenge the divide between the fashion show performers and the audience. The intention behind blurring the line between performers and the audience reflects Augusto Boal's guerilla theater method. This seeks to eliminate the elitism of stage theater through creating opportunities for audiences to be involved in the unfolding of the plot of the play, thereby allowing participants to express agency through changing

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[468] I draw from the story of Zaida Torres who shares her story of being a seamstress on the island of Vieques. Zaida was one of the early Viequenses representatives of the network. (See Hoshino et al, *Living Along the Fenceline*.)

the play's narrative rather than being passive spectators. [469] As a participant involved in planning of this fashion show, I observed how the organizers sought to embody this philosophy by setting up each table with pieces of fabrics and pens. During the performance, people were invited to write their own vision of genuine security on those fabrics. As the last act of the show, the *Fo Realz Kine* Security Blanket was presented and held up by the models. The audience was invited to come up and pin up their redefinition of security upon the quilt. The blanket was a tool in a performance that communicates how practices of alliances can be built across seemingly polarized discourses. In particular, the action of the audience pinning their messages on the blanket performers and the audiences blurs divisions between them and serves as an embodied metaphor. The event became an archive of self-reflexive and educational activities, where communities could reflect on how militarism shows up in their every day life, and what they could do to personally interrupt its normalization. The event modeled a kind of governance activity in which leaders established ways and platforms for people to participate in the process of defining security, and also, the role of participants to think, stand up and make their voices count. The event also models how transformation is possible when relationships are built to humanize and support one another in finding one's voice and role to unfold and materialize a collective vision of peace and justice.

Although some past outfits and concepts, such as the bikini and War Bride, were presented in the Passionista! Fashion Show in 2011, entirely new outfits were invented. This was an example of how a community of people on Oahu articulated emergence in

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[469] Downing, John D.H. "Popular Theater, Street Theater, Performance Art, and Culture-Jamming," in *Radical Media: Rebellious Communication and Social Movements.* Tamara Villareal Ford, Geneve Gil, Laura Stein, Eds. (Thousand Oaks: Sage, 2000).

the Fashion Show archive by expressing their local relationship to militarism. During the

pre-production phase, organizers wanted to encourage people in local contexts to talk

about how militarism impacts their lives, and to create new outfits that would represent

their own experiences.[470] Figures 9-10 speak to the community's perspective of how they

have become embedded within militarized contexts, and also the dynamic activity of

people who resist and create new narratives of security.

Image 7. Daughters of Lien Apinam. Outfit Designer: Innocenta Kikku-Sound Photo Credit: Jeff Acido 2011	Image 8. Hula Rise Up Outfit: Terri Keko'olani Photo Credit: Jeff Acido 2011	Image 9. Tapis & Topless Outfit Designer: Grace Caligtan Photo Credit: Jeff Acido 2011	Image 10. Remembering Labor History and Resistance Outfit Designer: Nicky Garces Photo Credit: Jeff Acido 2011

Figure 10. Herstories of Women's Resistance

Figure 10, image 7, "Daughters of Lien Apinam," image 8, "Hula Rise Up,"

image 9, "Tapis & Topless," and image 10 "Remembering Labor History & Resistance,"

can be analyzed according to the shared theme of indigenous and immigrant women's

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[470] "Create Your Own Fashion Show." Women for Genuine Security, accessed November 4, 2013, http://www.genuinesecurity.org/projects/fashionshow/fashionshow.html#createfashionshow

resistance to violence, militarism and corporate development. "Daughters of Lien Apinam" pays tribute to Lien Apinam, a female ancestor from Lukunor, Chuuk, who stepped on the battlefield of two fighting groups. Through her presence, she stopped the battled because in their tradition and culture, it was a bad omen to hurt a woman.[471] "Hula Rise Up" represents the transformation of a commodified hula dancer pleasing the tourism industry, toward an empowered Kanaka Maoli cultural practitioner that speaks back to the exploitation of her culture and land.[472] "Tapis and Topless" represents the resistance of Kalinga and Bontoc elder tribal women in the Cordilleras in the 1980s against the World Bank funded Chico River Dam by revealing their breasts as a way to stop the bull dozer operators from destroying the river."[473] "Remembering Labor History and Resistance" represents the history of labor organizing in Hawai'i for fair wages and better working conditions, particularly in the hotel and tourism industry.[474] These stories and outfits makes visible indigenous and immigrant women of colors' role in shifting

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[471] "Daughters of Lien Apinam." Innocenta Sound-Kikku, accessed October 4, 2012 http://www.wvws808.blogspot.com/2011_11_01_archive.html. The story of Lien Apinam was a chieftan's daughter, of the island of Lukunor, who defied the roles of women by being present at the battle fields to stop the battle between two chiefs. The storyteller, Innocenta Sound-Kikku is a descendant of Lukunor, and utilized this story to empower the voices of Micronesian women to advocate for Micronesian's people access to health care in Hawai'i. ("Lien Apinam, Silent Warrior," Innocenta Sound-Kikku, accessed December 8, 2013, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OcwwPQ3v6ag). The Federated States of Micronesia, the Republic of Marshall Islands and the Republic of Palau make up islands governed under the Compact of Free Association, which defines these islands' relationship to the U.S. The U.S. used these islands as part of the U.S. Navy and Defense purposes, such as testing nuclear weapons and studying the effects of radioactivity on humans upon the islands, such as in the Marshall Islands. Given the military infrastructural presence on these islands, people of COFA islands enlist into the U.S. military to a high degree to access social mobility.
[472] "Hula Rise Up." Terri Keko'olani, accessed October 4, 2012, http://www.wvws808.blogspot.com/2011_11_01_archive.html. See also, Trask, "Corporate Tourism and Prostitution of Hawaiian Culture," 137-147.
[473] "Tapis and Topless." Grace Caligtan, accessed October 4, 2012. http://www.wvws808.blogspot.com/2011_11_01_archive.html
See also Carling, Joan. "The Cordillera Peoples and the Movement for Regional Autonomy," in *Reclaiming Balance,* Victoria Tauli-Corpuz and Joji Carino, Eds. (Baguio, Tetebba Foundation: 2004).
[474] "Remembering Labor History and Resistance." Nicki Garces, accessed October 4, 2012, http://www.wvws808.blogspot.com/2011_11_01_archive.html. Hawai'i has a
long history of inter-racial labor organizing that led to improvement of working conditions in the plantation industries (Jung, Moon-Kie *Reworking Race: The Making of Hawai'i's Interracial Labor Movement.* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006)).

relations of power, such as patriarchy in tribal clans, economies, and development. These stories represent emergence in that they are Pacific centered women's stories. Neo-colonialism exists in societies when indigenous and postcolonial women experience heteronormativity in family, clan and labor dynamics. Therefore, figure 10's outfits and stories represent new narratives of Pacific Islander women speaking out against colonial, neo-colonial, patriarchal and heteronormative forces. Through speaking out together, such as in the fashion show, they inspire strength in each other and in the audience, that women can speak out on behalf of their gender rights, even if they come from particular cultures or traditions that define certain roles of women.

Image 11. Unko Spam
Outfit Designer: Darlene Rodrigues
Photo Credit: Jeff Acido 2011

Image 12. Unko 'Ai pono
Outfit Designer: Unknown
Photo Credit: Jeff Acido 2011

Figure 11. Unko Spam/Unko 'Ai Pono

Image 11 "Unko[475] Spam" and Image 12 "Unko 'Ai Pono"[476] appears as a contrasting duo. Unko Spam represents the introduction of Spam as a high salt meat alternative into Hawai'i, and many other Pacific Islands, during World War II. He is presented as "sweet talking" and "can swagger down the aisle because he knows once you

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[475] Hawai'i pidgin for "Uncle."
[476] Hawai'i pidgin and Hawaiian for "Uncle Eat Right."

try some, you'll be dependent..." Unko Spam represents dietary militarization through

people's dependence on imported food shipped in through oil fueled tankers.

Contrastingly, Unko 'Ai Pono, is represented as

> "an old time Victory Gardener who worked shoulder to shoulder without other
>
> backyard farmers on his family's 'aina, he knew that food sovereignty comes
>
> from being rooted to traditional food ways and practices. It comes from
>
> community self-sufficiency and building local markets for local food."[477]

Unko 'Ai Pono represents how food sovereignty, or when people reclaim their lands to

grow, practice and live according to their traditional food ways, is a methodology for

genuine security. If people are able to choose and control what they put in their bodies,

they can decide for themselves how to build food and living systems that benefit them

and their communities directly, rather than having their sources of livelihood be imported

from the outside. These two records represent emergence in the fashion show archive

because it includes male representations in this feminist discourse. This shift is important

in order to show how men also play an important, complementary role in shifting

societies dependence on militarism.[478] In addition, there is a reference to food as another

way that militarism is intimately tied into people's lives. The way that militarism is

perpetuated in the kind of food that we eat shows its intimacy in people's lives. But, it

also points to the way that if people can change what and how they eat, it is also possible

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[477] Compoc, Kim, Darlene Rodrigues, Grace Caligtan, and Ellen-Rae Cachola, et al. "Undressing Militarism and Globalization Passionista Show Draft Script." (Theatrical Production presented at the Moana Nui: Pacific Peoples, Lands and Economies Conferences, Church of the Crossroads, Honolulu, May 10, 2011.)

[478] I draw from IWNAM's principle of genuine security, which includes a section, "Working for Genuine Security Means…redefining manhood to include nurturing and caring for others. Men's sense of wellbeing, pride, belonging, competence, and security should come from activities and institutions and that are life affirming." (See "What is Genuine Security?" Women for Genuine Security. Accessed 23, 2014. http://www.genuinesecurity.org/aboutus/whatisGS.html.)

to interrupt the normalization of militarism.

VII. CONCLUSION

The Resistance to Militarism fashion show is an archival system because it brings together people to engage in the creation, capture, organization and pluralization of records. An archive can be both the websites that hold photos and scripts of past outfits. But an archive can also be the event that brought together people to engage in self-reflection, which generates the records they create. The records they create then become resources for the pluralization of more archives, such as the continuity, innovation and emergence of more fashion show events and their archives.

The significance of the fashion show as an archive is because it is a dynamic, complex adaptive memory system that discursively and literally communicates the IWNAM's philosophy and epistemology of genuine security. Transformation from militarized security to genuine security requires recognition of how we are embedded in militarized orders, so that we may understand how to transform out of it. The fashion show, within the context of the U.S. and Hawai'i, is an archival system that facilitates militarized people to confront their historical complicity in participating and perpetuating the dominant military culture, while facilitating remembrance and re-articulation of experiences of resistance against imperialism, colonialism, violation, displacement and annihilation. The fashion show offers an alternative organizational structure for community organizing other than feeling debilitated with guilt or apathy due to polarizing political discourses of being with or against militarism—discourses that often construct the imagined boundaries of essentialized and hierarchically related organizational structures. The fashion shows use art to illuminate that it is not the individual at fault, but

structural systems underpinning each individual as the problem that need to be redefined. If militarism is a system that recruits people to build militarized security, then the fashion show facilitates the continuity, innovation and emergence of practices and stories to recruit people into their own capacity to create according to the vision of genuine security.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

"You can't come forward against the world's most powerful intelligence agencies and be completely free from risk because they're such powerful adversaries…But at the same time you have to make a determination about what it is that's important to you. And if living unfreely but comfortably is something you're willing to accept, and I think many of us are, it's human nature; you can get up everyday, go to work, you can collect your large paycheck for relatively little work against the public interest, and go to sleep at night after watching your shows… But if you realize that that's the world you helped create and it's gonna get worse with the next generation and the next generation who extend the capabilities of this sort of architecture of oppression, you realize that you might be willing to accept any risk and it doesn't matter what the outcome is so long as the public gets to make their own decisions about how that's applied."[479]

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[479] Rodriguez, Gabriel (2013) Edward Snowden Interview Transcript FULL TEXT: Read the Guardian's Entire Interview With the Man Who Leaked PRISM. http://www.policymic.com/articles/47355/edward-snowden-interview-transcript-full-text-read-the-guardian-s-entire-interview-with-the-man-who-leaked-prism Accessed 24 June 2013.

When individuals and groups engage in activity to remember or communicate ideas, records are created. As theorists of the archival multiverse argue, record and archival creation are universal practices. But certain records and archives have more enforcement power and endure over longer periods of time. The goal of this dissertation was to 1) explain the political epistemology of the IWNAM from an archival perspective, and 2) describe how the IWNAM creates archives to evidence why another discourse of security is needed. This dissertation placed value on the archives of the International Women's Network Against Militarism (IWNAM), a community that does not have state power, nor archives created and managed by bureaucratic institutions. Although participants of the IWNAM do live within bureaucratic states, they have a different view about the nature of the political order. Their archives are created by communities who question the normalization of the militaristic state, and through their acts of sharing information and strategies of resistance, they transmit a way of reading the dominant order to inspire its transformation. The IWNAM's description of the dominant order can be conceptualized as the Imperial Archive. But also, the IWNAM creates community archives, embodying and communicating ways of resisting the Imperial Archives' normalization. The Imperial Archive and the community archive are two kinds of archives that exist within the archival multiverse. But, there are politics in the archival multiverse. The will that drives the creation of the Imperial Archive's records does not decay. They shape the development of institutions and infrastructures that endure upon a landscape over time and space. There is a liminal relationship between the Imperial Archive and the community archive. The physical presence of the Imperial Archive contextualizes the configuration of landscapes and socialization of people who inhabit

that landscape. The community archive is generated out of the critical will of people embedded within the Imperial Archive's order. This dissertation sought to demonstrate how archivists can read the different jurisdictions being animated in state-based and community based archives, in order to engage in ethical archival practice that is committed to actualizing justice.

Since 1997, the IWNAM has been archiving records that document meetings, which brought together women from the countries of Puerto Rico, continental U.S., Hawaiʻi, Guam, Marshall Islands, Republic of Belau, Australia, the Philippines, Okinawa, Japan and South Korea. Using Voyant, I began to trace the words "military," "militarism" and "security" on the records they created, archived on the genuinesecurity.org website. They documented how national security discourses in the bi-lateral security agreements of the Status of Forces Agreements between the U.S. and South Korea, the U.S. and Japan, and the Visiting Forces Agreement between the U.S. and the Philippines, legitimized the presence of military bases as part of mutual defense arrangements in the region and for each nation's economic development. However, these women believed that this discourse of national security was limited because it did not take into account the systematic environmental contamination and gender oppression of local women and children who lived along military bases. As their countries' strategies of development were legally configured to depend on military bases for national and economic security, the local population and environment was forced to depend on these militarized industries for employment opportunities. In the Philippines, Okinawa and South Korea, impoverished populations of women, LGBT and children were needed to work for the Rest and Recreation industries that served the military personnel stationed in

bases located in their communities. In addition, communities would be subjected to

adverse health effects due to normalized violence and environmental contamination

generated by the local military training, testing and operations. The IWNAM's

documentation of the bi-lateral security agreements definition of security and what they

observed as insecurity to local populations and environments, compelled them to redefine

national security. The IWNAM's process of organizing, documenting and archiving their

meetings reflect their methodologies of producing and articulating their discourse of

genuine security.

I. DOES THE IMPERIAL ARCHIVE DECAY?

Australian Archivist Evelyn Wareham has noted how the archives of records of

former colonial powers within the Pacific Islands, are decaying because of the age of the

records and the tropical, humid climates.[480] However, if we conceptualize the archive

according to its active power, not just its static traces, we can see how the significance of

colonial records, as byproducts of imperial enterprises, did not necessary decay over

time. The significance of colonial records had enduring effects beyond the perishable

paper record. For instance, if we look at bi-lateral security agreements, such as the Status

of Forces Agreements, as byproducts of an Imperial Archive, we can see their creation

and effects are driven by a Westphalian discourse of national sovereignty, which

enforces, legitimates and produces military institutions and infrastructures, as three-

dimensional records that actualize a European imperial, discourse of governance upon

non-European territories. In this conceptualization, the archive is not just a body of

records being preserved within a repository. Rather, the archive includes a broader

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[480] Wareham, "From Explorers to Evangelists."

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purpose of an exclusive record creator producing records that would be the kernels for the development of institutions and infrastructures as material expressions of his/her will. In this context, the significance of the colonial archives in postcolonial contexts is not just found stagnant within the repository. The significance of these archives is in the fact that they have shaped the development of institutions and infrastructures upon colonized territories and peoples that have been subjects of those three-dimensional records as well as the legal records that legitimize the presence of the three-dimensional records. Thus, the Imperial Archive does not decay. It endures in the way that it provides evidence for how the structural, governmental context for contemporary postcolonial countries came to be. It endures through the discursive socialization of its subject population through educating and employing them under its regime of order.

This dissertation brought together various archival methodologies: the Records Continuum (RC) Model, diplomatics and macroappraisal. The reasons for bringing together these methods were to understand archives not just as a static force, but byproducts of a productive force. The RC Model was used to examine a broader conceptualization of archives by understanding how records are created, captured, organized and pluralized. An archive begins when an entity creates a record to document something, such as an event. When that record is captured within its recordkeeping system, it can shape the organization of that entity, such as through developing policies on how to relate to external forces and future events. Succeeding records that are created out of that entity are pluralizations of that original record. In other words, succeeding records become part of the organization's historical memory informed by the perspective documented on the original record. This conceptualization of what is an archive can

expand archival expertise not just in the preservation of records, but to understand the life, the materiality, and the social and environmental effects of activities of the record creating entity, all evidenced within its archival records.

I utilized the archival methodologies of macroappraisal and diplomatics to understand how the countries of participants who come from the IWNAM became subjects of the U.S. Westphalian nation-state. I examined how legal regimes, institutions and infrastructures are the evidentiary elements that bind these countries within the militaristic international relations of the Westphalian discourse of sovereignty that drives the Imperial Archive. Booms, Taylor and Wilson describe how macroappraisal is a framework to read across the complex interests of multiple institutions and practices, across places and times, to identify a pattern and form of knowledge that transcends the particular.[481] Macroappraisal illuminates why women from countries in the IWNAM find a sense of connection with one another because of their histories being impacted by European and U.S. imperialisms. Macroappraisal was used to examine the function of institutions that gives rise to records and recordkeeping systems to support an institutional memory. I used macroappraisal to look at policies and laws that govern the functions of institutions, which also shape the purpose of infrastructures upon landscapes.

The records were examined according to the diplomatic methodology: identifying the record creator's will that is embedded in the content and structure of official, legal records and recordkeeping systems. This record creator's will refers to the author of the administrative system itself. Duranti notes that in medieval times, the record creator was often the sovereign king who established bureaucratic systems to track and manage the

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[481] Cook, "Evidence, memory, identity, and community," 102.
   Cook, Terry, "What is Past is Prologue."

territory. Within this administrative system, records are authorized as "official" because they follow certain document standards and protocols of communication within institutions trusted by those in power.[482] Diplomatics traces the relationship between the legal record and the structural, organizational context of its creation. Diplomatic analysis of bi-lateral security agreements entailed content and structural analysis of records. Content analysis was done through data mining tools such as Voyant, to identify how "security," "military," and "militarism" is defined in records created by the IWNAM, the U.S. and the nation-states that host U.S. bases in Asia. The diplomatic method was used to understand the "will" of the record creator through examining the content of these terms, and how they would be communicated and actualized through various agencies.

To summarize, diplomatics was assisted by Voyant to trace how the terms "security," "military" and "militarism" were defined in particular ways. The recordkeeping continuum model framework traced how ideas upon records shape the structure of recordkeeping systems, bringing the immateriality of ideas into material form. The will of record creators become infused into records, which are communicated through policies that inform the design of recordkeeping systems to coordinate resources and labor to build organizations and shape people's roles and responsibilities within them. Macroappraisal and diplomatic analysis of treaties and bi-lateral security agreements were used to illuminate the rubric of the Westphalian nation-state as a philosophy of order that underpins the modern institutional and infrastructural development of countries in the IWNAM recruited to be subjects of U.S. empire. These methods were useful in examining the will of the Imperial Archive, vis-a-vis the SOFAs and the VFAs, and the types of agencies they mobilized to enable a particular definition

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[482] Duranti, "Diplomatics: New Uses for an Old Science."

of security upon the territories under their jurisdiction. These methods were also used to examine the will of the IWNAM archive, through the study of their web archives and the types of agencies they mobilized through the activities they engaged in.

The will of the Imperial Archive, documented in the bi-lateral security agreements, can be traced back to the will of the Treaty of Westphalia of 1648. Various European aristocrats created this treaty to establish a rubric for European nation-state sovereignty and international relations. The Treaty of Westphalia shaped the idea of the modern nation-state and its exportation into non-European lands. The creation of British colonies in indigenous America became was the kernel for Anglo-diasporic settler nation-state that developed into the U.S. settler state. Through wars with France and Spain, the Anglo-American state expanded over North America, occupying indigenous America, and extending its control beyond its contiguous territories into Puerto Rico, Guam, the Philippines, Hawaiʻi, Okinawa and Korea. The U.S. nation-state emulated Westphalian sovereignty in these non-European contexts through developing military facilities in its territories.

The Treaty of Paris of 1763, discussed in Chapter 1, signified the British diasporic control of lands in North America east of the Mississippi. This Treaty also led to the agitation of the Anglo diasporic settlers to demand independence from British control, leading to the creation of the U.S. settler state. Ford describes how the settler state came to develop legal systems to justify their occupation of lands that belonged to indigenous peoples of North America. [483] Through treaties with France and wars with Spain, the U.S. gained control over territories in the North American continent. The material expressions of Westphalian will was driven by institutional and infrastructural developments, such as

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[483] Ford, *Settler Sovereignty,* 5.

the banking system and the transcontinental railroad, that would recruit people as investors, laborers and borrowers building upon and actualizing the settler state upon indigenous American territories.

When the U.S. settler state had already stretched from the Atlantic to the Pacific, the U.S. engaged in war with Spain through the Spanish-American War. After the war, the Treaty of Paris of 1898 signaling a peace between Spain and the U.S., and the transference of Spanish colonies, Puerto Rico, Cuba, Guam and the Philippines to U.S. rule. The Insular Cases defined the statuses of Puerto Rico, Guam, and Philippines in relationship to the U.S. Puerto Rico was incorporated under the U.S. Guam was unincorporated but managed under the U.S. Navy. The Philippines was unincorporated but subjected to U.S. Administrative and Supreme Court rule. These territories set the precedent for further U.S. encroachment and gunboat diplomacy in Asia. At the turn of the 20th century, Japan began to consolidate itself as a nation-state, to be seen as equals to, and not subjects of, the west. This caused Japan to annex Okinawa in 1893, colonize Korea during the Sino-Japanese War, and colonize other Asian, Southeast Asian and Pacific Islands during World War II. The Hawaiian kingdom was overthrown in 1893 because it was an important coaling station to realize U.S. rise to power in the Asia-Pacific.

At the turn of the 20th century, U.S. gunboat diplomacy affected the Philippines through the Filipino-American War. The creation of the Philippine republic after World War II led to its adoption of the Mutual Defense Treaty with the U.S. Western gunboat diplomacy in Asia, particularly U.S. encroachment in Asia, compelled Japan to nationalize occupying Okinawa, South Korea and the Philippines, until the atomic and

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hydrogen bombs were dropped on Japan ending World War II. Then, the U.S. shaped the Japanese constitution to prevent it from rising again into a rival military power, and instead, be in mutual service to U.S. military interests in the region. The U.S. positioned bases in South Korea during the Korean War to protect it against communist interests in North Korea. The institutional and infrastructural damage of imperialist wars in these countries became opportunities for the U.S. to create laws and redevelop lands to support their military interests. The Imperial Archive's westphalian will manifested in South Korea, Japan and the Philippines through the development of military institutions and infrastructures, and creation of legal systems, upon these territories as expressions of U.S. dominance over their lands. The development of militaristic institutions and infrastructures on those territories serve as evidence that the jurisdiction of the U.S. Imperial Archive has expanded.

The Status of Forces Agreements of Japan and the U.S., South Korea and the U.S., and the Visiting Forces Agreements between the U.S. and the Philippines, are underpinned by the logic of "mutual defense." These bi-lateral relations can be contextualized in the history of western imperialism in the Asian region that Orientalized Asian law, and then positioned western law as more civilized, or superior, than the host nation's jurisdiction. The Treaties of Extraterritoriality legitimized imperial nations to use violence against Asians, as well as implement bureaucratic national governments that

The Treaties of Paris of 1763 and 1898, the Insular Cases and the Status of Forces Agreements are legal records that represent the U.S. growth as a Westphalian nation-state. The Westphalian nation-state becomes the organizing rubric of the Imperial Archive to come to life and to extend itself in new contexts as it authorizes, materializes

and generates its presence through creation of policies and laws to justify the acquisition, management and development of new territories. Through military facilities and auxiliary legal apparatuses, the Imperial Archive legitimates its own presence. Its power of coercion is not only found in the paper records it creates, but in what the records have communicated and generated. These records, as official records, recruit resources and labor to develop and inhabit infrastructures and institutions that are geared toward a teleology of militarized security. Chapter 3 describes how the IWNAM meetings access the Imperial Archive through conceptualizing place and people as evidence of U.S. military structural and discursive dominance in defining national and economic security in each of their countries. Although many people are employed by the presence of the military, the human and environmental rights afforded to these workers and the surrounding communities and environments were threatened.

The treaties and bi-lateral security agreements co-created by the U.S. nation-state reveal that the Imperial Archive doesn't decay. The Imperial Archive replicates itself by bringing people to carry out of its discourse of Westphalian sovereignty and power. These treaties and bi-lateral security agreements are recorded evidence of the spatial and temporal history and contemporary of empire; they contextualize why activists from Puerto Rico, California, Hawai'i, Guam, Philippines, Okinawa, Japan and South Korea have common interests to be in conversation with one another.

II. LIMINALITY OF THE IMPERIAL AND COMMUNITY ARCHIVE

The Imperial Archival System and the IWNAM archival system are complex adaptive systems. The process of Westphalian nation-building has created the context of displacement in various European nations at war, which led to their out migration and

settlement in the European colonies in indigenous America, and later, the U.S. settler state. The creation of colonies led to the formation of systems of government shaped by the knowledge and infrastructural design of the settlers. Overtime, these settlements instituted a subject-object relation of power between the European imported system of governance and indigenous territories. The Imperial Archive also generates reasons for subaltern resistances.[484] The imposition of this system generated indigenous, enslaved and immigrant people's resistance and adaptation in this governing structure. It was also an effect of this governance and economic system being established in different parts of the world that led to people's displacement as enslaved and indentured labor to other lands experiencing occupation; these global dynamics brought diverse peoples into interaction.[485] Indigenous and postcolonial research within Archival and Information Studies critically examines how people have been subjects of state-based archival systems and in resistance, actively create their own memory systems.[486] Community based archives'[487] embodiment of D.I.Y. philosophies[488] illuminates how people's values and intentions shape the archival systems they create. These community based archive creators also engage in co-existing and domineering archives to transform them. The significance of the IWNAM's archival system is not necessarily to appeal to bureaucrats and institutions of the nation-state apparatus to actualize the long lasting change they seek. But as indigenous, feminist scholars wrote for the Critical Ethnic Studies project, it

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[484] Ling, L.H.M. *The Dao of World Politics: Towards a post-Westphalian, worldist international relations*. (London: Routledge, 2013).

[485] Federici, Silvia. *Caliban and the Witch: Women, the Body and Primitive Accumulation.* (Autonomedia, 2004).

[486] Gooda, "The practical power of human rights." McKemmish, Faulkhead and Russel, "Dis-trust in the Archive." Stoler, "Colonial Archives and the Arts of Governance." Patrick, "Politics of the Liberal Archive."

[487] Flinn, "Archival Activism." Flinn, "Community Histories, Community Archives." Flinn, Stevens and Shepherd, "Whose Memories, Whose Archives?"

[488] Lievrouw, "Oppositional and Activist New Media," 6.

is about shifting the location and direction of power to empower new relations between people. [489] This dissertation argues that the IWNAM archival system is about generating the possibility among ordinary people to recognize their capacity to live by different values and to create alternative ways of living, based on historical awareness evidenced by reading the environmental and social conditions of militarized place. The significance of the IWNAM archive is about generating social commitment among ordinary people to create genuinely secure futures among themselves because defaulting to the current order of things cannot guarantee peaceful co-existence across differences. The IWNAM is a complex adaptive archival system that brings together people from different parts of U.S. Empire to communicate and recognize the spatial and temporal layers of the Imperial Archive's material and ideological history that interconnects them. The IWNAM confronts this material and subjective reality through communication, action and archival creation, to learn a different kind of relationality across differences other than what the dominant orders imply.

To answer the question of why is it that people come to follow and build upon a regime of order, I used methods such as autoethnography, interviews, and action research. These methods also illuminated the liminality between the IWNAM Archive and the Imperial Archive. There are people who inhabit the space of the Imperial Archive, as laborers and subjects creating culture within its reality. People can identify with the Imperial Archive through registering themselves within its juridical system, such as through social security records, birth certificates, other records documenting employment, citizenship, as well as access to rights, benefits and protections within that regime. For example, IWNAM site visits to Red Light districts in Olongapo, Subic Bay,

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[489] Smith, "U.S. Empire and the War Against Native Sovereignty," 186-187.

and former shipyard locations in the San Francisco Bay Area revealed how place has been configured to fulfill war economies. As a result, people's identities have been shaped by their participation in those institutions, such as sexual service workers in Rest and Recreation industries since the Cold War, or as ship builders for World War II.

Action-oriented research was used to describe how I engaged with IWNAM records and recordkeeping systems through participating in community based activities. Chapter 3 and 4 described how I managed and created websites, and engaged in interviews and autoethnography to document the action-oriented research process. Interviews of co-founders and early participants of the IWNAM helped to understand the history of the IWNAM's founding, since I participated in the IWNAM seven years after it had already begun. Action-oriented research drew from the perspective of the colonized or economically subordinated. Autoethnography was a way for me, an Ilocano diasporic settler in Hawaiʻi to contextualize the oppositional politics between Kanaka Maoli people's documented articulation of militarism as it desecrated their land and culture, and Filipina documentation of the phenomenon of military recruitment, within the narrative of Hawaiʻi as a node within U.S. empire in the broader Asia-Pacific, U.S. and Caribbean. Through blending autoethnography, archival research and action-research, it was possible to learn from other participants about the "will" or purpose of record creations. Chapter 5 described how the author engaged in action-oriented research through co-producing a fashion show. During the production, autoethnography and archival methods were used to examine how the records being generated through fashion shows were passing down knowledge about genuine security, but also innovating and producing emergent knowledge specific to that context. This process revealed that the materiality of IWNAM

affiliated archives were byproducts of appropriate technologies that were accessible for communities to create and keep their records. The will driving these archives was the desire for consciousness raising to spur cultural change. The process of organizing fashion shows allowed discussions about militarism to take place, as well as generate a shared collective memory that inspire the collaborative production of records and desire the presentation of their records to public audiences. The fashion shows process of records creation, arrangement and access shifted the benefits of knowledge not solely for institutional audiences to monopolize the ideas and their operationalization. Rather it was driven by the agencies of community building through performance production, to generate public awareness on the issues, and awaken communities, at the grassroots, to their capacity to participate in cultural and institutional change.

In the IWNAM records, security is defined and documented as genuine security, or the right of the physical environment to sustain human and natural life; the right for people to have basic needs of food, clothing, shelter, health care and education guaranteed; the right of human dignity honored and cultural identities respected; and the right for people and the natural environment to be protected from avoidable harm. The IWNAM sees the SOFA's definition of security as preventing the right to be free from avoidable harm because it is predicated on building and sustaining military bases to protect the Westphalian nation-state. This discourse of militarized security produces citizens who harm themselves and others, such as soldiers being trained to dehumanize and kill "enemies," or as local women selling their bodies in Red Light Districts to serve military personnel. The IWNAM have set out to redefine security to find out how

development, national sovereignty and international relations can be realized in ways that become independent from military security's structurally produced harm.

Another example of liminality is that this author, a participant in the IWNAM, is also affected by the Westphalian nation-state. Her family history has been greatly implicated in the process of Westphalian nation-state formation in the Philippines and in Hawai'i.   This author used autoethnograhic research methods to engage in a self-reflexive description of the layered histories and complex social processes that contextualizes and generates records resulting from communication that occur at IWNAM meetings. Autoethnography relates to the concept of archival transparency, or making visible the context and perspective of the archivist who comes to interpret the provenance of the body of records and participate in the design of archival systems that keep, preserve or make records accessible. Drawing from Ellis et al's description of native ethnography, autoethnography was used by this author to foreground the historical memory of those colonized when interpreting, appraising, describing and arranging records they created and co-created.[490] Booms argues that subjective transparency is important because choices of appraisal, description and arrangement are based on what the archivist deems as important for the public and future to know, and how the records should be represented. Depending on one's ethnic, class, gender, sexuality, religion or national background, these choices are shaped by one's experience of reality.[491] This archivist's identity as a person of the Ilocano diaspora born in Hawai'i is complex—simultaneously oppressed and privileged. Histories of imperialism and colonialism in the Philippines produced the context of material, ideological and economic oppression that

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[490] Ellis, Adams and Bochner, "Autoethnography: An Overview," 3.
[491] Booms, "Society and Formation of Documentary Heritage," 81.

compelled Filipinos to migrate elsewhere seeking means for economic survival. However, Filipino immigration to other countries as laborers, between 1902 to the present, shaped their aspirations and identities to succeed within the dominant orders of their new host countries. Chapter 4 discusses how postcolonial groups labor migration to Hawaiʻi was made possible because it was becoming increasingly capitalist. Importation of Filipino immigrant labor was to serve corporate industries such as the Euro-American owned plantation enterprises. To economically survive in Hawaiʻi, Filipino immigrants aligned their economic development through the American government system that repressed the memory of the pre-existing Hawaiian kingdom[492] as well as this history's relationship to Filipino people's own colonization under U.S. imperialism. Postcolonial situations illuminates the inequalities amdist the plurality of orders, between the Kingdom of Hawaiʻi and the State of Hawaiʻi, as well as between Asian settler immigrants and indigenous sovereignty aspirations. The causes of these tensions can be evidenced in the histories of colonialism that materialize in the institutions and infrastructures that employ certain people and displace others on the land. But also, the history behind this configuration of the landscape can become reasons for coalitional resistance amongst these peoples.

There are archival literatures that speak to oral and kinetic communication as records of an embodied historical memory that belong to other juridical or cultural orders that precede or co-exist with the dominant juridical one. By living as historical, cultural and subjective persons, people can express their allegiance to multiple realities within the plurality of orders that exist in a given space. I situate the IWNAM in this milieu of

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[492] Saranillio, Dean Itsuji. "Colliding Histories: Hawai'i Statehood at the Intersection of Asians "Ineligible to Citizenship" and Hawaiians "Unfit for Self-Government," in Journal of Asian American Studies 13(3).

differing yet intersecting orders that co-exist within the physical, militarized spaces of the Imperial Archive, and the subjective, cultural and embodied-archives of other pasts, presents and futures. Through various uses of textual, oral and kinetic records, as well as three-dimensional records of infrastructures and institutions on landscape, the IWNAM builds awareness of spatial and temporal histories that uncover the layered histories of European, U.S. and Japanese imperialisms that materially organizes their environments and shapes their international social relations. It is this awareness of self and place that participants in the IWNAM can think beyond the documented record, be it legal records or the records they create. The purpose of their knowledge process is to continuously transform their sense of selves and relationships by undoing the assumptions learned as citizens of nation-states that actively socialize them to perform identities and relationships according to unequal, subject-object local, national and international dynamics. The IWNAM archival system is a CAS that generates self-reflexive and creative forms of power. At meetings, the IWNAM participants confront internalization and reproduction of logics of division and competition (at personal, interpersonal, community, city, national, and international levels) as these are discourses that legitimize violence between nations. Based on this awareness, the IWNAM participants engage in organizing practices to build relations across divisions of culture, nationality, indigenous/settler and military/non-military, based on a critique of empire that implicates them all in subject-object relations, as the context to justify the need for subject-subject collaborations among them. The IWNAM meetings engagement in group dialogues are participatory action research methods that facilitate self-reflexive communication and embodied ways of knowing. In this way, people can recognize the traumatic and violent

nature of the militarized phenomenon they live in and witness, as well as connect to senses of urgency, capacity and courage to build alliances across differences as a way to interrupt the systematic nature of militarism.

III. DIFFERENT FORMS OF ARCHIVAL POWER

This dissertation offers a new way to conceptualize the archive. The archive can be described as the expression of "will," an immaterial force that becomes materialized through the dynamic creation of records and the recordkeeping systems that creators developed to build organizations, institutions and infrastructures. "Will" can be described through understanding the archival jurisdiction, or the philosophy of administration and management. The record creating entity's values can be understood through the way it defines and structures its relationships to its environment, or other entities. "Will" within administrative policies, inform actions in the sub-agencies in the organization, which are expressions of how the organization, as a whole, relates to its surrounding environment. These aspects are elements for studying the relations of power between archival systems.

This dissertation demonstrated how the IWNAM researches its own embeddedness within the jurisdiction of the Imperial Archive, and through the process of research, creates its own archival system. The IWNAM's research on militarized security has illuminated functions of the Imperial Archive, or the infrastructural and institutional apparatuses of place produced by the constellation of bi-lateral security agreements, created and upheld by people who identify themselves and build within this jurisdiction of order. In the Imperial Archive, legal records, such as security agreements, are not neutral information objects separate from the world. Rather, legal records, and the

administrative system that contextualizes them, are the subjective and material expressions of the will to create Westphalian nation-states. The IWNAM recognizes how people and places have been subjected to the will of the Imperial Archive because people's bodies, memories and epistemologies have been constructed to aspire to Westphalian orders as the legitimate institutional and infrastructural articulation of nation-state governance and security. Through this process, the IWNAM point to the incommensurabilities between the parameters of evidence that legally define Westphalian national security, and the sources of evidence that the IWNAM participants identify as insecurity in their material environment and social realities. Therefore, when conceptualizing the Imperial Archive, it is the dominant juridical logic that normalizes the presence of militarism to express its definition of security.

The archives the IWNAM creates are business records generated out of their activity. The IWNAM's community based archive is produced out of a research process based on the concerns of communities who are marginalized within the Westphalian nation-state. This epistemological and ontological context reframes the dominant juridical logic they exist in, through foregrounding the logic of subaltern communities as the source of evidence from which they identify the short-comings of militarized definitions of security. When IWNAM records have been archived, such as on genuinesecurity.org and wvws808.blogspot.com, they help participants remember their past actions and guide future actions. Paper-based, digital, textile and various media records are also kept in file cabinets, shelves and computers of personal archives, in the homes and offices of the individuals that are affiliated with the IWNAM. Some of the individuals in the IWNAM have used the records they accumulated at IWNAM meetings

in the publication of academic journals, libraries and institutional archives. IWNAM's community-based archives are byproducts of organizational activity that roots its inquiry on the lives of critical thinking people that recognize their embeddedness in the Imperial Archive, but who use the information they create to generate further informational activity to deconstruct and transform it.

However, the nature of the Imperial Archive is not monolithic or totalizing. And, the nature of the IWNAM's community based archive is not without problematics. The Imperial Archive is an expression of how people, as its inhabitants and perpetuators, choose to engage in a particular relation of power within activities that create and archive records. The organization and documentation of IWNAM meetings reveal that people historically socialized within the Imperial Archive have the capacity to reproduce relations of power aligned with the dominant order. But the IWNAM record creators engage in activity to reflect upon their socialization within unequal power relations that lead them to reproduce those relations at personal and interpersonal levels. The Records Continuum model helped to understand the intention behind people observing and interacting with their environment and producing records to articulate their relation to it. Macroappraisal and diplomatics were used to examine the specific epistemological and juridical value that drives the organized activity within a place. Records are tools for people to communicate ideas. Recordkeeping systems are the infrastructure to keep and transmit records so others can know of those ideas. When people know and believe the recorded ideas, they can choose to carry it out with their activity. The automation of archival systems is through people believing and building upon past ideas and patterns of knowledge, especially those that have materialized more in physical space, as records,

and more powerfully, as institutions and infrastructures. For example, record creators, such as the authors of the Status of Forces Agreements, build their logic upon the Westphalian template of the nation-state, extending the logic of national security from Europe into countries that comprise the IWNAM. There are local inflections of the nation-state specific to geography and cultural history. This characterizes the intention of the early creators of the Westphalian nation-state, which was to allow sovereign nations to create their own laws and legal systems. This diversity of legal systems is evident in the existence of civil, common and mixed civil-common law jurisdictions throughout the world.[493]   But the maintenance of imperial rule was through each countries' integration under the influence of U.S. Common Law, either as subjects of U.S. rule (Puerto Rico, California, Hawaiʻi and Guam) or as the legal "modernization" of sovereign nations shaped by U.S. colonialism (Philippines, Japan/Okinawa and South Korea). The Imperial Archive is not monolithic, but is a contentious process between sovereign nations seeking to assert their power. However, within Westphalian international relations, the violence of conquest and military might is necessary for one jurisdiction to emerge as the dominant order upon which institutions and infrastructures will be organized. This relation of power of "might makes right," or heteronormative relations of bullying, are the expressions of the Imperial Archive's practice of security—the use and investment in military dominance as a means to achieve and protect its supreme position in national and international configurations.

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[493] Gilliland, Anne and Kelvin White. "Perpetuating and Extending the Archival Paradigm: The Historical and Contemporary Roles of Professional Education and Pedagogy." In *InterActions: UCLA Journal of Education and Information Studies 5(1) (2009)*: 6.

Contrastingly, the IWNAM exists precisely because its participants are citizens of nation-states who are building awareness of the militaristic orders and international relationalities they are situated in. They have appropriated website technology, an early tool created by the U.S. Defense Advanced Research Project Agency (DARPA). But the significance of the IWNAM archival system is not just located within their appropriation of these technologies, but on building people's political epistemology of the places they inhabit. The IWNAM archival system is generating people's capacity to communicate this epistemology to others through whatever appropriate and available record creation and archives tools. These records vary from paper-based, to digital, to textile, which are archived among community members, in their websites, homes and offices. Records can also be oral, kinetic expressions emerging from and being kept in the human body as a kind of embodied archive. The attention on oral and kinetic communication points to the IWNAM's prioritization of the human role within information systems. Humans can absorb tacit and explicit information around them, as well as through the information they generate immaterially, orally, kinetically, and materially. IWNAM record creation and recordkeeping technology is subservient to people and social processes of communication and interaction. This is especially the case when the focus of IWNAM communication is to conceptualize how militarism, the institutional and infrastructural configuration of places to support and legitimate war, is the structural violence that produces social inequity within and across locations. The meetings prioritize the building ethical relations and trust across differences over documentation. Generating social bonds becomes the foundation for future collaboration, documentation and archive making.

These are generated out of the group will to disrupt the normalization of militarized orders.

To conceptualize people as embodying archives means that they can find memories of other orders and jurisdictions within themselves, co-existing with their understanding of the dominant order. These parallel orders are what the IWNAM seeks to evidence among people, which they, as archives, can draw from to justify expressions and aspirations outside of the dominant norm. This archive resists automation and predictability, because it is driven by the desire for creativity and justice for the silenced. It engages in relations of power that seek to disrupt the inevitability of heteronormative, binary relations, as if these are the only ways in which people and difference can be in relation. The IWNAM facilitates empowerment of subaltern views through imagining and creating a different order from within themselves and their own context. To do this, minoritized communities in the IWNAM seek out and create new information to guide and justify their paths of development, but also in a way that is sensitive to a conceptualization of power and relationality that resists reproducing the Imperial Archives power and expansionary logic. The difference in power between the Imperial Archive's Westphalian archive and the IWNAM's human centered archive is that the former seeks to reproduce a relation of dominance and submission between differences as an expression of security, and the latter seeks to find other ways of relating across differences in subject-subject paradigms and beyond as expressions of security.

As stated in the introduction of this dissertation, the IWNAM's definition of genuine security is based on the 1994 UN Development Program's report principles that the physical environment must be able to sustain human and natural life; people's basic

needs for food clothing, shelter, health care and education must be guaranteed; people's

fundamental human dignity should be honored and cultural identities respected; and

people and the natural environment should be protected from avoidable harm.[494] But this

dissertation examined how the IWNAM archival system points to the myriad ways in

which communities are embedded within militarized security. They archived a statement

entitled "Working for genuine security" to explain how this can be transformed:

- Valuing people and having confidence in their potential to live in life-affirming
  ways

- Building a strong personal core that enables us to work with "others" across lines
  of significant difference through honest and open dialogue

- Respecting differences based on gender, race, and culture, rather than using these
  attributes to objectify "others" as inferior

- Relying on spiritual values to make connections with others

- Creating relationships of care so that children and young people feel needed and
  gain respect for themselves and each other through meaningful participation in
  community projects, decision making, and work

- Redefining manhood to include nurturing and caring for others. Men's sense of
  wellbeing, pride, belonging, competence, and security should come from
  activities and institutions and that are life affirming

- Valuing cooperation over competition

- Eliminating gross inequalities of wealth between countries and between people
  within countries

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[494] "What is Genuine Security?" Women for Genuine Security. Accessed May 16, 2014.
http://www.genuinesecurity.org/aboutus/whatisGS.html.

- Eliminating oppressions based on gender, race, class, heterosexuality, anti-Semitism, Islamophobia, able body-ism, and other significant differences

- Building genuine democracy — locally, nationally, regionally, and internationally — with local control of resources and appropriate education to participate fully

- Valuing the complex ecological web that sustains human beings and of which we are all a part

- Ending all forms of colonialism and occupation[495]

This documentation of how genuine security can be applied in the militarized present communicates a faith in people's capacity to choose to relate across differences in ethical ways. It emphasizes that people can build capacities to relate to one another without fear and need to control, but in a way that recognizes each other's humanity and capacity to and they can rise above recurring cycles of violence. It sees the importance of imparting these values to young people, and also to people of different sexes and genders. The lofty goals to eliminate structural inequities can be done by redistributing wealth away from military investment, and invest in education and social services to facilitate deeper awareness and respect about people's different histories and cultures. These are the means in which genuine security, democracy and socio-ecological balance, can be developed. This is an archived record that represents a vision of the IWNAM and the purpose of their activity. Archival research, coupled with insider analysis of the record creating and recordkeeping culture of the group, can help to analyze the jurisdiction that drives their archives, and how the value of their past records can support the present and future development of the IWNAM.

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[495] Ibid.

IV. CONCLUSION

There are politics in the archival multiverse. Archives are the accumulation of records and recordkeeping systems that are byproducts of social activity, organizations, institution and infrastructure building. But, some archive creators assumed a sense of superiority over other archival creators to dominate the possibilities for acting, remembering and being. This dissertation posited that the Status of Forces Agreements are records of the Imperial Archive, while the IWNAM records are community based archives. Through understanding archives as having a force beyond the material record, such as in the structuration of landscapes and socialization of people, we can see how the Imperial Archive doesn't decay, it replicates. The Imperial Archive reproduces itself through the generative effects of powerful record creators creating policies and laws that coordinate resources and labor to extend and build Westphalian forms of government throughout the world. The IWNAM archives are community-based archives, or archives created by people who are minoritized and abused by the Westphalian institutional and infrastructural order. There is a liminal relationship between the Imperial Archive and the community based archive in that both would not exist without each other. In fact, the expansion of the Imperial Archive was made possible by adapting its logics of record creation and recordkeeping into the context of the minoritized "other." The community based archive is generated through a will that recognizes how it has adapted into the dominant Imperial Archival order, but through its awareness of what it participates in, it desires new information on how to transform it, particularly its limitations. This dissertation sought to show how the Archival and Information Studies field can play a role in developing greater awareness on the inequities of context that underpin

communication among archiving parties by integrating autoethnography and action-oriented research, with archival research. The goal of this would be to understand the differences in interests between various records creators, and the recordkeeping systems they use to materialize their will. Through this process, the politics of archival systems would emerge, and it would require ethical decision making on the part of archival and information professionals to identify whose interests they seek to empower.

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IV. EXHIBITS/PERFORMANCES

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