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“GUMIL Hawaii Vision and Writing (Association of Ilocano Writers in Hawaii): Potentially Disenfranchising?”

Ma. Socorro Q. Perez

Introduction

John Berger posits that “every migrant knows in his heart of hearts that it is impossible to return. Even if he is physically able to return, he does not truly return, because he himself has been so deeply changed by his emigration” (San Juan quoting Berger 98). The dilemma of the Ilocano immigrant forced out of his homeland is negotiating between falling into nostalgia and surviving in a new, unfamiliar terrain, finding himself “deprived of geographical stability or continuity of events” (San Juan 98).

Gunglo Dagiti Mannurat iti Ilocano ti Hawaii or its acronym GUMIL Hawaii, a community-based association of Ilocano writers in Hawaii has been established in the early 70's as an attempt to defer memory loss of Ilokandia homeland. As articulated in the association's vision, it aims to “unite the Ilocanos in words, in their thoughts, and in their actions and

deeds ... ultimately leading to the portrayal and preservation of the Ilocano culture and tradition" (Tampipi 174, Agamang 165, Beggang 191).

While the vision of GUMIL Hawaii of preserving Ilocano language, culture, and ethnic identity through the writings, is indeed, exemplary, lending solidarity and coherence to the otherwise dislocatory self of the immigrant personae, this valorization in the stories of reclaiming or the retrieval of an originary Ilokandia culture and practices to assert an Ilocano distinctiveness, compounded by the ideology of Hawaii's "multiculturalism," could be depoliticizing, as they tend to work against a critical understanding of the subtle contours of Filipino migration experience and the exploitative and racializing systems that keep the Filipino immigrants in the lower strata of occupational status. Moreover, Hawaii's "multicultural" ideology, and by extension, an equal opportunity for everybody, facilitate in obscuring obvious inequalities produced by global economic imperatives and determinations.

For the purpose of understanding this study, I will analyze award-winning short fiction circa 1990's to mid 2000, published in different GUMIL Hawaii anthologies. Corollary to the study is problematizing the social formation of Ilocano immigrant community in Hawaii, their constitution and their response to such constructs, and the ensuing consequences of identity politics which GUMIL Hawaii writing is predisposed to take.

I. Filipino migration to Hawaii

In the early capitalism of Hawaii's plantation era, a group of young, single, robust men, predominantly from the Philippines' Ilocos region, constituted the majority of Hawaii's plantation

laborers (Cariaga 5). The first venture to Hawaii in 1906, paved to four waves of Filipino migration to Hawaii. By 1946, in a span of 37 years, a total of 129,917 Filipinos were lured to Hawaii under Hawaii Sugar Plantation Association (HSPA), a recruitment agency (Cordova 29, Teodoro 12). The 1965 Immigrant Act which abolished the 50 persons per year quota from each country of origin (Okamura 49), unleashed another wave of immigration as Filipino migrant workers in Hawaii and in some parts of Mainland, like California, began to petition for immediate and extended families. Today, the Filipinos comprise “23.4% of the settler community, and an estimated 4 thousand settle in Hawaii every year, making Filipinos the fastest -growing ethnic group in the island” (Saranillo 134).¹

The Filipinos' presence in Hawaii was not solely a matter of choice. They were actively recruited by the HSPA to work in the vast plantation fields. Hawaii, which was a newly-annexed territory of US, needed laborers to man the sugar plantations. The early capitalism's industrial take-off required a huge supply of cheap labor. The Philippines which was annexed at the same time as Hawaii by US, was a colony of America, rendering the latter, license to transport bodies to work in Hawaii. The Filipinos entered the U.S. “as colonized ‘nationals’—neither citizens nor aliens—mainly as contract workers ...” (San Juan 31). Such anomalous classification -status did not merit the status, “wards” of US, the mother country then.

The country was a source of cheap labor and the Filipino laborers were practically treated as indentured servants, enduring oppressive conditions and exploitative labor practices, getting 70 cents per day of backbreaking labor. Wage decisions were tied to national origins. As Filipino

plantation laborers were deemed uneducated, unskilled and unassimilable, they were ranked at the lowest position. Their presence in Hawaii as cheap labor, to begin with, frames an unequal relationship, where power is in the hands of the U.S. Today, even while the U.S. machinery of colonial installations has been removed from the Philippines, our country continues to be a neo-colony of U.S.

In the 60's, Hawaii saw the decline of the plantation era. With the inroads of global economy which demanded the withdrawal of protective tariffs, plus, the introduction into the market of cheaper sugar from overseas, penetrating US market, consequently, saw the collapse of Hawaii's sugar industry. Consequently, this threatened the main source of livelihood for most of the Filipinos, the great bulk of which are the Ilocanos. Tourism began to emerge as the new industry of Hawaii. According to Dean Alegado, "thousands of workers were forced to look elsewhere for jobs in the emerging tourism industry—in the hotels, golf courses, restaurants, and construction sites" (22). They were compelled to move out of plantation communities, relocating in urban areas where more job opportunities could be found.

The structural integration of Filipinos into wider sectors of the economy deepened the asymmetrical relationship between Filipinos and U.S. Alegado asserts that:

Employment discrimination in the workplace serves to stratify systematically Filipinos into the lower and unstable sectors of the labor force—in the hotel and restaurant sectors of the visitor and agricultural industries. Continued

concentration in jobs associated with Hawaii's "new plantations"—as housekeepers in the hotels, as busboys and kitchen help in food/restaurant services, and as janitors in airports, banks and other business establishments—set the basis for the subjective reproduction of national culture (23).

II. The Founding of GUMIL Hawaii

The 1965 Immigration Act which abolished the 50 persons per year quota from country of origin, unleashed a new wave of immigration to Hawaii and the US Mainland. This family reunification act ushered in immediate family of plantation laborers to Hawaii. On the other hand, the late 1960's and 1970's saw the wake of Third World conscientization movements that swept the US and the rest of the world. The decolonization of Asian, African, and Latin American nation-states engendered writings that focused on the proverbial "identity crisis." Student movements across America rallied forth for the institutionalization of ethnic studies programs in universities.

Given such historical and social conditions what is GUMIL Hawaii's response to such phenomenon? How does it attempt to respond to the condition of Filipino migration and diaspora, and to negotiate, in turn, Filipino marginalization in Hawaii? How does it attempt to claim a space in "multicultural" Hawaii?

The stark reality and constancy of migration brings a condition of anxiety resulting from the severance of ancestral roots. For the Ilocano immigrant community in Hawaii, the thought of a possible disappearance of the Ilocano language

and culture has compelled them to found GUMIL Hawaii, an association of Ilocano writers. On January 16, 1971, Gunglo Dagiti Mannurat iti Ilocano ti Hawaii was founded by Pacita Saludes, an Ilocano, originally hailing from Ilocos Norte. It is a "recognized branch of GUMIL-Filipinas, the nationwide association of Ilocano writers in the Philippines" (Lorente 1).

The Preamble of GUMIL Hawaii which contains its vision and objectives asserts the "burning desire to form a writers' association in order to study and learn the most effective ways and means of perpetuating and communicating the Ilocano dialect; to develop and sharpen those with writing talent so that their works might be recognized, printed, published and preserved for posterity; and to unite the Ilocanos in words, in their thoughts, and in their actions and deeds ... ultimately leading to the portrayal and preservation of the Ilocano culture and tradition" (Dagiti Pagwadan a Filipino iti Hawaii 134, Tampipi 174, Agamang 165, Beggang 191). Since its founding, the association has regularly produced anthologies of prize-winning entries in different genres. To this day, GUMIL Hawaii has produced close to eighteen anthologies.

GUMIL Hawaii's writings is a product of the broader global politics and the ensuing experience of exile. Campomanes points out that ethnic exilic American writing is characterized by "motifs of departure, nostalgia, completion, rootlessness, leave-taking, and dispossession [which] recur with such force in most writings produced by Filipinos in the US, and Filipino Americans, with Philippines as always either the original or terminal reference point, rather than the U.S. as the locus of claims or the 'promised land'" (160). Forced out from their homeland, Ilocano-Hawaiian writing is characterized by a looking back to one's Motherland.

III. GUMIL Hawaii/Ilocano-Hawaiian Exilic Writing

The displacement caused by migration necessitates a split in the subject or immigrant exile. Thus, in the attempt to heal the divided subject, an originary Motherland is often invoked. Stuart Hall defines Motherland as a signifier of “common historical experience and shared cultural codes which provides us as one people with stable, unchanging, and continual frame of reference and meaning, beneath shifting divisions and vicissitudes of an actual history” (393). Thus, the signifier Motherland functions to “order disjunctive and fractal elements of the dispersed subject—immigrant into integrated whole, achieving a sense of imaginary coherence” (Hall 394). The image of the Motherland allows for a redemptive return.

What underpins all the stories is the nostalgia that grips the immigrant personae or characters. They are shown in the daily rigor of living, but interspersed in the ritual of living from day to day is an evocation of the image of motherland. Firstly, the image of Ilokandia Motherland salves away the pain of nostalgia. Secondly, it functions not only as a palliative for displacement, but stands as a metaphor of cultural symbols and rituals. Thus, the stories tend to thematize the retrieval of Filipino cultural heritage and values, which in turn, brings in the schizoid Ilocano immigrant exile personae a sense of imaginary coherence, authenticity, and self-certainty. To illustrate my point: (These stories are written in Ilocano, I had to translate them). In the story, “Yes, Life in Hawaii Must Be Endured” (1993), Old man Damaso is unable to bring himself to settle nicely in his new environment. He experiences isolation. He is deeply aware of his lowly background, and his loneliness sharpens. In the sanctuary of his room, he gives in

to homesickness and weeps. He thinks of his family and the abjectness of life back home, mentally resolving to work hard for his family. Then he remembers his hometown, Sallakong and the happiness and camaraderie shared by his community. He mentally notes that even if life is hard in his hometown, they are happy.

In the stories, "The Murmur of the Brook Sounds Different Here, My Love" (2001), "Love Me in Your Dreams" (2002), "Warlito's Paradise" (2003), we follow the life of the main character, named Warlito. Thoughts about the girl he left behind and his hometown, Gusing Sur, are constant in his mind. Even when he engages in a light flirtation with a beautiful Ilocana neighbor, or with some girls in his workplace as a laundryman, he would find himself suddenly turning quiet, suffused with thoughts of Melinda, his girl, and Gusing Sur, his beloved hometown. He revisits a thousand times his hometown. In his memory, he is with his friends in dances at the town plaza. He is at the town fiestas, at the drinking binges. While he helps a very attractive Ilocana neighbor catch fish for her school experiment, the river in Hawaii becomes the river in his hometown, and Melinda, his girlfriend, at his side.

What binds these stories is the characters' sentimental and essential sadness for being away from home. The "loss of contact with solidity and the satisfaction of earth (San Juan 94), renders pain. Thus, even when these characters are with new friends and acquaintances, they turn quiet, momentarily going inward, and thoughts "smell" of home. In the imagination of the immigrant characters, these memories are reproduced, enlarged, thematized, embroidered (96), rendering temporary reprieve. Bienvenido Santos, a canonical writer in the Philippines but had lived in the US for sometime, points out

the desire of exiles to go home: "all exiles want to go home. Although many of them never return, in their imagination they make their journey a thousand times, taking the slowest boats because in their dream world time is not as urgent as actual time passing ... (San Juan 96). The restorative therapy of mythmaking that the characters are predisposed to, functions as a palliative act, making separation more bearable. Ilokandia is made to fulfill a compensatory function in the healing of the divided subject

The assumption that geographic and physical distancing of the Ilocano immigrant from his Motherland, contributes to the weakening of Filipino ethnic identity. Such notion, informs the overarching objective of GUMIL Hawaii—the retrieval and celebration of Filipino culture, and by extension, reestablishing a collective Ilocano ethnic identity. While GUMIL Hawaii is primarily an association of writers, its vision of preserving the Ilocano language and culture is strengthened and reinforced by social gatherings, functions, and events that allow them to perform and celebrate their identity. One important event is the annual celebration of Ms and Mrs GUMIL Hawaii queen and princesses, a fund-raising popularity contest. The celebration is concluded with the coronation of winners. The winner/s is based on the number of tickets sold and the corresponding amount generated from the ticket sales. The full regalia and spectacle of the coronation night is an occasion to display and to perform their Filipino identity through collective presentations and rituals. Such functions are crucial sites by which the Ilocano community publicly relive and rehearse their ethnic Identity.

The retrieval of Filipino traditions as an assertion of genuine Filipino and Ilocano ethnic identity in these Filipino

functions is replicated in GUMIL Hawai writings. For example, in the stories. "Will Power" (1993), "Bon Voyage" (1990), "The Murmur of the Brook Sounds Different Here, My Love" (2001), "Love Me in Your Dreams" (2002), "Warlito's Paradise" (2003), these male Ilocano immigrant personae are thrown into a dilemma of loneliness vis a vis faithfulness to one's wife or fiancée back home. These stories show them falling into a relationship with other women, besides their wives or fiancées back home. For example, Ram, in "Bon Voyage," even sires a child from his mistress in Hawaii. But in the end, by some heroic effort and will, and thoughts of family, wife, or fiancées back home, they are able to wrest themselves out of the relationships they have gone into, denying pain from both sides. The stories stress how the characters try to transcend or discipline desire, idealizing restraint to underscore the ideology of kinship, marriage, and family, and articulated in much—desired behaviors, such as *delikadeza* (sense of propriety and decency) and *hiya* (modesty or sexual reserve).

Besides enshrining in the stories the ideology of kinship, family, marriage, and decency, the next set of stories like "Yes, Life in Hawaii Must be Endured" (1993), "The Life of Segundina de Dios" (2004), "Bon Voyage" (1990), speak of the characters' extreme self-sacrificing attributes to improve want and deprivation of back home. For example, the characters, Flordeliza and Segundina (in "Bon Voyage," and "Life of Segundina de Dios," respectively), are compelled to sever friendship with their financially unstable boyfriends to marry old plantation laborers (landings), who have saved enough in Hawaii. They are forced to marry old men they don't love in order to alleviate difficult life of their families in the Philippines. Extreme selflessness as virtue is enshrined in

these stories. Sacrificing one's personal happiness to alleviate lives of families, is seen as a desirable Filipino attribute and is elevated for emulation to the young generation. Finally, the story, "That's My Ilocana, Marlon" (1993), valorizes the refined, reserved, and prudent, almost puritanical qualities and ways of an Ilocana woman, as opposed to the modern, assertive and forward-mannered girls seen in the generation today, much influenced by liberal ways.

Another form of cultural construction which aims to enshrine the association's vision is in the use of Ilocano language. The strain of Ilocano language used is one that is archaic and preternaturally poetic. Its archaicism and its elaborate construction call attention to its putative archaic value, evoking, in turn, a sense of Ilocano authenticity. Besides the valorization of an older form of level of register used by the writers, the project of retrieving Ilocano ethnic identity is sutured by a careful construction of stories that, in turn foreground traditional cultural Filipino or Ilocano values, customs, practices, and speech. The use of preternaturally poetic form of Ilocano and the retrieval of Filipino tradition together, function to enshrine an Ilocano ethnic identity, a signifier of self-representation.

The observation of the young generation's lack of connection with their cultural heritage holds much currency for GUMIL Hawaii—thus, the moralizing force and didactic tone in the stories and the predisposition for themes that celebrate the Filipino cultural heritage and tradition. But does this relentless moralizing hold out any future? Has this strategy of retrieving the cultural heritage led to gaining access to cultural resources for oneself or one's community? Have the Ilocano immigrants gained real economic and political power?

IV. GUMIL Hawaii exilic writing and identity politics: potentially disenfranchising?

True, people of color and subaltern cultures like the Ilocano community have all the right to choose how they would represent themselves. Yet, while the struggle of GUMIL Hawaii with the project of retrieval of collective memories to assert and preserve a distinct Ilocano identity in multicultural Hawaii is indeed, exemplary, I daresay, this fixation of redeeming traditional cultural values and practices perceived as lending authenticity to Ilocano identity can be quite problematic.

First, such notion assumes the linearity, stability and the unproblematic character of history and the self or subject. Such politics of identity assumes that the subject is invested with a "metaphysics of substance—that is, that a cohesive, self-identified subject is ontologically (if not actually) prior to any form of social injustice" (Butler 1999). It assumes that the subject possesses an innate essential identity that has been distorted by the imposition of some forms of socialization causing the subject to internalize non-essential attributes.

Secondly, the engagement with questions of cultural purity in GUMIL Hawaii writings ignores the realities of globalized culture, migration, transnational economies, which have shifted borders and have spawned complex and overdetermined consequences. Coco Fusco asserts that the "hegemony of national cultures is perpetually disrupted by foreign information, media, consumer items and people" (26). She further posits that given the hegemony of global economy, the very "notion of cultural purity can seem like something of a nostalgic fantasy one that not even "non-western" societies can provide proof of any longer" (26). The "flow of cultural property

has nullified fixed identity" (Fusco 26). Moreover, valorizing the specificity of the group, tend to "reify identities" (Fraser 19), militating, in turn, the exploration and appropriation of other alternative narratives, stories, selves, and identities. Thus, the vision of GUMIL Hawaii of valorizing in the stories Filipino values, culture and practices in its pure, pristine form, untainted by time, and coached in archaic Ilocano language, tend to rely on these difference from the other economies, thus, in effect, achieving self-certainty. But such operation is not only exclusionary, but reinforces the notion of unchangeability and singularity of identity.

The notion of unchangeability is illustrated and reinforced by the use of an archaic construction of the Ilocano language. In an interview with Amado Yoro, one of the venerable writers of GUMIL Hawaii, he explains that the standard writing which the association measures up its writing is *Bannawag*, an Ilocano weekly magazine. The imperative of *Bannawag*-standard of writing limits readership to older Ilocano speaking generation, nullifying in turn, one of its vision of educating the third, fourth generation Ilocano youth, who can hardly read, understand, nor speak the Ilocano language. How can the young generation even begin to access Ilocano writing?

Finally, the predisposition of Ilocano writers to make the characters go inward could yet nullify the association's vision. San Juan asserts that this "restorative therapy of mythmaking, need never worry about class exploitation, racism and national oppression" (449). The constant trips inward could direct the characters away from grappling with issues that continue to beleaguer the marginalized immigrant exile. Such can only

begin to deanimate the migrant personae, and by extension, the Ilocano readers, lulling them instead, into a sense of inertia, rather than taking a critical stance and action. The characters are made to elide material and historical issues.

Today, many Filipinos are still in the lower rung of the economic ladder. Jonathan Okamura observes that in 2005 Educational and occupational status of the population of Hawaii," Chinese Americans, Japanese Americans and Whites continue to be the dominant groups in ethnic stratification order, while Native Hawaiians and Filipino Americans continue to occupy subordinate positions" (Fujikane 33). Based on 2005 demographics Calixto points out that:

many if not most are employed in non-professional jobs as workers in hotels, restaurants, and factories, farm workers in papaya, sugar and pineapple plantations, and as construction workers. Disparity in the employment of Filipinos in the government offices in relation to the population ratio of Filipinos to other ethnic groups is evident. This is particularly true in the Department of Education. Only about two percent of the teaching force are Filipinos while Filipino pupils make up 20% of the total student population. Another concern is the low proportion of Filipino students going to higher education. At the University of Hawaii at Manoa, an underrepresented 7% are Filipinos; only about 11% are in community colleges. This unproportionate schooling distribution will eventually limit the opportunity if Filipinos to get into better jobs (136–137).

V. Multicultural Ideology

The writers of GUMIL Hawaii are on the main, immigrants who left for Hawaii in their adult years. Before they settled in Hawaii, they were active contributors of *Bannawag*, an Ilocano magazine, published weekly. Thus, their writings come from a tradition of Bannawag-writing. Even though some of the writers have college degrees, earned from colleges in the Philippines, some found themselves working in the plantations, while others got into some odd jobs. Majority of the immigrants are descendants of plantation laborers. The 1965 Immigration Act and Family Reunification Act gave them passage to Hawaii.

One notes the “conciliatory and integrationist” tendencies of GUMIL Hawaii writing. It elides the crucial and primeval question why Filipinos find themselves in Hawaii, in the first place. How have global economic imperatives come to configure in the formation of a dispersed Ilocano identity in the persona of a plantation migrant worker, then later on as new immigrants, majority of which are employed in the service sector of Hawaii’s tourism industry?

In my informal interview of Ilocano immigrants in Hawaii, their very presence in the island is attributed to good fortune. Such rationalization arises from the belief that an entry US visa or an immigrant status is granted out of sheer US benevolence. This gratefulness, in turn, is shown through appropriate conduct, comporting themselves like model immigrants or citizens. For those who show models of good behavior, a promise of acceptance and assimilation awaits the aspirant, compensated in the form of a green card or the much-awaited US citizenship.

A common and dominant perception of Hawaii shared by them is Hawaii's multicultural or multiracial character, and thus, in effect, equal opportunity for all, but on the condition of hard work. Moreover, the stereotypical image of Hawaii as the "land of immigrants" is conflated with the discourse of "there is a place for everybody" in multicultural Hawaii. Such hegemonic discourse have fired the imaginary of Filipinos and different ethnicities, impelling them to settle and try it out in this island. Hawaii looms in their imaginary as a place that offers an avenue of success (Saranillo 130).

The ideology of multiculturalism and equal opportunity for everybody elides the task of addressing the "differential power relations and status among groups. Kirkpatrick posits the need to mute ethnic conflict to prevent "fouling the nest" (Okamura 268). Thus, harmony or "aloha spirit" is maintained at all cost. Moreover, this "land of immigrants" ideology eclipses the primeval story (as cheap labor for an emerging capitalist sugar industry), that brought Filipinos to Hawaii in the first place. What is emphasized, instead, is their contribution to the success of Hawaii.

The master narrative of Filipinos' significant contribution, the discourse of having largely contributed to Hawaii's transformation, which, logically, invests on them claims to Hawaii, has also bred in them tolerance, turning away from confronting issues, such as muted ethnic conflicts and obvious inequalities. To question the inequalities would be counter-productive to the oft-touted narrative that Filipinos are builders of Hawaii. It is tantamount to a critique of self. The fact that there were able to transcend the oppressive plantation condition through hard work, illustrates the triumph

of democracy and American exceptionalism. Moreover, a critique of the ideological formation of Hawaii as a land of immigrants, and thus, by extension, an equal opportunity for everybody, invalidates the very ideology that has impelled the Filipinos to work hard and to achieve a modicum of success.

The "hard work equals success" formulation is a normative reflex that is recuperated as a mark of Filipino identity, is in fact, an integral part of Western racist hegemony. It is an American assimilationist strategy that coopts Filipino and Asian subjects into US system, a rationalization that is assimilative" (San Juan). Given such doubling, this originary Protestant American work ethic has transformed to become an individual work ethic, a dream of capitalist prosperity that has suffused the society from top to bottom.

The lack or absence of discourse that throws into question US racializing system is underpinned by this "putative reciprocal ties and friendship between US and Philippines. The failure to problematize this "special relations" between US and the Philippines reinforces this myth.

Finally, the "hard work=success" formulation is a grand narrative that is appropriated by GUMIL Hawaii writers, glosses over US hegemony, breeding, in turn, this amnesia that brought them to Hawaii in the first place. The master narrative of struggle, industry, and success is recast by GUMIL Hawaii writers, recuperating these valuations as a mark of Filipino ethics, traits and identity and enshrined for emulation. The ideological resolve to do well is tantamount to the acceptance of their condition and the maintenance and perpetuation of the status quo, eclipsing completely other issues. Thus, GUMIL Hawaii writers, in effect, become allies, complicit to their own subordination.

Conclusion

In a Filipino diaspora anthology called, *Not Home, But Here: Writing for the Filipino Diaspora*, edited by Luisa Igloria, I was blown away by one particular essay written by Merlinda Bobis, who has now settled in Australia. She is a poet. But as a poet in her first few years in Australia, she had miserably failed. Refusing the extinction of her art, and by extension, her self, she had to find a way to survive. Appropriating from traditional dances of her culture and attentiveness to the demands of her new location, she combined the contingencies of the times and her past, producing in effect, a new art form—a dance poetry. The creative process of recuperating the “raw materials” of her culture to interpret her art, her poetry, and combining it with the exigencies of her location produced an art form that emerged as quite syncretic. In the process, she does not only recreate her art, but redefines Filipino identity and expression—new epistemes which could to articulate the project of resistance or mechanism for reinscribing a recalcitrant stance towards the Empire of capital, to deflect complete constitution.

We note the materiality of affect that is inscribed by the US empire in the interest of capital. Since local and global are intricately linked an important interpretive approach is situating the intersections on a global frame to unravel how subordinate economies are constructed and produced as subjects. Indeed, people will continue to be scattered to all parts of the globe, thus, a more critical project is to “historicize trajectories of different diasporas and analyze their relationality across fields of social relations, subjectivity and identity” (Avtar). Understanding the routes of US Empire, propelled by

the logic of global economic determinations and imperatives might yet provide for us a new language and discourse to counter the hegemonic and global reach of US as an Empire of Capital.

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